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POST- INDEPENDANCE NOTES

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1. COLONIAL LEGACY

Introduction :

- British East India Company which was established on 31st December 1600 arrived in India in 1608 at the port of Surat. Initially, the Company confined itself to trading activity only due to the presence of mighty Mughal Emperors.
- However, starting from the Battle of Plassey (1757) East India Company established an empire in India which occupied almost 2/3rd of India by Revolt of 1857. The political control over such vast territories was bound to have an impact on virtually all spheres of Indian society.
- Post-Independence the imprints of these effects of political contact are still visible in our society and hence it becomes imperative to discuss the changes brought about by the colonial rule over India.

Impact Of the Colonial Rule :

- First, colonialism led to the complete but complex integration of India's economy with the world capitalist system but in a subservient position.
- Second, to suit the British industry, a peculiar structure of means of production and distribution was forced upon India. India was forced to produce and export goods as per the requirement of the British industry. In other words, the Indian economy was forced to act as a subjugated economy or subordinate economy to British interests.
- Third, was thorough exploitation of India :
 - A large part of India's social surplus or savings was appropriated by the colonial state and misspent.
 - Another large part was appropriated by the indigenous landlords and moneylenders.
 - Only a very small part of this large surplus was invested in the development of agriculture and industry.
 - India got back no equivalent economic, commercial or material returns from the economic drain.
 - Ultimately, the net savings in the Indian economy from 1914 to 1946 was only 2.75 percent of Gross National Product (GNP). The small size of saving may be contrasted with the net savings in 1971-75 when they constituted 12 percent of GNP.
- The fourth impact of colonialism in India was the crucial role played by the state in constructing, determining and maintaining other aspects of the colonial structure.
 - India's policies were determined in Britain and in the interests of the British economy and the British capitalist class.
 - An important aspect of the underdevelopment of India was the denial of state support to industry

- and agriculture.
- The colonial state-imposed free trade in India and refused to give tariff protection to Indian industries as Britain, western Europe, and the United States had done.
- Since the 1880s, the currency policy was manipulated by the government to favour British industry and which was to the detriment of the Indian industry.
- A very large part of India's social surplus was appropriated by the colonial state, but a very small part of it was spent by it on the development of agriculture or industry or on social infrastructure or nation-building activities such as education, sanitation, and health services.
- The bulk of public revenue was absorbed by military expenditure and civil administration which was geared to the maintenance of law and order and tax collection
- The Indian tax structure was highly inequitable. While the peasants were burdened with several taxes, the upper-income groups—highly paid bureaucrats, landlords, merchants, and traders—paid hardly any taxes.

Legacy of The Colonial Rule :

1. Economic Legacy :

- **Economic Backwardness :**

- Mercantilist policies followed by the British in India mandated thorough exploitation of India to suit the capitalist interest of Britain.
- Dadabhai Nauroji in his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* (1901) propounded the drain of wealth theory which showed the ways and means via which India was drained of its wealth by Britain to the tune of 200-300 million pounds a year.
- Similarly, R.C. Dutt in his book *Economic History of India* (1902) analyzed the economic policies of Britishers in India since 1757 (Battle of Plassey). It highlighted economic exploitation of India on a large scale.
- According to British economist Angus Maddison, India's share of the **world economy collapsed from 24.4% to 4.2% between 1700 and 1950**. This fact shows that the policies of Britishers in India led to the Economic Backwardness of the country.

- **De - Industrialisation**

- After getting political control over Bengal (Battle of Plassey 1757) Britishers started to hire agents called gomasthas. This gomasthas described as an Indian agent of the British East India Company employed in the Company's colonies, to sign bonds, usually compellingly, by local weavers and artisans to deliver goods to the Company. The prices of the goods were fixed by the gomasthas. This destroyed indigenous handicraft industries and artisans employed in different sectors of the economy.
- They were deprived of their livelihood without providing alternate employment. Thus this workforce moved towards the agricultural sector.
- Further Britishers imposed heavy tariff duties on Indian products whereas British goods were allowed cross-boundary movement without hindrances. This reduced the competitiveness of Indian products at pan Indian as well as the global level.

This process of uneven competition faced by the Indian handloom and craft industry was later dubbed by the Indian nationalist leaders as de-industrialization.

- **Ruralisation of Indian Economy:** De-industrialisation led to the decline of many cities and hence, ruralisation of India with many artisans returning back to villages and taking up agriculture.
 - Agricultural policies followed by the British like Permanent Settlement (Bihar, Bengal, Orissa), Ryotwari Settlement (Madras and Bombay) and Mahalwari Settlement (Punjab and Central Province) resulted in heavy taxation and impoverishment of the peasants.
 - Forced commercialization of agriculture via systems such as the tinkathia system (under which farmers were forced to grow indigo on 3/20th of their landholding) of Bengal caused economic hardship for the peasants.
 - The ultimate result was reducing the fertility of the soil as well as penury for the dependents of the agricultural sector. Besides the environmental degradation caused by the commercialization of agriculture has taken its toll on India.
 - The net effect of British policies was a heavy load on the Indian Agriculture sector and rural economy which had it impinges even till today.

 - **Transport Revolution**
 - By 1940, India had 65,000 miles of paved roads and nearly 42,000 miles of railway track. These numbers though look impressive tells a false story about Indian Colonial administration.
 - When the first railroad was laid between Mumbai and Thane in 1853, the intended objective of the contemporary Governor-General of India, Lord Dullhousie was to spread British goods to the last possible village in India.
 - Thus, in the absence of the indigenous Industrial Revolution, developments in the transport sector served the purpose of British economic interest.

 - **Lopsided Industrial Development :**
 - At first British political class was reluctant to set up any industries in India. However, in order to perpetuate their rule and also due to the growing need of Indian Britishers started to promote Industrial activities in the country.
 - In the second half of the 19th century, modern machine-based industries were set up in India. This period also saw a rush of foreign capital into India.
 - The industrial development was characterized by a lopsided pattern when core and heavy industries were ignored and some regions were favoured more than the others.
2. **Social Legacy:** The political rule of British over India resulted in the intermingling of ordinary people which had a great impact on Indian society which started to align itself on lines western ideals while keeping Indian traditions intact.
- **Division of Society on the basis of Class:** In the 18th and 19th century Indians of various folds took westernized education and thereafter started to work under the Company administration. This class often called intelligentsia constituted a middle class in due course of time. Similarly, the promotion of modern industries towards the end of the 19th century onwards created the proletariat (working) and bourgeoisie (capitalist) class in Indian society.
 - **Religious Chism:** The policy of divide and rule followed by British raj after 1857 revolt ultimately resulted in India's partition and a permanent division of Hindu -Muslim society. This problem not only is persistent today but also is a dominant discourse in the Indian political arena.
 - **Positive Discrimination:** The reservation policies followed by Britishers for certain backward

sections of the society under the guise of separate electorate was continued in amended form in post-independent India.

- **Census:** The British government started conducting census i.e. official count of the population in the country in 1872. Since then the practice of decennial census has become a norm in India and has been continued post-independence. Population count helps in the formulation of government policies as per the changing needs of the society as reflected in Census.
- **Terminologies:** British were responsible for the origination of certain caste-based terms in India on which there has been a wide debate in post-independent India. For example, the word Schedule Caste was introduced for the depressed classes in the Government of India Act 1935.

3. Politico Administrative Legacy :

- **Parliamentary System:** This is the biggest political legacy of the Britishers in India. Starting from Regulating Act 1773 to the Government of India Act 1935, Britishers established a Parliamentary system of governance into the country. This system was adopted by the founding fathers of the nation post-independence due to its familiarity among Indians.
- **Bureaucracy:** Indian Bureaucracy is considered as a steel frame of India as it has provided a solid foundation of administration in India. However, this system was an invention of Britishers in India that started during the era of Lord Cornwallis who had divided bureaucracy into Covenanted and Non Covenanted Civil Services. After independence, this categorization was removed the bureaucracy was continued as Civil Services of India.
- **Legal System:** Britishers were responsible for implementing a non-religious and secular law system in India. The Indian Penal Code which was enacted in 1860 still forms the base of the existing legal system. The concept of an independent judiciary, equality before the law and rule of law are British in origin and have been adopted by the fathers of our nation post-independence.

4. Legacy in Education :

- After famous **Macaulay's Minutes (1835)** English was adopted as a **lingua franca** or common language of Education in India. This language still forms the base of the higher education system in the country and also acts as an official language of communication in between Hindi and Non-Hindi states.
- The **Woods Dispatch of 1854** which is also called the **Magna Carta of English Education** in India proposed University Education System. This system still persists in the country with select few top educational universities catering to the vast majority of people.
- The education that Britishers provided was devoid of technical and science studies and mostly focused upon philosophy and social sciences. Further, it was inaccessible as Universities and Higher Educational institutions were located in capital towns only with low means of transportation.
- Britishers also **shrugged off the responsibility of education of masses** which ultimately resulted in nearly 82 percent illiteracy in 1951.
- Enforcing the English language among masses also divided society into the lines of **anglicist and orientalist**, the controversy which still persists in society even till today.
- This kind of **faulty education system was inherited** by India after independence which the Indian government is still trying to rectify with varying degrees of success.

Educational Committees post-Independence:

1. **University Education Committee (1948):** Under Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, suggested rebuilding the education system in accordance with the Indian Constitution.
2. **The Secondary Education Commission (1952-1953):** Under Dr. A. Lakshmanswami Mudaliar. He stressed the need to train Indians in a democratic way of life. Some reforms have been introduced into the Indian education system on the basis of reports and recommendations, for example, the introduction of higher secondary education curricula with a three-year course and the opening of vocational schools and colleges.
3. **Education Commission OR Kothari Committee (1964-1966)** - The Commission was headed by D. Kothari hence known as Kothari Committee. He was mandated to deal with all aspects and sectors of education and to advise the Government on the development of the Indian education system.
4. **National Education Policy (1968):** As per the recommendation of the Kothari Committee. Under it, Education perspectives have been directed to all sectors of society to achieve the goal of harmony and integration. The use of regional languages in secondary schools was encouraged to establish an effective relationship between teachers and pupils.
5. **National Education Policy (1986):** emphasized scholarships for the poor, adult education, reorientation of the system to promote gender equality, employment of teachers from oppressed groups, and disabled persons. Physical and mental health and areas requiring special attention. Special and also the development of new schools and universities.
6. **Draft National Education Policy (2019):** The report proposes an education policy, which seeks to address the challenges of: (i) access, (ii) equity, (iii) quality, (iv) affordability, and (v) accountability faced by the current education system.

5. Legacy in Healthcare System :

- The Healthcare system in India was totally **neglected** by the British Government in India. Due to exploitative policies of the Britisher's famines and epidemics were intermittent phenomena in India.
- Despite this state of misery, Britishers chose to tackle the problem as and when it arises rather than building an **institutional mechanism** for it. Ultimately it led to the dismal healthcare system in India and rural areas were particularly bore the maximum brunt of it.
- Health services were **dismal**. In 1943, there were only 10 medical colleges turning out 700 graduates every year and 27 medical schools turning out nearly 7,000 licentiates.
- In 1951, there were only about 18,000 graduate doctors, most of them to be found in cities. The vast majority of towns had **no modern sanitation**.
- A modern water supply system was unknown in villages and absent in a large number of towns.
- The vast majority of towns were without electricity, and electricity in the rural areas was unthinkable.
- **Epidemics** of smallpox, plague and cholera and diseases like dysentery, diarrhea, malaria and other fevers carried away millions every year. Malaria alone affected the one-fourth of the population.

Conclusion :

- It is a widely known fact that the Britishers furthered their political interest in India to preserve their economic interests. It is true that these exploitative policies have crippled India in many ways but it also has certain positive aspects. The foremost among them is the Unification of India.
- The means of transportation along with the modern technique of printing which was started by Britishers on

wide-scale helped early nationalists to spread ideas of nationalism and patriotism. For Example, books like *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* and various other journals were used to criticize British policies.

- A uniform politico-administrative system for the first time established political unity within India and thus was continued by the founding fathers post-independence.
- The common language or lingua franca is English was enforced in India. It helped people with different areas and language to converse with each other which helped in fostering unity.
- Finally, the western ideal of liberty, equality and the rule of law brought about various social changes for good. For example, women's rights, movements against casteism and untouchability etc were directly influenced by western ideas which have helped to reduce inequality in Indian society.
- The net result of all these factors was the emergence of nationalism and unification of the country as an unintended consequence of the British policies. And ultimately it was this unity that forced the British to quit India on 15th August 1947.



2. LEGACY OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Introduction:

- The country of India became independent on 15th August 1947 due to the consistent efforts of many nationalists and patriots under the able leadership of our founding fathers. This struggle is cumulatively called The Indian National Movement that lasted from 1857 to 1947.
- Such a large-scale political struggle spanning almost 90 years was bound to have a profound impact on the social-economical and political scenario of India and changed the course of the journey of India as a nation.
- Due to this impact, major changes occurred in the society which can be seen even in contemporary India. In this chapter, we will study these changes in an elaborate manner.

Legacy of The National Movements :

1. **Political Legacy:** Indian preamble defines **India as a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic** nation. However, the genesis of this definition can be traced back to the National Movements.
 - **Ideals of Swaraj:** The prominent leader of the Indian National Congress, Dadabhai Nauroji was the first person to take up the idea of Swaraj which was tantamount to dominion status enjoyed by white colonies of the United Kingdom such as Australia and Canada.
 - **Republicanism:** This demand Swaraj was replaced by the demand of 'Poorna Swaraj' i.e. total independence in the 1929 Congress Session of Lahore and 26th January was decided to be celebrated as Independence Day. This date is now celebrated as the Republic Day of India and holds significance in the democratic journey of the country.
 - **Fundamental Rights:** Karachi session was presided by Sardar Patel in 1931 here, the congress adopted a resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy. For the first time, the resolution tried to define what would be the meaning of Swaraj for common people.
 - **The Written Constitution:** Perhaps the biggest political contribution of the National Movement was the Constitution itself. The Ideals of Universal Adult Franchise, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity among others were learned by founding fathers during the course of the National Movement itself and have made India what it is today. For example
 - **The ideal of Unity in Diversity** was imperative to hold a multi-religious and multi-diverse country together and one of the essential parameters of it was the linguistic formation of states. This demand was first made by Lokmanya Tilak and accepted by political leadership post-independence after initial reluctance.
 - **Foreign Policies:** For an independent country its foreign policy defines its status in the international arena. In this regard, the policy of **Panchsheel and Non-Alignment** which was

adopted under the able leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru have imprints of ideals of the National Movement in it.

2. **Social Legacy:** For any country, stability in its society is an essential parameter for prosperity and this stability within India society was fostered during Indian National Movements.

- **Abolition of Untouchability:** The biggest problem of Indian society was the presence of the system of untouchability. The practice of untouchability had not only divided society irrationally but was also the major hindrance towards its unity. With the efforts of leaders like Dr. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi ji Indian masses were sensitized against this malice during the course of National Movements. After independence to give firm effect to the practice of untouchability, Article 17 was added to the Indian Constitution which prohibits untouchability in India.
- **Gender Equality:** Gender bias or gender discrimination was another major issue that was taken up during the National Movements. With national movement turning towards masses women participation also increased and broke traditional shackles of forced aloofness. With more and more women coming out in the open during mass movements, their problems too got highlighted and feminist movements rose in India. Today, to enhance the political participation of women the Constitution has provided for reservation for women in local bodies under the 11th and 12th schedule.
- **Secular Credentials:** The policy of divide and rule adopted by the British rulers after Independence had a definite impact on Indian society via its partition in 1947 on religious lines. However, the secular credentials of National Movement kept alive the multi-diverse and multi-religious nature of Indian society by enshrining secularism under various provisions of the Indian Constitution.
- **Egalitarian Society:** Finally, equality was ensured in the Constitution under Fundamental Rights itself in order to foster unity among different sections of the Indian society. The necessity of such action was felt during the course of the National Movement itself as the division had caused problems in mass agitation.

3. **Economical Legacy :**

- **Economic Critic:** The question of the Indian Economy was first highlighted by the grand old man of India Dadabhai Nauroji in his book Poverty and Un-British Rule of India (1901) by propounding Drain of Wealth Theory. The economic critique of the British Raj thereafter become more stringent in India.
- **Economic Policies:** In its Karachi session (1931), Indian National Congress adopted Resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policies which had socialist-leaning due to influence of Jawaharlal Nehru.
- **Advocacy of Capitalism:** Similarly, pre-independence India had witnessed various economic plans put forth by numerous eminent personalities. Prominent among them was Bombay plan (1944) given by 8 big industrialists including J. R. D. Tata, G. D. Birla, P. Thakurdas, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Sir Shri Ram, Ardeshir Dalal, A. D. Shroff and John Matthai. The plan envisaged the capitalist model of the economy for the country.
- **Mixed Economic Model:** After independence, these different ideologies were coalesced into the Socialist Model of Mixed Economy was adopted for India in order to carry out an equitable distribution of resources and also to prevent concentration of wealth.
- **Planned Economy:** The need for economic planning was first highlighted in the 1938 Haripura session of the Indian National Congress in which the National Planning Committee was

established under Jawaharlal Nehru. This trend of the planned economy was continued by establishing the Planning Commission and the National Development Council post-independence.

- **Land Reforms:** During National Movements, the Faizpur Session of the Congress (1936) which was held in Maharashtra was the first rural session of INC. This session directed the attention of the Congress towards the agrarian problems facing before the country. Thereafter Congress Working Committee Election Manifesto in 1945 provided for abolition of Zamindari. When India became independent one of the earliest steps towards modernization was land reforms and abolition of Zamindari which traces its need back to this development of National Movement.
- Since the 19th century itself nationalist demanded technical education in Indian universities and focus on the industrialisation of India. The post-independence government itself undertook heavy industrialisation despite having a vast agrarian population which is an everlasting legacy of the national movement in contemporary time.

4. Gandhian Legacy :

- The Father of Nation, Mahatma Gandhi ji has a profound impact on the Indian social-economical and political sphere as a torchbearer.
- **Village Panchayat:** His ideals of Panchayat at the village level was enshrined into the Indian Constitution under Article 40 and now act as the third tier of democracy to promote grass-root democracy.
- **Self Sufficient Villages:** Similarly, his ideal of the self-sufficient village was adopted post-independence and given priority due to the huge rural and agrarian population in the country.
- **Gandhian Ideology:** Gandhiji's principles of secularism, tolerance, respect towards elders among others have formed the moral principles of Indian society even in the contemporary world.
- His insistence on truth and nonviolence is reflected in government policies and initiatives as well as it is shaping the base of the Indian policymaking system.
- **Educational Development:** In the field of education to Gandhiji had promoted his scheme of education widely known as the Wardha Scheme of Education which imparted vocational education to students in order to make them self-sufficient. However, this type of education could not gain much prominence in post-independent India due to the emphasis of the government on technical education.

Conclusion :

- The past always has a bearing on the present and future which can be seen from the study of Indian National Movements. The position that India is in today is because of the solid foundation of ideals and policies provided during the National Movements.
- Today, India boasts of its soft power status, truth and non-violence, industrialized credentials and multi-religious society. However, none of this could have been possible without the struggle of the National Movement that our forefathers fought in order to bring independence closer and closer.
- Ultimately the legacy of the National Movement has shaped today's India and it will continue to guide future generations to build better India.

3. INITIAL YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE - PART 1 (ACCESSION OF PRINCELY STATES)

<p>Content:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Introduction ● Concerns After Independence ● Major Impact of Partition ● India's Policy Towards Pakistan ● Accession of Princely States ● Scenario of Princely States ● Process of Integration ● Conclusion 	<p>Syllabus - Paper 1 - Post Independence Consolidation</p>
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Introduction :

- On August 15, 1947, British India was divided on religious grounds into two separate states of India and Pakistan. The division was a fatal blow to the nation which had been facing drain of its wealth since the last two centuries by British Raj.
- Once partition was declared there was a mass exodus of people from both India and Pakistan across the new borders according to their choices. There was a scarcity of food and other consumer goods, and a fear of administrative breakdown.
- Thus, independence had been accompanied by a multitude of problems, and centuries of backwardness, prejudice, inequality, and ignorance still weighed on the land. In this chapter, we will throw light on some of those challenges and how they were tackled by Indian leadership of that time.

Concerns After Independence :

1. Immediate Concerns :

- The first and foremost concern was to rehabilitate millions of refugees who had crossed the border to settle down in India.
- The second biggest concern was to restore law and order machinery which has fallen down due to partition and vicious atrocities committed by various sections of the Indian Society.
- The date of 16th August 1946 holds primary significance in the history of communalism in India as it was on this date 'Direct Action Day' was carried out by Muslims. It was an act of severe or extreme communalism and resulted in large scale riots in the nation. Thus, to stop this religious war between the two major religions was the next big concern of the nation.
- The fear of the Balkanisation of India was a reality as a question of Princely States had not been solved by British administration while leaving. Thus, to integrate 565 princely states into India was another concern before the Indian leadership.

2. Medium Term Concerns :

- The primary medium-term concern of the newly independent nation was to give to itself a supreme law of the land i.e. Constitution for which a Constituent Assembly was

already existing.

- Another concern was to build a representative democratic and civil libertarian political order by organizing free and fair elections.
- Establishing equality in caste driven society and to redistribute wealth among citizens to improve their standard of living via land reforms was another aspect of concern.

3. Long Term Concerns :

- The main long-term concern was to restore harmony between two dominant religions of the nation and to effectively bring about national integration.
- The economic growth pattern for the highly agrarian country was the next cause of concern. The national leadership under Jawaharlal Nehru had been sure of industrialization of the country but its pattern was highly debated during that time. Hence to establish a clear pattern of economic growth in the country was imperative.
- Evolve a foreign policy that would defend Indian independence and promote peace in a world increasingly engulfed by the Cold War.

Major Impact of Partition :

1. Communal Riots and mass casualties:

- The immediate result of partition was communal violence throughout India, destroying lives and wealth and disrupting harmony.
- The vulnerable sections such as women and children were the main targets of rioters which caused huge social tension in those times.
- Partition and the violence which accompanied it led to nearly six million refugees pouring into India having lost all their wealth.

2. Refugee problems:

- The Hindus and Sikhs in West Pakistan entered the Indian border by the shortest routes possible to evade rioters. There was also a mass exodus of the Muslim population to the Pakistan border.
- The impact of the partition of India also resulted in the communal migration from East Bengal. The Hindu from East Bengal had to undergo severe adversity.
- The result was a huge refugee crisis given the tight economic and manpower situation of the country. It also resulted in demographic changes in bordering regions such as Assam and Punjab.

3. Economic Consequences:

- The partition led to an uneven distribution of area and India had to share a greater burden of the population in proportion to land share.
- Migration due to partition involved a significant wealth shock for the households involved. Millions of people not only lost their livelihood but also had to leave their ancestral properties which led to their penury.
- The flourishing jute industry in east India was distorted as the boundaries separating west Bengal from East Bengal separated the jute growing areas in East Pakistan from jute mills in West Bengal.
- India also had to bear the cost of rehabilitation of large numbers of refugees.

4. Effect on India-Pakistan Relations:

- The partition resulted in far-reaching impacts in the region. India-Pakistan rivalry emerged over

numerous issues.

- Kashmir conflict emerged as a constant source of tension resulting in numerous border clashes. Another source of constant tension was the strong sense of insecurity among Hindus in East Bengal which emerged as a consequence of the communal character of Pakistan's political system.

India's Policy Towards Pakistan :

- **Incipient Stage:** The India-Pakistan relations were largely defined by the violent partition of British India. After the independence, India and Pakistan established diplomatic relations; however, the partition and different territorial claims have kept the India-Pak relation hostile.
- **Non-Rancour:** The Nehru government adopted a policy of non-rancor towards Pakistan. It was aimed at fair dealing and of promoting conciliation and reducing mutual tensions.
- **Humanitarian Crisis:** The government regarded the problem faced by Hindus in East Bengal as a human problem and tried to solve it by persuasion and pressure. The government vehemently criticized and took strong actions against attacks on Muslims in West Bengal.
- **Diplomatic Compromise:** In 1950, India and Pakistan signed the Nehru-Liaquat Pact to sought to guarantee the rights of minorities in both countries after the Partition of India and to avert another war between India and Pakistan. Apart from this, India and Pakistan also signed several agreements on trade and travel.
- In general, the Indian government followed a policy to improve relations with Pakistan and to prevent the emergence of a climate of hostility.

Accession of The Princely States:

- On 15th August 1947 when it got independence, it contained 565 Princely States. These Princely states were erstwhile empires that had accepted British suzerainty during the last two centuries.
- However, after the end of the British Raj in India, the paramountcy of British monarch over these territories also ceased to operate. Thus, it was imperative for the new Indian government to convince them to join the Indian Union otherwise risk losing them to Pakistan or assert themselves as independent countries.
- Unifying post-Partition India and the princely states under one administration was the most important task facing the independent India as many princely states began to dream of independence.
- The princely states claimed that as paramountcy of British Monarch was a verbal agreement with Britain, it could not be transferred to the new states of India and Pakistan. With the departure of British Raj from India paramountcy shall lapse and Princely states shall become independent to take their own decisions.
- India could not accept this situation where the unity of free India would be endangered by hundreds of large or small independent or autonomous states within it which were sovereign. Hence Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel decided to act sternly to bring about Indian integration.

Scenario of Princely States After Independence :

- **Sudden Crisis:** The Declaration of Independence with the Atle's Declaration was a bolt from the blue for the princely states. These states were now threatened with the uncertainties regarding the future courses of action.
- **Lack of Unity:** After independence, there was no coherence among the Princely States regarding their future. Some of the states such as Baroda and Jawahar were eager to integrate with India due to patriotic feelings. Whereas others such as Bhopal, Hyderabad, Travancore, Junagarh and Kashmir among others did

not want to be a part of India.

- **Communal Division:** However, Princely States could not build a joint force as smaller states did not trust larger states and also Hindu rulers had a conflict with Muslim rulers. Some state accepted Indian union as fait accompli and began to negotiate integration with the hope of favourable agreement to them.
- **Paramount Decision:** The prime reason for the failure of the Princely States to achieve their demand was the stand of Lord Mountbatten, the last British Governor-General of India :
 - ❑ He was of the view that the Princely States shall join either India or Pakistan after the lapse of paramountcy as the British were not in a position to rescue them after world war 2.
 - ❑ He pointed out that the Indian subcontinent was one economic entity, and that the states would suffer most if the link was broken.
 - ❑ He also pointed to the difficulties that princes would face maintaining law and order in the face of threats such as the rise of communal violence and communist movements.

Process of Integration :

- Jawaharlal Nehru as a Prime Minister of India had taken a stern stand towards the Princely States. In January 1947, he said that independent India would not accept the divine right of kings, and on May 1947, he declared that any princely state which refused to join the Constituent Assembly would be treated as an enemy state.
- However, Sardar Patel and V.P. Menon had taken a more conciliatory approach towards the Princely States. Sardar Patel was political head and V. P. Menon was the administrative head of the States Department which dealt with matters of Princely States.
- **V.P. Menon**, in this background, suggested **two tools namely Standstill Agreement and Instrument of Accession** for the integration process.
- **Standstill Agreement** confirmed the continuation of the pre-existing agreements and administrative practices of Princely States with British India. The second was the **Instrument of Accession** under which the ruler of the princely state in question agreed to the accession of his kingdom to independent India, granting the latter control over specified subject matters. The nature of the subject matters varied depending on the acceding state.
- The limited scope of Instrument of Accession accompanied by large range of promises such as a privy purse, immunity from the Constitution of India, etc. convinced the vast majority of Princely States to join India prior to 15th August 1947. However certain states had reservations against joining India and could not be integrated prior to 15th August 1947.

1. Border States of Jodhpur and Jaisalmer : (Via Instrument of Accession)

- ❑ Ruler of Jodhpur Hanwant Singh was reluctant to join India and he also convinced the ruler of Jaisalmer to not to do so. Together they had started negotiations with M. A. Jinnah to join Pakistan.
- ❑ Jinnah offered to permit Jodhpur and Jaisalmer to accede to Pakistan on any terms they choose, giving their rulers blank sheets of paper and asking them to write down their terms, which he would sign.
- ❑ However, in the last moment, Ruler of Jaisalmer retracted sighting that it would be difficult for him to side with Muslims given in case of religious riots.
- ❑ On the other hand, Maharaja Hanwant Singh came close to accede to Pakistan. But the situation of his state which was Hindu dominated had hostilities towards Pakistan prevented him from taking firm steps.

- ❑ In this situation, Lord Mountbatten convinced him that integration with Pakistan would amount to defeat of two nations theory and would cause him problems in the future.
- ❑ Finding himself in a situation where no help was coming, Maharaja Hanwant Singh reluctantly signed Instrument of Accession with India on 7th April 1949.

2. Junagadh (**By Negotiations / Surrender of Power by the defunct Court**)

- ❑ The state of Junagadh had 80 % Hindu majority under the Nawab of Muhammad Mahabat Khan 3rd who had inclinations toward Pakistan.
- ❑ After independence Nawab tried to merge with Pakistan but his efforts were blocked by Mountbatten and Sardar Patel. Thus, Nawab fled with his family to Pakistan on 26th October 1947.
- ❑ In this background, On 7 November, Junagadh's court, facing collapse, invited the Government of India to take over the State's administration. The Government of India agreed. A plebiscite was conducted in February 1948, which went almost unanimously in favour of accession to India and it was duly annexed into India.

3. Jammu and Kashmir (**By means of Instrument of Accession**)

- ❑ At the time of independence, the state had a majority Muslim population and was ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh. The Maharaja wanted independence for Jammu and Kashmir as joining either India or Pakistan would result in disturbances in some part or other of his territories.
- ❑ Having lost out the other Princely States, Pakistan was firm on its demand for Kashmir. In order to force the Maharaja Hari Singh to accede to Pakistan, Jinnah cut off all transport and supply links of Kashmir.
- ❑ Soon Shortly thereafter, Pathan tribesmen from the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan crossed the border and entered Kashmir on 20th October 1947. As Pathan tribesmen made progress towards Srinagar, Maharaja Hari Singh wrote a letter to Nehru demanding India's help.
- ❑ India put forth the requirement of signing an Instrument of Accession and setting up an interim government headed by Sheikh Abdullah in return. The Maharaja complied and Instrument of Accession was signed on 26th October 1947.
- ❑ While signing it Nehru declared that it would have to be confirmed by a plebiscite, although there was no legal requirement to seek such confirmation. However, the promised plebiscite could not be conducted due to war with Pakistan (1947-1948) and has caused much trouble in times to come.

4. Hyderabad (**By means of police action**)

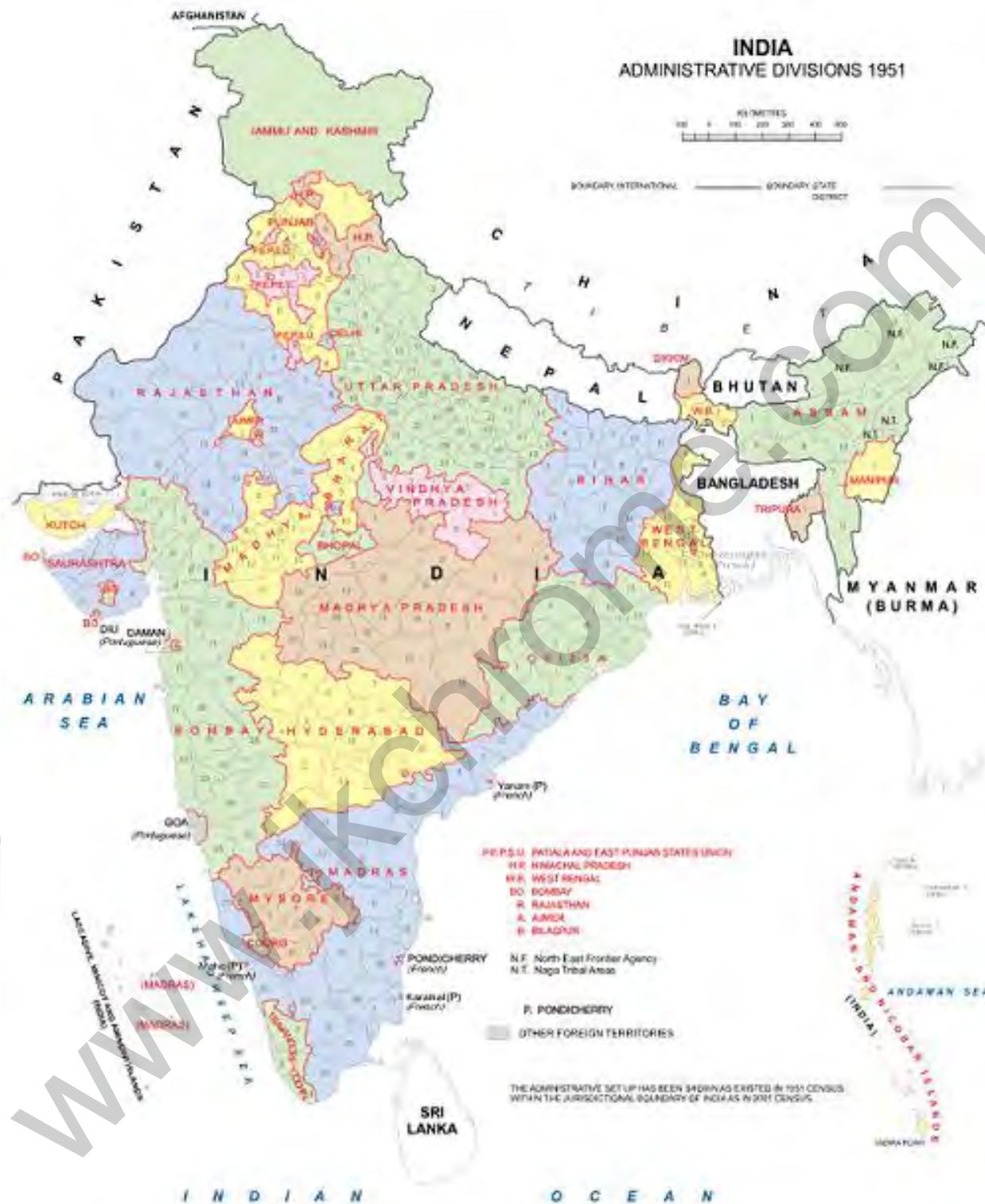
- ❑ At the time of Independence, the state of Hyderabad had 87% of its 17 million population Hindu and its ruler Nizam Osman Ali Khan was a Muslim. The Muslim nobility and the Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen, a powerful pro-Nizam Muslim party, insisted Hyderabad remain independent and stand on an equal footing to India and Pakistan.
- ❑ Accordingly, the Nizam in June 1947 issued a *firman* announcing that on the transfer of power, his state would be resuming independence. India opposed this Farman on grounds of the strategic position of Hyderabad which was deep inside India as well as on historic

linkages.

- ❑ On the other hand, Nizam used Razakars ("volunteers"), a militia affiliated to the Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, pro-Nizam political party and set up under the influence of Muslim radical Qasim Razvi.
- ❑ He assumed the role of supporting the Muslim ruling class against upsurges by the Hindu populace, and began intensifying its activities and was accused of attempting to intimidate villages.
- ❑ Attempts by Mountbatten to find a negotiated solution failed and, in August, the Nizam, claiming that he feared an imminent invasion, attempted to approach the UN Security Council and the International Court of Justice. Patel now insisted that if Hyderabad was allowed to continue its independence, the prestige of the Government would be tarnished and then neither Hindus nor Muslims would feel secure in its realm.
- ❑ In this background, On 13 September 1948, the Indian Army was sent into Hyderabad under Operation Polo on the grounds that the law and order situation there threatened the peace of South India. The troops met little resistance by the Razakars and between 13 and 18 September took complete control of the state.

Conclusion :

- On 15th August 1947, all but the aforementioned 4 states had signed Instrument of Accession with India and by 26th January 1950, the process of integration of all Princely States into India was complete.
- The next logical step was of the unification of this Princely state into India. The process was started soon after independence and numerous small principalities were merged into Indian Union via merger agreements. This means the provisions of Instrument of Accession were nullified and in return of territories, erstwhile rulers were given Privy Purse i.e. the fixed sum of money at periodic intervals.
- Sardar Patel's main contribution lies in this merging of princely states into India. By 1950 he himself had persuaded more than 250 Princely States to forsake Instrument of Accession and merge their territories into India.
- Ultimately on its first Republic Day on 26th January 1950, Indian Unification was by and largely complete, except the question of Jammu and Kashmir which is still a haunting Indian politico-administrative system.



4. INITIAL YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE - PART 2 (LINGUISTIC STATE FORMATION)

Introduction:

- The 1947 partition of India on communal lines had shaken the Indian leadership and therefore, they were scared that the demand for the linguistic reorganization of India might lead to the Balkanisation of India.
- At the time of Independence, India was divided into 565 princely states, which were given the choice to join either of the two Independent states i.e. India or Pakistan. However, these princely states were successfully merged into India by 1950 by the efforts of Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel.
- The Constitution in 1950 contained a four-fold classification of the states of the Indian Union :
 - Part-A: It comprised the erstwhile nine governor's provinces of British India.
 - Part-B: The erstwhile princely states with legislatures (nine in number) were added to this part.
 - Part-C: All the previous chief commissioner's province of British India and remaining princely states (total 10 in number) were added to this part.
 - Part D : It included the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
- The classification of these states was done on the basis of administrative convenience and not on a linguistic basis.
- This setup could not meet the regional aspirations of the people who demanded the linguistic organization of the states. Henceforth, the wave of linguistic division of states was again sparked in the newly Independent India.

Background :

- **Linguistic Reorganisation Demands and The British Government**
 - The demand for linguistic states in India emerged for the first time in 1874 during the British regime, when Sylhet was transferred from Bengal to Assam. The people of Sylhet protested against this transfer on the ground that they formed a part of the Bengali-speaking group; hence their demand for a reunion with Bengal is genuine.
 - In 1876, the Oriya speaking people also demanded a separate state on the basis of language.
 - Bal Gangadhar Tilak also supported this demand for linguistic reorganization for the sake of the homogeneity and development of the people via his Marathi newspaper 'Kesari' in 1891.
 - The British Indian government under the Governor-General Lord Curzon divided the Bengal area on administrative and linguistic basis in 1905. (Though the real motive was to divide Hindu-Muslim unity in India. It was annulled in 1911's Delhi darbar after a widespread agitation by the nationalists).

- In 1912, Bengal was further bifurcated. Bihar and Orissa were separated from Bengal to form the 'Bihar and Orissa Province' and their boundaries were fixed on linguistic lines.
- The Telugu speaking people had been holding conferences in support of their demand for a separate Andhra Province since 1913. The Kannada speaking people had been demanding a separate Karnataka province since 1916 on the same lines. Various organizations like Karnataka Vidya Vardhak Sangha and Ekikarana Sabha were part of this agitation.
- The outline scheme of 'Swaraj' of C. R. Das and Bhagwan Das declared in 1922 was that the provinces should be demarcated on the linguistic basis and the provinces which are too large may be divided into smaller units.
- The Muslim League made similar efforts in separating Sind from Bombay and it succeeded when Sindh has declared a separate province with effect from April 1, 1936 on linguistic lines.
- After the Government of India Act 1935, the province of Bihar and Orissa was bifurcated, creating a separate Orissa province in 1936 on the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee.
- The setting up of Orissa in 1936 is an example of British acceptance of the linguistic principle for states; though this was not granted because of a people's movement, but by considerations of administrative expediency in Bengal province. After the creation of these provinces, the movements for creating new provinces on a linguistic basis started among Andhras, Kannadiyas, and Malayalees. But the British government did not attempt to create provinces on linguistic basis.
- **Indian National Congress: Pre-Independence Period**
 - The Indian National Congress also from time to time supported the demand for creation of provinces on linguistic basis
 - Congress supported the Andhradesa Movement that was started in 1913 for separate Andhra State.
 - In 1916, as the first step in this direction, Congress formed the Provincial Congress Committees for different regions to support the demand for the creation of provinces on linguistic ground. Such Provincial Committees had already been formed for Bihar in 1908 and then for Sind and Andhra in 1918.
 - Mahatma Gandhi also supported the linguistic reorganization demand as in 1918 he said that unless we give Hindi its national status and the provincial languages their new place in the life of the people, all the talk of Swaraj is useless.
 - At Nagpur Session in 1920, Congress passed a resolution on the formation of linguistic provinces in India. The Communist movement also supported the linguistic claims (The move was opposed by C. Rajagopalachari). Constitution of the Congress was recast and the Congress Party organized its administrative structure on the basis of twenty-one Provincial Congress Committees.
 - In 1927 Madras session, the congress supported the Sind, Andhra and Karnataka demand of separate province.
 - Motilal Nehru Committee of the All Parties Conference in 1928 also favoured this demand for the provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis.
 - The **Nehru Report of 1928** also contained the provision of organizing Indian provinces on linguistic lines.
 - The Congress laid down in its Karachi session of 1931 that culture, language, and scripts of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas should be protected. Even the Congress election manifesto of 1935 declared that it is freedom of each group and the territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework and for this purpose, such territorial areas or provinces should be considered and arranged on a linguistic and cultural basis.

- The Congress, after this, in its every session and election manifesto of 1945-46, reiterated its pledge to set up the linguistic provinces.

Scenario Post Independence:

- With the formation of the Constituent Assembly in 1946, again the demands popped up for the creation of states on linguistic basis. Conventions and movements were started in various parts of the country.
- Soon after the partition in 1947, Prime Minister Nehru while conceding the linguistic principle remarked that 'first things must come first and the first thing is the security and stability of India'. The fear of Balkanisation changed the view of Indian National Congress leaders. Leaders like Nehru, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Jaya Prakash Narayan, K. M. Munshi, and C. Rajagopalachari were also strongly opposed to the linguistic idea, fearing the weakening of the integration of the country.
- **State Reorganisation Commission Post Independence**
Due to rising regional pressure for linguistic organization of Indian States, Government of India and the Indian National Congress set up the following commissions to consider the possibility of state reorganization:
 - **S.K. Dhar Commission: June 1948**
 - a. Also known as the first Linguistic Provinces Commission of independent India, it was set up under the chairmanship of S. K. Dhar, a retired judge of the Allahabad High Court. Other members of the commission were Jagat Narain, Panna Lai, and B. C. Bannerji.
 - b. The commission submitted its report in December 1948 and recommended the reorganization of states on the basis of administrative convenience rather than linguistic factor.
 - c. Commission argued that the country was not yet free from the dangers of external aggression (The Kashmir war was just concluded in a cease-fire) and the Indian states have not been properly integrated. It said that the country could not bear the financial and administrative strain of creating new provinces at the time of its economic crisis situation after Independence.
 - **JVP Committee: December 1948**
 - a. The recommendations of the Dhar Commission did not, however, satisfy those minds that were working in the direction of creating such provinces.
 - b. The rise of resentment among the people led to the appointment of another Linguistic Provinces Committee by the Indian National Congress in December 1948.
 - c. The members of the committee were Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Hence it was popularly known as **JVP Committee**.
 - d. The committee in its April 1949 final report also rejected the language as the basis for a reorganization of Indian states.
 - **Fazl Ali Commission: December 1953**
 - a. At the time of the commencement of the Constitution in 1950, Indian states were organized on the basis of administrative convenience by grouping them into four parts.

Indian Territorial Division in 1950			
Part - A States	Part - B States	Part - C States	Part - D States
1. Assam	1. Hyderabad	1. Ajmer	1. Andaman

2. Bihar	2. Jammu and Kashmir	2. Bhopal	and Nicobar Islands
3. Bombay	3. Madhya Bharat	3. Bilaspur	
4. Madhya Pradesh	4. Mysore	4. Cooch-Behar	
5. Madras	5. Patiala and East Punjab	5. Coorg	
6. Orissa	6. Rajasthan	6. Delhi	
7. Punjab	7. Saurashtra	7. Himachal Pradesh	
8. United Provinces	8. Travancore-Cochin	8. Kutch	
9. West Bengal	9. Vindhya Pradesh	9. Manipur	
		10. Tripura	

- b. There was mass agitation against Dhar and JVP committee reports across India especially in the Andhra region where a state leader **Potti Sriramulu died in 1952 after 58 days of indefinite hunger strike.**
 - c. This event added fuel to the fire and the Central government was forced to separate Telugu speaking region from Madras. In this way, **Andhra Pradesh** became the **first state** to be carved out (from erstwhile Madras state) on a **linguistic basis after independence on 1 November 1953.**
 - d. The creation of a separate Andhra on linguistic lines intensified the other linguistic demands from various regions. Under the popular pressure, the Government of India appointed a **three-member "States Reorganisation Commission"** in December **1953.** It was chaired **Fazl Ali** and the other two members were **KM Panikkar and H N Kunzru.**
 - e. The States Reorganisation Commission submitted its report on September 1955. Its recommendations were:
 - i. The commission **broadly accepted language** as the basis of the reorganization of states, however, it rejected the theory of '**one language - one state**'.
 - ii. Commission suggested to include the following four factors before making any plans for state reorganization:
 - Unity and Security of the country must be preserved.
 - Cultural and Linguistic homogeneity to be promoted.
 - Financial, economic and administrative aspects must be considered.
 - Planning must be done by keeping in the forefront the welfare of the people in each state as well as of the nation as a whole.
 - iii. It also suggested to abolish the four-fold classification of states as done under the original Constitution and further suggested the creation of 16 states and 3 centrally administered territories.
 - iv. The commission rejected the demand for the formation of Punjabi Suba, a Sikh majority Punjab state and Haryana as separate Hindu majority state.
- The recommendations of the commission were accepted by the Government of India with minor modifications.
 - Government did away with the fourfold distinction via the **States Reorganisation Act of 1956** and the **7th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1956.** Some of the areas were merged with adjacent states and while others were designated as union territories.

- Government also rejected the recommendations of the commission to form:
 - a. Vidarbha, a separate state by splitting majority Marathi speaking areas from Madhya Pradesh.
 - b. Telangana State as a separate Telugu speaking state from Andhra State.
- The following six Union Territories and fourteen States were formed by the Indian government in 1956:
 - a. Indian States:
 - i. Andhra Pradesh: by merging Telugu-speaking areas of Hyderabad state with the Andhra state.
 - ii. Assam.
 - iii. Bihar.
 - iv. Bombay: by merging Saurashtra state and Kutch state into that of the Bombay state.
 - v. Jammu and Kashmir.
 - vi. Kerala: by merging the Travancore - Cochin State with the Malabar District of Madras state and Kasargod of South Kannada.
 - vii. Madhya Pradesh: by merging the Madya Bharat state, Vindya Pradesh state, and Bhopal state.
 - viii. Madras.
 - ix. Mysore: Coorg state was merged into it.
 - x. Orissa.
 - xi. Punjab: Patiala and East Punjab States Union (Pepsu) was merged into it.
 - xii. Rajasthan: Ajmer state was added to it.
 - xiii. Uttar Pradesh.
 - xiv. West Bengal.
 - b. Six Union Territories were:
 - i. Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
 - ii. Delhi.
 - iii. Himachal Pradesh.
 - iv. Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands: created as a new territory after separating it from erstwhile Madras state.
 - v. Manipur.
 - vi. Tripura.

Formation of Other Indian States: After First State Reorganisation of 1956:

The first state reorganization of 1956 prepared the ground for further rise in regional demands for separate state formation. The states formed after 1956 were:

<i>State</i>	<i>Related Information</i>
Gujarat (1960)	It became the 15th state of India under the Bombay Reorganization Act, 1960.
Nagaland (1963)	The Thirteenth Amendment Act, 1962 gave the status of a separate state to Nagaland.

Punjab and Haryana (1966)	Punjab State Reorganisation Act 1966 bifurcated the erstwhile Punjab state and formed Haryana as a separate state.
Himachal Pradesh (1971)	The State of Himachal Pradesh Act, 1970 elevated the status of Himachal Pradesh to a full-fledged State from earlier Union Territory.
Manipur (1972), Tripura (1972) and Meghalaya (1972)	North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) of 1971 elevated the status of two union territories of Manipur and Tripura to a full-fledged state. Meghalaya was also made a separate state under it. (The Twenty-Second Amendment Act of 1969 had made Meghalaya an autonomous state within the state of Assam). It also separated Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh from Assam and conferred them the status of Union Territories.
Sikkim (1975)	The Thirty Sixth Amendment Act of 1975 made Sikkim a full-fledged state of the Indian Union after removing its protectorate status.
Mizoram (1987)	The Fifty-Third Amendment Act, 1986 changed its status from a union territory to a separate state.
Arunachal Pradesh (1987)	Till 1972, it was known as the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA). It gained the Union Territory status on 20 January 1972 and was renamed as Arunachal Pradesh.
Goa (1987)	Liberated in 1961 from Portuguese, The Goa, Daman and Diu Reorganisation Act, 1987 conferred statehood to Goa on 30 May 1987 and Daman and Diu was made a separate union territory.
Chhattisgarh (2000)	Madhya Pradesh Reorganisation Act 2000 separated the Chhattisgarh area from Madhya Pradesh and provided it the status of separate state.
Uttarakhand (2000)	Uttar Pradesh Reorganisation Act, 2000 separated the hilly area of Uttar Pradesh and conferred it the status of a separate state.
Jharkhand (2000)	Bihar Reorganisation Act, 2000 bifurcated earlier Bihar state and formed Jharkhand as a separate state.
Telangana (2014)	The Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Act, 2014 , bifurcated the state of Andhra Pradesh to form a separate Telangana state.

New Linguistic States:

- The first state reorganization of 1956 prepared the ground for further rise in regional linguistic state demands. Coupled with strong agitation, the demands were continued for separate states of Maharashtra and Gujarat, Punjab and Haryana, etc.
- From the above-mentioned chronology of new state formation, the following were formed on linguistic lines:
 - **Formation of Gujarat And Maharashtra: 1st May 1960**

- a. The mass movement by the Samyukt Maharashtra Samiti (a united front of the non-congress parties of Maharashtra region of Bombay) and the MahaGujarat Parishad (a coalition of the non-congress parties of Gujarati speaking people) forced the Government of India to accept the demand for linguistic reorganization of Marathi speaking Bombay area into **Maharashtra** and Gujarati speaking Saurashtra and Kutch area into **Gujarat State (15th Indian state)** under the **Bombay Reorganization Act, 1960**.
- **Formation of Punjab and Haryana: 1st November 1966**
 - a. Akali Dal under the leadership of Master Tara Singh continued their agitation to demand a separate 'Sikh Homeland' (Punjabi Subha).
 - b. In a response to it, the Government of India set up Shah Commission in 1966 under the chairmanship of Justice J. C. Shah, to divide and set up the boundaries of Punjab and Haryana.
 - c. By the **Punjab State Reorganisation Act 1966**, the erstwhile Punjab state was bifurcated and the Punjabi-speaking areas were constituted into the unilingual state of Punjab, the Hindi-speaking areas were constituted into the State of Haryana (the 17th state of India) and the hill areas were merged with the adjoining Union Territory of Himachal Pradesh.
 - d. The bifurcation also resulted in formation of Chandigarh as a Union Territory, which would serve as the common capital of Punjab and Haryana states.
- **Formation of Goa: 30th May 1987**
 - a. The Portuguese territories of Goa, Diu and Daman were liberated on December 20, 1961, and were formally incorporated into the Union on March 12, 1962. They were constituted as a union territory by the 12th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1962.
 - b. There were proposals to merge the area of Goa with Maharashtra. In 1967, an "opinion poll" that (actually, a referendum) took place to settle the question of Goa's integration with Maharashtra decisively tilted the scales in favour of a "separate" Goa. The demand for separate Goa state was to retain a distinct Goan identity and with Konkani as its main language.
 - c. Considering the popular demand of people over the period and its distinct culture, the Government of India enacted **The Goa, Daman, and Diu Reorganisation Act, 1987** and conferred statehood to Goa on 30 May 1987. Daman and Diu was made a separate union territory.
- **Formation of Telangana: 2nd June 2014**
 - a. The first state reorganization of 1956 merged the Telugu speaking area of Hyderabad with the Andhra State to form Andhra Pradesh.
 - b. However, there was a continuous demand from both regions i.e. erstwhile Telangana region and the Andhra region for a separate state, because of conflict on various issues like 'The Gentlemen's Agreement' of 1956, developmental issues, intra-region allocation of resources, etc.
 - c. These agitations were carried on for over many decades in the form of the Jai Andhra Movement in 1972, Non-Cooperation and Million March movement of 2011, Telangana March of 2012, Samaikyandhra Movement of 2013 etc.
 - d. Finally accepting the popular demand, the government of India bifurcated the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh state in 2014 to form a separate Telangana State **on 2nd June 2014 via The Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Act, 2014**. Hyderabad was made the common

capital of both the states for 10 years until Andhra Pradesh can establish its own capital Amaravati (on the southern banks of the Krishna river in Guntur district).

Outcome of Linguistic State Division:

The linguistic division of states led to the following positive outcomes :

- **Consolidation of Federal Structure:** Meeting the regional aspirations of the people created a sense of security of their culture and language in India. This allowed people to accept India's regional diversity in a better way along with suppressing the separatist demands in India. For example, the formation of separate Punjab state on a linguistic basis reduced to some extent, the impact of the separatist movement of Punjab in the 1980s and 1990s.
- **Grassroot level Participation:** This linguistic arrangement led to the administration of various states in their own language, which was in the reach of many state residents who did not know English or any other language except their regional one. This deepened the concept of Indian democracy by giving voice to many minority communities in the Indian governance system.
- **Improved Justice delivery mechanism:** The official language of the state also got implemented in its justice delivery system or the courts at various levels. People were able to convey their grievances in their own language and could understand the various laws and provisions made by their state government. It ended the hassle work of translating the court judgments and other statutory laws and regulations.
- **Removal of Disharmony among People:** It also ended the resentments and discord between the people of nearby regions and was successful in promoting regional harmony. Example the formation of Telangana state ended the decade long conflicts between the people of these two regions.
- **Better Development of Regions:** The relation between linguistic attachment and economic development was highly seen in the Indian context. The states with high cultural affinity like Kerala, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh etc have better performed in social, economic and human development parameters than the states where this regional affinity is less.
- **Promotion to Indian diversity:** It provided an opportunity for the Indian states to promote and protect their regional culture at the state and national level, which further added to India's cultural and linguistic diversity. For example, Chhath celebrations have become popular in Gujarat.

However, this division of states also created the following issues:

- **Rise of further regional demands:** It further gave promotion to local identities of people, creating a sense of distinctiveness among people within the regions. This extreme feeling of regionalism has created a system of parochialism in various pockets of India. There have been rising demands for separate statehood from different areas of India such as:

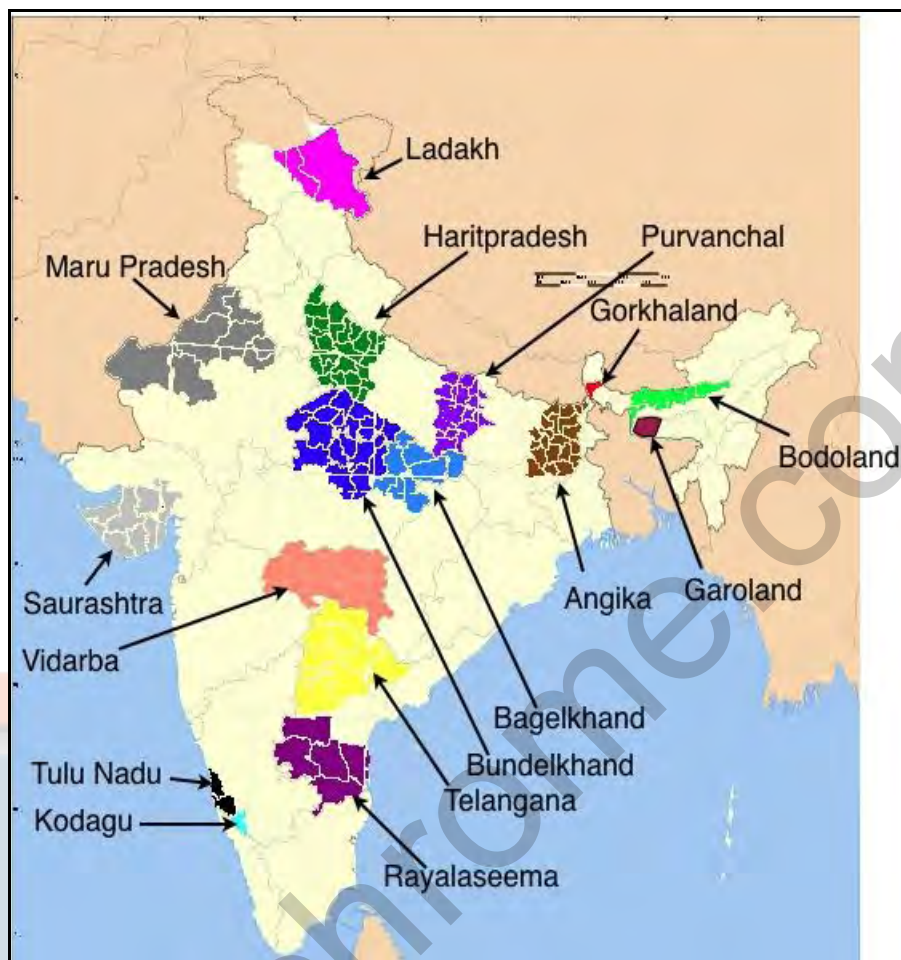


Figure: Various aspiring demands from different Indian regions for separate statehood.

- Demand of Harit Pradesh and Purvanchal as a separate state by bifurcating the present Uttar Pradesh state.
- Gorkhaland is a separate hilly state from the present West Bengal state.
- Tulunadu and Kodagu regions in the southern area of Karnataka.
- Rayalaseema as a separate region from the present Andhra Pradesh state etc.
- **Language as vote bank Politics:** This language division has further evoked the psychological and emotional feelings among people at various levels to preserve their separate identity. These emotions have been exploited by various political parties from time to time to maintain their vote bank politics.
- **Threat to National feeling:** The rising linguistic loyalty is also seen coming in the way of national integration. Some people are more concerned about their regional gains than keeping the national interest at the forefront.
- **Rise of Narrow Regionalism:** The extreme feelings of sub-regionalism has distorted the peaceful situation in various regions of India. It has also led to several unintended consequences such as linguistic chauvinism and the foundation of the “Sons of the soil” doctrine.
- **The emergence of many small regional Political Parties:** Though it gave voice to many minority sections of India, it also created a situation of political instability in India. This phenomenon was highly seen in the 1990s when there was a frequent change in the governments in India.

Debate Related to Small State vs Big State:

- **Demands of conversion**
 - India witnessed the demands for smaller states since Independence. However, over the period, there has been a shift in the reason behind this demand i.e from linguistic state to efficient and development as the new basis of it.
 - The formation of three states of Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand from their parent states of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh respectively present the modern case of development-based demand of smaller states.
 - India is witnessing the rising regional demands of further splitting the larger states into smaller ones like separating:
 - a. Gorkhaland and Kamtapur area in West Bengal.
 - b. Coorg region in Karnataka.
 - c. Mithilanchal area of Bihar.
 - d. Saurashtra region in Gujarat.
 - e. Vidarbha and Marathwada region of Maharashtra.
 - f. Harit Pradesh, Purvanchal, Braj Pradesh and Awadh Pradesh in Uttar Pradesh.
 - g. Bundelkhand region comprising areas of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.
- **Statistics of smaller states: Comparison of Uttarakhand, Chattisgarh and Jharkhand with parent states**
 - **Literacy Rate (As per 2011 Census)**
 - a. Uttarakhand - 78.82%, Uttar Pradesh - 67.68%
 - b. Chhattisgarh 70.28%, Madhya Pradesh 69.32%
 - c. Jharkhand 66.41%, Bihar - 61.80%
 - **Sex Ratio (As per 2011 Census)**
 - a. Uttarakhand - 963, Uttar Pradesh - 912
 - b. Chhattisgarh - 991, Madhya Pradesh - 931
 - c. Jharkhand - 948, Bihar - 918
 - **Population Increase Rate as compared to the 2001 Census**
 - a. Uttarakhand - 18.81 %, Uttar Pradesh - 20.23 %
 - b. Chhattisgarh - 22.61 %, Madhya Pradesh - 20.35 %
 - c. Jharkhand - 22.42 %, Bihar - 25.42 %
 - As per NITI Aayog's Second Edition of "Healthy States, Progressive India" Report 2019, for the period of 2016-17 and 2017-18:
 - a. Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar were categorized as Aspirants states. They did not see any performance improvement in their health indicators.
 - b. Chhattisgarh was categorized in the 'Achievers' category (a next level to the aspirant states). However, its performance was 'Least Improved' among its category.
 - c. Jharkhand was also categorized in the 'Achievers' category, but it was the 'most performance improved' state in its category.
- **Analysis**
 - **Pros and Cons of Big states**
 - a. **Pros**
 - i. Larger states provide economies of scale in terms of using their natural resources like river water, energy resources, etc.

- ii. They also provide better opportunities to voice the rights and demands of the people via wide popular agitation.
 - iii. Larger states provide better mixing of regional identities and increase the cultural diversity of a region.
 - iv. The larger states provide opportunities for the economic development of every section of society as a large state is able to develop its agricultural as well as service and industrial sectors simultaneously due to the availability of physical as well as human resources.
- b. **Cons**
 - i. Administration of large and diverse states is more complex as compared to smaller states as the large bureaucracy and government institutions. Lack of monitoring may result in their inefficiency.
 - ii. Larger states provide complexities not only at an economic level, but also on cultural and linguistic level which may sometimes give rise to various conflicts.
 - iii. Equal allocation of resources to all regions of a large state is itself a bigger challenge.
 - iv. The physical distance between the main power centre of the state and the grassroot demands may not voice the concerns of people effectively.
- **Pros and Cons of smaller states**
 - a. **Pros**
 - i. Smaller states provide efficient administration of smaller areas by the creation of separate institutions like courts, election commission, policing, etc.
 - ii. Public welfare schemes are better targeted in a smaller state as they provide better targeting and identification of beneficiaries.
 - iii. They provide a balance between demand and supply of services as required by the people. Grievances of people are resolved locally and in a timely manner due to better monitoring by the state.
 - iv. Backward regions receive an improved attention for their development due to the smaller size of the state.
 - b. **Cons**
 - i. Setting up of various separate institutions can burden the state financially and can reverse the benefits.
 - ii. Smaller states are less efficient in the utilization of natural resources as they are not able to build economies of scale.
 - iii. Issues in the distribution of Natural resources like River water and fossil resources can become a major bone of contention between the two states.
 - iv. As India is primarily an agrarian economy, the smaller states which are formed with a majority of agricultural areas may lack in development of its industrial and service sector.

Conclusion :

- Considering the high degree of regional, cultural and ethnic diversity in India, there is a need to develop a feeling of national affinity among people to maintain India's federal structure in a peaceful manner.

- From time over, Language has played an important role in binding together people of different regions. India needs to develop a national language which is accepted by every section of society. This is only possible if regional identities and their cultures are securitized in India. India can also follow the three-language formula as provided by the **Sarkaria Commission of 1983** (appointed to examine the language problem in India).
- Considering the rising demands of further state division or smaller states in India, there is a need to set up another state reorganization commission to mainstream these aspirations of the people, instead of aggravating or suppressing them.

Previous Year Question:

Q1. Discuss whether the formation of new states in recent times is beneficial or not for the economy of India? 15 Marks 250 words (2018)_

Answer: Better governance structure, greater participation for people, administrative convenience for the State and equitable distribution of resources. Regional development strengthens the equitable and symmetric growth of India.

- **Benefits:**

- Better governance & Administration- Smaller states offer better and efficient administration.
- Infrastructure strengthening
- Trade- Recently formed state Telangana has continuously been among the top ranks in the list of ease of doing business in the country, since its formation.
- Address economic aspirations & Distribution of resources- People of the region gain control over its resources and an organic model of growth can emerge to address their economic aspirations.
- Political stability- Larger states have coalition whereas smaller states are relatively stable
- Address regional issues- political freedom to frame legislation that address the unique and specific economic problems of the region affected by its geographical location, sociological conditions, technological advancement, availability of human capital, etc.
- Participation for people
- Guarantee faster and inclusive economic development in the region.

- **Disadvantages:**

- Territorial issues
- Water sharing
- Disagreements over capital- (as observed in the case of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana over Hyderabad)
- Administrative institutions require time for set up
- Lack of Infrastructure (administrative and industrial), which requires time, money and effort to build.

Q2. Has the formation of linguistic states strengthened the cause of Indian unity? (2016)

Answer:

- **How it has strengthened**

- National government has been strengthened
- Cultural Identity preserved- preservation of local customs, culture, and festivals.
- Strengthened language & regional identity and

- Led to the development of vernacular languages and imparting of education in them, thus facilitating literacy.
- Enabled political participation by the common man and enabled the common man to voice issues of concern in a familiar language.
- Administered through a medium that the vast majority of the population understands.
- Threat of division and separatism was reduced- It put an end to fissiparous tendencies that would've balkanized the country on the basis of language.
- **Some unintended consequences**
 - Regionalism
 - Linguistic chauvinism- South Indian people reluctant to learn and accept Hindi
 - "Sons of the soil" doctrine- Maharashtra against the coming of north Indians in the state.
 - Threat to India's integrity- ethnic clashes in the North East, demand for new states on the basis of backwardness such as Marathwada and Saurashtra, militancy in Jammu and Kashmir etc. Inter-state water disputes are another troublesome issue.



5. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU ERA (1947-1964)

Introduction :

- The newly independent country of India, with a scar of division on its map, started its journey with the leadership of prominent freedom fighters under Jawaharlal Nehru. In an unfortunate turn of events, India lost Mahatma Gandhi Ji and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel before 1950.
- In this background, the responsibility to give direction and vision to the country fell on the shoulders of Jawaharlal Nehru. Judging the position of India in contemporary time and comparing it with fellow neighbour Pakistan, it would be wise to say that Nehru directed the trajectory of the country on the path of growth and prosperity.
- Whatever India is today as a nation is because of the solid foundation of democratic institutions and policies of the first government of the country and as a leader of that government Jawaharlal Nehru played a prominent role in it.
- In this chapter, we will study the overall policies of the government and its impact on India during the term of our first Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. The major achievements of this time include consolidation of the nation, the process of independent and planned economic development, independent and innovative foreign policy, initiation of the electoral process, rooting of democracy, development of science and technology and the beginning of a welfare state.

Political Developments :

- **The Indian General Election of 1951–52:**
 - Held from 25 October 1951 to 21 February 1952, was the first election to the Lok Sabha since India became independent in August 1947.
 - With 17.32 crore voters (excluding Jammu and Kashmir) in 1951 general elections, it was considered as the largest democratic exercise of the world of that time.
 - The Constitution of India has provided for the Universal Adult Franchise under Article 326 and an independent Election Commission to conduct free and fair elections in the country. Both of the provisions proved useful not only in the 1951 elections but also in the future course of the nation to maintain its democratic credentials.
- **Continuation of Bureaucracy :**
 - The kingpin of the administrative structure in India was the Indian Civil Service (ICS) which was established by British Raj to serve the colonial needs.

- Sardar Patel felt that retention of the existing administrative machinery was necessary to provide for the solid base of the administration. He was not in favour of a sudden discontinuity and vacuum in administration, particularly the ICS.
- He was also of the view that having a well-trained, versatile and experienced civil services was a distinct asset and advantage to India.
- Today Indian bureaucracy forms the part of Permanent Executive and is often referred to as a steel frame of Indian politico-administrative system. However, the stagnation in the administrative system, as well as bureaucratic red-tapism, has led to the demand for comprehensive reforms in the bureaucracy in contemporary India.
- **Community Development Programme (1952):**
 - It is a flagship programme of the Nehru government to take the development initiatives upto village level by government machinery.
 - All the districts of the country were divided into “Development Blocks” and a “Block Development Officer (BDO)” was made in charge of each block. Below the BDO was appointed the workers called Village Level Workers (VLW) who were responsible to keep in touch with 10-12 villages.
 - A year later, in 1953, the National Extension Service (NES) programme was launched with the idea of having wider coverage at less cost and more people’s participation. Each NES block had about 100 villages and about 65 thousand population with an officer (BDO) and had a number of Extension Officers (EDs).
 - Thus, a countrywide network of administration was created for the holistic development of the nation. However, due to excessive bureaucratic control, the scheme failed to garner much speed and soon the demand for reforms in the administrative system began to surface its head.
- **Panchayati Raj :**
 - The Constitution of India, under Article 40, had provided for the organization of the Panchayati Raj in the country. The first step in this direction was taken with the implementation of the recommendations of the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee in 1959.
 - The **Balwant Rai Mehta Committee** was a committee originally appointed by the Government of India on January 16, 1957, to examine the working of the Community Development Programme of 1952 and the National Extension Service of 1953 and to suggest measures for their better working. The Chairman of this committee was Balwantrai G Mehta.
 - The committee submitted its report on November 24, 1957, and recommended the establishment of the scheme of 'democratic decentralization' which finally came to be known as Panchayati Raj. The main aim of the Panchayati raj system is to settle the local problems locally and to make the people politically conscious.
 - The prime recommendations include the establishment of 3 - tier Panchayati Raj system and periodic elections after 5 years. These recommendations were accepted by the National Development Council in 1958.
 - On 2nd October 1959, the first official Panchayat in India was inaugurated by Jawaharlal Nehru in Nagaur Rajasthan and the country took the first step towards democratic decentralization.
 - However, lack of countrywide legislation and apprehension of the state governments towards local bodies resulted in an inefficient Panchayati raj system in the country. The increasing bureaucratic control over these local institutions in due course of time was an added disadvantage.

- **Problems :**
 - ❑ The state governments showed less Enthusiasm, devolved no real power on the Panchayat Samiti, curbed its powers and functions and starved them of funds. There were issues of politicization and bureaucratization as well.
 - ❑ Thus, Panchayati Raj could not perform the role assigned to it by Balwant Rai Mehta Committee and Jawaharlal Nehru.
 - ❑ The basic weakness of the Community Development programme, Panchayati Raj and the cooperative movement was that they ignored the class division of the rural society where nearly half the population was landless or had marginal holdings, and was thus quite powerless.
 - ❑ The village was dominated socially and economically by the capitalist farmers and the rich and middle-class peasantry. Neither dominant rural classes nor the bureaucrats could become the agents of social transformation or popular participation.
- Ultimately, the nation had to wait till 1993 for efficient Panchayati Raj when 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts were enacted, providing pan India uniformity and Aa Constitutional status to these local bodies.
- **Strengthening of Democratic Institutions :**
 - The Constitution of India has not only defined India as Democratic but also provided for certain Institutions to maintain its democratic credentials.
 - These institutions like Parliament, Election Commission, Union Public Service Commission (watchdog of merit system), Comptroller and Auditor General of India (to uphold parliamentary laws into financial administration), Finance Commission (balancing wheel of fiscal federalism) among others were created and nurtured by the Prime Minister himself.
 - Further, the supremacy of civilian bureaucracy over the military was secured with the proper hierarchy of defence establishment because of which India has not faced any threat of military coup since independence.
 - Today India boasts of vibrant democracy because of the solid foundations of the democratic institutions created and developed during the term of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Social Developments :

- **Hindu Code Bill (1952-1956):**
 - The Constitution of India has provided for Uniform Civil Code (UCC) under Article 44 to be implemented by the state. UCC means the civil matters of all religions would be codified in uniform law across the country. This would have meant a significant reduction of autonomy that each and every religion enjoyed and excessive interference of the state in the matters of religion.
 - Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, was an ardent advocate of the implementation of UCC. In his opinion, the law should be enacted and passed in the Constituent Assembly itself to make UCC a permanent part of the Indian social system.
 - On the other hand, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had a more pragmatic approach in mind. Aware of the scourge of partition in the newly independent country he recognized impracticality in implementing UCC over all religions. In his opinion, it would cause tremendous upheaval in society as well as law and order problems in the nation. Thus, he decided that UCC would first be applied over Hindu religion only and shall be extended over other religions over the course of time.

- In the beginning, there was this conflict of opinion between Nehru and Ambedkar which caused problems for the inclusion of UCC in the Constitution. However, Nehru succeeded in persuading Ambedkar of the complexities of the time and both agreed for UCC only for Hindu.
- Accordingly, Hindu Code Bill was presented in the Constituent Assembly but the conservative section of the assembly heavily criticized both Nehru and Ambedkar for unilateral imposition of UCC only on the Hindu religion and also because of its harsh provisions. Nehru and Ambedkar succumbed to the pressure and presented an amendment and a much-diluted version of the Hindu Code Bill in the Constituent Assembly. However, even this Bill could not be passed due to continued opposition from the conservatives and thus Ambedkar Resigned from the cabinet.
- Under these vicious where the Assembly was largely dominated by the Conservatives, the Hindu Code Bill could not be passed and it remained part of the Constitution under Article 44.
- In 1951-52, India held its first general elections. Nehru made the Hindu Code Bill one of his top campaign initiatives, declaring that should the Indian National Congress win, he would succeed in getting it passed through parliament.
- Congress won sweeping victories, with Nehru reinstated as prime minister, and he began a comprehensive effort to devise a Bill that could be passed. Nehru split the Code Bill into four separate bills, including the Hindu Marriage Act, the Hindu Succession Act, the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, and the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act.
- These were met with significantly less opposition, and between the years of 1952 and 1956, each was effectively introduced in and passed by Parliament.

Constituents of Hindu Code Bill: It should be noted that the term Hindu includes Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism under the provisions of this Act.

1. Hindu Marriage Act 1955 :

- As the name suggest the main purpose is to codify the laws relating to marriage involving Hindus. It also introduces the separation and divorce which did not exist in Sanskrit laws.
- This enactment brought uniformity of law for all sections of Hindus.

2. Hindu Succession Act, 1956 :

- Act lays down a uniform and comprehensive system of inheritance and succession into one Act.
- Under its females are granted ownership of all property acquired either before or after the signing of the Act, abolishing their "limited owner" status.
- However, it was not until the 2005 Amendment that daughters were allowed equal receipt of property as with sons. This invariably grants females property rights.

3. Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act 1956 :

- It was meant to enhance the Guardians and Wards Act of 1890, not serve as its replacement. This act specifically serves to define guardianship relationships between adults and minors, as well as between people of all ages and their respective property.
- A minor is a person under the age of 18 under this Act.
- A guardian is the caretaker of a minor, his or her property, or both. Categories of guardians include: a natural guardian; a guardian chosen by the mother or father; a guardian appointed by the court.

4. Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act 1956 :

- It dealt specifically with the legal process of adopting children by a Hindu adult, and with the legal obligations of a Hindu to provide "maintenance" to various family members including their wife or wives, parents, and in-laws.
- Under this act, only Hindus may adopt subject to their fulfillment of certain criteria.
 - ❑ The first of these asserts that the adopter has the legal right to (under this Act that would mean they are a Hindu).
 - ❑ Next, they have to have the capacity to be able to provide for the adopted child.
 - ❑ Thirdly, the child must be capable of being adopted. Lastly, compliance with all other specifications (as outlined below) must be met to make the adoption valid.

● Analysis :

- The Hindu Code Bill is a lasting legacy of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Bill concerted Hindu society from a conservative one to a liberal one in due course of time. According to Nehru, independent India had 80% Hindus and unifying them under one law would be the first step towards larger unification of the country.
- Nehru is often criticized for bias under Hindu Code Bill. His critics often argue that Nehru should have gone for complete UCC rather than Hindu Code Bill. However, given the atmosphere of suspicion prevailing in the country after partition, taking away the autonomy of minority religions would have caused big troubles.
- Hence the Hindu Code Bill can be considered as a pragmatic approach that was well suited in those. Further this single step has prevented the fostering of conservatism in the nation and has gotten rid of numerous malice present in the Hindu religion itself. For this Jawaharlal Nehru will always be remembered for.

● Untouchability (Offences) Act 1955 :

- Untouchability is the practice of ostracising a minority group by segregating them from the mainstream by social custom or legal mandate. In India, it is widely associated with the caste system that has developed in the country over a period of the past 2000 years.
- However, with the advent of the modern era, the demand to eradicate this practice gained momentum and the name of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar holds primary significance in this regard.
- As an undisputed leader of Depressed Classes and Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar had enshrined Abolition of Untouchability (Article 17) in the Indian Constitution itself under Fundamental Rights. However, a proper law had to be established for it under the Indian penal system.
- As the first Prime Minister of the nation Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru took this cudgel upon himself and steered Untouchability (Offences) Act 1955. This act provided that practicing untouchability will be a penal offense with appropriate punishment. Thus, it officially prohibited untouchability in India.

Untouchability (Offences) Act 1955 :

- It provides a sentence of six months imprisonment or a fine of Rs. 500/- or both for his first offense. For every subsequent offence the sentence will include both a term in jail as well as fine
- This Act provides penalties for the offences like preventing a person from entering into public temples or places of worship, preventing the drawing of water from sacred lakes, tanks, wells, etc

- It also provides penalties
 - ❑ for Enforcing all kinds of social disabilities such as preventing people from the use of a 'Dharamsala', any shop, public restaurant, public hospital, hotel, educational institutions or any other place of public entertainment denying the use of any road, river, well, water top, riverbank, cremation ground, etc.
 - ❑ For enforcement of occupational, professional or trade disabilities in the matter or enjoyment of any benefit under a charitable trust preventing Harijans from pursuing any general occupation.
 - ❑ For refusing to sell goods or render services to a Harijan, for molesting, injuring or annoying a person or organizing a boycott or taking part in the excommunication of a person on the basis of untouchability.

In 1976, the name of the act was changed to Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955 due to the need to do away with the derogatory word of untouchability that is associated with the act. The punishments were also made stronger under this amendment.

Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989

- As the Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955 covered offenses of untouchability, and not of atrocities against members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes this act was enacted.
- Section 23(1) of the Act authorizes the Central Government to frame rules for carrying out the purpose of the Act. Drawing power from this section, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Rules of 1995 were framed by the Central Government.
- However, the Supreme Court verdict on 20 March 2018 banned the immediate arrest of a person accused of insulting or injuring a Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe member to protect innocents from arbitrary arrest. This was done to prevent misuse of the provisions of the Act.
- In August, 2018 the Parliament of India passed the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Bill, 2018. The amendment bypasses the ruling of the Supreme Court of India by laying down procedures for arrests under the Act.
- The bill inserts section 18A(1) (a) in the 1989 Act, that says a "preliminary inquiry shall not be required for registration of an FIR against any person." The Bill also inserts Section 18A (1) (b), which says "the investigating officer shall not require approval for the arrest, if necessary, of any person against whom an accusation of having committed an offense under this Act has been made and no procedure, other than that provided under this Act or the Code, shall apply."
- After the amendments, it is now alleged that the act violates "basic principles of liberty and accountability". According to a plea filed in the Supreme Court, "the Supreme Court cannot remain a mute spectator to the abuse of law as we are living in a civilized society and there were many growing instances of misuse of this act." The new law could be used to harass citizens by arresting them on the basis of mere allegations and hence Supreme Court must intervene in this matter.
- The case in this regard is pending in the Supreme Court.

● **Education Policies :**

- Jawaharlal Nehru's views on education are partly influenced by Karl Marx and partly by Gandhi's ideas. His theory of knowledge is based on rationalism, empiricism, and positivism.

- He was mainly against superstitions and blind faith as opposed to spirituality and wanted to spread a rational and scientific view of life via education.
- object of education was to “produce a desire to serve the community as a whole and to apply the knowledge gained not only for personal but for public welfare”.
- Keeping in view the expenses that would be required to educate the millions of uneducated children in India, Nehru believed India’s massive unemployment crisis could be solved with basic education. This gave people the capacity “to coordinate manual labor with mental and intellectual ability”.
- As the president of Sahitya Academy, he was of the opinion that the government should interfere as little as possible in this field and should only move in if art and culture turned into a social menace.
- J Nehru is considered the architect of the modern educational system in India as he formulated the educational policy on becoming Independent India’s first Prime Minister. Impressed by the scientific progress of the West, he visualized western aims and means for primary, secondary, and university levels of education.

Economic Developments:

- **Planning Commission:**

- The Planning Commission was set up by a Resolution of the Government of India in March 1950 in pursuance of declared objectives of the Government to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by efficient exploitation of the resources of the country, increasing production and offering opportunities to all for employment in the service of the community.
- The Planning Commission was charged with the responsibility of making an assessment of all resources of the country, augmenting deficient resources, formulating plans for the most effective and balanced utilization of resources and determining priorities. Jawaharlal Nehru was the first Chairman of the Planning Commission.
- The first Five-year Plan was launched in 1951 and two subsequent five-year plans were formulated until 1965 when there was a break because of the Indo-Pakistan Conflict. Two successive years of drought, devaluation of the currency, a general rise in prices and erosion of resources disrupted the planning process and after three Annual Plans between 1966 and 1969, the fourth Five-year plan was started in 1969.
- The Planning Commission formulated a draft plan in consultation with the various ministries. In the second stage, the Commission formulated a short memorandum which was placed before the cabinet and the National Development Council. In the third stage, a draft outline of the Five-Year Plan is prepared keeping in view the observations made by the National Development Council and is published several months before the plan is to come into force. Then, the final report is prepared and presented before the cabinet, National Development Council and finally before the Parliament for approval.

Analysis:

- **Super Cabinet** - Planning Commission was established as an advisory body but gradually, it became powerful and emerged dominant in policy decisions of the government. Many critics have labeled it as a Super Cabinet, a Parallel Cabinet, and an Economic Cabinet and so on.
- **Encroaching the functions of the Finance Commission** - The presence of the Planning Commission had encroached upon the authority and functions of the Finance Commission as there was no clear boundary between the roles and responsibilities of the two bodies.

- **Weakening federal structure** - The Commission is empowered to make discretionary grants to the states. This makes the states dependent on the Centre and weakens our federal structure.
 - It has also been criticized for encroaching upon the federal system of the country.

- **Planned Development:**

- **FIRST FYP (1951-56)**

- It was based on the **Harrod–Domar model** with few modifications.
- The main focus was on the development of the primary sector, price stability, power, and transport.
- Irrigation projects including Bhakra Dam and Hirakud Dam were started.
- The plan was successful due to favourable monsoons and relatively higher crop yields.
- Target growth rate was 2.1% annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth and the achieved growth rate was 3.6%
- At the end of the plan period in 1956, five Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) were started as major technical institutions.

- **SECOND FYP (1956-61)**

- The plan followed the **Mahalanobis model**, an economic development model developed by the Indian statistician Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis in 1953.
- Plan focused on industry, especially heavy industry.
- Steel mills at **Bhilai** with the support of the then **Soviet Union**, **Durgapur** with the help of the **United Kingdom**, and **Rourkela** with the help of **Germany** were established.
- Atomic Energy Commission was formed in 1957 with Homi J. Bhabha as the first chairman.
- Enhanced coal production and more railway lines were introduced in this plan.
- The target growth rate was 4.5% and the actual growth rate was 4.27%

- **THIRD FYP (1961-66)**

- India made efforts to achieve self-reliance in food production and industry.
- Period saw political and economic problems such as the Indo-China war 1962 and Indo-Pak War 1965 etc.
- 1965-66 was a near-famine year, and the problem became more severe due to the lack of buffer stocks.
- The growth rate was targeted at 5%, however, achieved only 2.2%.

- **Heavy Industrialization:**

- **India**'s first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, saw **industrialization** as the key to alleviating poverty.
- Nehru's ideas about India's development were broadly incorporated in free India's first Industrial Policy Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly in 1948. The resolution officially accepted the principle of a mixed economy. Industries were divided into four categories.
- In the first category were strategic industries which were made the monopoly of the Government. In the second category were six industries which included, among others, coal, iron, and steel. The government decided that all the new units would be started exclusively by the government in the public sector without disturbing the existing ones in the private sector. 18 industries, including heavy castings and forgings of iron and steel, ferroalloys and tool steel were covered by the third category and the rest of the industries by the fourth.

- Nehru believed a powerful state with a centralized planned economy to be essential if the country was to industrialize rapidly. The Industries (Development and Regulation) Act (IDRA) in 1951 laid the foundations for this administrative control on industrial capacity.
- **Import Trade Control Order of 1955:** subjected almost all imports to quantitative restrictions in the form of import licenses.
- **Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956:** gave the public sector a strategic role in the economy. It categorized the industries which would be the exclusive responsibility of the state or would progressively come under state control and others.
- The second FYP focused on industry, especially heavy industry. Steel mills at **Bhilai** with the support of the then **Soviet Union**, **Durgapur** with the help of the **United Kingdom**, and **Rourkela** with the help of **Germany** were established.
- This plan also promised expansion of employment opportunities and reduction of inequalities in income, thereby promising even distribution of economic power.

Analysis:

- **High growth rate** - The high sub-trend continued for 15 years from 1951 to 1965. During this period, the growth rate has been higher than the long-term trend rate, and an accelerating one.
 - Commencing from 4.8 percent growth for the first four years since independence 1947-51, the growth came up to 5.7 during 1951- 52. This increased to 7.2 percent during 1955-60 and further moved up to a high of 9 percent during 1960-65.
- The good industrial performance has assisted in strengthening the base for further industrial growth. The strength of India's industrial development may also be measured by the fact that India is one of the six countries in the world that can manufacture thermal and hydroelectric stations on their own.
- The industrial development has done a commendable job in making India a self-reliant country in quite a number of commodities, and in several others, foreign dependence has become very much less as compared to earlier.

FOREIGN POLICY:

- Apart from his handling of India's domestic situation in the years immediately after independence, Nehru's major contribution lies in the field of foreign policies.
- Nehru wanted to pursue a foreign policy which should be advantageous for the country. It should be based on peace and should aim at establishing friendly relations with other countries of the world.
- A basic objective of Indian foreign policy was extending support to colonial and ex-colonial countries in their struggle against colonialism.
- Nehru emphasized that peaceful coexistence of countries with different ideologies, differing systems was important.
- **Panchsheel:** On the eve of the Bandung Conference, Nehru in association with the Chinese Prime Minister Zhou-En-Lai declared in 1954 the fundamental principles of international understanding and cooperation. These were-
 - mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
 - non-aggression,
 - non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
 - equality and mutual benefit, and
 - peaceful coexistence.

- By April 1955, Burma, China, Laos, Nepal, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Yugoslavia and Cambodia had accepted the Panchsheel.
- Under his guidance, India became the first state to have pursued a policy that was new in the history of international relations- the policy of Non-Alignment.

NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM):

- The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a forum of 120 developing world states that are not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc. After the United Nations, it is the largest grouping of states worldwide.
- Drawing on the principles agreed at the Bandung Conference in 1955, the NAM was established in 1961 in **Belgrade, Yugoslavia** through an initiative of the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito.
- This led to the first Conference of Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries. The term non-aligned movement first appears in the fifth conference in 1976, where participating countries are denoted as "members of the movement".
- Non-alignment means not to side with any superpower i.e. the U.S.A or U.S.S.R. By doing this, Nehru kept India away from 'Cold War' or 'Bloc politics'. He never wanted to side with one and become the enemy of the other. The country was guided by its own foreign policy where no supremacy of any power bloc was entertained.
- Requirements for membership of the Non-Aligned Movement coincide with the key beliefs of the United Nations. The current requirements are that the candidate country has displayed practices in accordance with the ten "Bandung principles" of 1955.
 - Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
 - Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
 - Recognition of the movements for national independence.
 - Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small.
 - Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
 - Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
 - Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
 - Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
 - Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation.
 - Respect for justice and international obligations.

Present Status for India: India being a founder and largest member in NAM was an active participant in NAM meetings till the 1970s but India's inclination towards erstwhile USSR created confusion in smaller members. It led to the weakening of NAM and small nations drifted towards either the USA or USSR. Further disintegration of the USSR led to the unipolar world order dominated by the US. India's New Economic Policy and inclination towards the 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 the Head of state didn't participate in the NAM conference. India is striving hard for a multipolar world order and asserting itself as one of the players. world order is very

much closed to NAM principles.

NAM's total strength comprises of 120 developing countries and most of them being a member of the UN General Assembly. It represents two-third members of the General Assembly; hence NAM members act as important vote blocking groups in the UN.

NAM is a platform where India can assert its soft power and provide an active leadership and by being a torchbearer for smaller countries at multilateral platforms.

Analysis:

- **Role in world peace** - NAM has played an active role in preserving world peace. It still stands by its founding principles, ideals, and purposes i.e. to establish a peaceful and prosperous world. It prohibited invasion of any country, promoted disarmament and sovereign world order.
- **Protector of Third world countries** - Third world countries fighting against socio-economic problems since they have been exploited for a long time by other developed nations, NAM acted as a protector for these small countries against the western hegemony.
- **Raise human rights issues** - In the environment of gross human rights violation, it can provide a platform to raise such issues and resolve the same through its principles.
- **Relevant in present times** - NAM as a concept can never be irrelevant, principally it provides a strong base to the foreign policy of its members. It should be seen as "Strategic Autonomy", which is the need of the hour of today's world. The principles of NAM still can guide the nations towards it.
- **Challenges** - NAM has to adapt and change itself to suit the newly emerging challenges and geopolitics such as:
 - The world has again moved towards bi-polarity, one led by the **US** and other by **China-Russia**. War-Torn Syria is a prime example of this, where both the US and Russia is asserting power.
 - The escalating **tension in the Indo-pacific** region due to China's assertion and the 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 the world.
 - Issue of **global climate change** and the occurrence of **catastrophic disasters** raising demand to form a global consensus to deal with it.
 - **Changing US policies**, protectionism, prevalent terrorism and nuclearisation of the middle east.
 - **Formation of multiple regional economic groupings** like TPP and RCEP and fading away of multilateral bodies WTO from the global arena.

NonAlignment 2.0: is a publication by Centre for Policy Research that was released on March 2012. This document identifies the basic principles and drivers that would make India a leading player on the world stage while preserving its strategic autonomy and value system.

The core philosophy of the document is that – success of India's own internal development will depend decisively on how effectively we manage our global opportunities in order to maximize our choices—thereby enlarging our domestic options to the benefit of all Indians.

Report deals with India's approach towards the 'Asian theatre,' the international order, hard-power, internal security, non-conventional security issues like energy and nuclear options, the knowledge and information foundations of power as well as the state and democracy.

The report points out that in a situation where the world is no longer bifurcated between two dominant powers,

nonalignment today will require managing complicated coalitions and opportunities in an environment that is not structurally settled.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES:

WITH USA:

- As Prime Minister of the Interim Government in 1946, Nehru had stressed the strong “cultural” links between India and the United States. But that was not of much interest to the United States.
- The core subjects of US foreign policy were –Potential Danger from USSR and China, Freedom and Peace through NATO and military alliances, offering US aid to toe their line, a purely commercial approach with a want of business in other countries.
- The United States also expected that India would accept the American Line of policy, but Indian commitment to Non-alignment and independence was a different approach in her foreign policy.
- India needed technology, machines, and aid for its development effort, food for its people, and moral support for its nation-building and democratic efforts from the US.
- The UN Security Council (dominated by the US and its allies) evaded decisions on Indian charge of Pakistani aggression even after UN Commission reported the presence of Pakistani troops in Kashmir.
- US did not appreciate India’s recognition of Communist China in 1950. It also did not like India’s stand that the People’s Republic of China be given representation in the UN.

WITH USSR:

- Relations between India and USSR also started on a cool note and acquired great warmth in due course. But since 1951-52, the nature of relations began to change.
- USSR began to support India on the Kashmir issue in the UN and in 1954 USSR offered to give military equipment but India refused.
- The relationship began with a visit by Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to the Soviet Union in June 1955, and First Secretary of the Communist Party Nikita Khrushchev's return trip to India in the fall of 1955.
- The path of economic development through planning based on the public sector brought the two countries still closer.
- In 1962 the Soviet Union agreed to transfer technology to co-produce the **Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-21** jet fighter in India, which the Soviet Union had earlier denied to China.
- During the Chinese attack on India in the year 1962, USSR maintained complete neutrality.
- Soviets signed more agreements with India in 1963 for sale of arms, interceptors, helicopters, tanks, submarines, missile boats and patrol ships.
- Also, India was an important entry point to the Afro-Asian world of newly independent nations who did not want to become US allies and preferred USSR instead. This helped the USSR in the Cold War as well.

INTERNATIONAL ROLE:

Korean War:

- After the end of the Second World War, Korea was divided between a Communist North (controlled by Socialist camp) and South Korea (dominated by Western powers).
- When North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950, India supported the USA in the UN Security Council and condemned North Korea as an aggressor. But, India’s main concern was to prevent the entry of outside powers into the conflict.
- The Korean war tested India’s faith in non-alignment and commitment to peace.

- India faced Chinese and Soviet hostility because of declared North Korea as the initial aggressor. India then faced American hostility for refusing to go with Western intervention in the war, and for refusing to declare China as the aggressor.
- The inter-Korean war lasted for three years between 1950 and 1953, which was a proxy war between USSR and the US.
- Although a truce was reached in 1953 through the “Armistice Agreement”, both Korean regimes never officially ended the war till recently.
- The agreement divided the Korean peninsula into two along the 38th Parallel (latitude) and also provided for neutral international peace patrol.
- One of the follow-up actions to the Armistice Agreement was the establishment of a **Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission (NNRC)**.
- NNRC was to decide on the fate of over 20,000 prisoners of war from both sides and India was chosen as the Chair of the NNRC.
- A UN Command led by an Englishman and a Custodian Force from India (headed by **Lt.Gen Thimayya**) was also deployed in the inter-Korean border.

SUEZ CANAL CRISIS:

- There was an Anglo-American withdrawal from the promised financial aid for building the Aswan Dam on the river Nile.
- The furious president Nasser, seeing an opportunity to assert his independence from the colonial empires, announced that Egypt was taking over the Suez Canal and would use its income to finance the construction of his dam. He was backed by the Soviets and his own people.
- The users of the Suez Canal (Britain and France particularly) demanded international control over it.
- Israel attacked first on October 29, 1956. A few days later, Britain and France entered the fray. By the morning of November 6, British and French troops had successfully invaded the Canal Zone. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev threatened nuclear strikes on Europe if the hostilities did not end immediately.
- India was a user as well. But, India recognized that the Suez Canal was an integral part of Egypt. India condemned the attack by France and Britain in Egypt.
- Finally, the withdrawal took place under UN supervision and Indian troops participated in large numbers in the peace-keeping force.

HUNGARY:

- The Soviet Union’s intrusion in Hungary in 1956 to crush a rebellion aimed at taking Hungary out of the Soviet bloc was severely condemned by the UN and it demanded withdrawal.
- India abstained from joining the formal condemnation and received a lot of criticism from the West.
- Nehru criticized the Soviet action and did not send an ambassador to Budapest for two years to show unhappiness. Soviets reciprocated by abstaining when Kashmir came up in the UN Security Council.
- Later, Soviets reverted to their usual practice of vetoing resolutions that were against Indian interests.
- India withstood considerable pressure from both sides and did not flip in either direction.

CONGO:

- A major achievement of Indian foreign policy was to maintain the integrity and independence of the Congo.
- Congo had just gained independence from Belgium in 1960. Its copper-rich province of Katanga announced its independence from Congo immediately, backed by Belgium.

- Nehru demanded that the UN play a more decisive part, get rid of foreign troops, stop the civil war, convene the parliament and form a new government and that India was ready to commit troops.
- The Security Council adopted a resolution on 1961 and Indian armed forces successfully brought the civil war to a close and restored the government's authority over Katanga.
- It was one of the finest moments for India's policy of non-alignment. It helped in strengthening India's role in multilateral bodies like the UN.

RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS:

PAKISTAN:

- Communal riots and transfers of population during partition led to strained relations. Pakistani invasion of Kashmir in October 1947 further disturbed the relationship.
- Maharaja of Kashmir had signed the Instrument of Accession, and Kashmir became a part of India. Indian army then pushed back Pakistan to a considerable extent.
- India had put a complaint with the UN against Pakistani aggression. India accepted the UN resolution asking for a ceasefire, even though the military situation was in its advantage. Nehru was criticized for going to the UN and offering to hold a plebiscite.
- UN resolution of August 1948 laid down two preconditions for holding a plebiscite. First, Pakistan should withdraw its forces from Jammu and Kashmir. Second, the authority of the Srinagar administration should be restored over the whole state. These conditions were never met.
- The Kashmir issue used to trouble India, especially as Pakistan became more and more integrated into the US-led Western alliance via membership of CENTO, SEATO, Baghdad Pact and military pact with the US in 1954.

NEPAL, BURMA AND SRI LANKA:

- With Nepal, India signed a Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1950. It gave Nepal unrestricted access for commercial transit through India. This also secured Nepal's total sovereignty while making both countries responsible for each other's security.
- With Burma, the problem of Indian settlers and a long uncharted border was settled amicably.
- The issue of Tamil settlers in Sri Lanka was a difficult situation but it did not flare up during this period. Otherwise, the amicable relationship was maintained.

INDO-CHINA:

- India had followed a policy of friendship towards China from the very start. India was the first to recognize the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1950.
- Nehru had great hopes that the two countries with common experience of suffering at the hands of colonial powers and common problems of poverty and underdevelopment would join hands.
- Nehru pressed for representation of Communist China in the UN Security Council.
- In 1954, India and China signed a treaty in which India recognized China's rights over Tibet and both countries agreed to be governed in their mutual relations by the principles of Panchsheel.

REASONS OF WAR IN 1962:

- **China's occupation of Tibet** - Things took a turn for the worse when China announced its occupation of Tibet. India proposed negotiations on the Tibet issue.
- **Aksai Chin Area** - In 1958, China had published a map showing the Aksai Chin plateau in the western stretch of the border as part of its territory. India had strongly protested this.

- In 1960, the **Chinese premier Zhou Enlai** suggested that if India gave up its claim over Aksai Chin, China would drop its claim in Arunachal Pradesh (then called the North Eastern Frontier Agency). But Nehru rejected this outright saying China had no legitimate claims over both the areas.
- **Asylum to Dalai Lama** - After the 1959 Tibet uprising, India had given asylum to the Dalai Lama and this obviously did not go down well with the Chinese. China perceived India as a threat to its rule over Tibet and this was also a major reason for the war. **Mao Zedong** even went on to state that the uprising in Lhasa, Tibet was caused by Indians.
- **Forward policy by India** - In 1961, India started following a 'Forward Policy' where it began to send troops and patrols to disputed border areas. Some of these troops even went beyond the Indian borders. This move deteriorated relations between both nations.

1962 CHINESE ATTACK:

- Various border conflicts and "military incidents" between India and China flared up throughout the summer and autumn of 1962.
- On 10 July 1962 China was able to advance beyond the actual line of control because of its strategic position and thus capture **Rezang la in Chushul** in western theatre and **Tawang** in eastern theatre and further.
- On 22 July, the Forward Policy was extended to allow Indian troops to push back Chinese troops already established in disputed territory.
- India said China had occupied 38,000 square km (15,000 square miles) of territory in **Aksai Chin**. Aksai chin was considered as a strategic link between the Chinese-administered territories of Tibet and Xinjiang.
- In June 1962, Indian forces established an outpost at Dhola, on the southern slopes of the **Thag La Ridge**. In August, China issued diplomatic protests and began occupying positions at the top of Thag La. This became the main confrontation point later and by 18 October, it was clear that the Chinese were preparing for an attack, with a massive troop buildup.
- On 20 October 1962, the Chinese People's Liberation Army launched **two attacks** - one in the western theatre, the PLA sought to expel Indian forces from the **Chip Chap valley in Aksai Chin** while in the eastern theatre, the PLA sought to capture both banks of the **Namka Chu river**. Some skirmishes also took place at the Nathula Pass, which is in the Indian state of Sikkim.
- By 24 October, the PLA had entered territory previously administered by India to give the PRC a diplomatically strong position over India. The majority of Chinese forces had advanced sixteen kilometers (10 miles) south of the control line prior to the conflict.
- Four days of fighting were followed by a three-week lull. Zhou Enlai ordered the troops to stop advancing as he attempted to negotiate with Nehru.
- Facing Chinese forces maintaining themselves on Indian soil and trying to avoid political pressure, the Indian parliament announced a national emergency and passed a resolution which stated their intent to "drive out the aggressors from the sacred soil of India"
- After Zhou Enlai received Nehru's letter (rejecting Zhou's proposal), the fighting resumed on the eastern theatre on 14 November, with an Indian attack on Walong, claimed by China.
- It was thought that the Chinese rush to the plains and occupy Assam and other areas. Nehru asked for US and British help.
- In the fighting that went on for a month in both the western and eastern fronts, nearly 3000 Indian soldiers were killed and about 1000 more injured.
- China declared a ceasefire on 21 November since it reached its claim lines, and also stated that from December 1, 1962, the Chinese frontier guards would retreat 20 km behind the Line of Actual Control.

AFTERMATH:

- **Changes in Indian military** - The aftermath of the war saw sweeping changes in the Indian military to prepare it for similar conflicts in the future and placed pressure on Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who was seen as responsible for failing to anticipate the Chinese attack on India.
- **Patriotism** - Indians reacted with a surge in patriotism and memorials were erected for many of the Indian troops who died in the war.
- **Tibetan refugees supported** - After the war, India increased its support for Tibetan refugees and revolutionaries.
- **Resignation of the Defence Minister** - The defeat in the war also led to the resignation of the then Defense Minister V K Krishna Menon, who was blamed for the lack of preparedness of the army.
- **Loss of self-respect** - India took a long time to recover from the blow to its self-respect.
 - It was only after the victory over Pakistan in the Bangladesh war (in which China and the US were supporting Pakistan) restored the sense of self-worth in India.
- **Modernization of armed forces** - Another consequence of the debacle was that India modernized its armed forces and became more prepared in later conflicts. It also perhaps taught the political leaders to be extra cautious and vigilant when it comes to matters of national security.
- **Shift in Foreign policy** - The main lesson India learned from the war was the need to strengthen its own defenses and a shift from Nehru's foreign policy with China based on his stated concept of "brotherhood"

REASONS FOR FAILURE IN THE WAR:

- **Problems in leadership** - Indian political and military leadership erred in not anticipating the precise nature of the attack.
 - The Indian army commander in NEFA fled after the Chinese attack without any effort at resistance leaving the door wide open for China to walk in.
- **Forward Policy** - India refused to settle the borders with China on the reasonable terms offered by the Chinese and instead followed from 1959 a 'forward policy' which provoked the Chinese to attack in self-defense.
- **Lack of anticipation** - Nehru did not expect that Communist China could threaten the Indian state. Nehru erred in not anticipating the precise nature of the attack, rather than in the foreign policy he pursued.
 - On the military front, the military leadership thought in terms of either border clashes or a full-scale war in the plains of Assam, but not about the possibility of a limited deep thrust and withdrawal. They believed that a total war with China was unthinkable.
 - Even after the revolt in Tibet, and Dalai Lama's arrival, and the border clashes, India could not anticipate the dangers.
- **Flawed Planning** - The failure was also due to the lack of a proper system of higher defence command and management, and because there was no system of defence planning and the structure of civil-military relations was flawed.
- **Logistic failures** - It was a failure of logistics, of intelligence and analysis of intelligence, of coordination of different wings such as the army with the Air Force.
- **Appealing to foreign powers** - Another mistake was the panic in appealing to the US and UK for help, as the next day the Chinese withdrew. The military leadership also thought in terms of either border clashes or a full-scale war in the plains of Assam, but not about the possibility of a limited deep thrust and withdrawal.
- **Geographical reasons** - An investigation was commissioned by the Indian Government which resulted in the **Henderson-Brooks-Bhagat Report**. This report blamed the High altitudes for India's defeat along with doctrine, training, organization, and equipment.

ANALYSIS OF WAR:

- **Tough terrain war** - The Sino-Indian War is notable for the harsh mountain conditions under which much of the fighting took place, entailing large-scale combat at altitudes of over 4,000 meters (14,000 feet).
- **No use of navy and air force**- The Sino-Indian War was also noted for the non-deployment of the navy or air force by either the Chinese or Indian side.
- **Exposed unpreparedness of India** - The war exposed the unpreparedness of India's military which could send only 14,000 troops to the war zone in opposition to the many times larger Chinese army, and Nehru was widely criticized for his government's insufficient attention to defence.
- **Betrayal by China** - Many Indians view the war as a betrayal of India's attempts at establishing a long-standing peace with China and started to question the once-popular "Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai".
- **Inefficient leadership** - It has been claimed that Nehru handed over the military to his cousin **BM Kaul** who supposedly destroyed it. BM Kaul's job in the northeast was to build infrastructure for which even his worst critics could not deny him credit. He had absolutely no involvement in the conflict until 15 days before the confrontation began at Namka Chu.
- **Simultaneous with Cuban crisis** - It is noteworthy that the buildup and offensive from China occurred concurrently with the 13-day Cuban Missile Crisis (16–28 October 1962) that saw both the United States and the Soviet Union confronting each other, and India did not receive assistance from either of these world powers until the Cuban Missile Crisis was resolved.
- There was pressure from all corners including Nehru's own party and own government to occupy Aksai Chin or, to put it differently, "evict China from Aksai Chin" when Nehru tried to convince the Parliament not to lust after Aksai Chin where "not even grass can grow", he was ridiculed.

CONCLUSION OF NEHRU'S POLICIES:

- The war raised doubts about the correctness of Nehru's foreign policy. By humiliating India, China wanted to show that India's policy of peace and non-alignment was not feasible.
- And finally, India recognized the serious weaknesses in its army and would more than double its military manpower in the coming years and it would work hard to resolve the military's training and logistic problems to later become the second-largest army in the world.
- The 1962 war was a jolt to India and Nehru. This led to the reversal of defence policy of the country putting the Indian Army on the path of modernization. The greater emphasis on nuclear power and the use of nuclear weapons became part of India's defence policy.
- Finally, Nehru could set goals and objectives, he could inspire people with a vision, he was also a skillful politician, but he lacked the capacity to design a strategic framework and devise tactical measures to achieve the goals he set. This proved to be a failing for Nehru as a nation-builder.
- Most Indians identified with him. They drew inspiration from his life and work, his social vision, and the values he sustained in the endeavor to build a happier and healthier society in which class, caste, and gender oppression would cease to exist. The legacy he left behind is in many respects a sheet-anchor for the Indian people.

6. RISE IN REGIONAL ASPIRATIONS- PART 1 (KASHMIR)

<p>Introduction: Kashmir Conflict - Instrument of Accession Kashmir Conflict at the UN Period 1950-59</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Delhi Agreement ● Art 370 ● Art 35A and Controversy <p>1960-1989 Period Insurgency from 1989 1989 to till now Impacts Conclusion Current Status - Revocation of Article 370 and Art 35A</p>	<p>Topic- Post Independence consolidation and reorganization within the country -</p> <p>Jammu and Kashmir since independence</p>
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The State of Jammu & Kashmir is located in the northernmost part of India near the Karakoram Range and western Himalayas. The State has two capitals i.e. Jammu being the winter capital and Srinagar, the summer capital.

Background :

- J&K was a princely state during the rule of the British East India Company and also during the British Raj in India from 1846-1947. It was created as a princely state post the First Anglo Sikh War (1845-1846) between the East India Company and the Sikh Kingdom. The East India Company annexed Gilgit Baltistan, Kashmir Valley, Jammu, and Ladakh and as war indemnity sold the region to Gulab Singh Dogra (Raja of Jammu). Gulab Singh became the King in 1822. Post his death Ranbir Singh came to power around 1857 and after him, Hari Singh was in charge of the state in 1925.

Kashmir Conflict :

- After India's independence, three rulers had still not merged their territories with India. These were Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir, Nawab of Junagadh, and the Nizam of Hyderabad.
- **Post Partition situation** - Kashmir's ruler Maharaja Hari Singh (great-grandson of Gulab Singh) did not exercise his option to join India or Pakistan. He wanted to remain independent, otherwise, he would lose his power to rule, as he was a Hindu king but the majority in his state were Muslims. He had to face an invasion by Muslim tribesmen due to an uprising in the western district of the state followed by attack from northern frontier province supported by Pakistan because of his delay in decision making about the future of his state.
- **Tribal Invasion** - The Invasion started on 20th October 1947 and thousands of Tribals entered into Kashmir on 25 October, V P Menon a civil servant and constitutional adviser to last Viceroy went to Srinagar to get Hari Singh's confirmation for Kashmir's accession.
- **Instrument of Accession** - On 26 October 1947 Hari Singh acceded to India via Instrument of Accession in return for the Indian military intervention to save Kashmir, and to engage against the Pakistan-supported forces. According to the instrument, Indian Jurisdiction would extend to defence, external affairs, communications.
- **First India-Pakistan war** - On 27 October, India's 1st Sikh battalion flew into Srinagar, and Srinagar was secured from the invaders however in the other areas the fighting between Indian troops, and Pakistani army

and the tribesmen continued for more than a year after the accession and is known as the first India-Pakistan war.

- The western and northern regions presently known as **Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan** passed to the control of Pakistan, while the remaining territory stayed under Indian control, later becoming the Indian administered state of Jammu and Kashmir.
- **Government in J&K** - 5th March 1948, setting up of a popularly elected interim government with **Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah** as the Prime Minister was announced by Maharaja Hari Singh.



Kashmir Conflict at the United Nations:

- **Ceasefire** - India referred the dispute to the United Nations. At last a ceasefire was arranged at the end of 1948. After prolonged negotiations, the cease-fire was finally agreed to by both countries and came into effect. The terms of the cease-fire was laid out in a United Nations resolution of 13th August 1948, were adopted by the UN on January 5, 1949.
- **Decision on the basis of plebiscite** - On 5 January 1949, **UNCIP (United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan)** resolution stated that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through a free and impartial **plebiscite**.
- **United Nations Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan** - It also established the United Nations Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan (**UNMOGIP**) to monitor the cease-fire line.

Jammu and Kashmir in 1950-1959 Period:

Delhi Agreement:

- The representatives of Kashmir Government conferred with the representatives of Indian Government and arrived at an agreement in order to endorse the main decisions of the Constituent Assembly of the State of J&K. The state was given a special position under this arrangement and was later on known as the "Delhi Agreement, 1952".

- On February 6, 1954, the Constituent Assembly voted to ratify the state of Jammu and Kashmir's accession to India. After consultation with the state's Constituent Assembly, the **1954 Presidential Order** was issued, specifying the articles of the Indian constitution that applied to the state.

Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir:

The Constituent Assembly formally adopted the Constitution of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir on November 17, 1956, and entered into force on January 26, 1957. Accordingly, elections were held in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Article 370

- It became operative on 17 November 1952.
- State was allowed to have its own Constitution.
- Article 370 was incorporated into the Indian Constitution, which stipulated that the other articles of the Constitution that gave powers to the Central Government would be applied to Jammu and Kashmir only with the concurrence of the State's constituent assembly. Article 370 in Part XXI of the Constitution grants special status to the state.
- Legislative powers of the Centre over the State were limited, to the three subjects of foreign affairs, defence, and communications.
- It clearly states that the provisions with respect to the State of J&K are only temporary and not permanent.
- Article 370 could be abrogated or amended only upon the recommendation of the State's Constituent Assembly.
- The state legislature has the power to legislate on the permanent resident status and ownership of the property of the residents.
- The President has no power to declare a financial emergency in relation to the state.

Article 35 A

- The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954 – issued by the President of India on 14 May 1954, under Article 370.
- Article 35 a give a Carte Blanche to J&K Legislature to decide-
 - a) Defining the classes of persons who are, or shall be, permanent residents of the State of Jammu and Kashmir
 - b) Confer on them special rights and privileges in public sector jobs, acquisition of property in the State, scholarships and other public aid and welfare.
- Article 35A was incorporated into the Constitution in 1954 by a Presidential Order after the Delhi Agreement was entered into between the then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, **Mr Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah** and Prime Minister of India **Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru**.
- Article restricts the Right of the Non-Residents of The State of Jammu and Kashmir to hold, acquire any immovable property within the State. And also restricts their right to get any Government Job, Scholarship, Aid from the State Government.
- It protects laws of state from being challenged on the grounds of violation of fundamental rights in the Indian constitution.
- It also provides powers to the state to give and abstain privileges to people who migrated there during independence and other Indian nationals in J&K.

Controversy & Legality of Article 35 A

Addition or deletion of an Article in the Constitution requires an amendment to the Constitution which could be done only by Parliament as laid down in Article 368. But, Article 35A was never presented before Parliament. This meant the route of law-making through the Parliament was side-tracked by the President in this order to add Article 35A.

1960-1989 Period:

- **Tibet Annexation - 1959-** China annexed Tibet. Tensions rose between China and India on the issue of the boundary between Tibet and India, especially in Aksai Chin. Chinese launched simultaneous offensives in Ladakh and across the McMahon Line known as Sino-India war on 20 October 1962.
- 1963: The Chinese government signed an agreement with Pakistan on the boundary between the Northern Areas and the Xinjiang province, ceding the Trans-Karakoram Tract which was part of J&K State and is now administered by China.
- November 1964, Articles 356 and 357 of the Indian Constitution were extended to the State, by virtue of which the Central Government can assume the powers for governance of the State and exercise its legislative powers.



- **Indo- Pak War 1965-** 5 August 1965 under the name 'Operation Gibraltar'. Pakistan was involved in infiltration into Jammu and Kashmir by trained 'irregulars' assisted and guided by its armed forces. The effort failed forcing the Pakistani army to take on Indian forces along the Chamb-Akhnoor- Juriian salient. The aim was to sever the main communication link between India and the Kashmir valley. Pakistan plans soon lay in ruins as Indian Army responded with vigour and determination. Indian troops captured the strategic Haji Pir Pass and crossed the international border at Lahore.
 - India and Pakistan met in **Tashkent** in January 1966 where they agreed to withdraw to their pre-war positions.

- **Bangladesh Liberation War-** 26 March 1971: The war culminated in December 1971 with the defeat of Pakistan.
 - 1972: India and Pakistan agreed to respect the cease-fire as Line of Control (LOC).
- **Simla Agreement on 2 July 1972:** India and Pakistan signed the Simla Agreement which stated that the final settlement of Kashmir would be decided bilaterally in the future and that both sides would respect the LOC.
- **Operation Meghdoot** - On 13 April 1984 the Indian Army took control of the **Siachen Glacier** region of Kashmir in Operation Meghdoot.
- **1999 Kargil War - Operation Vijay-** Indian operation to clear the Kargil sector, **Operation Safed Sagar** - Flushing of the Pakistani Army from vacated Indian Positions in the Kargil sector along the Line of Control.

Kashmir Insurgency 1989:

- Post-1987 elections, Protests and anti-India demonstrations began in the Valley, followed by police firing and curfew.
- The end of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan released a great deal of militant energy and weapons to Kashmir. Pakistan provided arms and training to both indigenous and foreign militants in Kashmir.
- There are some groups that support the complete independence of Kashmir, while others seek Kashmir's accession to Pakistan resulting into a fight between insurgents and the government as well as thousands of civilians who have died as a result of being targeted by the various armed groups.

Reasons for the insurgency-

- **Rigging of 1987 assembly elections** - After Sheikh Abdullah's death, his son Farooq Abdullah took over as Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. He reached an accord with the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and announced an alliance with the Congress party for the elections of 1987. The elections were allegedly rigged in favour of Abdullah.
- **ISI's Role-** The Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence has encouraged and aided the Kashmir insurgent movement through an insurgency due to its dispute on the legitimacy of Indian rule in Kashmir, with the insurgency as an easy way to keep Indian troops distracted and cause international condemnation of India.
- **Mujahideen Influence** - After the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, Mujahideen fighters, with the aid of Pakistan, slowly infiltrated Kashmir with the goal of spreading radical Islamist ideology.
- **Religion** - The government's decision to transfer 99 acres of forest land in near Amarnath in the Kashmir valley to a Hindu organisation (for setting up temporary shelters and facilities for Hindu pilgrims) solidified communal feelings and led to one of the largest protest rallies in Jammu and Kashmir.
- **Human rights abuses** - After insurgency started in Kashmir valley because of the above reasons in the late 1980s, Indian troops entered in Kashmir valley to control the insurgency. The troops have been accused and held accountable for several humanitarian abuses and have engaged in mass extrajudicial killings, torture, rape and sexual abuse. The insurgents have also abused human rights, engaging in what some have called an ethnic cleansing by exterminating Kashmiri Pandits from the valley of Kashmir.

Islamisation of Kashmir in 1989-

- During the early period of militancy in 1989, multiple militants groups strive to Islamise *Kashmiri culture* and *political setup* to create a conducive environment for the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan.
- Numerous Islamist groups were formed in early 1990 who emerged advocating *Nizam-e-Mustafa (Rule of Muhammad)* as the objective for their struggle.
- Militant groups like **Hizbul Mujahideen** and **Jamaat-e-Islami** asserted that the struggle of Kashmir will continue till Islamic Caliphate is achieved in Kashmir.

- Murder of Kashmiri Hindus, Intellectuals, Liberals and activists were described as necessary to get rid of un-Islamic elements. Concurrently, all cinema houses, beauty parlours, wine shops, bars, video centres, use of cosmetics and similar things were banned by militant groups.
- Apart from militants, Kashmir was witnessing Islamization during the 1980's when Abdullah Government changed the names of about 2,500 villages from their native names to new Islamic names.

After 1989 to till now:

- In the second half of 1989, the alleged assassinations of the Indian spies and political collaborators by **JKLF (Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front)** was intensified.
- The daughter of then interior affairs minister, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed was kidnapped in December 1989 and four terrorists had to be released for her release. This event led to mass celebrations all over the valley.
- Farooq Abdullah resigned in January after the appointment of Jagmohan Malhotra as the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir. Subsequently, J&K was placed under Governor's Rule under Article 92 of the state constitution.
- **Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA)** - In 1990, the insurgency escalates after the Indian Army kills about 100 demonstrators at Gawakadal Bridge. Attacks and threats lead to the flight of almost all Hindus from the Kashmir valley area of the state. Central government-imposed Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) in Jammu and Kashmir.
- **Indian Airlines flight IC 814 hijack** - In 1994, **Masood Azhar** was arrested in Kashmir by Indian Government and was released in 1999 in exchange of hostages of hijacked Indian Airlines flight IC 814.
 - Soon after his release, Azhar founded the **Jaish-e-Mohammed in 2000** with the motive of separating Kashmir from India and merging the province with Pakistan.
- **Pathankot attack** - The 2016 Pathankot attack on Indian airbase is said to be masterminded by Masood Azhar and his brother. The February 14, 2019 attack in **Pulwama** on the convoy of CRPF was claimed by Azhar's terror group.
 - Moves to boost relations between the two countries are punctuated by continuing violence, notably an attack on the legislative assembly of Indian-administered Jammu and Kashmir in Srinagar in 2001.
- The Indian army has conducted various operations to control and eliminate insurgency in the region such as **Operation Sarp Vinash(2003)** in which a multi-battalion offensive was launched against terrorists from groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba, Harkat-ul-Jihad-e-Islami, al-Badr and Jaish-e-Mohammad who had been constructing shelters in the Pir Panjal region of Jammu and Kashmir over several years.
- Former PM AB Vajpayee gave the doctrine of '**Insaniyat, Jamhooriyat and Kashmiriyat**', which meant **humanity, democracy and keeping the sanctity of the people of Kashmir**, in 2003 which later became a cornerstone of the forces of reconciliation in the State.
- Fidayeen attacks fell off steeply after 2003, and the influx of insurgents from the Pakistani side of the LoC also declined sharply. The LeT and smaller groups of "jihadi" persuasion retained a presence in Kashmir - as they still do - but the offensive posture of 1999-2003 yielded to a low profile.
- Beginning in 2004, Pakistan began to end its support for insurgents in Kashmir. This happened because terrorist groups linked to Kashmir twice tried to assassinate Pakistani President General Pervez Musharraf. His successor, Asif Ali Zardari has continued the policy, calling insurgents in Kashmir "terrorists".
- By 2006, the insurgency in Kashmir declined to a few limited instances of car bomb and an occasional ambush of security forces, due frequent raids by Indian security forces on hideouts.

A new generation of resistance

The summer of 2008 saw the valley's largest demonstrations since 1994 against Indian authority due to Amarnath land transfer controversy, as hundreds of thousands joined rallies and marches.

Since 2008 the turmoil has taken a new dimension when people, particularly **youngsters** of the Kashmir valley have started **pelting stones** on security forces to express their aggression and protest for the loss of freedom.

In turn, they get attacked by the armed personnel with pellets, rubber bullets, slingshots and tear gas shells. This leads to eye-injuries and several other kinds of injuries to many people.

- Kashmiri Jaish-e-Mohammed member **Mohammad Afzal Guru** was hanged on February 2013 for his role in 2001 Indian Parliament terror attack. It led to protests in Kashmir in which two young men are killed.
- In July 2016, **Burhan Wani**, a commander of Kashmiri militant and separatist group Hizbul Mujahideen was killed by Indian security forces during insurgency operations. After the news of his death spread, violent protests erupted in some areas of Kashmir Valley. Separatist leaders called for a shutdown in Kashmir which was repeatedly extended and police stations and security forces were attacked by mobs.

IMPACTS:

- **Heavily Militarized** - The Kashmir Valley has become a militarized zone, effectively occupied by Indian security forces. According to the United Nations, Indian soldiers have committed numerous human rights violations there, including firing on protesters and denying due process to people arrested.
- **Alienated feelings** - An entire generation of young Kashmiris have been raised during the 30-year insurgency and they are deeply alienated from India.
- **Infiltration** - Kashmir Valley serves as a conduit for infiltrators who conducts various terrorist activities in India.
- **Clash in politics** - The tussle between national parties and regional parties for power in the state is perceived negatively and portrayed as a clash between the Kashmiris and the Centre and sometimes between Islam and Hinduism
- **Loss of life** - Defence expenditure and loss of human lives has increased continuously.
- **Stalled economic projects** - Various projects like TAPI gas pipeline, SAARC summits etc are suffering because of tensions between Indo-Pak relations.
- **Role of Media** - The media has helped escalate the conflict in Kashmir. The void between (mainland) India and Kashmir has widened. The people of Kashmir now fear sending their young ones to other parts of India as people's perception of Kashmiris is being influenced adversely by the media.
- **Tourism suffered** - Tourism in Kashmir has suffered because of violent activities and is affecting the economy of the state.

Conclusion :

- The resolution of the "conflict in Kashmir" is a prerequisite for the resolution of the "conflict over Kashmir," which has been boiling since 1947. The Kashmir issue should not be politicised for narrow electoral gains. It should also not be emotively laced to the idea of "national integration".
- Any solution to the conflict in Kashmir will require goodwill gestures and compromises not just from New Delhi, but also from Kashmiris themselves and all the other major state and non-state actors involved in the conflict.

- The Kashmiris have to understand that radicalisation and wielding a gun is not a solution. New Delhi has to change its perceived bullet-for-bullet stance towards Kashmir.
- To mitigate the conflict in Kashmir, the “Vajpayee days” have to be revived to create more **Confidence Building Measures (CBMs)** on his well-articulated philosophy within the realms of *Insaniyat* (Humanity), *Jamhuriyat* (Democracy) and *Kashmiriyat* (Identity of the people of Kashmir) that is still reverberating among the conflict-hit Kashmiris.
- In a diverse country like India, disaffection and discontent are not uncommon. Indian democracy has the necessary resilience to accommodate genuine grievances within the framework of our sovereignty, unity and integrity.

Current Status :

Article 370

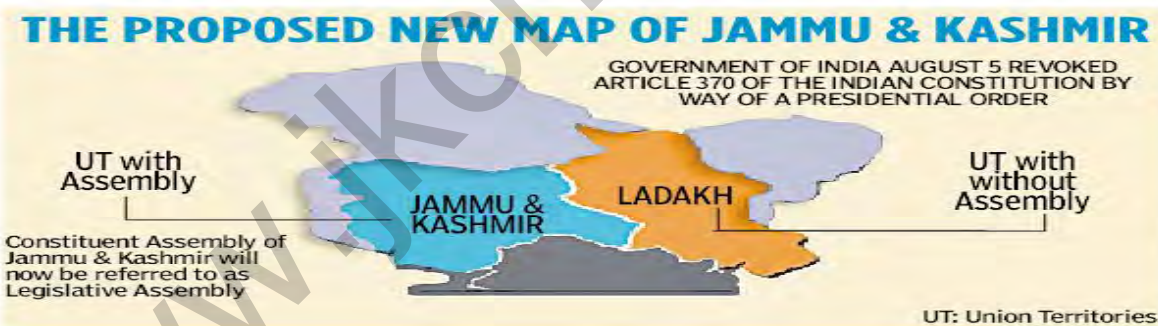
Government changed the matter of Article 370 of the Constitution which gives special status to Jammu and Kashmir and said the state will be split into **two Union Territories**.

- Jammu and Kashmir with an Assembly
- Ladakh without an assembly

Article 35A

On 5 August 2019, the President of India issued a Presidential Order, whereby all the provisions of the Indian Constitution are to apply to the State without any special provisions. This would imply that the State's separate Constitution stands abrogated, including the privileges allowed by Article 35A.

- As a result of this provision, Indian citizens from other states can purchase land or property in Jammu & Kashmir.
- Females will get their right to property even if they decide to marry an individual who is not from Jammu and Kashmir.



7. RISE IN REGIONAL ASPIRATIONS - PART 2 PUNJAB

<p>Content:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction 2. Punjab after partition 3. Background 4. Roots of post-1947 communalism 5. Punjab in 60s 6. Political Context 7. Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale 8. Cycle of violence 9. Negotiations 10. Operation Bluestar 11. Assassination of Indira Gandhi and anti-Sikh riots 12. Rise in Sikh Militancy 13. Pakistan Involvement 14. Road to peace 15. Assessment 16. Conclusion 17. Practice Questions 	<p>Parts of Syllabus:</p> <p>GS: Post-independence consolidation and reorganization within the country</p>
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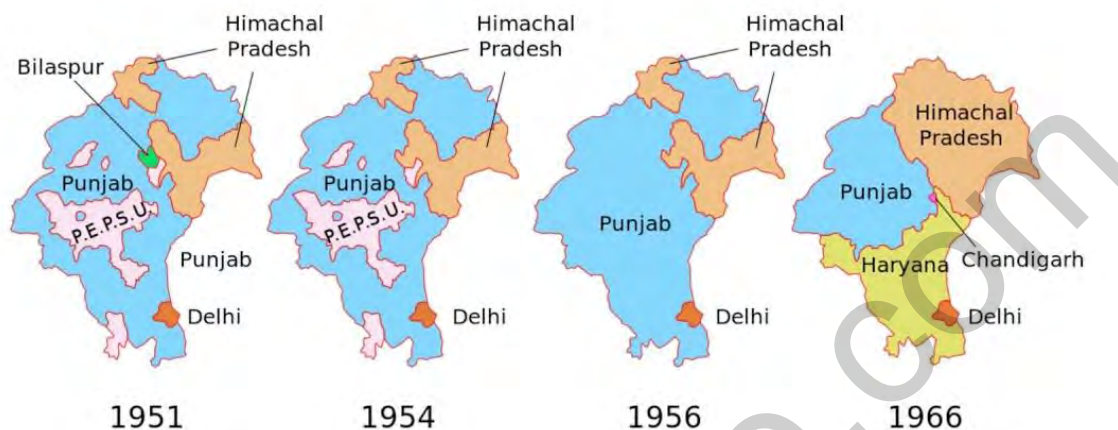
Introduction :

- Historically, the religion of Sikhism was pan-Indian in nature with the main Sikh scripture Guru Granth Sahib drawing works of saints in North as well as South India. Several of the major sects of Sikhism (such as Nankana Sahib in Pakistan, Panj Takhts-Takht Sri Patna Sahib in Bihar, Hazur Sahib - Nanded in Maharashtra) are outside Punjab.
- The region around Punjab had been ruled by the confederacy of Sikh Misls founded by Banda Bahadur who ruled over the entire Punjab from 1767 to 1799. After his death Sikhs were divided into several misls or confederacies.
- These confederacies were unified into the Sikh Empire by **Maharaja Ranjit Singh** who ruled from 1799 to 1839. After his death, the British captured the entire territories of Punjab by 1848 and ruled it till 1947.

Punjab After Partition :

- In 1947, the Punjab Province of British India was partitioned along religious lines into West Punjab (in Pakistan) and East Punjab.
- **Communal violence** - Immediately following independence in 1947, due to the ensuing communal violence and fear, most Sikhs and Punjabi Hindus who found themselves in Pakistan migrated to India.
- **Demand for linguistic reorganization** - In the 1950s, there was a demand for linguistic reorganization of the state of Punjab, which the government finally agreed in 1966 after protests. Haryana was carved out of Punjab as a separate state for Hindi speaking people and Himachal Pradesh was made Union Territory. However, this failed to fulfill the aspiration of Sikhs who were demanding more autonomy apart from the linguistic state.

PUNJAB 1951 TO 1966



Background :

- The Akali Dal, which was formed in 1920 as the political wing of the Sikhs, had led the movement for the formation of a 'Punjabi Suba'.
- They denied the idea of secular polity and asserted that religion and politics cannot be separated.
- They also claimed that the Akali Dal was the sole representative of Sikh Panth.
- They put forward that Sikhs are subjected to discrimination, oppression, victimization, and Hindus were accused of dominating them.

Roots Of Post-1947 Communalism :

Along with the partition, there were two major issues which were themselves secular but were communalized by Sikh and Hindu communalists, dominated Punjab politics till 1966.

1. PARTITION IN 1947:

- Sikhs did not form a majority in a single district in pre-partition Punjab. The partition of the country was done based on the population census of 1941.
- Sikhs were spread across Punjab and were only 14.9% of the Punjab population.
- But after the partition, there was an influx of the Sikh population from Pakistan to Punjab on the Indian side which led to an increase in the Sikh population to 55%.
- Most of the peasants and poor farmers were Sikhs and the traders were rich Hindus. This led to further polarization between Hindus and Sikhs.

2. ISSUE OF STATE LANGUAGE:

- The Hindu communalists wanted the state language status for Hindi and the Sikh communalists wanted the status for Punjabi in Gurmukhi script.
- The government tried to resolve the problem by dividing Punjab into two— Punjabi and Hindi—linguistic zones.
- Hindu communalists opposed the decisions to make the study of Punjabi, along with Hindi, compulsory in all schools and Punjabi being made the only official language for district administration in the Punjabi linguistic zone.

- Traditionally, for centuries, Punjabi had been written in Urdu, Gurmukhi, and Devanagari (Hindi) scripts. The Akalis demanded that Gurmukhi alone should be used as the script for Punjabi.
- The Hindu communal organizations insisted that Devanagari should be used along with the Gurmukhi script.

3. PUNJABI SUBA MOVEMENT:

- **Linguistic demands** - In the 1950s, the linguistic groups across India sought statehood, which led to the establishment of the States Reorganisation Commission in December 1953.
- **Punjabi Suba movement** - The Government of India was afraid of carving out a separate Punjabi language state because it would mean dividing the state along religious lines as Sikhs would form a 60% majority in the resulting Punjabi state. Hence, the Punjabi Suba movement was launched.
- **Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966** - In September 1966, Union Government accepted the demand and Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966 was passed in Parliament according to which, Punjab was trifurcated creating Punjab, Haryana and transferring certain areas to Himachal Pradesh.
- **Chandigarh** was claimed by both Haryana and Punjab. As a result, it was declared as a separate Union Territory which would serve as the capital of both the states.

PUNJAB IN 60s

- **Prosperity because of Green Revolution** - The introduction of the Green Revolution and consequent mechanized agricultural techniques led prosperity as well as the uneven distribution of wealth.
- **Unemployment** - Agricultural prosperity led to a rapid increase in higher education opportunities. However inadequate rise in the jobs as compared to the level of education resulted in the increase in the unemployment of educated youth.
 - These unemployed rural Sikh youths provided fertile grounds for militancy in later times and formed the backbone of the militancy.
- **Border - State** - On the other hand, the Indian government had been reluctant to set up heavy industries in Punjab because of its status as a high-risk border state with Pakistan.
- **River water sharing disputes** - The dispute regarding the sharing of **Beas- Ravi** river water started after Punjab was reorganized in 1966, and the state of Haryana was created. In order to make full use of the allocated water, a **Sutlej-Yamuna Link Canal** was proposed. The decision was met with opposition in Punjab.

POLITICAL CONTEXT

- After the reorganization, the Akalis came to power in 1967 and then in 1977. In both of the terms, it was a coalition government.
- The Akalis discovered that despite the redrawing of the boundaries, their political position remained precarious as their government was dismissed by the Centre mid-way through its term, they did not enjoy strong support among the Hindus and the Sikh community, was internally differentiated on caste and class lines.
- The Congress got more support among the Dalits, whether Hindu or Sikh, than the Akalis. It was in this context that during the 1970s a section of Akalis began to demand political autonomy for the region.
- **Anandpur Sahib Resolution in 1973** - Akali Dal then put forward the Anandpur Sahib Resolution in 1973 to demand the devolution of power and autonomy to Punjab. It asked for recognizing Sikhism as a separate religion from Hinduism and the transfer of Chandigarh and certain areas to Punjab. It also demanded devolution of power from the Centre to the state government.

- **Dharam Yudh Morcha in 1982** - It came into the limelight in the 1980s when the Akali Dal and Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale joined hands to launch the Dharam Yudh Morcha in 1982 in order to implement the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Thousands of people joined the movement, feeling that it represented a real solution to demands such as a larger share of water for irrigation and the return of Chandigarh to Punjab.
- **Khalistan** - A section of the religious leaders raised the question of autonomous Sikh identity. The more extreme elements started advocating secession from India and the creation of 'Khalistan'.

JARNAIL SINGH BHINDRANWALE

- In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, the separatist movement began to militarize and saw the increasing involvement of the Sikh religious preacher Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale who was the leader of Sikh religious organization called **Damdami Taksal** in Punjab politics.
- In the late 1970s, Indira Gandhi's Congress party supported Bhindranwale in a bid to split the Sikh votes and weaken the Akali Dal, its chief rival in Punjab.
- This later turned out to be a miscalculation as Bhindranwale's separatist political objectives became popular among the agricultural Jat Sikhs in the region.
- The Akali Dal launched the **Dharam Yudh Morcha** (Group for the Religious fight) in 1982 in collaboration with Bhindranwale to win more autonomy for Punjab.
- This movement was later on hijacked by Bhindranwale who declared that it will continue until all the demands in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution were fulfilled.

CYCLE OF VIOLENCE

- **Assassinations and murders** - After the launch of the Morcha, Sikh extremists began committing acts of political violence. The assassination of **Chief Minister of Punjab Darabara Singh** was attempted and two Indian Airlines flights were hijacked by the terrorists.
 - There were widespread murders in Punjab by followers of Bhindranwale. One such murder was that of **DIG Avtar Singh Atwal**, who was killed on 25 April 1983 at the gate of the Darbar Sahib.
 - On 12 May 1984, Ramesh Chander, Son of Lala Jagat Narain and editor of media house Hind Samachar group, was murdered by pro-Bhindranwale militants.
- Akali leader Longowal announced that the Akali Dal would disrupt the **Asian Games in 1982** that were to be held in Delhi by sending teams of Akali workers to Delhi to court arrest.
- By April 1984, it appeared as if Bhindranwale would be successful in driving Hindus away from Punjab to Haryana and other states, due to the terror of violent attacks and riots.
- The militants responsible for bombings and murders were taking shelter in some gurdwaras. However, the Congress-led government declared that it could not enter the gurdwaras for the fear of hurting Sikh sentiments.

NEGOTIATIONS

- In the twenty-two months since the launching of the Akali Dharm Yudh Morcha, until June 1984, Bhindranwale's militants killed 165 Hindus and Nirankaris, per the official figures.
- **Government efforts** - The government sent a team led by **Narasimha Rao** to try to convince Bhindranwale to back out but he was adamant about his demands.
 - Indira Gandhi tried to persuade the Akalis to support her in the arrest of Bhindranwale peacefully. However, due to local politics and fear of backlash from public Akalis did not cooperate and talks ended up being futile.

- **Call for armed uprising** - In his final interview, Bhindranwale stated that **Sikhs can neither live in India nor with India**. Bhindranwale made the sacred Golden Temple complex an armory and headquarter, for his armed uprising for Khalistan.
- In this background with stated intention and reports of amassing arsenal at Golden Temple an action was imperative from the government side. Thus, Indira Gandhi gave her permission to initiate Operation Blue Star on the recommendation of **Army Chief Arun Shridhar Vaidya**.

OPERATION BLUESTAR

- There were intelligence reports of intercepted messages from Bhindranwale and Shabeg Singh to their followers in the state asking them to start a movement of mass killings of Hindus on 5 June.
- In June 1984, the Army was called out to help the civil administration in Punjab in response to a request from the Punjab Governor, B. D. Pande, "*in view of the escalating violence by terrorists in Punjab.*"
- **Operation Bluestar** was an Indian military operation carried out between **1 to 8 June 1984** led by **Major General Kuldeep Singh Brar**, ordered by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to remove militant religious leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and his armed followers from the buildings of the Harmandir Sahib complex in Amritsar.
- A variety of army units along with paramilitary forces surrounded the temple complex on 3 June 1984. The army kept asking the militants to surrender, using the public address system. And they were asked to allow the pilgrims to come out of the temple premises before they start fighting the army.
- Tanks and heavy artillery were used to attack the militants using anti-tank and machine-gun from the heavily fortified Akal Takht. After a 24-hour firefight, the army finally wrested control of the temple complex.
- The forces had full control of Harmandir Sahib by the morning of 7 June. There were casualties among the Army, civilians, and militants. Bhindranwale was killed in the operation, while many of his followers managed to escape.

ASSASSINATION OF INDRA GANDHI AND ANTI-SIKH RIOTS

- Operation Bluestar was criticized by many Sikhs bodies, who interpreted the military action as an assault on the Sikh religion.
- On the morning of 31 October 1984, Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her two Sikh personal security guards Satwant Singh and Beant Singh in New Delhi in retaliation for Operation Blue Star.
- Public outcry over Gandhi's death led to the killings of more than 3,000 Sikhs in the ensuing 1984 anti-Sikh riots.

RISE IN SIKH MILITANCY

- The separatists used Operation Bluestar and the riots following the assassination to claim that the interest of the Sikhs were not safe in India and fostered the spread of militancy among the Sikhs in Punjab.
- **Funding from Sikh Diaspora** - The financial funding from the Sikh diaspora sharply increased and the Sikhs in the US, UK, and Canada donated thousands of dollars every week for the insurgency.
- In January 1986, the Golden Temple was again occupied by militants belonging to the **All India Sikh Students Federation and Damdami Taksal**. On 26 January 1986, the gathering passed a resolution (*gurmatta*) favoring the creation of **Khalistan**.
- In December 1986, a bus was attacked by Sikh militants in which 24 Hindus were shot dead and 7 were injured and shot near Khuda in the Hoshiarpur district of Punjab.

- **Operation Black Thunder** - was the name given to two operations that took place in India in the late 1980s, to flush out remaining Sikh activists from the Golden Temple. 'Black Cat' commandos of the National Security Guards were used in this operation.
- During the late 1980s and the early 1990s, there was a dramatic rise in radical State militancy in Punjab. This period of insurgency saw clashes of Sikh militants with the police.

PAKISTAN INVOLVEMENT

- Pakistani ISI provided military support and modern sophisticated weapons to the Sikh extremists, causing a large number of casualties in Punjab.
- According to **KPS Gill**, the terrorists mainly used crude bombs but since the 1990s more modern explosives supplied by Pakistan had become widespread in usage.
- The Khalistan movement was brought to a decline only after India fenced off a part of the Punjab border with Pakistan and the Benazir Bhutto government agreed to joint patrols of the border by Indian and Pakistani troops.
- Wadhwa Singh, Chief, Babbar Khalsa International (BKI); Lakhbir Singh Rode, Chief, International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF) and Ranjit Singh Neeta, Chief, Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZF) permanently based in Pakistan, have been coordinating militant activities of their outfits in Punjab and elsewhere in India under the guidance of Pak ISI.

ROAD TO PEACE

- After coming to power following the election in 1984, the new Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi initiated a dialogue with moderate Akali leaders.
- In **July 1985**, he reached an agreement with Harchand Singh Longowal, then president of the Akali Dal. This agreement known as the **Rajiv -Longowal Accord or the Punjab Accord**, was a step towards bringing normalcy to Punjab. Its provisions are as follows-
 - Compensation to the families of the innocent person killed in agitation or any action after 1 August 1982.
 - Part of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution dealing with the Centre-State relations will be referred to the Sarkaria Commission.
 - Inquiry into the 1984 killings will be extended to Bokaro and Kanpur.
 - Merit will remain the sole criteria for selection in the Indian Army.
 - Chandigarh will be given to Punjab and a separate commission would be appointed to resolve the border dispute between Punjab and Haryana.
 - A tribunal would be set up to decide the sharing of Ravi-Beas river water among Punjab, Haryana, and Rajasthan
 - Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) from Punjab will be withdrawn.
 - Prime Minister will re-instruct the Chief Ministers of the various states to protect the interests of the minorities.
 - The Central Government may take steps to promote the Punjabi language.
- Between 1987 and 1991, Punjab was placed under an indefinite President's rule and was governed from Delhi.
- The Sikh terrorists also targeted other Sikhs with opposing viewpoints and this led to further loss of public support and the militants were eventually brought under the control of law enforcement agencies by 1993.
- Peace returned to Punjab by the middle of the 1990s, when the alliance of Akali Dal and the BJP scored a major victory in 1997, in the first normal elections in the state after the militancy era.

NANAVATI COMMISSION: This was a one-man commission headed by G.T. Nanavati, a retired Judge of the Supreme Court of India, appointed by the government in May 2000, to investigate the "killing of innocent Sikhs" during the 1984 anti-Sikh riots.

The commission report details accusations and evidence against senior members of the Delhi wing of the then ruling Congress Party, including Jagdish Tytler, later a Cabinet Minister, MP Sajjan Kumar and late minister H.K.L. Bhagat.

They were accused of instigating mobs to avenge the assassination of Indira Gandhi by killing Sikhs in their constituencies.

The Commission also held the then Delhi police commissioner S.C. Tandon was directly responsible for the riots.

There was a widespread protest against the report as it did not mention clearly the role of Tytler and other members of Congress Party in the 1984 anti-Sikh riots. The report led to the resignation of Jagdish Tytler from the Union Cabinet.

A few days after the report was tabled in the Parliament, the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh also apologized to the Sikh community for Operation Blue Star and riots that followed.

Assessment :

- **Communalism major problem** - The major weakness of the struggle against terrorism was the failure to grasp that the real and the long-term problem in Punjab was not terrorism but communalism.
- **Divide between Hindus and Sikhs** - There was some degree of a psychological divide between Hindus and Sikhs, especially in the urban areas, and a few incidents of Hindu– Sikh clashes, there was not even one major communal riot in Punjab throughout the years of the terrorist sway; i.e., on the whole, the people of Punjab remained secular.
 - Hindus did not support the efforts of the Shiv Sena and other Hindu communal organizations to create a volunteer corps of Hindus alone to fight against terrorism.
- **Secular ideology** - The refusal of the people of Punjab to imbibe the values and ideology of the terrorists and the extreme communalists was mainly because the secular tradition was quite strong in Punjab, due to the work and influence of the Ghadr Party and the Ghadr Babas, Bhagat Singh and his comrades, Kirti Kisan groups, the Communists and the Socialists, the peasant movements and the Congress and the national movement.
 - The masses of Sikhs refused to accept that the separatists and the terrorists were fighting in defense of Sikh religion and Sikh interests.
 - To most of the Sikhs, it became clear that the terrorists were abusing and betraying their religion and debasing Sikh institutions and teachings of Sikh gurus.

Conclusion :

- The Punjab experience is quite relevant to the country as a whole, as it could face similar problems in the future in other parts of it. There are important lessons to be learned.
- First, communalism has to be confronted both politically and ideologically; separation of religion from politics has necessarily to be enforced.
- Second, communal violence in all its forms, including terrorism, has to be handled firmly and decisively and suppressed as quickly as possible through the full and timely use of the law and order machinery of the state.
- Third, communalists, however moderate, cannot be expected to or depended upon to fight extreme communalism or communal terrorism.
- Though religious identity is important for people, politics have moved back to secular lines.

PRACTICE QUESTIONS :

1. What are the main provisions of the Punjab Accord? In what way can they be the basis for further tensions between Punjab and its neighboring states?
2. Critically examine the roots of the Khalistan movement, its objectives and the causes of its fall.



8. RISE IN REGIONAL ASPIRATIONS - PART 3 (NORTH EAST INDIA)

Introduction :

- North East India is the Easternmost division of India comprising of eight states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura. This region is connected to the mainland India via narrow Siliguri Corridor in-between the state of Assam and West Bengal.
- The 8 states comprising the North East is populated by nearly 40 million inhabitants who vary in language, race, tribe, caste, religion, and regional heritage.
- This region shares an International border with countries like China, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar and Bangladesh.
- North-East India was a separate unit since 1912 under the British rule as 'Assam Province of British India'. However, since independence, the region has witnessed a lot of change since 1947.
- Tripura, Manipur and Khasi Hills of Meghalaya were erstwhile princely States which merged with India after Independence.
- The entire region of North-East has undergone considerable political reorganisation:
 - Nagaland State was created in 1963;
 - Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya in 1972;
 - Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh became separate States only in 1987.
- The partition of India in 1947 had reduced the North-East to a landlocked region due to loss of Eastern Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and affected its economy.

The Historical Connection :

- The historical connections among the traditional tribes in the North East are largely of Tibeto-Burman/Mongoloid stock and closer to SouthEast Asia than to South Asia.
- It is ethnically, linguistically and culturally very distinct from the other states of India.
- Though cultural and ethnic diversity per say are not causes for conflict, but one of the major problem areas is that the North East is territorially organized in such a manner that ethnic and cultural specificities were ignored during the process of delineation of state boundaries in the 1950s, giving rise to discontentment and assertion of one's identity. This caused various issues to surface themselves in due course of time.

Issue of North East India :

8 issues dominate the political and social unrest of the North Eastern Region:

1. Influx of migrants.
2. Backwardness compared to the rest of India.
3. International border.

4. Issues of governance.
5. Demand for Autonomy.
6. Identity crisis.
7. Internal Factional conflicts.
8. Inner Line Permit

1. Influx of migrants

- Most States in this region underwent major demographic changes due to an influx of migrants from neighbouring states and countries.
- This gave rise to various movements against the outsider in almost all North-Eastern states.

A. Assam

- Examples include Anti-foreigners movement of Assam in 1979 was against the large-scale illegal migration in a relatively short span of time from Bangladesh and to some extent from Nepal.
- The **All Assam Students Union (AASU)** and the **Assam Gana Sangram Parishad** (Assam People's Struggle Council), a coalition of regional political, literary and cultural associations, started a massive, anti-illegal migration movement.
- Finally, the **Assam Accord** was signed with the leaders of the movement on **15 August 1985** :
 - a. All those foreigners who had entered Assam between 1951 and 1961 were to be given full citizenship, including the right to vote.
 - b. Those who had done so after 1971 were to be deported.
 - c. The entrants between 1961 and 1971 were to be denied voting rights for ten years but would enjoy all other rights of citizenship.

B. Manipur

- Manipur also experienced years of insurgency and inter-ethnic violence while it was part of Assam and sought more rights.
- These migrants were seen as outsiders and encroachers on scarce resources like land and potential competitors to employment opportunities and political power.
- The lack of job opportunities, the significant role of 'outsiders' in the North Eastern industry and trade, and the fear of being culturally dominated produced a sense of deprivation in the minds of middle-class communities.

C. Arunachal Pradesh and Tripura

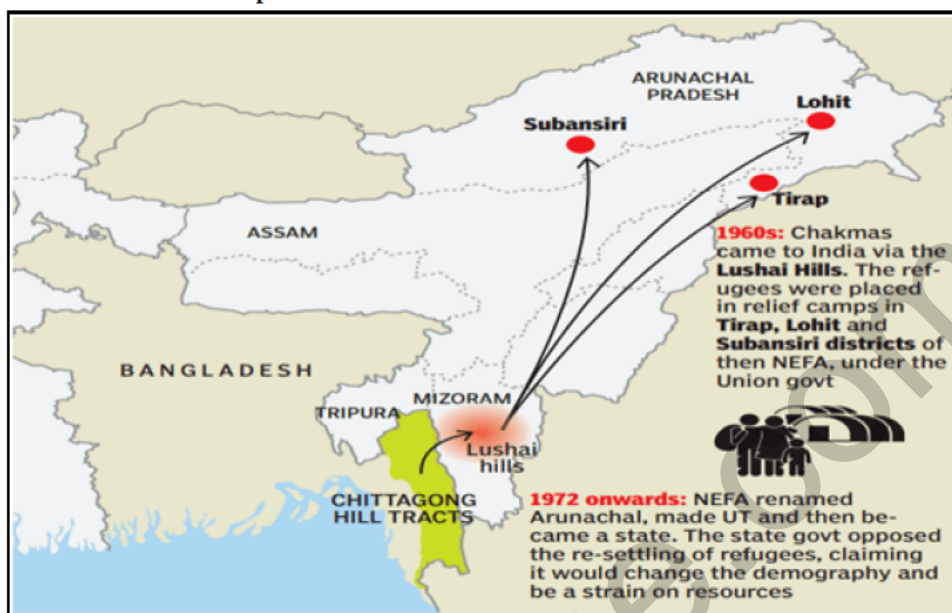


Figure: Chakma community in India

- Arunachal Pradesh and Tripura saw the influx of Chakma (Buddhist) and Hajong (Hindu) ethnic groups from Bangladesh due to religious persecution in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) since independence and the displacement caused by the Kaptai Hydel Power Project in the 1960s.
- After a long struggle by the Chakmas and Hajongs for the rights in India, Supreme Court passed a judgment directing the Government of India and of Arunachal Pradesh to grant Indian citizenship rights to all of the Chakmas, holding that they cannot be discriminated against any other Indian. However, the Citizenship (Amendment) bill of 2016 proposed to give citizenship rights to Chakma and Hajong tribes faced a large-scale upsurge and anti-bill sentiments from the local tribes and organizations like All Arunachal Pradesh Students Union, etc. of North Eastern states.

2. Backwardness compared to the rest of India

- Due to narrow access to this region combined with difficult geographical terrain and perpetual conflicts in this region the development has fallen back.
- The isolation of the region, its complex social character and its backwardness compared to other parts of the country have all resulted in the complicated set of demands from different states of the North-East.
- There are strong and persistent grievance among the communities of North Eastern states that the severe underdevelopment of their region was due to unfair treatment being meted out to it by the central government.



3. International border

- The vast international border and weak communication between the North-East and the rest of India have further added to the delicate nature of politics there.
- Four of India's North-Eastern states: Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Assam share a 1,880-km long border with Bangladesh, while Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh share a 1,640-km long unfenced border with Myanmar.

A. Mizoram

- After Independence, there was a general opposition by many Mizo people in demarcation of Manipur and Burma (Myanmar).
- Voices were raised by Mizo people to either give freedom of independence or join Burma. A social organisation Mizo National Front was formed for this purpose in the late 1950s and in 1961 it officially became a political party with Ladenga as its president.
- Mizoram saw continuous unrest during this period. Mizoram Mizo insurgency ended with **1986 Mizo Accord**, with the Mizo National Front conceding to work within the Indian Constitution and to renounce violence and turmoil that had prevailed throughout Mizoram.

4. Issues of governance

- The Indian government's past and ongoing processes of national integration, state-building and democratic consolidation have further aggravated the conflict scenario in the region.
- For instance, the eight states comprising the North East is populated by nearly 40 million inhabitants who vary in language, race, tribe, caste, religion, and regional heritage.
- Therefore, most often, the clubbing of all these states under the tag of 'North East' has tended to have a homogenizing effect with its own set of implications for policy formulation and implementation; not to mention local aversion to such a construct.
- The politico-administrative arrangements made by the Centre have also been lacking. For instance, the introduction of the Sixth Schedule Autonomous Councils ended up creating multiple power centres instead of bringing in a genuine process of democratization or autonomy in the region.
- Also, the Para 12 (A) of the Sixth Schedule clearly states that, whenever there is a conflict of interest between the District Councils and the State Legislature, the latter of the two would prevail.

A. Manipur

- Post statehood Manipur saw rise of different groups like People's Liberation Army (1978), Kangleipak Communist Party (1980), with different goals and deriving support from diverse ethnic groups in Manipur. These groups began a spree of bank robberies and attacks on police officers and government buildings. It was due to this unrest that in 1980, the central government brought the entire state of Manipur under the **Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA)**.
 - a. The AFSPA was passed on 18 August 1958, as a short - term measure to allow deployment of the army to counter an armed separatist movement in the Naga Hills, has been in place for the last five decades and was extended to all the seven states of the North East region in 1972 (except for Mizoram).
 - b. Presently, AFSPA, 1958 is operational in entire States of Assam, Nagaland, Manipur (except Imphal Municipal area), 3 districts of Arunachal Pradesh and the areas falling within the jurisdiction of the eight police stations in the districts of Arunachal Pradesh, bordering the State of Assam.

5. Demand for Autonomy

A. Assam

- At independence, the entire region except Manipur and Tripura comprised the State of Assam.
- Demands for political autonomy arose when the non-Assamese felt that the Assam government was imposing Assamese language on them.
- There were opposition and protest riots throughout the State. Leaders of the major tribal communities wanted to separate from Assam.
- They formed the Eastern India Tribal Union which later transformed into a more comprehensive All-party Hill Leaders Conference in 1960.
- They demanded a tribal State to be carved out of Assam. Finally, instead of one tribal State, several States were carved out of Assam.
- The **United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)** was formed in 1979 to establish a sovereign state of Assam through armed struggle.

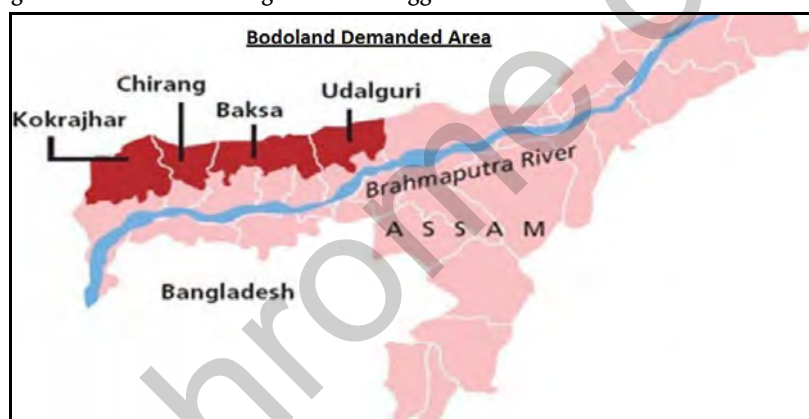


Figure: Bodoland area in Assam

- The National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) was formed in 1986 as the **Bodo Security Force**. Its demand was to establish an autonomous region for Bodos.

B. Arunachal Pradesh

- Demand for autonomy was also raised by **Tani group** of people living along Assam – Arunachal Pradesh border. The National Liberation Council of Taniland (NLCT) was formed by the Tani groups who are Mongoloid people in India to form a separate **Taniland**.

C. Manipur

- Manipur saw armed opposition by local group like the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) (founded in 1964) to gain more rights or outright independence from India. After several rounds of negotiations, Manipur became a full state in 1972 along with several other sister states of the North East.

D. Nagaland

- The situation in Nagaland became difficult when Nagas unilaterally declared themselves independent on 14 August 1947.
- Since then peace has been elusive to this state. The first insurgent group was **Naga National Council (NNC) led by AZ Phizo**, who infused the Naga Nationalism among Naga youth. In 1956 they went underground.

- In 1958, the **Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA)** was enacted by the Government of India.
- In 1960, a **Sixteen Point Agreement** was signed between members of the Naga People's Congress and the Government of India. As part of this agreement, a new state of Nagaland was created in 1963.
- This new state could not meet the aspirations of Nagas as many Naga areas were left outside the state.
- In 1975, **Shillong Agreement** was signed. According to this agreement, NNC agreed to give up arms and accept the Indian Constitution.



Figure: Greater Nagaland sought by National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN)

- Later National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) was formed in 1980 to establish a **Greater Nagaland**, encompassing parts of Manipur, Nagaland, and the North Cachar Hills (Assam).
- The NSCN **split** in 1988 to form two groups, NSCN(IM) and NSCN(K). In 1988, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) insurgent group split into NSCN (IM) and NSCN (K) following a violent clash. The period from the 1950s to the 1990s was a turbulent period with insurgency and counterinsurgency resulting in civilian deaths.
- In 2007, the ceasefire agreement between NSCN (IM) and the Government of India was extended indefinitely.
- In August 2015, Government of India signed a Framework Agreement with National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) IM to resolve the long-standing Naga issue in a peaceful manner.

6. Identity crisis

A. Assam

- A movement started in the 1950s demanding preference for Assamese speakers in recruitment to state government services and making Assamese the sole official language.
- The movement for a change in the official language led to the gradual building up of hostility between Bengali and Assamese speakers. In July 1960, it erupted in tragic language riots.

- In 1960 itself, the state assembly passed a law, against the wishes of Bengali speakers by making **Assamese the sole official language**.
- This effort to impose the Assamese language became one of the factors which hampered the process of evolution of the Assamese identity, prevented it from encompassing the entire state and led to many of the hill tribes demanding separation from Assam.

B. Tripura

- Tripura saw conflicts due to illegal Bangladeshi infiltration in the state.
- The immigrants outnumbered the native tribal population and created troubles for them. There was fear of becoming a minority in their own native state. This identity crisis gave voice to various groups like **National Liberation Front of Tripura (1989)** and the All Tripura Tiger Force (formed by local aboriginal tribes in 1990) which worked for expulsion of all Bengali-speaking immigrant settlers who entered Tripura after 1956 and restore land to tribals under 'Tripura Land Revenue and Land Reforms Act, 1960.

7. Internal Factional Conflicts

A. Manipur

- Manipur was one of the most insurgency affected states.
- It suffered from an influx of illegal immigrants as well as conflicts between various factional groups for the control of power like the NSCN groups in Nagaland.
- Due to this, the Kuki tribes created their Kuki National Organisation (KNO) and its armed Wing, Kuki National Army (KNA). Skirmishes between Nagas and Kukis are common in that region.

B. Meghalaya

- Meghalaya's separate statehood of 1971 could not meet the demands of Khasi, Garo and other tribes.
- The wave of newly infused Garo and Khasi nationalism was creating a conflict with Indian Nationalism.
- The internal factional conflicts of this hill region gave rise to Meghalaya's first militant group: Hynniewtrep Achik Liberation Council (HALC), formed in 1992 to protect Meghalaya's indigenous population from rise of non-tribal immigration. It later split into Garo dominated Achik Matgrik Liberation Army (AMLA), and the joint Systeng-Khasi alliance of Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC).
- HNLC wanted to set up Meghalaya into an **exclusive Khasi region**.

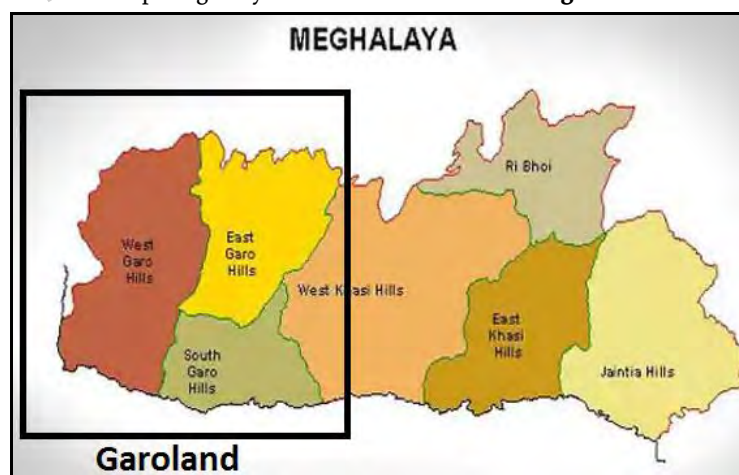


Figure: Garoland.

- Another active outfit of Meghalaya, the Garo National Liberation Army (GNLA) which was formed in 2009, is raising its demand for a 'Sovereign Garoland' in the Western areas of Meghalaya.

8. Inner Line Permit

- Inner line permit system is issued by the central government to restrict movement beyond the line to people having permit only. Presently, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland are covered under the ILP system. It was imposed to prevent the flow of illegal migrants especially from neighbouring countries and to prevent encroachment by outsiders without the residents' permissions.
- ILP benefited in preventing the rise of insurgent and extremist feelings, giving confidence to the region that their culture and tradition is being preserved. However, this quasi-visa regime hampers integration and developmental activities and can be used by a community to hold hegemony in the region.

A. Manipur

- "Regulation of Visitors, Tenants and Migrant Worker's Bill 2015" of Manipur made it mandatory for non-Manipur persons upon entering the state, to register themselves with the government for the reasons of their safety and for maintaining public order.
- This has hampered the economic growth of Manipur. There has been continuous fight by the local organization for the implementation of ILP on lines with the Himachal Pradesh Tenancy and Land Reforms Act, 1972, restricting the transfer or sale of land to non-Manipur people instead of the earlier Bill.

Government Measures:

1. Separate statehood for each state

- Keeping in mind the regional demands and conditions of different areas of North Eastern Region, Government of India provided separate statehood to them:
 - Nagaland in 1963.
 - Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura in 1972.
 - Meghalaya 1972.
 - Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram in 1987.

2. Assam accord 1985

- Government implemented the Assam accord of 1985. Provisions:
 - Clause 6 of accord provides 'Constitutional, legislative, and administrative safeguard for protection of Assamese culture and identity.
 - It states that any person who came after 24th of March, 1971 into India be identified as foreigners.
 - All those foreigners who had entered Assam between 1951 and 1961 were to be given full citizenship, including the right to vote.
 - The entrants between 1961 and 1971 were to be denied voting rights for ten years but would enjoy all other rights of citizenship.

3. National Register of Citizen (NRC)

- The National Register of Citizens contains the names of all Indian citizens. Only once before has an NRC been prepared, in 1951.
- The registers were kept in the offices of the deputy commissioners and sub-divisional officers.

- The 1951 NRC is now being updated for Assam, which has had a longstanding foreigner problem, to weed out illegal immigrants and deter further influx.
- The process of NRC update was taken up in Assam as per a Supreme Court order in 2013.
- NRC updation was carried out under The Citizenship Act, 1955, and according to rules framed in the Assam Accord of 1985.
- For a person's name to be included in the updated NRC list of 2018, he/ she will have to furnish:
 - Existence of name in the legacy data: The legacy data is the collective list of the NRC data of 1951 and the electoral rolls up to midnight on 24 March 1971.
 - Proving linkage with the person whose name appears in the legacy data.
- People whose names have been left out of the NRC Assam can once again appeal to have their case reconsidered. Those left out are not yet being labelled as "foreigners" or being sent to detention centres. However, only those applicants who had submitted their applications in 2015 will be considered.

Current Status of National Register of Citizen (NRC)

- Government published the final citizenship list of Assam residents on 31st August 2019 to identify legal residents and weed out illegal immigrants.
- The citizens' list was updated after 68 years, ending four years of work and a four-decade-old demand seeking detection of illegal immigrants.
- This list excluded more than 19 lakh people in Assam of the total of 3.30 Crore people who applied for it.
- As per the Union Home Minister, 'Non-inclusion of a person's name in the final list of National Register of Citizens (NRC) does not by itself amount to him or her being declared a foreigner.'
- The excluded people can file an appeal in Foreigners' Tribunal within 120 days (By 31 Dec, 2019) as per Section 8 of the Schedule to the Citizenship (Registration of Citizens and Issues of National Identity Cards) Rules, 2003.
- Cases to be disposed of within 6 months by the Foreign Tribunal.
- The appeal against the decision of Foreign Tribunal can be filed in the High Court and subsequently in Supreme Court whose decision will be final.

4. Citizenship (Amendment) Bill 2019

- Passed in Lok Sabha, this amendment proposes to permit members of six communities — Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis and Christians from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan — to continue to live in India if they entered India before December 14, 2014.
- It also reduces the requirement for citizenship from 11 years out of the preceding 14 years, to just 6 years.
- Two notifications also exempted these migrants from the Passport Act and Foreigners Act.
- However, a large number of organisations in Assam protested against this Bill as it may grant citizenship to Bangladeshi Hindu illegal migrants.

5. Constitutional provisions

- Constitution has special provision for the Tribal areas of 4 North-Eastern states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram under its Sixth Schedule.

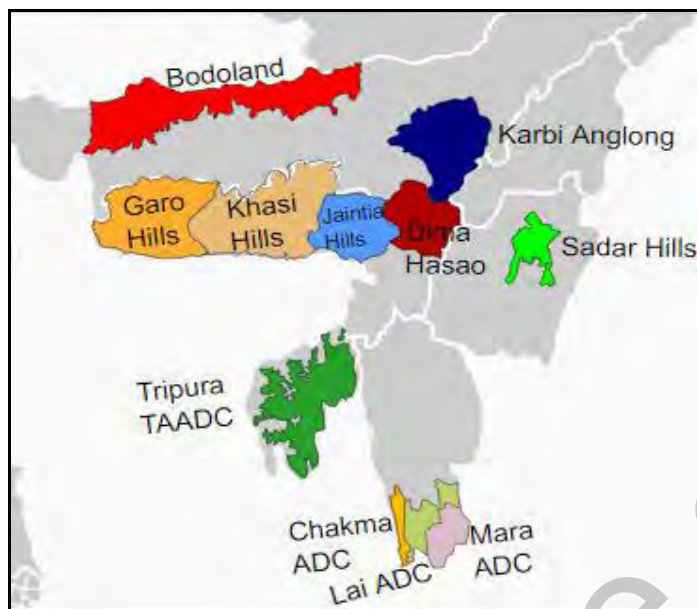


Figure: Autonomous District Councils of North Eastern states

- The sixth schedule to the Constitution includes 10 autonomous district councils in 4 states :
 - **Assam**
 - a. Bodoland Territorial Council.
 - b. Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council.
 - c. Dima Hasao Autonomous District Council.
 - **Meghalaya**
 - a. Garo Hills Autonomous District Council.
 - b. Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council.
 - c. Khasi Hills Autonomous District Council.
 - **Tripura**
 - a. Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council.
 - **Mizoram**
 - a. Chakma Autonomous District Council.
 - b. Lai Autonomous District Council.
 - c. Mara Autonomous District Council.
- Article 244 of the constitution deals with the administration of these tribal areas as follows:
 - Governor is empowered to organise and re-organise the autonomous districts.
 - Executive authority of these districts rests within the state concerned.
 - If there are different tribes in an autonomous district, the governor can
 - divide the district into several autonomous regions.
 - Each autonomous district has a district council consisting of 30 members, of whom four are nominated by the governor and the remaining 26 are elected for 5 years.
 - Each autonomous region also has a separate regional council.
 - The district and regional councils within their territorial jurisdictions can constitute village councils or courts for trial of suits and cases between the tribes.
 - The acts of Parliament or the state legislature do not apply to autonomous districts and autonomous regions or apply with specified modifications and exceptions.

- The governor can appoint a commission to examine and report on any matter relating to the administration of the autonomous districts or regions. He may dissolve a district or regional council on the recommendation of the commission.
- **Recently Cabinet approved a constitutional amendment to increase the powers of the autonomous councils in the Sixth Schedule areas of the North East.**
 - **The Finance Commission will be mandated to recommend devolution of financial resources to them.**
 - It provides for the transfer of additional 30 subjects to Karbi Anglong Autonomous Territorial Council and Dima Hasao Autonomous Territorial Council in Assam.
 - Village councils will be empowered to prepare plans for economic development and social justice
 - At least one-third of the seats will be reserved for women in the village and municipal councils in the Sixth Schedule areas of Assam, Mizoram and Tripura
 - There will also be an increase in seats in a few autonomous councils.

6. Nagaland Peace Agreement

- The NSCN-IM signed a ceasefire agreement with the Indian government in 1997 for an indefinite period.
- Central government appoint R. N. Ravi as interlocutor in 2014 to solve the Nagaland issue. These efforts of the government led to the signing of a Framework Agreement with National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) IM to resolve the long-standing Naga issue in a peaceful manner.
- With progressive steps taken from both ends, centre signed a preamble in November 2017 with six Naga National Political Groups for further participative discussions to include all groups together.

Lesson Learnt :

1. **Zero Tolerance:** The conflicts of the North-Eastern region showed that while communal and secessionist movements disruptive of the nation cannot be accommodated and have to be opposed and defeated.
2. **Politics of Accommodation:** It is necessary to accommodate politics of identity-based on language or culture, or economic deprivation and inequality, for they are quite compatible with progressive and secular nationalism.
3. **Integration and Assimilation:** While it was and is necessary to stop the entry of foreigners, massive detention and deportation of the existing illegal entrants is not easy and perhaps not possible. Rather their gradual integration and assimilation is the only long-term and realistic solution.

Way Forward :

1. India is a nation with high ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity.
2. **Unity in Diversity:** A democratic nation should use its diversity to bind itself together by giving voice to all types of aspirations and promoting equal opportunities for growth and development of all sections.
3. **Democratic Negotiations:** Regional aspirations are very much a part of democratic politics. Expression of regional issues is not an aberration or an abnormal phenomenon. The best way to respond to regional aspirations is through democratic negotiations rather than force.
4. **Decentralized Development:** Though the North-Eastern region has suffered from various issues in the past, there is a need to develop this region holistically, from providing infrastructural connectivity to understanding the different needs and demands of the region.
5. Regional imbalance in economic development must be corrected to dissipate the feeling of regional discrimination.

6. **Integration with South-East Asia:** North Eastern Region is India's gateway to South-East Asia and it can play a crucial role in India's 'Act East Foreign Policy' if the grievances of the region are addressed with proper dialogue and in a peaceful manner.



9. RISE IN REGIONAL ASPIRATIONS - PART 4 (TELANGANA)

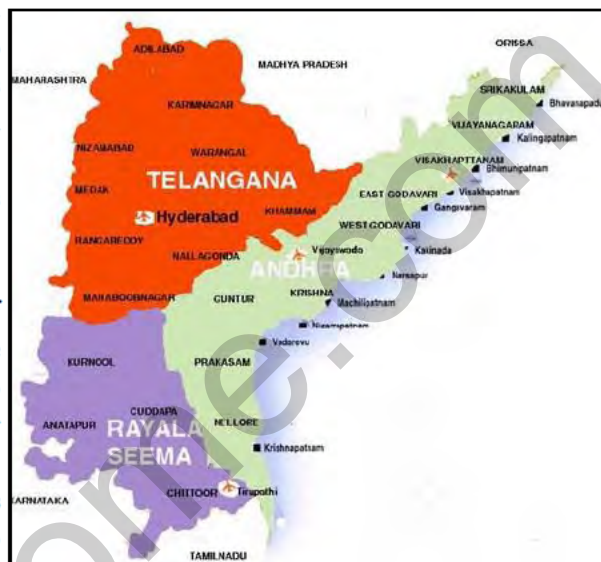
Introduction :

- On the night of 15th August 1947, India was divided into religious lines which epitomized the enmity between two dominant religions of India i.e. Hinduism and Islam. The question of Princely states was not decided by that time and India was on the threat of Balkanisation.
- In this background, the Nizam of Hyderabad declared Hyderabad as an independent nation on August 15, 1947. There were also rumors that Hyderabad was arming itself with support from Pakistan in their fight against India.
- The Nizam entered into a **standstill agreement** with India on 29 November 1947 to maintain the status quo.
- There was a rise in people's movement against the oppressions of Nizam, to join India.
- **Telangana movement that was started in 1946 by Communists** against the oppressive feudal lords also raised the voice for a merger with India.
- Responding to these demands, Nizam started the **Razakar movement (armed militia)** and its Razakar militia brutally put down the revolts by Communist sympathizers who rose against and the peasantry and even eliminated activists such as journalists Shoebullah Khan who advocated merger with India.
- Hyderabad state had been steadily becoming more theocratic since the beginning of the 20th century. The Razakars also terrorized the Hindu population and its sympathizers, causing many to flee to safety into the jungles or neighboring Indian provinces.
- Sardar Patel described the idea of an independent Hyderabad as "an ulcer in the heart of India which needed to be removed surgically." Hence under his overall guidance, it was decided that police action would be taken to annex the Princely State of Hyderabad.
- Accordingly, police action was carried out by the Government of India in September 1948 under the codename of '**Operation Polo**' in which Nizam's forces known as Razakars were easily defeated and Hyderabad was annexed.

Merger of Andhra and Telangana :

- **Dhar Commission (1948) and JVP Committee (1949)** constituted after independence to decide upon linguistic formation of state categorically rejected the idea of state reorganization on linguistic lines.
- There was mass agitation against these committee reports across India especially in the Andhra region where a state leader **Potti Sriramulu died in 1952 after 58 days of indefinite hunger strike.**

- This event added fuel to the fire and the Central government was forced to separate Telugu speaking region from Madras. In this way, Andhra became the first state to be carved out (from erstwhile Madras state) on a linguistic basis on 1 November 1953.
- Telugu-speaking Telangana area of Nizam's Hyderabad state was merged in November 1956 with the Andhra region after the final report of Fazl Ali or 1st State Reorganisation Commission in 1955 (setup in 1953) which broadly accepted language as one of the basis of reorganization of states.
- Hyderabad state traveled its course from monarchy (under Nizam of Hyderabad) to democracy via various people led movements mainly the Communist-led peasant revolt which started in Telangana in 1946 and lasted until 1951.
- Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru compared this merger to a marriage which has many features, good and bad, which often accompany marriages.
- Telangana was the largest of the three regions of Andhra Pradesh state, inhabiting about 40% of the state's population. The merger was hoped to cement the Telugu people culturally, politically and economically.
- The merger was followed by a 1956 'Gentlemen's Agreement' between the leaders of the two regions with promises to safeguard Telangana's interests like retention of the Mulki Rules in a modified form and a fixed share of places in the ministry for Telangana leaders.



Telangana Agitation :

The state of Andhra saw a rising people movement for the division of 'Vishalandhra' (present Andhra and Telangana states together) by carving out a separate 'Telangana' state from it.

- **Reasons for the movement**
 - There were various disparities that existed between Telangana and Andhra region:
 - a. Telangana's per capita income was less than coastal Andhra districts;
 - b. The literacy rate in Telangana was less compared to coastal Andhra
 - c. Road development was also very low in Telangana compared to coastal Andhra.
 - d. The number of hospital facilities were much less compared to coastal Andhra.
 - e. Unlike the Andhra region, Telangana's sources of irrigation were scanty, consisting mostly of rain-fed tanks and wells.
 - Majorly the separatist sentiment was based on the notion of injustice and discrimination in employment in state institutions.
 - There was a popular belief that the politics and administration of the state were dominated by people from the Andhra region (Andhrans).
 - People protested for the failure of the government to implement the Gentlemen's Agreement and implementation of the Mulki Rules.

Mulki Rules and Gentlemen Agreement

The Nizam's government in Hyderabad had accepted as early as 1918 that in all state services those who were born in the state or had lived there for fifteen years (i.e., **Mulkis**) would be given preference, while restrictions would be imposed on the employment of outsiders.

The 1956 '**Gentlemen's Agreement**' provided for the retention of the Mulki Rules in a modified form, a fixed share of places in the ministry for Telangana leaders, and preference for students from Telangana in admission to educational institutions including to Osmania University in Hyderabad.

The discontented in Telangana accused the government of deliberately violating the agreement while the government asserted that it was trying its best to implement it.

- **Course of the movement**
 - Towards the end of 1968, the students of Osmania University went on a strike on the question of discrimination in employment and education. The strike soon spread to other parts of Telangana.
 - Supreme Court judgement in March 1969 declaring the reservation of posts under the 1956 agreement to be constitutionally invalid. This further intensified the movement.
 - A massive, often violent, agitation demanding separation of Telangana from Andhra Pradesh now spread all over Telangana where schools and colleges remained closed for nearly nine months.
- **Participants**
 - The agitation was soon joined by organizations of non-gazette government employees, who went on an indefinite strike.
 - There was the participation of a large number of teachers, lawyers, businessmen and other sections of the middle classes.
 - To lead the movement for a separate Telangana state in an organized manner, **the Telangana Praja Samiti (TPS)** was soon formed in 1969.
 - A large number of local leaders supported the demand.
- **Central government response**
 - The central government strongly resisted the demand for bifurcation and tried to play a mediatory role.
 - It urged the Andhra government to adopt a sympathetic attitude towards Telangana's economic demands and to redress its grievances.
- **Outcome**
 - The movement declined over a period of time and petered out after the summer of 1969 due to:
 - a. Central government's firm opposition to the breakup of the state.
 - b. Failure of the movement to mobilize the peasantry.
 - c. Inevitable fatigue from which any mass movement suffers if it is not able to achieve success when it is at its height.
 - A compromise was reached between center and regional party after the 1971 elections to continue the Mulki Rules and to form a **Telangana regional committee with statutory powers** for the looking after the special needs of the region.

Andhra Middle-Class Agitation :

As a counter to the Telangana struggle, there was a rise of the **Jai Andhra Movement in 1972** in Andhra-Rayalaseema regions.

- **Reasons for the movement**
 - Andhra middle class were convinced that the Mulki Rules, however much amended, would adversely affect recruitment of Andhrans to state services.
 - The political storm broke when the Supreme Court made a judgement in October 1972 sanctioning the continuance of Mulki Rules.
- **Participants**
 - As in the case of Telangana, students and non-gazette employee's unions took the initiative in organizing meetings, strikes, and demonstrations, which sometimes turned violent and demanded the repeal of the Mulki Rules and other acts of alleged discrimination against Andhra government employees.
 - Doctors, Lawyers, and Businessmen, also joined the agitation.
 - The big landowners and rich peasants also took an active part in the agitation because they were opposed to the land ceiling legislation passed by the state legislature in September 1972.
- **Outcome**
 - The center announced a compromise formula, according to which the Mulki Rules would be further modified and would continue in Hyderabad city till the end of 1977 and in the rest of Telangana till the end of 1980.
 - a. The formula was seen as favorable to Telangana and Andhra agitation now turned against both the central government and the concept of a united Andhra Pradesh.
 - b. The Andhra non-gazette employees went on an indefinite strike.
 - c. Demands for the creation of a separate state for the Andhra region were raised continuously.
 - d. The movement turned violent in many places. The Central Reserve Police Force and the army had to be brought in at many places.
- **Putting End to Agitation**
 - In December 1972, the Lok Sabha passed the Mulki Rules Bill.
 - On 17 January 1973, the president-imposed President's Rule in the state.
 - Faced with a determined central government and as 'agitation fatigue' set in, the separatist movement subsided, especially as it could not mobilize the mass of the peasantry and the working class. Moreover, the epicenter of the movement remained in the coastal districts.
 - Though the Rayalaseema region was opposing the Mulki Rules it did not feel strongly about the demand for a separate state.
 - Finally, in September 1973, the Central government put forward a **six-point formula** :
 - a. **Discontinuation of Mulki Rules.**
 - b. Accelerated **development of the backward areas** of the State by the formation of State-level Planning Board and Sub-Committees.
 - c. Adequate **preference to be given to local candidates** in the matter of admission to educational institutions.
 - d. Preference to local candidates in matters of direct employment.
 - e. A high-power administrative tribunal should be constituted to deal with the grievances of services regarding appointments and other allied matters.
 - f. In order that implementation of measures based on the above principles does not give rise to litigation and consequent uncertainty, the Constitution should be suitably amended to implement above provision without any uncertainty by conferring on the President enabling powers in this behalf.

- The **32nd Constitutional Amendment, 1973** was passed which added Article 371-D to the constitution to enable the implementation of the formula. This satisfied most of the Congressmen of the two regions.
- In December 1973, President's Rule was lifted and J. Vengal Rao, who became the consensus chief minister, was asked to implement the new formula.
- Thereafter, the demand for division of the state gradually petered out in both parts of Andhra Pradesh.

Article 371D : Special Provision for the state of Andhra Pradesh

The president may by order made with respect to the state of Andhra Pradesh provide, having regard to the requirements of the state as a whole, for equitable opportunities and facilities for the people belonging to different parts of state, in the matter of public employment and in the matter of education and different provisions may be made for various parts of the state

Re-rise of The Movement for Separate Statehood :

- **Period till 2010**

- Employees of the Telangana region accused state government in 1985 for the violation of Six Point Formula.
- The state government, headed by N T Rama Rao, brought out a Government Order to safeguard the interests of Telangana people in government employment.
- Order was able to maintain peace in the region until 1999 when the Congress demanded the creation of Telangana state.
- **Kalvakuntla Chandrasekhar Rao launched Telangana Rashtra Samiti** on 27 April 2001 with a demand for seeking the constitution of a second States Reorganisation Commission to look into Telangana state demand.
- The central government rejected the proposal saying smaller states were “neither viable nor conducive” for the integrity of the country.
- The agitation continued till the central government in **2010** constituted a five-member **Srikrishna Committee** to look into statehood demand.

- **Period 2011-2014**

- Recommendations of the Srikrishna Committee report were:
 - a. It suggested establishing a definite constitutional and statutory provisions for socio-economic development and political empowerment of Telangana region.
 - b. However, if the consensus is not built on the above recommendation, bifurcation of the state to be seen as the second preference.
- The year 2011 witnessed various agitations and strikes by the people of the Telangana region like the launch of, **Million March movement, Sakala Janula Samme** (All people's strike).
- People and state political parties organize a '**Telangana March**' in Hyderabad on the lines of the 'Dandi March' in 2012.
- 2013 witness **Chalo Assembly March** to lay siege to the state legislative Assembly in Hyderabad and demand the formation of Telangana.
- The Congress Working Committee (CWC) passed a resolution on July 2013 to create the State of Telangana.
- As a reaction to this bifurcation, a fresh protest was sparked off as **Samaikyandhra Movement** to keep the Andhra state united. It was supported by people of Coastal Andhra & Rayalaseema regions.

- A Group of Ministers (GoM) was created to settle issues concerning the new state and the State of Andhra Pradesh. The Central Government later approved the Telangana draft bill prepared by this GoM.
- After the parliamentary procedure, the Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation bill received the assent of the President and Government of India declared 2 June 2014 as Telangana Formation Day.
- **Current Status**
 - Telangana is the 28th state (Jammu and Kashmir is a union territory now) of the Union of India with Hyderabad as its capital.
 - Andhra Pradesh and Telangana both will share the capital Hyderabad for 10 years until Andhra Pradesh can establish its own capital Amaravati (on the southern banks of the Krishna river in Guntur district).
 - The revenues of Hyderabad and state governing power are under Telangana state only.

Government Initiatives :

- The Government of India in 2014 extended Article 371-D to the state of Telangana by the **Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Act of 2014** providing similar benefits to the people of the state.

Lesson Learnt :

- **Intra State Development:** The movement highlights that it is necessary not only to alleviate economic disparities between different states but also to promote integrated development within a state.
- **Addressing Demands:** Regional demands must be addressed to create a sense of economical, social, administrative and political security of the voices of the people.
- Mere linguistic and cultural unity was not enough to inculcate a feeling of oneness and solidarity among a state's people.

Way Forward :

- India is a nation with high ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity.
- **Unity in Diversity:** A democratic nation should use its diversity to bind itself together by giving voice to all types of aspirations and promoting equal opportunities for growth and development of all sections.
- **Democratic Negotiations:** Regional aspirations are very much a part of democratic politics. The expression of regional issues is not an aberration or an abnormal phenomenon. The best way to respond to regional aspirations is through democratic negotiations rather than force.
- **Correct Regional Disparities:** Many regions of India including Telangana, Rayalaseema, etc. suffer from regional disparities that need to be corrected to dissipate the feeling of regional discrimination among the people.
- **Vent to Freedom of Expression:** Giving a channel to different voices and representation to the minority section is the best suitable way to address any future challenges of rising regional aspirations.

Practice Question:

- Is bifurcation of state a gateway to inclusive growth?

10. RISE IN REGIONAL ASPIRATIONS - PART 5 (GORKHALAND)

<p>Content:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Introduction ● History of Demand for Gorkhaland ● Causes of The Movement ● Reasons for The Demand of Gorkhaland ● Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA) ● Lessons from History 	<p>Topic:</p> <p>Paper 1 - Post Independence Consolidation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The Rise of Regional Aspirations: Gorkhaland
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Introduction :

- **Gorkhaland** is an autonomous district hill council region in the northern area of India's West Bengal state.
- This region included in Schedule six of the Constitution is administered by the **Gorkhaland Territorial Administration** and includes areas of Darjeeling and Kalimpong.
- Region witnesses agitations, shutdowns and even instances of violence over demand for creation of Gorkhaland.

History Of Demand For Gorkhaland :

- Around 1788, the Gorkhas invaded Sikkim and captured most of it which include Darjeeling with Siliguri. They administered it for 40 years when finally, after the British-Nepal war, Nepal ceded its territory to the British
- The ceded territory included Darjeeling, Siliguri, the entire terai, Simla, Nainital, Garwhal hills, Kumaon up to the Sutlej i.e., the entire region from Teesta to Sutlej.
- Lepchas were nomadic tribes and were engaged in Jhoom (shifting) cultivation.
- Their area of occupancy was in the hill regions of Nepal and Sikkim.
- When the British started tea cultivation in the 1850s and the narrow-gauge railway line in Darjeeling, a lot of people came here and started residing permanently.
 - These people did not have the modern concept of international borders,
 - They understood that the land was under the possession of their king and when they came to work under British enterprise as labourers, they thought they were actually following the orders of the Gorkha King and were present in their own land.
- When these events were happening, India, as we know today, was still not formed and all these people were British subjects, be it a Gorkha or a Bengali.
- But after 1947, India entered into an infamous treaty with Nepal in 1950- **The Treaty of Peace and Friendship**.
- The Article 7 of this Treaty reads: "The Government of India and Nepal agree to grant on a reciprocal basis to the nationals of one country in the territory of another the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of properties, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of similar nature".

India-Nepal Friendship Treaty 1950

Signed in 1950, this bilateral pact permits free movement of people and goods between the India and Nepal. The treaty has 10 articles and envisages for close relationship and collaboration on matters of defence and foreign affairs.

Articles 6 and 7 of the treaty allows to grant, on reciprocal basis, to citizens of one country in territories of other, same privileges in matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of similar nature.

It allows Indian and Nepali nationals to move freely across border without passport or visa.

Recently talks have been initiated to reform this almost seven decades old treaty to reflect realities of modern times.

Causes of The Gorkhaland Movement :

- **Immediate cause:** Bengali language being made mandatory up to class 9th by the state government. The Gorkhas, whose native language is Nepali, has taken it as a threat to their identity.
- **Long-term cause:** problems in functioning of GTA (Gorkhaland Territorial Administration). The leaders have accused state govt. of interference and not devolving enough financial resources to GTA.

About the Movement

- The Gorkhaland movement is a long-standing quest for a separate State of Gorkhaland within India for Nepali-speaking Indian citizens (often known as ‘Gorkhas’). With roots dating back over a century, Gorkhaland is a classic sub nationalist movement, not unlike those that have produced other States, most recently Telangana, Uttarakhand, Jharkhand, and Chhattisgarh. Beyond all else, Gorkhaland is a desire for the recognition, respect, and integration of Gorkha people in the Indian nation-state.
- Contradictory to popular misunderstanding, the movement is neither separatist nor anti-nationalist; it is about inclusion and belonging in India. As Gorkha National Liberation Front founder Subash Ghisingh explained during the first Gorkhaland agitation in the 1980s, “We Nepali-Indians who have nothing to do with Nepal are constantly confused with ‘Nepalis’, that is, citizens of Nepal, a foreign country. But if there is Gorkhaland then our belonging to an Indian State, just like your identity, will be clear.”
- With those demands unrequited, a second Gorkhaland movement emerged in 2007 under the leadership of Bimal Gurung of the **Gorkha Janmukti Morcha(GJM)** and has flared intermittently. Heralding self-governance, recognition, and belonging in India, Gorkhaland remains the dream for Darjeeling citizens and many Nepali-speaking Indians across the country. It stands as a key means to redress the Gurkhas’ enduring history of discrimination, misconception, and marginalization in India. Herein lies the rub — and primary antagonism with West Bengal. By demanding Gorkhaland, the people of Darjeeling-Kalimpong are opting out of West Bengal’s domination, and opting into the democratic frameworks of India writ large.
- Understanding Gorkhaland requires understanding its underlying histories. In many ways, the Gorkhas of Darjeeling have yet to taste the liberation of India’s Independence. The local economy illustrates the continuities between the colonial and postcolonial eras: Gorkhas remain pegged to the lowest levels of employment, while outsiders own the tea industry, meaning its profits flow out of the hills. These economic constraints are exacerbated by the misunderstandings Gorkhas face when they seek education and work in places like Kolkata, Bengaluru, and New Delhi. Called ‘foreigners’, ‘outsiders’ and ‘chinkys’, racial discrimination affects aspiring Gurkhas at every turn.

Reasons for Resurgence

- The political circumstances are equally frustrating. Since 1947, the Darjeeling-Kalimpong region has

remained under the thumb of West Bengal, despite no substantive pre-Partition evidence to support West Bengal's territorial claims to this region.

- Conciliatory set-ups like the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (1988-2012) and the GTA (2012-present) have failed to provide meaningful autonomy. These problems don't emanate solely from the hands of Bengalis, yet much of the marginalization coalesces under the shadow of West Bengal's domination. Thus, when Ms. Banerjee and others stridently lay claim to Darjeeling, insisting that Bengal will never be divided, it strikes a nerve for the Gorkha people of India, evoking painful, yet ever-present, histories.
- Instances like the attempted imposition of compulsory Bengali are not read as one-off events or mere slights in Darjeeling. They are seen as extensions of precisely the histories of domination that the Gorkhas are trying to escape. Ms. Banerjee's Trinamool Congress (TMC) has lately made significant inroads into the hills. West Bengal's recent creation of the Kalimpong district (2017) and the State's doling out of Tribal Development Boards to ethnicities within the Gorkha conglomerate (Tamang, Sherpa, etc.) might appear well-intended gestures but in paving the way for the TMC's electoral gains, they appear to many as clear examples of 'divide and rule' — causing splits in the Gorkha electorate and undermining the already-limited authority of the GTA.
- Indeed, the GJM's instigation of the current agitation was at least partly in response to TMC encroachment. GTA elections were imminent, but the GJM's popularity was waning in the face of considerable rewards flowing from West Bengal's coffers. By summoning thousands to the streets, the GJM demonstrated its ability to evoke the emotional force of Gorkhaland. But then violence took hold, and the Gorkhaland movement once again became something else — something bigger than any one party.
- The sudden resurgence of Gorkhaland has caught many by surprise. But today's turmoil mustn't obscure deeper histories. For Gorkhas, the troubling realities of colonial and present-day Darjeeling are eerily similar: linguistic chauvinism, ethnic and racial discrimination, resource extraction, unilateral territorial claims, the denial of self-governance, political suppression; and ultimately, an unwillingness to respect the 'native point of view'.
- This double bind of colonial nostalgia and neocolonial regional domination produces a sense of constant déjà vu, leading to the desperate feeling that genuine progress is out of reach. These unsettling truths demand some soul-searching.
- A reconsideration is in order. Brisk air, Himalayan vistas, and beautiful tea plantations may be Darjeeling's enduring attributes, but these do not define the life experiences of those who call this embattled place home.
- Today's unrest makes this painfully clear — and calls out in intermittently poignant and frustrated voices for a new kind of engagement.

Reasons for The Demand of Gorkhaland :

- Differences in language and culture from Bengali language and culture.
- Aspiration of Indian Gorkha identity: The creation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council in 1988 and GTA in 2012 failed to fulfill their aspirations of being recognized as a separate identity.
- Relative Economic deprivation than other Bengali people due to their nomadic culture.
- Alleged maltreatment by Bengalis and lack of voice in Kolkata.

Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA) :

- **About**
 - GTA created in 2012 through a tripartite agreement signed by GoI, Govt. of West Bengal and Gorkha Janukti Morcha (GJM), replaced the Darjeeling Gorkha District Hill Council.

- It is a semi-autonomous administrative body.
- It has administrative, executive and financial powers but no legislative powers. GTA presently has three hill subdivisions Darjeeling, Kurseong and Mirik and some areas of Siliguri subdivision of Darjeeling district and the whole of Kalimpong district under its authority.
- **Problems**
 - Lack of legislative powers means that the people of the region have no control over laws to govern by themselves
 - Dooars again have been left out and instead, a verification team has been set to identify “Gorkha majority” areas in the Dooars.

Lessons from History :

- These cases have shown us that even after seven decades of Independence, some of the issues of national integration are not fully resolved.
- We have seen that regional aspirations ranging from demands of statehood and economic development to autonomy and separation keep coming up.
- The period since 1980 accentuated these tensions and tested the capacity of democratic politics to accommodate the demands of diverse sections of the society.



11. LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI (1964–1966)

Introduction :

- Nehru's death on May 1964 was a blow not only to India but also to Indian National Congress. It suddenly created a political vacuum in the country which everybody feared that nobody could fill up.
- Contradicting the predictions that the Indian political system and Congress will fall into turmoil on the issue of succession, it happened in a mature manner showing the strength of Indian democracy.
- **Syndicate** - The succession occurred under the direction of a group of Congress leaders who came to be collectively known as the Syndicate. The group, formed in 1963, consisted of K. Kamaraj, the Congress president and regional party leaders.
- When they had to decide between Lal Bahadur Shastri and Morarji Desai they favoured Shastri because, in addition to his other qualities, he had wider acceptability in the party which would keep the party united.
- Shastri was elected unopposed as the parliamentary leader by the party MPs and sworn in as Prime Minister on 9 June 1964.

Problems in India in 60s :

- **Food shortage** - The most serious problem was the severe shortage of food as agricultural production had slowed down. There was a severe drought in several states in 1965 and buffer food stocks were depleted to a dangerous extent.
- **Industrial growth slowed down** - There had been a slowdown in the rate of industrial growth and the balance of payments problem had worsened.
- **Defeat in the Indo-China War 1962**-There was a sense of deep pessimism in the land because of defeat inflicted by China in the Indo China war of 1962.
- **Language crisis** - The problem of the official language of Hindi versus English, flared up in 1965.
- **Demands for states creation** - The demands for a Punjabi Suba (state) and Goa's merger with Maharashtra were also allowed to simmer.
- There were huge gaps between plans and their implementation and the growing bureaucracy hindered, rather than helping.

Shastri As PM :

1. Political Policies

- Shastri did not make any major changes in Nehru's cabinet, except for persuading Indira Gandhi to join it as Minister of Information and Broadcasting.
- Under him, the cabinet ministers functioned more autonomously. He also did not interfere in party affairs or with the working of the state governments.
- Despite initial hiccups, he helped in solving the language crisis in southern states by making sure the government continues to use English as a language and not imposing Hindi on them.
- **Shastri Formula** - During his tenure as Home Minister, he created the famous "Shastri Formula" to contain agitation in the state of Assam and Punjab acceptable to all sections of the people. This formula provided that even after January 1965, English might be retained, in addition to Hindi, for all official purposes and for the transaction of business in Parliament.

2. Security Policies

- His display of military prowess was evident in his dealings with the surprise attack of Pakistan in Rann of Kutch region.
- Shastri had responded to Pakistani provocations on the border through speeches in Parliament from the very beginning, making India's stand clear.
- He was determined to convince President of Pakistan that "India had no desire whatsoever to acquire even one square inch of Pakistani territory but would never allow any interference by Pakistan in Kashmir which was an integral part of India."
- He granted liberty to the security forces to retaliate and said: "**Force will be met with Force**".
- His successful handling of the 1965 war, gave India a proper military framework and established India's military intelligence to be much more competent, compared to 1962.

3. International Policies

- By not approaching the UNSC for intervention, he reiterated to the world that Kashmir is a bilateral issue, and did not need the involvement of world powers. This set the stage for India's diplomatic stance in world politics as firm and uncompromising.

4. Agricultural Policies

- **Jai Jawan Jai Kisan** - His call of "Jai Jawan Jai Kisan" was greatly helpful in unifying the nation behind the true saviours, the farmers and the soldiers and rallied all the citizens of India to support them.
- **Green Revolution** - Prime minister realized that India's food security needs were to be given prime attention after the continuous droughts. Hence, he promoted the Green Revolution with great fervour and put the nation on the track of self-sustenance in food.
- **White Revolution**- He also promoted the White Revolution by supporting the *Amul Milk Co-operative society* and creating the *National Dairy Development Board (1965)*.

5. Economic Policies:

- Lal Bahadur Shastri as a rail minister initiated the projects of railways up-gradation and electrification. This was one of the first steps taken towards modernization of railways in India.
- By boosting agriculture productivity via initiating green revolution he focused upon the much-neglected part of Indian Economy.

Change in Shastri's Attitude :

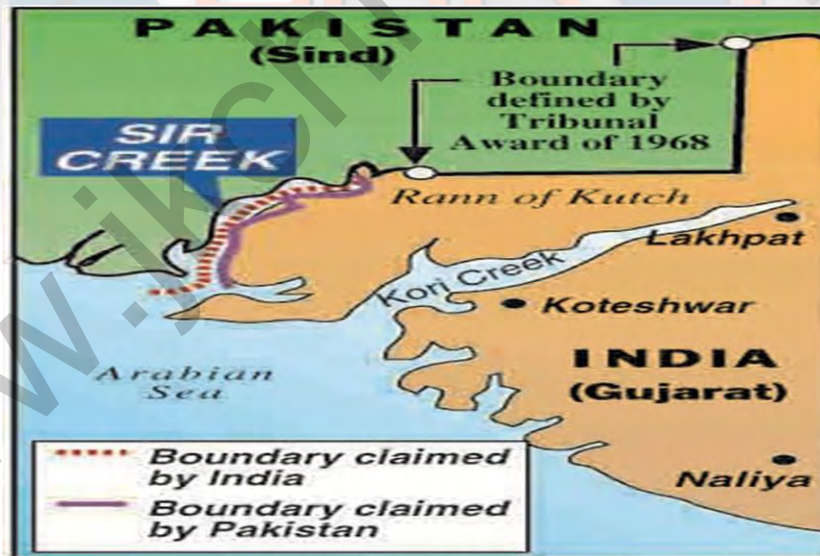
- For any person to fill up the shoes of Jawaharlal Nehru would be a big task and Shastriji was no different to it. As he was elevated to the post of Prime Minister by the Syndicate in the initial time, he could not take firm decisions.
- He was also accused by critics of being 'a prisoner of indecision' and fail to give directions to government policies or even to lead and control his cabinet colleagues.
- **Independence and assertiveness** - With the passage of time, however, Shastri began to show greater independence and to assert himself. The prime opportunities that he seized in this direction were the Green Revolution and the 1965 war with Pakistan.
- **Prime Minister's Office (PMO)** - Shastri also set up his own Prime Minister's Secretariat, headed by L.K. Jha as a source of information and advice to the Prime Minister on policy matters, independent of the ministries.
 - The Secretariat, which came to be known as the **Prime Minister's Office (PMO)** started acquiring a great deal of influence and power in the making and execution of government policy.

Important Events During his Tenure :

1. INDO-PAK WAR, 1965 :

BACKGROUND:

Since the Partition of British India in 1947, Pakistan and India remained in contention over several issues. Although the Kashmir conflict was the predominant issue dividing the nations, other border disputes also existed, most notably the issue of the Rann of Kutch, a barren region in the Indian state of Gujarat and Sir Creek which is a narrow estuary on the boundary between India and Pakistan.



REASONS:

- **Weak India after the Indo China war of 1962**- India had suffered a defeat at the hands of China in 1962 and Pakistan thought that the Indian army would not be able to defend Kashmir.
- **Kashmir issue** - Pakistan wanted Kashmir issue to be reopened while India considered that Kashmir being an integral part of India is a settled fact.
- **Weak leadership** - Pakistan saw PM Lal Bahadur Shastri as a new and inexperienced leader with the assumption that he would not be able to face pressure.

- The war was a simple but cold strategy to catch India off guard and defeat it once and for all. However, certain miscalculations by Pakistani generals and political leaders proved fatal for them as India managed the situation well.

IMMEDIATE REASONS:

- Pakistani patrols began in territory controlled by India in January 1965, which was followed by attacks by both countries on each other's posts on 8 April 1965. Thus, border skirmishes were initiated by Pakistan which ultimately led to a full-fledged war.
- There was a military clash but, because of the nature of the terrain, India's military response was weak and hesitant. **On Britain's intervention**, the two sides agreed to refer the dispute to international arbitration. However, Pakistan misunderstood the incident that India is not ready for war
- Pakistan had already prepared plans called Operation Grand Slam and Operation Gibraltar and was looking for the right opportunities.
- **Operation Grand Slam** - was a key operation of the 1965 Indo-Pakistani War. It refers to a plan drawn up by the Pakistan Army in May 1965, to attack the vital **Akhnoor Bridge** in Jammu and Kashmir.
- **Operation Gibraltar** - The conflict began following Pakistan's Operation Gibraltar in August 1965 which was designed to infiltrate forces into Jammu and Kashmir to precipitate an insurgency against Indian rule.

CHAIN OF EVENTS:

- On 5 August 1965 between 26,000 and 33,000 Pakistani soldiers crossed the Line of Control dressed as Kashmiri locals headed for various areas within Kashmir. Shastri ordered the army to cross the ceasefire line and seal the passes through which the infiltrators were coming and to occupy such strategic posts.
- The Indian army retaliated and captured the **Haji Pir Pass** in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK). On 1 September, Pakistan put into action its Operation Grand Slam aimed at capturing the town of Akhnoor in Jammu.
- In September 1965, Pakistan launched a massive tank and infantry attack in the Chhamb sector in the south-west of Jammu and Kashmir, threatening **India's only road link with Kashmir**.
- Shastri immediately ordered the Indian army to not only defend Kashmir but also to move across the border into Pakistan towards Lahore and Sialkot. Thus, the two countries were involved in war, though an undeclared one. This was the third front started by India to divert attention of Pakistan from Jammu and Rann of Kutch region.
- The international border (**Radcliffe Line**) was crossed by India on 6 September which marked the official beginning of the war. Due to sheer strength and morale of Indian armed forces, India soon started to make inroads into Pakistani territory and captured certain areas in Lahore district of Pakistan.

INVOLVEMENT OF OTHER NATIONS:

- **The United States and Britain** - The United States and Britain took the view that the conflict was largely Pakistan's fault, and suspended all arms shipments to both India and Pakistan.
- **China** - Despite strong fears of Chinese intervention on the side of Pakistan, the Chinese government ultimately exercised restraint.

- **Indonesia** - Indonesian support to Pakistan was seen as a major Indian diplomatic failure, as Indonesia had been among the founding members of the **Non-Aligned Movement** along with India.
- **Soviet Union** - Despite its close relations with India, the Soviet Union was more neutral than other nations during the war, inviting both nations to peace talks under its aegis in Tashkent.

RESULT:

- The war ended on 23 September 1965 after the United Nations Security Council called for an unconditional ceasefire from both India and Pakistan.
- Both countries held each other's territory after the war. India held 1840 sq.km of area while Pakistan held 540 sq.km.

SIGNIFICANCE:

- **Fought on New fronts** - This war, unlike the previous conflict in 1947-48, was fought on many fronts including in Rajasthan. This war also saw aerial combat between India and Pakistan for the first time.
- **Largest since WW-II** - Although this war only lasted for 17 days, it resulted in thousands of deaths. The war was the largest grouping of troops since independence and the largest tank battle since World War II.
- **Strategic gain for India** - The outcome of the 1965 war was viewed as a "politico-strategic" victory in India. The Indian PM, Lal Bahadur Shastri, was hailed as a national hero in India.
- **Change in India's foreign policy** - India, which had previously championed the cause of non-alignment, distanced itself further from Western powers and developed close relations with the Soviet Union.
- **Research and Analysis Wing (RAW)** - India focussed on enhancing communication and coordination within and among the tri-services of the Indian Armed Forces. India established the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) in 1968 for external espionage and intelligence.
- **Foreign efforts** - The United States and the Soviet Union used significant diplomatic tools to prevent any further escalation in the conflict between the two South Asian nations.
 - The **Soviet Union**, hosted ceasefire negotiations in **Tashkent** (now in Uzbekistan), where Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan signed the Tashkent Agreement.
- Pakistanis considered the performance of their military to be positive. 6 September is celebrated as Defence Day in Pakistan, in commemoration of the successful defence of Lahore from the Indian army.

TASHKENT AGREEMENT:

- Peace agreement between India and Pakistan signed on 10 January 1966 that resolved the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965.
- Under this Declaration, both sides agreed to withdraw from all the occupied areas and return to their pre-war August positions.
- The nations would not interfere in each other's internal affairs, economic and diplomatic relations.
- There would be an orderly transfer of prisoners of war and the two leaders would work towards improving bilateral relations.

- It was also agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both countries will be restored.

Criticism: This meant withdrawing from the strategic Haji Pir pass through which Pakistani infiltrators could again enter the Kashmir Valley and giving up other strategic gains in Kashmir. It did not contain a no-war pact or any renunciation of guerrilla warfare in Kashmir.

Shastri agreed to these unfavourable terms as the other option was the resumption of the mutually disastrous war. That would have meant losing Soviet support on the Kashmir issue in the UN Security Council and in the supply of defence equipment, especially MiG fighter planes, medium and heavy tanks.

Shastri died in Tashkent of a sudden heart attack having served as Prime Minister for barely nineteen months. Although the Tashkent agreement achieved its short-term aim, conflict in South Asia would be about to reignite a few years later.

2. GREEN REVOLUTION :

Green Revolution in India refers to a period when Indian agriculture was converted from an intensive system to mechanized system due to the adoption of modern methods and technology such as the *use of high yielding variety (HYV) seeds, tractors, irrigation facilities, pesticides, and fertilizers.*

It was mainly found by **M.S. Swaminathan**, the father of Green Revolution in India and this was part of the larger Green revolution endeavour initiated by **Norman Borlaug**.

The Green Revolution in India commenced in the early 1960s that led to an increase in food grain production, especially in **Punjab, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh.**



REASONS:

- India was an agricultural dependent economy and yet the state of the Indian agricultural sector was dismal.
- Agriculture was suffering from the lack of investments, a dearth of technology, low yield per acre and many such problems.

- Government of India invited a team of experts sponsored by the Ford Foundation which submitted a report suggesting the means of improving production and productivity of the country with stress on modern inputs, especially fertilizers, credit, marketing facilities etc.
- This new 'agriculture strategy' was put into practice for the **first time in India** in the **Kharif season of 1966** and was termed **HIGH-YIELDING VARIETIES PROGRAMME (HYVP)**.

IMPACTS:

- **Increase in Agricultural Production** - The biggest beneficiary of the plan was the wheat grain. Its production increased to 55 million tonnes in 1990 from just 11 million tonnes in 1960. India has become the world's second-largest producer of both wheat and rice and the largest exporter of rice.
- **Increase in per Acre Yield** - Green Revolution not only increased the total agricultural output, but it also increased the per hectare yield. In the case of wheat, the per hectare yield increased from 850 kg/hectare to an incredible 2281 kg/hectare by 1990.
- **Less Dependence on Imports** - There was enough production for the population and to build stock in case of emergencies. We did not need to import grains or depend on other countries for our food supply.
- **Scientific Cultivation** - Farmers started using HYV seeds and traditional fertilizers were replaced by chemical fertilizers. Consequently, land under HYV seeds increased sharply from 1.66 million hectares in 1966-67 to about 78.4 million hectares in 1998-99.
- **Change in Cropping Pattern** - The proportion of cereals in the food grains output increased and the proportion of pulses declined. Also, the proportion of wheat cereals increased while that of coarse grains declined.
- **Employment** - It was feared that commercial farming would leave a lot of the labour force jobless. But on the other hand, a rise in rural employment was seen because the supporting industries such as Irrigation, transportation, food processing, marketing created employment opportunities.
- **Benefit to the Farmers** - The Green Revolution majorly benefited the farmers. Their income saw a significant raise. Not only were they surviving, they were prospering. It enabled them to shift to commercial farming from sustenance farming.

LIMITATIONS:

- **Inequality among farmers (Interpersonal inequalities)** -The new technologies required huge amount of investment which can only be afforded by big farmers. Hence, those farmers were getting the absolute benefits of the green revolution and became comparatively richer than other farmers. This increased inequality in rural India.
- **Regional inequality** -Benefits of the new technology remained concentrated in the wheat-growing area since the green revolution remained limited to wheat for a number of years. These were the regions of Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh. On account of these reasons, a new agricultural strategy led to an increase in regional inequalities.
- **Environmental Damage** - Excessive and inappropriate use of fertilizers and pesticides polluted waterways and killed beneficial insects and wildlife. It has caused over-use of soil and rapidly depleted its nutrients. The rampant irrigation practices led to eventual soil degradation.
- **Labour Absorption** -There was a general consensus that the adoption of new technology had reduced labour absorption in agriculture. The uneven regional growth was mainly responsible for the low absorption of labour within agriculture. The growth of output was also slow to generate adequate employment opportunities.

- **Undesirable Social Consequences** - Some micro-level socio-economic studies of green revolution areas have revealed certain undesirable social consequences of the green revolution. Many large farmers evicted tenants as they found it more profitable to cultivate land themselves. Thus, a large number of tenants and share-croppers had lost their lands and had been forced to join the ranks of agricultural labourers.
- **Health Hazards** - Increased mechanization that has accompanied the modernisation of farm technology in green revolution areas carried with it the risk of accidents. The attitude of the Government towards the problems of treatment and rehabilitation of victims of accidents on farm machines was ambivalent. Meagre compensation was provided to victims.

Q. Why the Green Revolution could not be reciprocated in the rest of the country?

- Resources such as high-cost inputs were not available in the rest of the regions.
- Government wanted to have a *trickle-down effect* to other areas later.
- Modern irrigation practices were present in these states as compared to eastern India which was primarily dependent on rain-based agriculture.
- Land fragmentation was less in Green Revolution states so mechanization was more effective. More than 80% of the total land holdings in Eastern India were/are small and marginal landholdings.
- The cropping pattern in Eastern India was traditionally dominated by rice and other low-value crops.
- Major focus was on rice and wheat as these areas were high productivity regions for these crops.
- Land was used more intensively here than in Eastern states.

Q. Why sex ratio is falling in agricultural prosperous regions?

- According to Census 2011, Sex ratio of India stands at 940 per 1000 males. Punjab, Haryana, Delhi and Western Uttar Pradesh are the traditional areas where the sex ratio is generally lower.
- Haryana with a sex ratio of 877 is the state with the lowest sex ratio in the country.
- Strong preference for a male child has encouraged female foeticide in these states resulting in low sex ratio.
- Earlier due to male migration from these regions, females were working in farm fields which led to feminization of agriculture.
- But after mechanization, work available for females got decreased which led to de feminisation and lower sex ratio.

ANALYSIS:

- **Food shortage** - More than five decades after India launched the Green Revolution, its war on hunger is far from won.
 - Despite the large increase in total production, per capita availability of all the food grains has increased only modestly as the population has more than tripled since the mid-1960s.
- **Lack of high yield seeds** - India has failed to extend the concept of high yield value seeds to all crops or all regions. In terms of crops, it remains largely confined to foodgrains only, not to all kinds of agricultural produce.

- **Malnutrition** - India's increase in total food production has, unfortunately, not translated into a proportionate decrease in malnutrition.
 - India ranks 103 out of 119 countries on the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)'s **Global Hunger Index (GHI), 2018** and is home to the largest number of malnourished people in the world, about one-quarter of the global total.

WAY FORWARD:

- Green Revolution transformed the image of India from being a 'begging bowl' to 'breadbasket'. However, to rectify the flaws and loopholes of the Green Revolution, the Evergreen Revolution is needed.
- **"Evergreen Revolution"**- is the pathway of increasing production and productivity in a manner such that short and long term goals of food production are not mutually antagonistic.
- **Information and Communication Technologies (ICT)** - Introducing Indian farmers to innovative **Information and Communication Technologies (ICT)** can enhance farm productivity. ICT initiatives can tackle key challenges in the agricultural value-chain through networking on weather alerts, the sowing period, the prices of produce.
- Implementation of new and efficient irrigation methods, better watershed management and maintenance of vegetation cover in catchment areas and development of drought-tolerant crop varieties are required to optimise water utilisation.

SECOND GREEN REVOLUTION:

- The Green Revolution has made us self-sufficient in food grains but the environmental consequences and ecological costs are offsetting the progress made.
- The second Green Revolution aims at creating **sustainable agriculture** by leveraging advancements in technology.
- The second green revolution has been called for in **Eastern States** via the **Bringing Green Revolution in Eastern India (BGREI)** programme in recent years.
- It focuses on -
 - Harnessing the water potential for enhancing agriculture production in Eastern India.
 - Promoting horticulture, floriculture, sericulture, aquaculture, plantation crops, medicinal crops, aromatic crops, spices, etc.
 - Achieving self-sufficiency in pulses and oilseeds.
 - Crop diversification and multiple cropping.
 - Keeping into view the local geographical and climatic position, soil fertility.

3. "JAI JAWAN JAI KISAN" Slogan

- The Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri coined it during a public rally in 1965, the slogan struck a chord with an India that was fighting Pakistan at the border (Jai Jawan) and battling a severe food scarcity at home (Jai Kisan).

CONTEXT:

- That was an era when self-sufficiency was beyond people's imagination as production of food, essential items, fertilisers, steel and even cotton was not sufficient to meet domestic demand.
- The humiliating defeat against China in the 1962 war called for some serious action. Lal Bahadur Shastri allowed for drastic changes in defence procurement.

- This was also the moment when India seriously started working towards self-reliance.

SIGNIFICANCE:

- **Morale boosting** - The aim was to boost the morale of soldiers fighting on the frontiers and to acknowledge the labour of farmers. The slogan gave a huge psychological boost to the farmers and soldiers.
- **AMUL** -The government's focus on white revolution led to the formation of AMUL. The autonomy of the National Dairy Development Board (NDDB) also became an institutional point of reference for several other organisations including the National Innovation Foundation.
- It was Shastri's decisive leadership that helped India gain the upper hand during the Indo-Pak War in 1965, as he ordered the bold move to invade West Pakistan.
- **Overcome food shortage** - Shastri asked experts to devise long-term strategies. He was instrumental in guiding both the Green Revolution and the White Revolution.
- **Indian Council of Agriculture Research** - He helped in establishing the Indian Council of Agriculture Research and experimented with hybrid seeds to increase crop productivity.
- **Jai Jawan Jai Kisan Jai Vigyan** - The slogan was later changed as "Jai Jawan Jai Kisan Jai Vigyan" by former PM Atal Bihari Vajpayee to underscore the importance of and technology.

AFTER SHASTRI'S DEATH :

- Shastriji's sudden demise in Tashkent was a bolt from the blue for India. It was perceived that after Nehruji, Shastriji could carry the weight of India on his shoulder forward. However, his death propelled India into another spiral of political uncertainties.
- Morarji Desai, the senior-most minister in Shastri Ji's cabinet staked his claim again for the post of Prime Ministership. However, Syndicate was apprehensive of his impulsive attitude and wanted to put a pliant candidate to the post of Prime Ministership
- In this background, Indira Gandhi seemed apt candidate as she was a political novice and had the name of Nehruji associated with her. Thus K. Kamraj the President of Indian National Congress and also the leader of the Syndicate supported the candidature of Indira Gandhi who became 1st female and 3rd Prime Minister of India.
- With her oath of Prime Ministership on 24th January 1966, a new era dawned upon India which was a tectonic shift in the Indian political arena.





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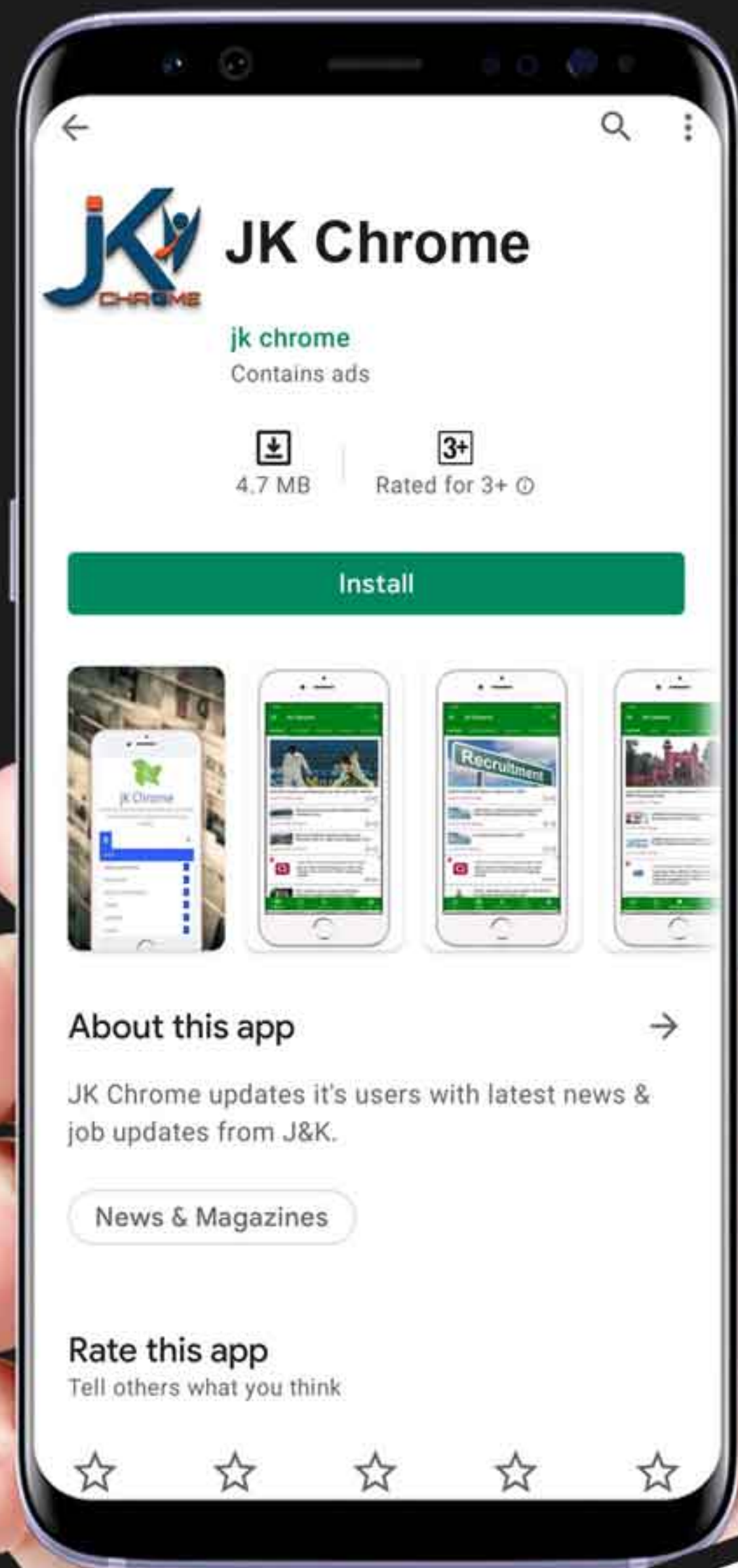
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12. INDIRA GANDHI YEARS (1966-72)

Introduction :

- PM Shastri's death once again brought the issue of succession in the country. Morarji Desai was again in the field but Syndicate's choice was Indira Gandhi - she was Nehru's daughter, had an all-India appeal and a progressive image.
- They also thought that she being inexperienced and a young woman, would be more malleable.
- When the contest happened, Indira Gandhi defeated Desai in secret ballot by 355 votes to 169 votes.

Problems Existing in India Then Were :

1. Political:

- a. Punjab was on the boil on the issue of Punjabi as state administration language and Suba. The Naga and Mizo areas were in rebellion as the **Mizo National Front (MNF)** made a declaration of independence, after launching coordinated attacks on the Government offices and security forces post in different parts of the Mizo district in Assam. In **Nagaland**, the Naga National Council (NNC)/Naga Federal Government (NFG) continued to indulge in violence, and the Peace Mission was abandoned in 1967.
- b. There was a growing loss of public confidence in the administration because of two wars in 1962 and 1965.
- c. Jan Sangh and other right-wing organizations were on peak with demands such as the total ban on cow-slaughter.
- d. Constant disturbances and indiscipline in parliament with some opposition members showing complete disregard for parliamentary decorum.

2. Economic:

- a. Severe drought in 1966 coupled with back to back wars led to galloping inflation and grave food shortages.
- b. Budget deficits were growing, endangering the Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74).
- c. The economy was in recession, there was a fall in exports and industrial production.
- d. The wars of 1962 and 1965 and the Pakistan-China axis led to a sharp rise in military expenditure and diversion of resources.
- e. The capitalist pattern of development was increasing economic disparity.

3. Foreign affairs:

- a. India was heavily dependent for its food security on imports of wheat from the US under the **PL-480** aid programme. Urgently needing American wheat, financial aid and capital investment, she initially tried to build bridges with the United States. US promised India with food grains under PL-480 and to give \$900 million in aid. But actual dispatches to India were irregular.
- b. Dispatches were controlled in amount to ensure that 'India changed its farm policy' and also its position on Vietnam. Indira Gandhi decided to get out of this vulnerable position.
- c. She was worried by Soviet efforts to build bridges with Pakistan and there was no improvement in relations with China.
- d. There was an urgent need for economic aid by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which was stopped during the war against Pakistan in 1965.

Indira Gandhi Government's Response :

• Political:

- a. She dealt effectively with the demand for Punjabi Suba as Punjab Reorganisation Act was passed in Parliament in 1966.
- b. Being firm with the Naga and Mizo rebels, showing a willingness to negotiate with them and accepting the Naga rebels' demand for autonomy. While insurgency continued at lower levels, the space for political negotiations was created and led to Mizoram becoming a Union Territory.

2. Economic:

- a. Initially, it could not reduce its administrative expenditure which the financial situation required but succeeded in dealing with the drought and famine situation.
- b. Three **Rolling Plans** were brought from 1966-1969 in which equal priority was given to agriculture, its allied activities, and industrial sector. The government of India declared "Devaluation of Rupee" to increase the exports of the country.
- c. **Devaluation of rupee:** Under international pressure, consequently, the Government of India devalued the rupee by 35.5 percent in June 1966. Though, the devaluation failed in its stated objectives of increasing exports and attracting foreign capital.
- d. **Green Revolution** was continued for increasing the food production in India and the Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74) began.

• Foreign affairs:

- a. In July 1966, she issued a statement deploring US bombing of North Vietnam and its capital Hanoi.
- b. She signed a joint statement with the Soviet Union branding US action in Vietnam as "imperialist aggression".
- c. India had agreed to the US proposal for an Indo-American Educational Foundation to be funded by PL-480 funds but abandoned the proposal after criticism on various fronts.
- d. She developed close links with **Nasser of Egypt** and **Tito of Yugoslavia** and supported non-alignment to counter the danger of neo-colonialism emanating from the US and West European countries.
- e. She also expressed a desire to open dialogue with China but there was no thaw in Sino-Indian relations at that time.

Fourth General Elections (1967):

- **Change in Congress's character** - Congress party lost its character and motivation as a part of social and institutional change. There was disenchantment, especially with top leaders because of corruption and lavish

lifestyle of some of them.

- **No social issues raised** - Opposition parties did not raise any basic social issues during the election campaign and came together as some of them formed anti-Congress fronts in some states.
- **Factionalism** - Factionalism started engulfing the Centre because of conflicts between Syndicate and Indira Gandhi and in states because of the rise of dominant regional parties.
- **Partisan ticket distribution** - The central leadership of Congress supported the dominant groups in the states in order to secure her own position at the Centre. Even the ticket distribution was highly dominated by Syndicate in a partisan manner.
- In this background, the Fourth General Elections to the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies were held on February 1967.
- **Election Results-**
 - There was great political awakening among the people with 61% voting.
 - Though Congress won 283 out of 520 seats in Lok Sabha, its majority drastically reduced in the Parliament.
 - Congress lost its majority in the assemblies of eight states i.e. Rajasthan, Bihar, Punjab, West Bengal, UP, Kerala, Madras and Odisha.
 - The beneficiaries of the Congress decline were the communal, feudal, right-wing and regional parties.
- **Long-term consequences-**
 - The 1967 elections heralded the era of the greater importance of rich and middle-class peasants in Indian politics.
 - **Coalition governments:** Congress was replaced by the multiplicity of parties, groups and independents. Except the DMK government in Tamil Nadu and the Swatantra Party-led government in Orissa, the coalition governments in all the other states proved to be highly unstable and could not stay in power for long due to the conflicts between the parties themselves, changing loyalties of MLA's.
 - **Defection:** The other important feature of the coalition governments of the period was the beginning of the politics of defection or 'floor crossing' by legislators. Corrupt legislators indulged in **horse-trading** and freely changed sides in the lure of money or office.
 - **Anti-Congressism:** gained ground both among the Opposition parties and a large section of the intelligentsia.
 - It was clear to the Congress that it should renew itself and it could no longer get support on the basis of its role in the freedom struggle or its achievements during the Nehru era.
 - **Change in balance of power** - These elections changed the balance of power inside Congress as Syndicate dominance was hit as many of its leaders lost the elections.

Inner Party Struggle and Congress Split in 1969 :

- Though Indira Gandhi had acquired a certain control over the government after the blow suffered by Syndicate in 1967 elections, she hardly had any organizational base in the party.
- After the re-election of Kamaraj to parliament in by-elections, the Syndicate members, now joined by Morarji Desai once again asserted that the party and its Working Committee should formulate policies whereas, government should be accountable to the party organs for their implementation.
- She tried hard to avoid an open conflict with Syndicate but she was not ready to compromise in regard to the supreme position and powers of the Prime Minister or the government over its policies and administration.
- Though Congress had always been ideologically heterogeneous, it had nurtured a left-of-centre image.

Left of centre or liberals refers to an outlook supporting social equality and opposing social hierarchy.
Right of centre refers to an outlook closer to capitalism and conservatism than to socialism.

- **Ten-Point Programme** - Clash in the congress left and right started with respect to radical “**Ten-Point Programme (1967)**” as leftists within the Congress supported it and rightists within it did not.
 - Ten-Point Programme included social control of banks, nationalization of general insurance, state trading in import and export trade, ceilings on urban property and income, curb on business monopolies and concentration of economic power, public distribution of foodgrains, rapid implementation of land reforms, provision of house-sites to the rural poor, and abolition of princely privileges.
- **Presidential Elections** - Factional rivalry between Syndicate and Indira came in open in **1969** after the death of President Zakir Hussain. Syndicate wanted **N. Sanjeeva Reddy** in President’s office despite Indira Gandhi’s rejection as she wanted to support **V. V. Giri**.
 - When Syndicate leaders like Nilanjappa tried to persuade other parties to vote for Reddy she refused to issue a party whip in favour of Reddy and openly supported Giri and he won the presidency. As the Syndicate’s presidential candidate got defeated, feeling humiliated, they took disciplinary action against Indira Gandhi and expelled her from the party for having violated party discipline.

INC(O) formally merged with the Bharatiya Lok Dal, Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Socialist Party of India, Swatantra Party and others to form the **Janata Party** and fought the post-Emergency election in 1977. Congress (O)’s leader **Morarji Desai** served as the fourth Prime Minister of India from 1977 to 1979 which was India’s first non-Congress government.

- **Congress Requisitionists** - Indira Gandhi finally split with her supporters and set up **Congress Requisitionists (R)**. The Syndicate-dominated Congress came to be known as the **Congress Organization(O)**. The Congress (R) was by no means a leftist party for, as the old Congress, it still contained the entire spectrum of political, social and economic opinion. But there was one big difference, it clearly occupied the left-of-centre position in Indian politics just as the Congress(O) did the right-of-centre.
- Indira Gandhi was the unchallenged leader of both the government and the new party, which soon became the real Congress.

AFTER SPLIT:

Background

- Indira Gandhi projected the split as an ideological divide between socialists and conservatives, between the pro-poor and pro-rich.
- During this period, the government made its attempt to project its socialist credentials.
- The split in Congress reduced the Indira Gandhi government to a minority, yet it continued with support from other parties.

CHALLENGES BEFORE HER

- **Political:**
 - a. Congress fared quite badly in the mid-term elections in four states in February 1969.
 - b. There was a growing tendency of discontented people to take recourse to extra-constitutional and violent means. Eg. Naxalism
 - c. New form of industrial action called '**Gherao**' started under which workers' besieged the factory managers in their offices for hours or even days till their demands were met.
 - d. The political tension inside Congress became more pronounced.
- **Economical:**
 - a. The rate of economic growth had been slowing down since 1962 and planning was in a crisis.
 - b. Domestic savings and the rate of investment were stagnating or even falling.
 - c. Shrinking of foreign aid for eg. US aid had shrunk in 1968 to half of what it had been in 1964–65.
 - d. Rolling plans were not able to deliver results because of lack of proper planning.
- 3. **Social:**
 - There was wide unrest in the countryside and growth of discontent in the urban areas among the lower middle class, students and working-class and in rural areas among agricultural labourers because of the worsening economic situation.
 - There was prevalent poverty and rising inequality in society.

MEASURES TAKEN:

- **Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Act** - was passed in 1969 to check the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few business families.
- **Bank Nationalization** - Government of India issued the **Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings), 1969** and nationalised the 14 largest commercial banks with effect from the midnight of 19 July 1969. Supreme Court invalidated the bank nationalization in February 1970 on the grounds of being discriminatory and compensation paid was inadequate, the government used a presidential ordinance to renationalize them.

MRTP Act was repealed and was replaced by Competition Act 2002 with effect from September 1, 2009. The MRTP commission was replaced by Competition Commission of India.

- **26th Constitutional Amendment** - Motion to abolish Privy Purses in India was proposed before Parliament in 1971, and was successfully passed as the 26th Amendment to the Constitution of India in 1971. Its aim was to derecognize the princes and ending all their monetary and other privileges.

At the time of independence, India had 565 princely states so to integrate them with India certain privileges and allowances were paid to the royal families.

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1971:

- When the Supreme Court refused the government to abolish the privy purses of the princes, Lok Sabha was dissolved and elections were held in 1971 one year ahead of time.
- The **non-Communist Opposition parties** - Congress (O), the Jan Sangh, Swatantra and the Samyukta

Socialist Party (SSP) formed the **Grand Alliance**. '**Indira Hatao**' (Remove Indira) became their campaign slogan.

- Indira Gandhi focussed on national issues such as the growth of the public sector, the imposition of ceiling on rural landholdings and urban property, the abolition of princely privileges. Effective slogan of '**Garibi Hatao**' (Remove Poverty) was also quoted during this period.
- The results of the 1971 elections turned out to be an overwhelming personal triumph for Indira Gandhi and a rude shock to the Opposition. Congress(R) won 352 out of 518 seats.
- With this, the Congress party led by Indira Gandhi established its claim to being the '**real**' Congress and restored the party to its dominant position in Indian politics.
- **Nature of voting:**
 - The elections represented further politicization of the masses. People's votes had cut across religious, caste and regional barriers.
 - Elections had also shown that once national issues were raised, vote banks and politics of patronage became relatively irrelevant.
- However, the fulfilment of the promises of 1971 elections were again postponed as the Bangladesh crisis occurred.

BANGLADESH CHALLENGE (1971):

BACKGROUND:

Beginning in 1970, Pakistan faced its biggest internal crisis. Country's first general elections produced a split verdict - **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto** emerged as winner in West Pakistan and **Awami League** led by **Sheikh Mujibur Rehman** in East Pakistan. Because of this major political-military crisis broke out in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and India was inevitably drawn into a bloody war with Pakistan.

REASONS:

- **Division between East and West Pakistan** - Religion was not enough to weld together Punjabi speaking West Pakistan with the Bengali speaking East Pakistan.
- **Lack of development in East Pakistan** - The West Pakistani political and economic elite soon acquired a dominant position in Pakistan's army, bureaucracy, economy and polity resulting in discrimination against East Pakistan.
- **Refusal to form Government** - In the elections held in 1970, **Awami league led by Mujibur Rehman won the majority of seats** but the West Pakistan refused him to form the government. So, East Pakistan started a civil disobedience movement to enforce the constitutional provision.
- **Demand for democracy and autonomy** - Over time, the people of East Pakistan developed a powerful movement for democracy in Pakistan and greater autonomy for East Pakistan.
- **Suppression by west Pakistan** - Instead of coming to terms with this movement, West Pakistan decided to suppress it and this transformed into a movement of independence from Pakistan.
- On 25 March 1971, **General Yahya Khan**, the military dictator of Pakistan ordered a military crackdown on East Pakistan and Mujibur Rehman was arrested and taken to an unknown destination in West Pakistan.
- **Reign of terror** - The West Pakistan army initiated a reign of terror for over 6 months in East Pakistan, killing innocent citizens, eliminating intelligentsia, burning villages and crops.

CHAIN OF EVENTS:

- Large sections of East Pakistan reacted by revolting against West Pakistani oppression.

- **Mukti Bahini** - The Awami League leaders formed a Government of Bangladesh in exile in **Calcutta**, organized the **Mukti Bahini** (Liberation Army) and launched a fierce underground movement and guerrilla warfare. Mukti Bahini also known as the **Bangladesh Forces**, was the guerrilla resistance movement formed by the Bangladeshi military, paramilitary and civilians during the War of Liberation that transformed East Pakistan into Bangladesh in 1971.
- **Violence against Hindus** - The brutality of the Pakistani army was specially directed against the Hindus remaining in East Pakistan. They were forced to migrate to Assam, West Bengal, and Meghalaya in India. By November 1971 the number of refugees from East Bengal reached around 10 million.
- **Four-pronged policy**- Indian people strongly supported the East Pakistan's cause and Indira Gandhi adopted four-pronged policy:
 - India gave sanctuary to the Bangladesh government in exile
 - Indian army gave military training on Indian soil and material aid in money and military equipment to the Mukti Bahini.
 - The Indian government was also generous in providing food, clothing, shelter and medical aid to the refugees
 - From April 1961 the Indian armed forces began to prepare for swift military action in case a peaceful solution to the refugee problem could not be found. Moreover, this action of the military had to be finished before the big powers succeeded in halting the conflict and imposing a ceasefire.
- Indira Gandhi was reluctant to launch a full-scale war against Pakistan as the country was already facing the burden due to the continuous flow of refugees from East Pakistan and entering a war meant inviting more burden.
- She also appealed to world leaders to intervene and pressurise Pakistan to stop its brutalities but India did not have much time and a quick response became necessary

INDO-PAK WAR, 1971:

- Following the policy of restraint, Indira Gandhi had two major considerations in view. First, war should be on such time as India choose and second, international opinion had to be won.
- **Considerations for war** - She was aware that military operations in East Pak could not be taken during monsoon because a large number of rivers would be in flood and Himalayan passes would get covered in snow during winter making it impossible for China to intervene and sending troops for aid of Pakistan.
- **Foreign responses** - India's campaign received a positive response from multiple quarters including the students and intelligentsia in the West, people and governments in the Soviet Union etc. But the United States and China adopted a hostile attitude towards India and the US continued to supply arms to Pakistan and China was fully supportive of Pakistan.
- **Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation** - To secure India against a possible US-China intervention in case events led to a war, in August 1971 India swiftly signed a 20-year Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation.
- Despite all this India was reluctant to take action first, even though the Indian army was ready and in fact, **4th December** had been designated as the day the Indian armed forces would directly undertake the liberation of Bangladesh.
- **Operation Chengiz Khan** - However, on **3rd December**, Pakistan's air force launched a surprise attack on military airfields in western India under Operation Chengiz Khan, hoping to inflict serious damage on the Indian Air Force and also to internationalize the Bangladesh issue and secure UN intervention.
 - But Pakistan failed in both objectives. India immediately recognized Bangladesh and gave a strong military reply.

DURING WAR:

- **USA Response** - US Government declared India to be an aggressor and stopped all economic aid to it. But its two resolutions in the UN Security Council were vetoed by the Soviet Union.
 - US Navy's **Seventh Fleet** set out for the Bay of Bengal on 9th December with the objective of forcing India to delay the fall of Dacca.
- Indira Gandhi asked **General Manekshaw**, India's Chief of Army Staff to hurry up the military plan and the Indian armed forces forced the defeated and demoralized 93,000- strong Pakistan army led by **General Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi**, chief of the Pakistani forces to surrender on 16th December in Bangladesh.
- On 17th December, India announced a unilateral ceasefire on the western front. Pakistan accepted the ceasefire and released Mujibur Rehman, who came to power in Bangladesh.
- The continuation of the war would have been hazardous both on diplomatic and military grounds.
 - The United States, China and the UN were then likely to intervene more actively.
 - The Soviet Union also was not in favour of further fighting.
 - War on the western front would also have been very costly both in terms of men and materials.
- **India won** because of the well-structured planning and leadership of Indian forces.
 - Indian navy successfully conducted a blockade of all ports of East Pakistan and in the west, effectively attacking the Pakistani coastline and destroying key targets around Karachi and other Pakistani lifelines.
 - Indian Air Force was able to establish air superiority, and both wings of Pakistan's territory were strategically dissected and isolated.
 - The Pakistani troops — outnumbered, outgunned and outmanoeuvred — could not withstand the well-coordinated and massive Indian advance in the east.
 - Pakistan forces' poor planning; indecision about deployment; hasty and countermanded regrouping; inadequate or even non-existent coordination led them to defeat.

WHAT INDIA GAINED FROM WAR:

- **Rise in status of India** - The balance of power in South Asia had been shifted towards India as it emerged as the pre-eminent power in the region.
 - It had been shown that India was not a weak political entity on the world stage.
- **Refugee problem solved** - The grave refugee problem was solved with the ten million refugees promptly and smoothly sent back to their homes in Bangladesh.
- **Self-respect restored** - The humiliating memory of the defeat in 1962 was wiped out and India's lost pride and self-respect restored.
- **Strength of secularism** - The war had also demonstrated the strength of Indian secularism as all religions stood together at the moment of crisis for a Muslim country.
 - Further, a big blow had been given to the two-nation theory, the basis for Partition in 1947. Muslims in India could now see what treatment had been meted out to Bengali Muslims by the upholders of that theory.
- **Personal victory for Indira Gandhi** - The Bangladesh war was also a personal victory for Indira Gandhi. Indians admired her toughness and determination and the superb leadership qualities she had displayed throughout the crisis.
- **Change in administration in Pakistan** - In Pakistan, demoralized and finding unable to control the situation, the Yahya administration fell when President Yahya Khan turned over his presidency to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was sworn in on 20 December 1971 as President with the control of the military.
- Indira Gandhi realized that a mutual Indo-Pak settlement is necessary as hostile Pakistan would further

affect the region. This led to the Shimla Agreement in 1972.

SHIMLA AGREEMENT (1972):

- There were some issues which needed attention and cooperation between the two countries India and Pakistan such as-
 - A hostile Pakistan would not only force India to maintain a high level of defence expenditure but also enable outside powers to interfere in subcontinental affairs.
 - India still held over 90,000 prisoners of war and was in occupation of nearly 9,000 square kilometres of Pakistani territory.
 - Pakistan was yet to recognize Bangladesh.
- So, a summit conference between **Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto** (PM of Pakistan), was held in **Shimla in June 1972**. The two countries signed an agreement which came to be known as the **Shimla Declaration**.
- **Return of territory** - India agreed to return the Pakistani territory it had occupied, except some strategic points in Kashmir, which were necessary to safeguard the strategic road link between Srinagar and Leh in Ladakh.
- **Respecting LoC** - In return, Pakistan agreed to respect the existing Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir and undertook not to alter it unilaterally by force or threat of force.
- **Settling disputes bilaterally** - The two countries also agreed to settle all their disputes through **bilateral negotiations** without any outside mediation by the UN or any other power.
- **Return of PoW**- India also agreed to return the prisoners of war to Pakistan but this was to be contingent upon a Bangladesh– Pakistan agreement. This occurred the next year when Pakistan recognized Bangladesh in August 1973.

INDIRA GANDHI'S SUCCESS:

- The year 1972 marked the beginning of a new period in which conditions were ripe for the government to fulfil its electoral promises with political stability in the country.
- **Political Success** - The General elections of 1971 and state legislative assemblies elections of 1972 led to a virtual demise of Swatantra Party and Congress (O). The political command at both the Centre and the states were now unified as the majority of states had Congress (R) in power.
 - Indira Gandhi had also acquired virtually complete control over the party.
 - Indira Gandhi's popularity grew further and she replenished the Congress party's social support base.
- **Economic Success** - During 1971–74, the government undertook several measures to implement its radical **ten-point programme**:
 - In August 1972, **General Insurance** was nationalized and five months later the coal industry.
 - Ceilings were imposed on urban land ownership.
 - Government remained fully committed to a mixed economy.
 - MRTTP commission was appointed in 1971 to implement the MRTTP Act.
 - Legislation to reduce ceilings on agricultural landholdings and distribute surplus land to the landless and marginal farmers was also passed in several states.
 - Programme for cheap food grain distribution to the economically vulnerable sections of society.
 - Compulsory for nationalized banks to open branches in under-banked areas and to make credit available to vulnerable sections.
 - Imposed a ban on donations by joint-stock companies to political parties.

- She tried to strengthen the Planning Commission and the planning mechanism.
- 26th Constitutional amendment of 1971 abolished the privileges as well as the purses of the former princes.
- India took the first step towards self-reliance in **nuclear technology** at Pokhran but made it clear that it was not going to make nuclear weapons.

Smiling Buddha: On 7 September 1972, Indira Gandhi authorised the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC) to manufacture a nuclear device and prepare it for a test.

The device was formally called the "**Peaceful Nuclear Explosive**", but it was usually referred to as the *Smiling Buddha*. India's first successful nuclear bomb test on **18 May 1974**.

While India continued to state that the test was for peaceful purposes, it encountered opposition from many quarters. The **Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)** was formed in 1974 in reaction to the Indian tests to check international nuclear proliferation.

Pokhran -II was the second instance of nuclear testing conducted by India on 11 May 1998, under the assigned code name *Operation Shakti*.

Conclusion :

- Indira Gandhi's prestige and popularity increased after the Bangladesh War. She was 'at the pinnacle of her power and glory'. Many Indians referred to her as a modern-day Durga and an incarnation of 'Shakti' or female energy.
- However, after 1973, the tide started turning against Indira Gandhi. The economy, the polity and the credibility of Indira Gandhi's leadership and the Congress government started going downhill because of economic hardships faced by the ordinary population of the country.
- This disillusionment among people found expression in the J.P. movement of 1974 that ultimately led to National Emergency in 1975, the step that cost Indira Gandhi dearly.

Q. Critically examine the compulsions which prompted India to play a decisive role in the emergence of Bangladesh. (2013)

Answer- The Bangladesh Liberation War is also known as the Bangladesh War of Independence, or simply the Liberation War in Bangladesh is incomplete without mentioning the contribution of India.

It all started with 1970 Pakistani elections, in which the East Pakistani Awami League secured a simple majority in the lower house. Leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, refused to yield the premiership of Pakistan to Mujibur, President Yahya Khan called the military, dominated by West Pakistanis, to suppress dissent in East Pakistan.

Reasons which prompted India

- **Refugees-** constant influx of migrants from East Pakistan was creating various problems in the Border States.
- **International community-** The Indian government repeatedly appealed to the international community, but failing to elicit any response Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on 27 March 1971 expressed full support of her government for the independence struggle of the people of East Pakistan.
- **Atrocities-** Atrocities committed on the people of East Pakistan forced India to intervene in the conflict on humanitarian ground to prevent a large-scale crisis.
- **Genocide-** The Pakistan army conducted a widespread genocide against the Bengali population of East Pakistan, aimed in particular at the minority Hindu population.

- **North East Strategic point for India-** Hostile East Pakistan was hindering the development of north-eastern part of the country
- **Militarism-** Attacks on north western India by west Pakistan and help asked by Mukti Vahini led India to enter the war.
- **Strategic, domestic, economic and humanitarian factors** the intervention in 1971 was necessary to safeguard the long-term strategic interests.



13. INDIAN EMERGENCY (1975-77)

Introduction :

- In India, "the Emergency" refers to a 21-month period from 1975 to 1977 when Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had taken unprecedented steps under Article 352 of the Constitution.
- Officially issued by **President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed** under **Article 352** of the Constitution because of the prevailing "**internal disturbance**", the Emergency was in effect from 26 June 1975 until its withdrawal on 21 March 1977.
- The order bestowed upon the Prime Minister the authority to rule by decree, allowing elections to be suspended and civil liberties to be curbed.
- For much of the Emergency, most of Gandhi's political opponents were imprisoned and the press was censored. Several other human rights violations were reported from the time.
- The Emergency is one of the most controversial periods of independent India's history.

BACKGROUND TO THE EMERGENCY:

Economic context-

- **Bangladesh Liberation War** - The Bangladesh crisis had put heavy strain on the economy. After the India-Pakistan war in 1971, the US Government stopped all the aid to India.
- **Oil Crisis** - During this period, oil prices increased by leaps and bounds in the international market because of the oil crisis in October 1973 when the members of the **Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries** proclaimed an **oil embargo**, this led to the massive increase in prices of petroleum products and fertilizers. Another reason was the **Yom Kippur War** also known as the Arab Israel War of 1973 which reduced the oil supply. This drained India's foreign reserves and further increased the budgetary deficit.
- **The decline in food production** - The failure of monsoon in 1972-73 resulted in a sharp decline in agricultural productivity so the prices of commodities increased, a high level of inflation caused much hardship to the people.
- **Low industrial growth** - Industrial growth was low and unemployment was very high, especially in the rural areas.
- **Dissatisfaction among people** - There was a general atmosphere of dissatisfaction among common people and government employees owing to economic failures.

Political context-

- **Strikes and Unrest** - There was large scale industrial unrest and strikes. Eg. all India Railways strike on May 1974.
 - Strikes, student protests, and popular demonstrations often turned violent for example in Bihar,

Gujarat.

- **Marxist activities** - Increase in activities of Marxist groups in West Bengal and insurgency in North East.
- **Problems in Congress** - Congress started declining as a political organization and turned out to be incapable of dealing with political crisis at the state and grass-root levels. The government's capacity to redress the political crisis was impaired by corruption.
- Another development was the growing detachment of 3 major social group from Congress:-
 - The middle class turned against Congress because of price rise and corruption.
 - The rich peasantry started opposing Congress because of the threat of land reforms.
 - The capitalists turned against Congress because of the talk of socialism, nationalization of banks and coal mining and anti-monopoly measures.

GUJARAT AND BIHAR UNREST:

BACKGROUND:

Because of the continuous rise in prices of essential commodities urban middle class was facing an economic crisis. This government was inefficient in dealing with it and there was a rising discontent against the state amongst the people of Gujarat.

Similarly, **Bihar Movement** was a movement initiated by students in Bihar in 1974 and led by the veteran Gandhian socialist Jayaprakash Narayan, popularly known as JP, against misrule and corruption in the government of Bihar.

INCIDENTS IN GUJARAT (Nav Nirman Aandolan):

- **Strike against hike in hostel food fees** - On 20 December 1973, students of L.D. College of Engineering, Ahmedabad went on strike in protest against a 20% hike in the hostel food fees.
 - The same type of strike also organized on 3 January 1974, at Gujarat University resulted in clashes between police and students which provoked students across Gujarat.
- Middle-class people and some factory workers also joined protests in Ahmedabad; they also attacked some ration shops.
- **Nav Nirman Yuvak Samiti** - Students, lawyers, and professors formed a committee, later known as the *Nav Nirman Yuvak Samiti*, to voice grievances and guide protests.

INCIDENTS IN BIHAR:

4. **Bihar Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti (BCSS)** - On 18 February 1974, the Patna University Students Union organized a convention which invited student leaders from the whole state. They formed *Bihar Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti (BCSS)* to spearhead the agitation.
 - BCSS called for a *gherao* at Bihar Legislative Assembly during a budget session on 18 March 1974. They blocked all roads to the assembly and damaged government properties, including the telephone exchange and the residence of former education minister Ramanand Singh, which was set on fire.
5. During May 1974 various students' and peoples' organizations kept demanding the dissolution of the Bihar assembly and also demanded the government's resignation.
6. Indira Gandhi did not change the Chief Minister of Bihar, Abdul Ghafoor, because she did not want to give in to the protestors' calls for the dissolution of the assembly as she did in Gujarat.

IMPACTS:

- **Resignation of Chief Minister** - Due to the pressure of the protests, Indira Gandhi asked Chimanbhai Patel to resign in Gujarat.

- **Fresh elections in Gujarat** - Fresh elections in Gujarat were held and the result was declared on 12 June 1975. The verdict on Indira Gandhi's electoral malpractice was declared the same day which later resulted in the Emergency.

Jayaprakash Narayan was an Indian independence activist, theorist, socialist and political leader. He returned from the US to India in late 1929 as a Marxist. He joined the Indian National Congress on the invitation of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1929; Mahatma Gandhi became his mentor in the Congress. In 1999, he was posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award, in recognition of his social work.

- **Total Revolution** - After a point, **Jayprakash Narayan (JP)** took the leadership of the Bihar movement and gave a call for '**Total Revolution**'.
- **Satyagraha and protests** - The Bihar Movement turned into a Satyagraha and volunteers kept protesting at the Bihar Legislative Assembly, inviting arrest starting on 4 December 1974.
- **Formation of the Janata Party** - Jayprakash Narayan realized the importance of fighting within the democratic system rather than a party-less democracy so he contacted opposition parties, which finally resulted in the formation of the Janata Party.

JAI PRAKASH (JP) MOVEMENT:

INTRODUCTION:

3. Jayaprakash Narayan, popularly referred to as JP or Lok Nayak (People's Leader), was an Indian independence activist, theorist, socialist and political leader.
4. He is also known as the "**Hero of Quit India Movement**" and he is remembered for leading the mid-1970s opposition against Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

BACKGROUND:

- When the Nav Nirman movement resulted in the forced resignation of the Gujarat government, student protests began in Bihar.
- Bihar movement was, however, characterized by two new features. **Jayaprakash Narayan**, popularly known as JP, came out from political retirement, took over its leadership, and gave a call for '**Total Revolution**' or a struggle against the very system which has compelled almost everybody to go corrupt.
- The Year of 1974 ushered in a year of high inflation, unemployment and lack of supplies and essential commodities.
- He asked the students and the people to put pressure on the existing legislators to resign, paralyze the government, gherao the state assembly and government offices, set up parallel people's governments all over the state, and pay no taxes.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MOVEMENT:

- The JP movement was one of the significant movements in India's political life after independence.
- **Against corruption** - Jayprakash Narayan drew on the enormous discontent prevalent in the country to launch a movement.
 - a. The main justification of the JP movement was that it arose to end corruption and defend democracy in Indian life and politics.
- **Organization of movement** - Unlike Gujarat, where the movement was largely unorganized, in Bihar, the

movement was organized.

- a. The proper organizational structure proved to be beneficial when it came to mass mobilization, fundraising, bandhs and campaigns to paralyze the administration.
- **Various NGOs formed** - Together with V. M. Tarkunde, he found the Citizens for Democracy in 1974 and the People's Union for Civil Liberties in 1976, both NGOs, to uphold and defend civil liberties.
- **Spread of JP Movement** - The JP movement quickly spread to other parts of the country – this was mainly because it drew upon the widely held feeling that only a shift in power and a new beginning to India's political life could save India's democracy.

FLAWS OF THE MOVEMENT:

- **Aims were not defined** - The aims of the movement were vague, impractical. JP himself was a critic of parliamentary politics.
 - Socio-economic, political contents and the programme and policies of the Total Revolution were not properly defined.
- **Extra-constitutional and undemocratic** - The agitation methods adopted by the JP movement were extra-constitutional and undemocratic.
- **Coalition of different Ideologies** - The movement was itself a coalition of too many disparate groups – the RSS, the Jan Sangh, Naxal groups, etc.
- **Undermined democratic institutions** - JP's talks of partyless democracy could have been dangerous as it encouraged cynicism and despair towards democratic institutions.
- **Limited social base** - The JP movement did not try to conceptualize radical changes like equalization of resources; as a result, its social base remained limited, not touching the peasantry and working class.
- **Governments dissolved through extra-constitutional means** - The democratically elected governments were dissolved not by direct elections but by the methods of extra-constitutional mass agitations.

END OF THE MOVEMENT:

- Indira Gandhi denounced the JP Movement for its extra-parliamentary approach, challenged JP to test their respective popularity in Bihar as also the country as a whole in the coming general elections, due in February-March 1976.
- JP accepted the challenge and his supporting parties decided to form a National Coordination Committee for the purpose.
- A sudden twist to Indian politics was given by a judgment against Indira Gandhi on 24 June 1975 and her lightening response was to declare a state of **Internal Emergency on 26 June**.
- On 18 January 1977, Gandhi called fresh elections for March and released all political prisoners.
- The **Janata party** was officially launched on 23 January 1977 under JP's guidance when the Janata Morcha, Charan Singh's Bharatiya Lok Dal, Swatantra Party, the Socialist Party of India of Raj Narain and George Fernandes, and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) joined together, dissolving their separate identities and JP movement ended.

CONFLICTS WITH JUDICIARY:

- The court said that the Parliament could not abridge Fundamental Rights, and it could not amend the constitution in such a manner that the rights were curtailed; further, the parliament amended the constitution saying that it can abridge Fundamental Rights to give effect to Directive Principles; the Supreme Court rejected this provision.

Shankari Prasad Case V. Union of India, 1951- It held that the Parliament's amending power under Article 368 also includes power to amend Fundamental Rights under Part III of the Constitution.

Champakam Dorairajan Case (1952) - Supreme Court held that all Fundamental Rights are superior over DPSP. It was the first major verdict of the Supreme Court on the issue of Reservation in which the Supreme Court upheld the Madras High Court's decision to struck down reservations in jobs and colleges. It led to the passing of the First amendment act of 1951 of the Indian Constitution. The Parliament responded by amending and modifying various FRs which were coming in conflict with DPSPs.

Golaknath Case (1967) - Supreme Court held that Fundamental Rights cannot be abridged or diluted. By the **24th Amendment Act 1971**, the Parliament amended Article 13 and 368. This amendment made it clear that Parliament has the power to amend any part of the Constitution including Fundamental Rights and the word 'law' as used in Article 13 does not include a Constitutional Amendment Act. The parliament responded by bringing the **25th Amendment Act, 1971** of the Constitution which inserted Article 31C in Part III. Article 31C contained two provisions:

- a. If a law is made to give effect to DPSPs in Article 39(b) and Article 39(c) and in the process, the law violates Article 14, Article 19 or Article 31, then the law should not be declared as unconstitutional and void merely on this ground.
- b. Any such law which contains the declaration that it is to give effect to DPSPs in Article 39(b) and Article(c) **shall not be questioned in a court of law.**

Kesavananda Bharati Case (1973)- The above amendment was challenged in this case. Court held that Parliament can amend any part of the Constitution, but could not destroy the **Basic Structure** of the Constitution. The second clause of Article 31C was as declared as unconstitutional and void as it was against the Basic Structure of the Constitution propounded in this case itself.

However, the SC upheld the first provision of the Article 31C. The court also held that the power of Judicial review cannot be taken out by Parliament.

- This was followed by the political appointment of the Chief Justice of India because of government pressure.
- **Raj Narayan Case Verdict:**
 - Raj Narayan, a candidate who contested against Indira Gandhi from Rae Bareilly in 1971, lodged cases of election fraud and use of state machinery for election purposes against her in the **Allahabad High Court** in 1972.
 - On 12 June 1975, **Justice Jagmohan Lal Sinha** of the Allahabad High Court found the **Prime Minister guilty** on the charge of misuse of government machinery for her election campaign.
- The court declared her election **null and void** and unseated her from her seat in the **Lok Sabha**. The court also banned her from contesting any election for an additional six years.
- Indira Gandhi challenged the High Court's decision in the Supreme Court. **Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer, on 24 June 1975, upheld the High Court judgment** and ordered all privileges Gandhi received as an MP be stopped.
- The Court's judgment and Gujarat Assembly results revived the opposition movement. On 25 June 1975, JP organized a large rally in Delhi, where he said that a police officer must reject the orders of government if the order is immoral and unethical as this was **Mahatma Gandhi's** motto during the freedom struggle.
- Later that day, Indira Gandhi requested President **Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed** to issue a proclamation of a **state of emergency**.

DECLARATION OF EMERGENCY:

- When Indira Gandhi was found guilty of violating electoral laws by the Allahabad High Court, JP Narayan started calling for Indira and the CMs of Congress in other states to resign.
- President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, on the advice of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, declared a state of emergency under Article 352 of the Constitution of India on 26th June 1975.

JUSTIFICATION OF EMERGENCY BY THE GOVERNMENT:

- India's stability, security, integrity, and democracy were in danger from the disruptive character of the JP movement.
- The Government tried to justify the Emergency by saying that prolonged protests and agitations were bad for governance.
- There was a need to implement a programme of rapid economic development in the interests of the poor and underprivileged.
- There was intervention and subversion from abroad with the aim of weakening and destabilizing India.

EVENTS DURING EMERGENCY:

- **20-Point Programme** - In July 1975, Indira Gandhi announced the 20-Point Programme with the following objectives:
 - Attack on rural poverty
 - Strategy for rainfed agriculture
 - Better use of irrigation water
 - Bigger harvest
 - Enforcement of land reforms
 - Special programmes for rural labour
 - Clean drinking water
 - Health for all
 - Two child norms
 - Justice for SC/ST
 - Equality for women
 - New opportunities for women
 - Housing for the people
 - Improvement for slums
 - New strategy for forestry
 - Protection of environment
 - Concern for the consumer
 - Energy for the villages
 - A responsive administration
- **Suspension of Fundamental Rights** - The proclamation of emergency suspended the federal provisions of the constitution and Fundamental Rights and civil liberties.
 - The government imposed strict censorship on the press.
- **Arrest of political leaders** - Many opposition leaders were arrested under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA), 1971 such as Jaiprakash Narayan, Morarji Desai, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, etc.
- **Banning organizations** - Several extreme communal and ultra-left organizations including the *RSS, Anand Marg, Jamaat-i-Islami and Maoist CP (ML)* were banned.
- **Dismissal of state governments** - State governments were rigidly controlled. Governments of Tamil Nadu

and Gujarat were dismissed.

- **Amendments** - A series of decrees, laws and constitutional amendments reduced the power of the judiciary to check the functioning of the executive.
 - The **Defense of India Act, 1962 and MISA** were amended in July 1975, to the detriment of the citizen's liberties.
- In September 1976, the Government initiated a widespread *compulsory sterilization programme* to limit population growth.
- Parliament was made utterly ineffective.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES INTRODUCED DURING EMERGENCY:

The 38th to 42nd amendments were passed during the Emergency.

- **The 38th Amendment, 1975** barred the review of proclamations of the Emergency, judicial review of overlapping proclamations, of ordinances promulgated by the President or by Governors, and of laws that contravened the Fundamental Rights.
- **The 39th Amendment, 1975:** In the background of the ruling of the Allahabad High Court in the Indira Gandhi case, the amendment declared that elections of Prime Minister, President, and Vice-President could not be challenged in the Court. The Amendment was placed in the Ninth Schedule, beyond judicial review.
- **The 41st Amendment, 1976** said no criminal proceedings "whatsoever" could lie against a President, Prime Minister, or Governor for acts before or during their terms of office.
- **The 42nd Amendment, 1976:**
 - Gave unrestrained powers to Parliament to change the Constitution.
 - Invalidated the Supreme Court ruling in the Kesavananda Bharati case (1973) that the government couldn't change the basic structure of the Constitution
 - Added socialist, secular, integrity in the Preamble and laying down the fundamental duties of the citizens.
 - The duration of the legislature in the country was extended from 5 to 6 years, besides this, during an emergency; elections can be postponed by one year.

Why the 42nd amendment is called "mini-constitution"?

- It was enacted during the Emergency (25 June 1975 – 21 March 1977) by the Indian National Congress government headed by Indira Gandhi.
- 42nd amendment was the only amendment that attempted to change the basic structure of the Constitution.
- It attempted to reduce the power of the Supreme Court and High Courts to pronounce upon the constitutional validity of laws.
- It laid down the Fundamental Duties of Indian citizens to the nation.
- Article 74(1) was amended to make the President to act in accordance with the advice of the Council of Ministers.
- The scope of article 31C was widened to cover all the Directive Principles laid down in the Constitution. Earlier Article 31C saved only laws giving effect to the Directive Principles of State policy specified in article 39(b) and 39(c).
- It amended the Articles 83 and 172 to increase the duration of the Lok Sabha and every Legislative Assembly from five to six years during a situation of emergency.
- This amendment brought about the most widespread changes to the Constitution in its history, and is sometimes called a "mini-Constitution" or the "Constitution of Indira".

PUBLIC RESPONSE TO EMERGENCY:

- Initially, a large majority of the people accepted the Emergency. A major factor in the people's acceptance was its constitutional, legal and temporary character.
- With the restoration of public order and discipline, many felt that the country is saved from chaos and disorder.
- There was less crime, gherao, and violent demonstrations came to an end.
- Quick actions were taken against smugglers, hoarders, illegal traders, and tax evaders.
- From early 1976, the Emergency started becoming unpopular.
- The intelligentsia said that the 42nd Amendment was an effort to undermine democracy- the Emergency started losing its legitimacy.
- A major reason for the growing unpopularity of the emergency was the development of an extra-constitutional center of power- the rise in the political power of Sanjay Gandhi.
- **Sanjay Gandhi** declared his own **five-point programme** promoting literacy, family planning, tree planting, the eradication of casteism and the abolition of dowry.

END OF THE EMERGENCY:

- In January 1977, Indira Gandhi suddenly announced that elections to the Lok Sabha would be held in March.
- The political prisoners were released and got united and the **Janata party** was officially launched on 23 January 1977 under JP's guidance.
- The opposition Janata movement's campaign warned Indians that the elections might be their last chance to choose between "democracy and dictatorship."
- The Elections were held on 16th March 1977 and Mrs. Gandhi and Sanjay Gandhi both lost their Lok Sabha seats, as did all the Congress candidates in northern states such as Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.
- Morarji Desai became the first non-Congress Prime Minister of India. The Emergency came to an end on 21st March 1977.

MAJOR CRITICISMS OF THE EMERGENCY:

- **Neglecting elections** - The political tragedy was that both the JP Movement and Indira Gandhi shunned the option of elections, which are the expression of popular will and legitimacy.
- **Suspension of Fundamental Rights** - Suspension of Fundamental Rights as detention of people by police was done without charge or notification to families.
- **Abuse and torture** - of detainees and political prisoners to curb the opposition.
- **Selective targeting** - Selective targeting of a particular religion as the destruction of the slum and low-income housing in the Turkmen Gate and Jama Masjid area of old Delhi was done
- **Economic problems** - Agricultural output declined, prices rose by 10 percent by the end of 1976.
 - Workers were unhappy because of limits on wages, bonuses and dearness allowance and restrictions on their right to strike.
- **Misuse of government machinery** - Use of public and private media institutions for government propaganda.
 - Forced sterilization to control population.
 - Large-scale enactment of laws (modifications to Constitution).
 - Delay in lifting emergency began to generate the fear that the authoritarian structure of the rule might be made permanent or continue for a long time.
- The critics responded by saying that agitations had been a part and parcel of democracy and it was wrong to proclaim emergency because of them.

SHAH COMMISSION:

- In May 1977, the Janata Party government appointed the Shah Commission.
- It was headed by Justice J.C. Shah, retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India.
- The Commission was appointed to inquire about the “excesses” and “malpractices” that had taken place during the Emergency.
- The commission decided that the decision to impose Emergency was made by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi alone, without consulting her cabinet colleagues, and was not justified.
- Also, it said that the decision to arrest and release certain persons was entirely on political considerations which were intended to be favorable to the ruling party.
- The Government of India accepted the findings, observations, and recommendations contained in the two interim reports and third and final report of the Shah Commission.

Lessons Learnt :

- The Emergency brought out both the weaknesses and the strengths of India’s democracy.
- It brought out some ambiguities regarding the Emergency provision in the Constitution that have been rectified by **44th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1978** since- ‘Internal’ Emergency can be proclaimed only on the grounds of ‘**armed rebellion**’ and it is necessary that the advice to the President to proclaim Emergency must be given in writing by the Council of Ministers.
- The Emergency made everyone more aware of the value of civil liberties.
- The courts have taken an active role after the emergency in protecting the civil liberties of individuals.
- The Elections of 1977 served as a **referendum** on the experience of emergency and the people’s verdict was against it.
- In an indirect manner, the issue of the **welfare of backward classes** began to dominate politics since 1977 and following this **Mandal Commission** was appointed by Janata Party Government at the Centre on 1 January 1979.

Conclusion :

- The Emergency and the period around it can be described as a period of **constitutional crisis** because it had its origins in the constitutional battle over the jurisdiction of the Parliament and the judiciary.
- On the other hand, it was also a period of **political crisis**. The party in the power had an absolute majority and yet, its leadership decided to suspend the democratic process.
- The lifting of emergency and free elections that followed were a defining moment in India’s post-independence history.
- There is no doubt that the decision of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to hold genuinely free elections, her defeat and Opposition’s victory were a remarkable achievement of Indian democracy.

14. POLITICS AFTER EMERGENCY

Background :

- On 18 January 1977, Indira Gandhi called the fresh elections to be held in March and released all political prisoners.
- The **Janata party** was officially launched on 23 January 1977 when the Janata Morcha, Charan Singh's Bharatiya Lok Dal, Swatantra Party, the Socialist Party of India of Raj Narain and George Fernandes, and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) joined together, dissolving their separate identities.
- Indira's Emergency rule was widely unpopular, along with these defections from the Congress (R) government increased and most significant was that of Jagjivan Ram, who commanded great support amongst India's Dalit communities.
- In the 1977 general election, the Janata Party defeated the Congress and Janata Party leader **Morarji Desai** became the *first non-Congress Prime Minister* in independent India's history.

NEW GOVERNMENT:

- After the victory, the Janata party faced a serious challenge in choosing a leader among the political stalwarts like Morarji Desai, Charan Singh, and Jagjivan Ram to become India's new Prime Minister.
- After deliberation, Narayan and Kripalani selected Morarji Desai to become the chairman of the Janata Parliamentary Party.
- Both **Charan Singh and Jagjivan Ram** were accorded the title of deputy Prime Minister. Charan Singh became the Minister of Home Affairs, while Jagjivan Ram took charge of the Ministry of Defence.

JANATA PARTY'S RULE:

- **End of emergency and media censorship** - The first action taken by the Desai government was to formally end the state of emergency and media censorship and repeal the controversial executive decrees issued during the Emergency.
- **Restoring fundamental rights** - It restored Fundamental Rights and full civil liberties to the press, political parties and individuals.
- **44th Constitutional Amendment, 1978**- Through the 44th constitutional Amendment, it also modified the 42nd Amendment passed during the Emergency, repealing those of its provisions which had distorted the constitution. Some major changes done by them are-

42nd Constitutional Amendment,1976	44th Constitutional Amendment,1978
Curtailed the power of the Supreme Court and High Court with regard to the issue of writs and judicial review.	Article 227 was amended to restore to the High Courts their power superintendence over all courts and tribunals within its territorial jurisdiction. The rights of the Supreme Court and High Courts to decide on the validity of central or state legislation were also restored.
Article 74(1) was amended to make the President to act in accordance with the advice of the Council of Ministers.	President may require the Council of Ministers to reconsider any advice tendered to him but the President has to act in accordance with the advice tendered.
Preamble amended to add the words "Socialist Secular and Integrity."	Continued this Amendment.
Extended the life of Lok Sabha (House of People) and Rajya Sabha (Council of States) from 5 to 6 years.	Restored the terms of the House of the People and the State Assemblies to five years.
New Part IVA containing Article 51A was added to provide lists of fundamental duties of citizens.	Continued this Amendment.
New directives added in Part IV Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP). Articles 39A provide for equal justice and free legal aid to economically backward classes. Article 43A provided the participation of workers in the management of industries. Article 48A for protection and improvement of environment and safeguarding of forests and wildlife.	Continued this Amendment.
	Ground of "internal disturbance" was substituted by the ground of "armed rebellion" for an emergency. Proclamation of Emergency has to be approved within a period of one month (instead of two months) with a special majority. For the continuance of the Proclamation of Emergency, approval by resolutions of both Houses will be required every six months. Enforcement of rights under Article 20 and 21 cannot be suspended.

- **Economic Steps :**
 - An effort to provide employment to the rural unemployed through the 'Food for Work' program, which was used to improve village infrastructure such as roads, school buildings, etc.
 - It launched the **Sixth Five-Year Plan (1978-80)**, aiming to boost agricultural production and rural industries.
 - Seeking to promote economic self-reliance and indigenous industries, the government required Multinational Corporations to go into partnership with Indian corporations.
- **Foreign Policy :**
 - The government advocated '**Genuine Non-alignment**' which meant strengthening ties with the US and moderating India's close relations with the Soviet Union.
 - The Desai government re-established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, which had been severed due to the Sino-Indian War of 1962.
 - AB Vajpayee as Minister of External Affairs, represented India at the **U.N. conference on nuclear disarmament**, defending India's nuclear program and its refusal to sign non-proliferation treaties.
- **Social Steps:**
 - **Mandal Commission**, or the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes Commission (*SEBC*), was established in India on 1 January 1979 with a mandate to "identify the socially or educationally backward classes" of India.
 - The Mandal Commission submitted its Report in December 1980 recommending reservation of 27 percent only for backward castes.
 - After being neglected for 10 years by Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, the Report was accepted by the National Front government led by V.P. Singh in 1990.
- **Political pressure:** The Janata government pressurized the ten state governments where the Congress was in power to dissolve the state assemblies and hold fresh elections on June 1977.
- The government also called fresh elections in the state of **Jammu and Kashmir**, where the Janata party won and the veteran Kashmiri politician **Sheikh Abdullah** became Chief Minister.

JANTA PARTY IN CRISIS:

- **Ideological divisions** - Despite a strong start, the Janata government began to wither as significant ideological and political divisions emerged.
 - The party consisted of veteran socialists, trade unionists, and pro-business leaders, making major economic reforms difficult to achieve without triggering a public divide.
- **The disintegration of the coalition** - The political momentum of the regime was lost by the end of 1977 and the uneasy coalition of Janata Party began to disintegrate, though the government remained in power until July 1979.
- **Failure to prove allegations** - The decline in the popularity of the Janata government was aided by the stalled prosecution of Emergency-era abuses and the failure to prove most of the allegations.
- **Corruption allegations on Desai's family** - Support for Morarji Desai declined considerably due to worsening economic conditions as well as the emergence of allegations of nepotism and corruption involving members of his family.
- **Feud with Charan Singh** - His main rival Charan Singh had developed an acrimonious relationship with Morarji Desai and protesting Desai's leadership, Charan Singh resigned and withdrew the support of his BLD.
 - Desai also lost the support of the secular and socialist politicians in the party, who saw him as the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS).

- On 14 July 1979 Morarji Desai resigned from the government and eventually retired from active politics.
- **Janata party split** - The failing health of Jayaprakash Narayan made it hard for him to remain politically active and act as a unifying influence, and his death in 1979 deprived the party of its most popular leader.
 - The Janata Party split and the government which was led by Morarji Desai lost its majority in less than 28 months.
- **Charan Singh as PM** - President Reddy appointed **Charan Singh** as the Prime Minister of a minority government, called him to form a new government and prove his majority.
 - The departure of Morarji Desai and the BJS had considerably diminished Janata's majority, and many of Janata party's MPs refused to support Charan Singh.
- **Withdrawal of support**- Indira Gandhi withdrew her support to Charan Singh's government when he rejected her demand of scrapping the special courts set up to prosecute her.
 - Charan Singh even sought to negotiate with Congress (I), which refused and after only three weeks in office, Charan Singh resigned.
- **Fresh elections announced**- When no other political party was in a position to establish a majority government, President Reddy dissolved the Parliament and called for fresh elections in January 1980.

FAILURES OF JANATA PARTY:

Political failures:

- In the run-up to the 1980 elections, the remaining Janata party leaders tried unsuccessfully to rebuild the party and make fresh alliances. Desai campaigned for the party but himself did not stand for election and preferred retirement from politics.
- Janata Party was a victim of factionalism, manipulation and personal ambitions of its leaders.

Social failures:

- The Janata Party failed to deal with the rapidly growing social tensions in rural areas. There were increasing atrocities and wide prevalence of caste tensions and violent attacks against the poor and Scheduled Castes in North India.
- Janata Party made no effort to fulfill its earlier radical demands for land reform and payment of higher wages to agricultural labourers.
- Jan Sangh tried to promote its communal agenda via textbooks, educational institutions, and the police.

Economical failures: laborers

- The inflation went beyond 20 percent in 1979 and this year also witnessed scarcity of essential daily commodities and kerosene.
- The party failed to evolve any alternative strategy or model of economic and political development to deal with the problems of economic underdevelopment.

REVIVAL OF CONGRESS:

- **Downfall of Congress(R)** - The results of its election defeat considerably weakened and diminished the Congress (R). A large number of established Congress leaders, led by Y.B. Chavan and Brahmanand Reddy, turned against Indira Gandhi and formed Congress (U).
- **Shah Commission** - In May 1977, the Janata Party government appointed the Shah Commission, headed by Justice J.C. Shah, retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India to inquire about the "excesses" and "malpractices" that had taken place during the Emergency.
 - Indira Gandhi used the Shah commission as a forum to present herself as a victim of persecution.
 - Choudhary Charan Singh ordered the arrest of her and Sanjay Gandhi on several charges, her

arrest, and long-running trial gained her great sympathy from many people.

- **Congress (I)** - Indira Gandhi, in return, split the party in January 1978 and MPs still loyal to Indira Gandhi renamed their party to **Congress (I) – "I" standing for Indira**.
- **People turned in favour of Indira Gandhi** - In 1979, special courts were set up to try her for alleged criminal acts during the emergency. The common people considered this as revenge and vendetta and an effort to disgrace her.
 - Indira Gandhi concentrated on Janata party's non-governance and asked the people to vote for 'a government that works'.
- **Withdrawal of support to Charan Singh** - Indira Gandhi withdrew her support to Charan Singh's government when he rejected her demand of scrapping the special courts set up to prosecute her.
- **Elections Results** - Lok Sabha elections were held on January 1980 and Indira Gandhi's party emerged victorious with 353 seats out of 529.
- **Formation of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)** - After the elections, the Janata Party split once again- the old Jan Sangh leaders left to form the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) at the end of 1980 and Jagjivan Ram joined Congress(U).

INDIRA GANDHI'S RETURN :

Indira Gandhi was once again the Prime Minister after having been out of office for thirty-four months.

Success:

- There was some success in the field of economic and foreign policy.
- **Sixth FYP (1980-85)** - Gandhi proceeded to abrogate the Janata Party government's Sixth Five-Year Plan in 1980 and launched her own Sixth Five-Year Plan (1980–85), targeting an average growth of 5.2% over the period of the plan.
- **Economic growth** - The government succeeded in raising the rate of economic growth to over 4 percent per year, with a large increase in agricultural and petroleum crude production, and is gradually bringing down the rate of inflation to 7 percent in 1984.
- **Non-Aligned Movement Summit** - In March 1983, India hosted the seventh summit of the Non-Aligned Movement with Indira Gandhi as its chairman. As a leader of the Non-Aligned Movement, Indira Gandhi actively worked for a new international economic order which would be fairer to the developing countries.
- **Punjab turmoil handled** - In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, the separatist movement began to militarize and saw the increasing involvement of the Sikh religious preacher **Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale** who was the leader of Sikh religious organization called **Damdami Taksal** in Punjab politics.
 - **Operation Bluestar** was an Indian military operation carried out between **1 to 8 June 1984**, ordered by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to remove militant religious leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and his armed followers from the buildings of the Harmandir Sahib complex in Amritsar.
 - The forces had full control of Harmandir Sahib by the morning of 7 June. There were casualties among the Army, civilians, and militants. Bhindranwale was killed in the operation, while many of his followers managed to escape.

Failures:

- There was a lack of direction and a sense of drift, which led to a feeling among the people that not much was being achieved.
- Her earlier energy, decisiveness, determination were replaced by an approach of '**caution and hesitation**'.

- A major weakness was the continuing organizational weakness of Congress and Indira Gandhi's failure to rebuild it and strengthen its structure.
- Central leadership of the party again faced the problems of continuous factionalism and infighting among state party units.
- This organizational weakness adversely affected the party's electoral performances. For example: In Andhra, Congress suffered a massive defeat at the hands of the newly formed Telugu Desam Party (TDP).

Conclusion :

- On 31st October 1984, Indira Gandhi's long tenure as Prime Minister came to an end with her assassination by two Sikh members of her security guards.
- Indira Gandhi possessed great political skills which she continuously developed over time as she faced new situations and challenges.
- A giant of a person, with many strengths and many weaknesses, she strode the Indian political stage after independence longer than any other leader.



15. RAJIV GANDHI YEARS (1984-89)

BACKGROUND:

- After Sanjay Gandhi's death in a fighter plane crash in 1980, Rajiv Gandhi reluctantly entered politics at the behest of Indira Gandhi. He won his brother's Parliamentary seat of Amethi in Uttar Pradesh and became a member of the Lok Sabha.
- As part of his political grooming, Rajiv was made general secretary of the Congress party and given significant responsibility in organizing the 1982 Asian Games.
- He took office after the 1984 assassination of his mother, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, to become the youngest Indian Prime Minister at the age of 40 and served as the 6th Prime Minister of India from 1984 to 1989.

MAJOR PROBLEMS FACED: Rajiv Gandhi faced major crises from the outset of his political career.

- **Communalism** - The horrific massacre of Sikhs in revenge for Indira Gandhi's assassination was taking place in Delhi.
 - Many Sikhs were attacked, their businesses and houses looted and burnt, and around 3000 killed.
 - The perpetrators were the poor, usually slum-dwellers, who looked upon Indira as their leader and sympathizer.
 - Similar violence, though on a smaller scale, broke out in some other North Indian cities, especially Kanpur and Bokaro.
- **Bhopal gas leak tragedy** - Within two weeks of Rajiv Gandhi becoming prime minister, there occurred the Bhopal gas leak tragedy, in which around 3000 people, mostly poor slum-dwellers, lost their lives and many thousands more were taken ill because of poisonous emissions from a chemicals factory run by Union Carbide.
- **Insurgency**- There was an increase of insurgency in northeast India and Mizo National Front was demanding independence for Mizoram

MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS:

Political:

- **Victory in elections** - Congress won a landslide victory with the largest majority in the history of the Indian Parliament in Elections of 1984.

- **Anti-Defection law** - Gandhi's first action as Prime Minister was passing the Anti-Defection law by the 52nd Constitutional amendment in January 1985 and adding **10th Schedule** to the Constitution for curbing corruption and bribery of ministers by switching parties so they could gain a majority.
- **Push to Panchayati Raj Institutions** - Rajiv Gandhi and his government that took the initiative to deepen and strengthen Panchayati Raj Institutions by generating debate and bringing forward legislation to make panchayat elections mandatory by giving them a constitutional sanction.
- **Resolution of secessionist conflicts** - Among the ethnic and secessionist conflicts, the resolution of the Mizoram issue was a notable success.
 - The movement by **Mizo National Front** had racial and religious overtones and its aim was secession of Mizoram from the Indian Union.
 - The **Mizoram Accord of 1986** succeeded in bringing the violent conflict to a satisfactory conclusion. It was an official agreement between the Government of India and the Mizo National Front (MNF) to end insurgency and violence in Mizoram.
- **Dealt with Assam Movement** - Rajiv Gandhi also ended the Assam Movement, which was launched by Assamese people to protest against the alleged illegal migration of Bangladeshi Muslims and immigration of other Bengalis to their state, which had reduced the Assamese to a minority in some areas of the state.
 - He signed the **Assam Accord** the leaders of the Assam Movement on 15 August 1985. According to which, foreigners who came to the state between 1951 and 1961 were given full citizenship but those who arrived there between 1961 and 1971 did not get the right to vote for the next ten years.

Economical:

- **Technology Missions** - Rajiv Gandhi's most well-known initiative was the setting up of six '**Technology Missions**', something that for many Indians epitomized the new, modern and technological approach of the prime minister. The idea was to apply **science and technology** to six areas of underdevelopment in which a scientific approach would be useful in solving problems.
 - The most important of these was the **drinking water mission**, whose aim was to provide drinking water to all Indian villages, only one-fifth of which had potable water supplies.
 - The **literacy mission** was aimed at attacking the serious problem of mass illiteracy. This was to be achieved by making use of and extending television networks in rural areas.
 - The third mission was targeted at the **immunization** of pregnant women and children, again an idea that has caught on and is pursued with greater vigor today with the mass campaign for immunization of children against polio being a recent example.
 - The fourth mission was to promote the '**White Revolution**', or milk production, by improving the milk yield and health of cows and buffaloes, and this was remarkably successful.
 - The fifth mission was charged with the task of expanding **edible oil production**.
 - The aim of the sixth mission was to bring one **telephone to every village** in the country by the end of the century.
- **Computerization program** - A big push was also given by Rajiv to India's computerization program by lowering import duties on component, allowing foreign manufacturers to enter the market and encouraging the use of computers in offices and schools

Social:

- **Educational Initiatives** - In 1986, he announced a **National Policy on Education** to modernize and expand higher education programs across India with main planks being '**Operation Blackboard**'(providing basic amenities to schools) and distance education.

In 1985, he founded the **Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya System**, which is a Central government-based education institution that provides rural populations with free residential education from grades six to twelve.

- **Employment Initiatives** - Another measure directed at the rural poor was the **Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (1989)** or Employment Plan which aimed at providing employment to at least one member of every rural poor family for 50–100 days in the year.
- **Cleaning of River Ganga** - He launched a massive effort to clean the river Ganga and created the Ministry of Environment.
- His efforts created **MTNL** in 1986, and his public call offices—better known as **PCOs**—helped develop the telephone network in rural areas.

Foreign Policy:

- The "whole gamut" of Rajiv Gandhi's foreign policy was "geared towards" making India "strong, independent, self-reliant and in the front rank of the nations of the world".
- **Operation Flowers are Blooming** - In 1986, on the request of President of **Seychelles**, Gandhi sent India's navy to Seychelles to oppose an attempted coup. The intervention of India averted the coup and the mission was codenamed as Operation Flowers are Blooming (1986).
- **Delhi Declaration** - the joint-statement by Gorbachev (President of USSR) and Rajiv Gandhi, which came during Gorbachev's India visit in November 1986, endorsed Gandhian philosophy of non-violence as the guiding principle in international relations.
- **Operation Rajiv** - In 1987, India re-occupied the Quaid Post in the disputed Siachen region of the Indo-Pakistani border after winning what was termed Operation Rajiv.
- **Endorsed nuclear disarmament** - Rajiv Gandhi advocated the causes of nuclear disarmament and the fight against apartheid in South Africa and Namibian independence.
 - On 9 June 1988, at the fifteenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, Gandhi made vocal his views on a world free of nuclear weapons, to be realized through an '**Action Plan for Ushering in a and Non-Violent World Order**'.
- **Equal concentration on the USA and the Soviet Union** - He equally concentrated on the two superpowers USA and Soviet Union. India signed with the United States an agreement on March 1988, for the transfer of high technology and subsequent acquisition of Super Computers.
- **China Visit** - Rajiv's visit to China in 1988, the first by an Indian prime minister since Nehru's maiden visit in 1954 was remarkable. During which both sides agreed to negotiate a boundary settlement and would maintain peace and tranquillity at the boundary.
- **Operation Cactus** - In 1988, the **Maldives coup**, the Maldivian President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom asked for help from Gandhi. He dispatched 1500 soldiers and the coup was suppressed.
 - India's intervention in the attempted coup became necessary as, in the absence of Indian intervention, external powers would have been tempted to intervene or even to establish bases in the Maldives which being in India's backyard would have been detrimental to India's national interest. India, therefore, intervened with "**Operation Cactus**".

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS:

BHOPAL GAS TRAGEDY:

- It was a gas leak incident on the night of 2–3 December 1984 at the **Union Carbide India Limited (UCIL) pesticide plant** in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh, India.

- Over 500,000 people were exposed to **methyl isocyanate (MIC)** gas. The government of Madhya Pradesh confirmed a total of 3,787 deaths related to the gas release.
- **Legal Measures** - Legal proceedings involving UCC, the United States and Indian governments, local Bhopal authorities, and the disaster victims started immediately after the catastrophe.
 - The Indian Government passed the Bhopal Gas Leak Act in March 1985, allowing the Government of India to act as the legal representative for victims of the disaster.
 - Civil and criminal cases filed in the United States against UCC and **Warren Anderson**, UCC CEO at the time of the disaster, were dismissed and redirected to Indian courts on multiple occasions between 1986 and 2012, as the US courts focused on UCIL being a standalone entity of India.
- **Supreme Court decision** - In 1998, the Supreme Court of India reached a settlement with Union Carbide: They had to pay 470 million US dollars to the Indian state.
 - In June 2010, seven Indian nationals who were UCIL employees in 1984, including the former UCIL chairman, were convicted in Bhopal of causing death by negligence and sentenced to two years imprisonment and a fine of about \$2,000 each, the maximum punishment allowed by Indian law. All were released on bail shortly after the verdict. Former UCC CEO Anderson, then 92 years old, died on 29 September 2014.

SHAH BANO CASE:

- **Mohd. Ahmed Khan v. Shah Bano Begum (1985)** - commonly referred to as the **Shah Bano Case**, was a controversial maintenance lawsuit in India, in which the Supreme Court delivered a judgment favoring maintenance given to an aggrieved divorced Muslim woman.
- **Controversy about civil code** - The judgment in favor of the woman, in this case, evoked criticisms among Muslims. It triggered controversy about the extent of having different civil codes for different religions in India.
- **Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986** - This case caused the Congress government to pass the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986 which diluted the judgment of the Supreme Court and restricted the right of Muslim divorcees to alimony from their former husbands for only 90 days after the divorce.
 - The law received criticism from several sections of the society and was called an act of "appeasement" towards the minority community.
- In the 1980s, Hindu nationalist groups and political parties launched a campaign to construct the Ram Janmabhoomi Mandir ("Rama birthplace temple") at the site. The Rajiv Gandhi government allowed Hindus to access the site for prayers

TRIPLE TALAQ

- Triple talaq is a form of divorce that was practiced in Islam, whereby a Muslim man could legally divorce his wife by pronouncing *talaq* (the Arabic word for divorce) three times.
- The pronouncement could be oral or written, or, in recent times, delivered by electronic means such as telephone, SMS, email or social media.
- The **Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage) Act, 2019** passed in July 2019 which made triple talaq a criminal offense and banned its practice.
- It stipulates that instant triple talaq (*talaq-e-biddat*) in any form – spoken, written, or by electronic means such as email or SMS – is illegal and void, with up to three years in jail for the husband.
- Under the new law, an aggrieved woman is entitled to demand maintenance for her dependent children.

- The offense is non-bailable. But there is a provision that the Magistrate may grant bail to the accused. The bail may be granted only after hearing the wife and if the Magistrate is satisfied with reasonable grounds for granting bail.
- The wife is entitled to seek custody of her minor children from the marriage.

BOFORS SCANDAL:

- In 1986, India signed a deal with **Swedish** arms manufacturer **AB Bofors** for the supply of **Howitzer** guns for the Army.
- **Allegations** - About a year later, on 16 April 1987, Swedish Radio alleged that Bofors paid kickbacks to people from a number of countries including top Swedish and Indian politicians and key defense officials to seal the deal.
 - As a result of the revelations, the Indian government blacklisted Bofors in 1987, preventing the company from doing business in India.
- **Link to Gandhi family** - V. P. Singh, the Defence Minister, uncovered what is known as the Bofors scandal, which involved millions of US dollars and concerned alleged payoffs by the Swedish arms company Bofors through Italian businessman and Gandhi family associate **Ottavio Quattrocchi**, in return for Indian contracts.
- **Rajiv Gandhi explanations** - Rajiv Gandhi told the Lok Sabha that no kickbacks were paid and no middlemen were involved.
- **Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC)** - set up under former union minister B Shankaranand to investigate the kickbacks allegations in 1987. It was a major issue that was highlighted in subsequent elections, which led to the Congress losing power in 1989.
- **CBI's Role** - On 22 January 1990, CBI had registered the FIR for the alleged offenses of criminal conspiracy, cheating, forgery under the Indian Penal Code and other sections of **Prevention of Corruption Act** against Martin Ardbo, the then President of AB Bofors, alleged middleman Win Chadda and Hinduja brothers.
 - On 22 October 1999 (National Democratic Alliance government led by the Bharatiya Janata Party was in power) the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) filed the **first against** Quattrocchi, Win Chadha, Rajiv Gandhi, the defense secretary S. K. Bhatnagar and a number of others.
 - However, on 16 January 2006, CBI claimed in an affidavit filed before the Supreme Court that they were still pursuing extradition orders for Quattrocchi. The Interpol, at the request of the CBI, has a long-standing red corner notice to arrest Quattrocchi. Quattrocchi was detained in **Argentina** on 6 February 2007, as there was no extradition treaty between India and Argentina, the case was presented in the Argentine Supreme Court.
- **Lifting ban from Bofors** - In 1999, the Indian government lifted its blacklist on Bofors.
 - The lifting of the ban came during the Kargil War when the Bofors guns proved to be efficient but were crippled by a shortage of spare parts.
- **Delhi High Court's judgments** - In 2005, the **Delhi High Court** quashed the charges of bribery against Rajiv Gandhi and others.
 - The government of India lost the extradition case as the government of India did not provide a key court order which was the basis of Quattrocchi's arrest.
 - A Delhi court provided temporary relief for Quattrocchi from the case, for lack of sufficient evidence against him, on 4 March 2011. On 12 July 2013, Quattrocchi died of a heart attack in Milan.

SRI LANKA AND LTTE:

Background:

- In **Sri Lanka**, however, India got involved in a messy situation from which India found it difficult to extricate herself as that civil war threatened India's "unity, national interest, and territorial integrity."
- **Threat to India** - threat came in two ways: On the one hand, external powers could take advantage of the situation to establish their base in Sri Lanka thus posing a threat to India and on the other, the LTTE's dream of a sovereign **Tamil Eelam** comprising all the Tamil inhabited areas (of Sri Lanka and India) posed a threat to India's territorial integrity.
- **Liberation Tigers of the Tamil Eelam (LTTE)** - The problem began when thousands of Tamils from Sri Lanka fled to Tamil Nadu in India in 1983 when the Sri Lankan government launched heavy repression on **Jaffna**, the base of the Liberation Tigers of the Tamil Eelam (LTTE), an organization fighting for Tamil autonomy and independence from Sri Lanka.
- **Public opinion in India was in favor of LTTE** - Public opinion in India, especially in Tamil Nadu, whose people spoke the same language as the refugees, were strongly in favor of India doing something to help the Sri Lankan Tamils.
- The Sri Lankan army blocked the Tamil majority district of Jaffna; Gandhi ordered relief supplies to be dropped into the area by parachute because the Sri Lankan navy did not allow the Indian Navy to enter.

Indo Sri Lanka Accord:

- Rajiv Gandhi signed the **Indo-Sri Lanka Accord** on 29 July 1987 with Sri Lankan **President Jayewardene**.
- **Devolution of power to Tamilians** - The accord "envisaged a devolution of power to the Tamil-majority areas", a merger—subject to later referendum—of the Northern and the Eastern provinces into the single province, dissolved the LTTE, and designated Tamil as an official language of Sri Lanka (this was enacted as the **13th Amendment to the Constitution of Sri Lanka**).
- **Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF)** - India agreed to establish order in the North and East through a force dubbed the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and to cease assisting Tamil insurgents. Militant groups including the LTTE, although initially reluctant, agreed to surrender their arms to the IPKF.
- **Operation Pawan** - was the codename assigned to the operations by the Indian Peace Keeping Force to take control of Jaffna from the LTTE in late 1987 to enforce the disarmament of the LTTE as a part of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord.

End of Indian Involvement:

- Nationalist sentiment led many Sinhalese to oppose the continued Indian presence in Sri Lanka. These led to the Sri Lankan government's call for India to quit the island, and they allegedly entered into a secret deal with the LTTE that culminated in a ceasefire.
- In April 1989, the Ranasinghe Premadasa government ordered the Sri Lanka Army to clandestinely hand over arms consignments to the LTTE to fight the IPKF and its proxy Tamil National Army (TNA). Although casualties among the IPKF mounted, and calls for the withdrawal of the IPKF from both sides of the Sri Lankan conflict grew, Rajiv Gandhi refused to remove the IPKF from Sri Lanka.
- However, following his defeat in Indian parliamentary elections in December 1989, the new Prime Minister V. P. Singh ordered the withdrawal of the IPKF, and their last ship left Sri Lanka on 24 March 1990.
- The Supreme Court judgement, by Justice K. T. Thomas, confirmed that Rajiv Gandhi was killed because of personal animosity by the **LTTE chief Prabhakaran** arising from his sending the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to Sri Lanka and the alleged IPKF atrocities against Sri Lankan Tamils.

HIS WEAKNESSES:

- Rajiv Gandhi shuffled his cabinet once every two months on an average.
- The biggest problem was his relative lack of political experience, unfamiliarity with the nuances of grassroots mobilization and party organization.
- He used to give flashes of temper and sometimes spoke without having thought through the consequences.
- Allegations of black money and the Bofors scandal damaged his corruption-free image.

CONCLUSION:

- Even though Rajiv Gandhi had won the last election by a landslide, the election of 1989 saw him trying to fight off scandals that had marred his administration.
- Gandhi remained Congress President until the elections in 1991 and while campaigning for the elections at **Sriperembudur in Tamil Nadu** he was assassinated by a suicide bomber from the LTTE on **21 May 1991**.
- A modern-minded, decisive but undemonstrative man, Mr. Gandhi was at home in the world of high technology. And, as he had repeatedly said, one of his main objectives, besides preserving India's unity, was to propel it into the twenty-first century.
- Changes after 1989 in the Indian polity led to drastic changes in the nature of Indian federalism.



16. V.P. SINGH GOVERNMENT (1989-1990)

Introduction :

- Vishwanath Pratap Singh, the active participator of the Bhoodan Movement in 1957, was the 7th the Prime Minister of India from 1989-90 in the Janata Dal (National Front) government.
- His Prime Ministerial tenure lasted for 11 months from December 1989 to November 1990.
- He also served as the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh from June 1980- June 1982 during Indira Gandhi's period when congress came back to power in 1980 after Janata Party interregnum.
- After the death of Indira Gandhi in 1984, Rajiv Gandhi, appointed V.P.Singh as the Union minister of finance in the Congress (I) government and later Union minister of defense in January 1987.

Rise of Janata Dal and the General Elections of 1989 :

- During his term as a Union Defence minister, words began to spread that V.P.Singh possess information about the Bofors Defence Deal between India and Sweden that could damage the reputation of the Prime Minister.
- V.P.Singh was dismissed from the cabinet of the ruling government and subsequently, he left his membership to the Congress Party (I) in response to it.
- He along with his associates Arun Nehru and Arif Mohammad Khan formed an opposition party by the name of **Jan Morcha** in 1988.
- Jan Morcha merged with Janata Party, Lok Dal and Congress (S) to form **Janata Dal** in 1988 with V.P.Singh as its president. Janata Dal was formed as a centrist party in opposition to Rajiv Gandhi's Congress (I) party.
- This Janata Dal formed a national level federation known as '**National Front**' by including various regional parties such as the DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam), Telugu Desam Party and Asom Gana Parishad with V. P. Singh as its convener and NT Rama Rao as its President.
- The so formed 'National Front' fought 1989 general elections and was able to form the central government with the outside support of right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani and the Communist Left Front.
- V.P.Singh himself proposed the name of Devi Lal as the Prime Minister for the new government, but Devi Lal himself recused his name from the candidature and forwarded V.P.Singh's name for the same (he said that he would prefer to be an 'elder uncle' to the Government). The coalition agreed and V.P.Singh was sworn in as the Prime Minister of India on 2nd December 1989. However, this decision was not applauded by

Chandra Shekhar (former head of erstwhile Janata Party and rival of V.P. Singh) and he refused to serve in the cabinet of the new government.

Era of Coalition Politics in India

- India experienced the formation of its first coalition government in 1977-79 (Janata Party Government under Morarji Desai). However, this coalition government was short-lived and there was re-emergence of single-party government under the leadership of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi during the period from 1980-89 (Congress - I government).
- With the end of the Rajiv Gandhi era after the ninth general elections of 1989, India saw the beginning of coalition party governments in India, which lasted till 2014 as no single party was able to secure a simple majority in the Lok Sabha seats to form the central government.
- The first coalition government was headed by V.P. Singh in 1989 as the leader of the National Front government.
- The subsequent coalition governments were:
 - Chandra Shekhar government of 1990 under the coalition of Samajwadi Janata Party and the Congress (I).
 - H. D. Deve Gowda government (1996-97) and I.K. Gujral government (1997-98) under the National Front coalition.
 - Atal Bihar Vajpayee government of 1999-2004 under the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) coalition.
 - Manmohan Singh governments from 2004-2009 and 2009-14 under the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) coalition.
- The coalition politics era ended in 2014, when the BJP party was able to secure a clear majority in the Lok Sabha seats. However, the central government formed was named as the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government as allied parties of the BJP were included in the government. This trend continued in 2019 general elections too where BJP managed to secure a majority in Lok Sabha once again.

Various Events and Policies of The V.P. Singh Government :

The 11-month long government of V.P. Singh worked for the betterment of Indian scenarios on various fronts. Their works include:

- **Social Policies and Events**
 - **Reservation for Backward Classes**
 - a. Focusing on the social justice-related issues, V.P. Singh decided to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission report of 1980.

B.P Mandal Commission of 1979

- **Background**
 - *The Independent India in 1947 pursued its agenda of providing benefits to the “Depressed Classes” or the Scheduled Castes and Tribes of India to compensate for the historical wrongdoings and improve their livelihood conditions.*
 - *However, there were no benefits for other backward classes apart from SCs and STs, who were equally or more backward in terms of social and economic parameters.*
 - *To tackle this problem, India set up its first Backward Classes Commission on January 29th, 1953, by a Presidential Order under Article 340 of the Constitution. It was famously known as*

the Kaka Kalelkar Commission of 1953. The commission in its 1955 report highlighted that India has 2399 backward groups out of which 837 were 'most backward' and the major evidence of backwardness cited was caste.

- *The recommendations of the commission regarding the acceptance of caste as criteria for backwardness were rejected. The government cited the reason: 'It cannot be denied that the caste system is the greatest hindrance in the way of our progress towards an egalitarian society, the recognition of the specified castes as backward may serve to maintain and even perpetuate the existing distinctions on the basis of caste.'*
- **B.P Mandal Commission**
 - *The unchanged circumstances of various backward castes in India over the years increased the need to understand this caste linked backwardness.*
 - *Hence this Socially and Educationally Backward Classes Commission (SEBC) was established in India on 1 January 1979 by the Janata Party government of Prime Minister Morarji Desai with a mandate to "identify the socially or educationally backward classes" of India.*
 - The Commission first time used the term 'Other Backward Classes' and reported that 52% of the country's population was comprised of OBCs.
 - It suggested a fixed reservation quota for OBCs in all jobs to the public sector undertakings both under the Central and State level governments including all public educational institutions.
 - Though the report was published in 1983, but no action was taken by the successive governments because of popular agitation in opposition to it.
- **Recommendations of the Mandal Commission report were:**
 - Keeping in view the already present 22.5% of the reservation quota for SCs and STs, the commission recommended reservation of 27% for OBC candidates in all levels of government services, even though their population was almost twice this figure. This was done to keep the overall reservation limit of upto 50%.
 - States which have already introduced reservation for OBCs exceeding 27%, to remain unaffected.
 - This reservation should also be made applicable to promotion quota at all levels.
 - Reserved quota remaining unfulfilled should be carried forward for a period of three years and de-reserved thereafter.
 - Relaxation in the upper age limit for direct recruitment should be extended to the candidates of OBCs in the same manner as done in the case of SCs and STs.
 - A roster system should be prepared for the backward classes on the pattern of that for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.
- **Outcome**
 - V.P. Singh's decision to implement the Mandal Commission recommendations caused big upheavals across the country. There was self-immolation by young people and V.P. Singh was portrayed as a destroyer of social harmony.
 - *The reaction of the southern states was mild to the recommendation of the commission as reservation in those states was already touching 50% and they were more agreeable to those recommendations.*
 - The government's decision was followed by the filing of various litigations in the Indian courts. Supreme Court put a temporary stay on the implementation of this reservation to hear the cases.
 - **Narasimha Rao government** introduced two changes to the 1980 Mandal Commission report in 1991:

- a. Preference to the poorer sections among the OBCs in the 27% quota, i.e., adoption of the economic criteria in granting reservation.
 - b. Reservation of another 10% of jobs for poorer (economically backward) sections of higher castes who are not covered by any existing schemes of reservation.
- ***All the above governmental measures were taken by the Supreme Court in Indra Sawhney & Others vs Union of India - 1992 / Mandal Case.***
- a. Court rejected the additional reservation of 10% for poorer sections of higher castes but upheld the constitutional validity of 27% reservation for the OBCs with certain conditions viz,
 - i. The advanced sections among the OBCs (the creamy layer) should be excluded from the list of beneficiaries of the reservation.
 - ii. No reservation in promotions; reservation should be confined to initial appointments only. Any existing reservation in promotions can continue for five years only (i.e., up to 1997). Supreme court reasoned that Article 16(4) merely enables the government to make such provision at entry-level and does not empower the government to extend it for the promotion.
 - iii. Court laid down the concept of Vertical Reservation i.e. the total reserved quota should not exceed 50% except in some extraordinary situations. This rule should be applied every year.
 - iv. The 'carry forward rule' in case of unfilled (backlog) vacancies is valid. But it should not violate the 50% rule.
 - v. A permanent statutory body should be established to examine complaints of over-inclusion and under-inclusion in the list of OBCs.
 - b. Narasimha government's response to the court's decision:
 - i. It set up the 'Ram Nandan Committee' to identify the creamy layer among the OBCs. It submitted its report in 1993, which was accepted.
 - ii. National Commission for Backward Classes was established in 1993 by an act of Parliament. It considers inclusions in and exclusions from the lists of castes notified as backward for the purpose of job reservation.
 - iii. Government also brought 'The 76th Amendment Act of 1994' to place the '**Tamil Nadu Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Reservation of Seats in Educational Institution and of appointments or posts in the Services under the State) Act, 1994**' in the Ninth Schedule to protect it from judicial review as it provided for 69 percent of reservation for Tamil Nadu, far exceeding the 50 percent ceiling.
 - iv. In order to nullify the ruling with regard to reservation in promotions, the 77th Amendment Act was enacted in 1995. It added a new provision in Article 16 that empowers the State to provide for reservation in promotions of any services under the State in favor of the SCs and STs that are not adequately represented in the state services.
 - The Vajpayee government brought the 81st Amendment Act of 2000 to end the 50% ceiling on reservation in backlog vacancies. Another amendment (85th Amendment Act of 2001) was passed to provide for 'consequential seniority' in the case of promotion by virtue of rule of

reservation for the government servants belonging to the SCs and STs with retrospective effect from June 1995.

- In 2006 the government decided to implement this reservation policy in central and private institutes of higher education. There were a series of protests against this provision and it was challenged in Supreme Court.
- Supreme Court of India on April 2008 upheld the law providing 27% reservation to OBCs in higher educational institutes. However, it directed the government to exclude the 'creamy layer' among OBCs for the same.

- **Babri Masjid and The Rath Yatra**

- The period of the late 1980s and early 1990s saw the resurgence of fundamentalist ideology in India.
- The BJP party (that gave outside support to V.P.Singh's coalition government) moved forward with its fundamentalist agenda of Ram Janmabhoomi agitation to increase their share in vote bank on communal lines.
- The party set the agenda of doing 'kar-seva' (demolition of the mosque and construction of the temple) on 30 October 1990.
- This created a wave of high sentiments among various radical Hindu organizations and they supported the BJP's movement.
- The BJP party president Lal Krishna Advani decided to launch a 'Rath Yatra' to the disputed site in Ayodhya from **Somnath in Gujarat**. It was a tour of about 35 days (from **25 September 1990 to 30 October 1990**) passing via 10 northern states in India. A modified vehicle was also prepared (to give it a mystical look of a mythical chariot) with an intention of drumming up the support.
- The allies of the V.P.Singh government started showing their discontention against the BJP's Rath Yatra as it created a serious law and order situation in different states.
- V.P.Singh decided to stop this chaos and L.K.Advani was arrested in Bihar on the charges of disturbing the peace and fermenting communal tension before he could complete the tour.

Babri Event

- Babri Mosque was a three-dome structure built during the reign of Mughal Emperor Babur in 1526 in Faizabad/Ayodhya. The place is also considered as the birthplace of Hindu God Lord Ram and hence named 'Ram Janambhoomi'.
- The campaign for the construction of the temple at that site was started in the 1980s by the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) (Indian right-wing religion organization) and BJP. Various rallies were organized by these organizations for this agitation. L.K. Advani's Rath Yatra of 1990 was also one of them.
- L.K. Advani was released soon after his arrest in 1990. BJP withdrew their political support from the V.P.Singh government and the central government fell due to loss of majority in the Lok Sabha.
- After the release of L.K. Advani, right-wing organizations carried out propaganda regarding Babri Masjid throughout the country. This fanned atmosphere of animosity among two major religions of India in upcoming years.
- **On 6 December 1992**, a rally was organized near the Babri mosque site in Ayodhya by the VHP, BJP, Shiv Sena, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS, another Indian right-wing paramilitary volunteer organization)

and their affiliates.

- The rally turned violent during its proceeding and the crowd outnumbering the local police administration, marched towards the Babri Mosque and demolished it. The demolition was followed by communal violence across India.

Outcome

- The Babri masjid or the Ayodhya dispute could not be solved even till date. The brief timeline of case is :
 - The central government in 1992 set up Justice Manmohan Singh Liberhan **Commission (Liberhan Ayodhya Commission for Inquiry)** to investigate the destruction of the disputed structure of Babri Masjid under retired High Court Judge M. S. Liberhan by an order of the Indian Home Union Ministry.
 - Allahabad high court in 2002 ordered the **Archaeological Survey of India (ASI)** to find out if there would be evidence of temple beneath the Mosque. ASI reported the evidence of the temple on the basis of columns and pillars that might be a representation of Hindu, Buddhist or Jaina elements.
 - **Liberhan Commission submitted** its report in 2009 and the report blamed 68 persons for the demolition, bulk of them from Rashtriya SwayamSevak Sangh, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, the Bajrang Dal, and the BJP. The list included names of famous politicians like Lal Krishna Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and the then Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Kalyan Singh.
 - The 2010 Allahabad High Court judgment ruling for tri-partition of the 2.77-acre land among deity Ram Lalla, the Nirmohi Akhara and the Sunni Waqf Board was challenged in Supreme Court. Supreme Court subsequently put a stay on the Allahabad high court order and ordered to maintain the status quo.
 - In 2015, The **Vishwa Hindu Parishad** declared **nationwide to collect stones for the construction of the Ram Mandir** at the disputed land of Babri-Masjid. However, the move was opposed by the UP government under Akhilesh Yadav.
 - In 2017 Supreme Court refused to drop charges against L.K. Advani and other leaders **on the basis of the Babri-Masjid demolition case** said the case must be revived. The court reinstated the conspiracy case against politicians like **L K Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi and Uma Bharti**.
 - In 2018, the Supreme Court decided that the land dispute case will only be listed before an “appropriate Bench” in January 2019. Hence the Supreme Court sets up a five-judge Constitution Bench to hear the case headed by Chief Justice Ranjan Gogoi and comprising Justices SA Bobde, NV Ramana, UU Lalit, and DY Chandrachud. However, Justice Lalit recused himself.
 - Later the bench favored to solve the matter via mediation process with Retired Justice Kalifullah chairing the court-appointed and monitored mediation process. The other two members included spiritual leader Sri Sri Ravi Shankar and senior advocate Sriram Panchu.
 - However, the mediation process decided by the supreme court failed as it could not satisfy any of the parties.
- Currently, there has been daily hearing of the case going on in the supreme court to resolve this issue.

- **International Policies**

- a. V.P. Singh ended the Indian army’s peacekeeping operation in Sri Lanka that started in 1987. The Indian Peace Keeping forces were withdrawn without even completing their mission, to avoid any further interference in the internal matters of the neighbouring country.

- Sri Lanka was undergoing a phase of insurgency since 1983, due to conflict between insurgent groups like Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE, also known as the Tamil Tigers) and the Sri Lankan government.
- The insurgent groups wanted to create an independent Tamil state called Tamil Eelam in the north and the east of the island.
- India sent Peacekeeping forces to Sri Lanka in 1987 under the mandate of the **1987 Indo-Sri Lankan Accord** that aimed to end the Sri Lankan Civil War.
- There was a high feeling of resentment among the Tamilian people against the role played by the Indian government in Sri Lanka.

- b. V.P. Singh's government worked to maintain cordial relations with its South Asian Neighbours. The government sent a message to all South Asian Countries that India was not interested in playing the role of "big brother" in the neighbourhood but as an "equal partner".
- c. The Gulf War of August 1990 truly tested Indian diplomacy. It started when Iraq attacked Kuwait to capture it. To ensure evacuation of Indians from Iraq, VP Singh sent his external affair minister I.K. Gujral to Iraq. Gujral met with Saddam Hussain to discuss evacuation of Indians along with some other issues.

Analysis

- Sending Indian Peace Keeping Forces to Sri Lanka not only cost heavily on Indian exchequer and soldiers but also resulted in the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991. This peacekeeping mission also created an image of India's hegemonic attitude among its neighbors.
- The meeting between I.K.Gujral and Saddam Hussain escalated tensions between India and the US. To please the US, the Indian government not only allowed US Mediation over Kashmir issue but also allowed refueling facilities for American Fighter Planes on the way to the Gulf. The Indian government also supported the controversial resolution of the UN Security Council to impose rigid economic sanctions on Iraq. These events created a major turmoil in India against the government.
- Later India reverted to non-interference in internal matters of other states. It was seen recently when India ruled out sending troops to Afghanistan to solve its internal conflicts however it said that would work with Kabul to eradicate terrorism via the 'Afghan-led' process itself.
- The successive governments continue to treat India's neighbourhood equally irrespective of the deepness of their bilateral engagement.
- The evacuation missions has been continued by the successive Indian government. The recent example includes the Indian Army's 2015 Operation Raahat which was carried out to evacuate Indian citizens and foreign nationals from Yemen when military interventions were carried out by Saudi Arabia during the Yemeni Crisis.

○ **National Security Events**

- a. Soon after he joined his office as the Prime Minister, he faced his first challenge when the Kashmiri militants kidnapped the daughter of his Home Minister, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed (former Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir). V.P. Singh government decided to agree to the demands of militants in exchange for the release.

- b. There was a high wave of separatist movement in Punjab at that time. To solve the matters via soft power, V.P. Singh himself made a much-publicized visit to the Golden Temple to ask forgiveness for Operation Blue Star. He discusses other events that caused turmoil in Punjab and his government decided to move forward to hold fresh elections in the state of Punjab to provide stability to it.

Analysis

- **Bad Precedent:** Agreeing to the demands of Kashmiri militants indirectly sent a message to the terrorist organization that the Indian government can negotiate provided apt crisis situation is created in the nation. Many believed that bending knees was a major blunder of the government. The situation in Kashmir worsened later when nearly 90,000 Hindus were driven out of the valley and they became refugees in their own land by migrating to other places.
- **Pacifism:** The Punjab actions did dissipate some of the internal rebellious sentiments among the people. The situation started to get back in control during Narasimha Rao's government when Punjab underwent assembly elections in 1992.
- **Internationalization of Domestic Issue:** Though India was able to contain the unstable situation of Punjab, the separatist movement was internationalized due to the spread of various Khalistani nationalists to foreign countries like the US, Canada, UK, etc. Even today its effects are seen in other nations such as the 'Referendum- 2020' event planned by the US-based Sikhs for Justice (SFJ) radical group in their demand for Khalistan.

● **Economic Events**

- The 11-month government could not do much on the economic front.
- Though V.P.Singh campaigned against corruption and came to power, he did not do anything to take the Bofors scandal further.
- The prices in the Indian economy were on the rise along with a decline in the forex reserves of the nation.
- The deteriorating economic conditions made India an entry to the list of 'debt defaulters'.

Fall of V.P. Singh and The Rise of Chandra Shekar

- Following the arrest of BJP leader L.K Advani in 1990 after the Rath Yatra event, BJP withdrew its support from the coalition government.
- Meanwhile, Chandra Shekar (rival of V.P.Singh within Janta Dal) and Devi Lal came out of Janata Dal with their 64 Members and formed Samajwadi Janata Party (Rashtriya) on 5th November 1990.
- The loss of political support made V P Singh lose his vote of confidence in the Lok Sabha on 7th November 1990 and he had to resign.
- The Congress(I) led by Rajiv Gandhi, supported Chandra Shekar's party from outside.
- Hence Chandra Shekar was sworn in as the Prime Minister on 10th November 1990 with the direct support of 64 MPs and outside support of Congress with 197 MPs.
- **Challenges faced by Chandra Shekar government:**
 - Chandra Shekar inherited a set of problems from the previous government at the time of his rise to power:
 - a. The turbulent Indian economy with a continuous fall in foreign exchange reserves to a dangerously low level. The immediate reason for this was the Gulf wars which raised the oil prices across the world and also India's import bill along with it. To compensate for the forex loss, the Chandra Shekar government had to pledge gold reserves of the country.

This further declined the image of the country worldwide and triggered a wave of sentiments in the nation against the leaders.

- b. Rising law and order problems in the country due to the Babri Masjid issue was another challenge that the government had to face.
- c. The outside support on which the government was standing upon, always created a sensation of external control of the government and its instability.

Fall of Chandrashekhar Government

- The rising sentiments against the Chandrashekhar government created political turmoil in the country.
- In the 1991 Budget session, Rajiv Gandhi withdrew his party's support to the Chandra Shekar government on the grounds that two police constables were spying on him.
- The Regular budget for the year 1991-92 could not be presented by the Chandra Shekar government and the ninth Lok Sabha was dissolved by President in March 1991.
- However, on Chandra Shekar's request, the President allowed him to continue as the Interim Prime Minister until the new Government was formed after the Elections.
- Chandra Shekar's government lasted for 233 days in total till 21st June 1991 (including the interim government).
- The Congress(I) president Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated on 21 May 1991, at Sriperumbudur village of Tamil Nadu while he was campaigning for the 1991 elections. He was assassinated by a suicide bomber from the LTTE group.
- The Congress(I) party got high sympathy votes in the 1991 elections because of the assassination of their main party leader. The Congress (I) party proposed the name of their senior party member, Narasimha Rao who became the next Prime Minister of India.

Aftermath

- Though V.P. Singh's party contested the 1991 elections, his party could not achieve the desired seats to form a government. V.P. Singh later resigned from the active politics and started touring the country, discussing the matters related to social justice.
- In the 1996 elections, Congress party lost elections and the **United Front Coalition** formed the government. V.P. Singh himself declined his candidature for the post of the Prime Minister. However, he remained an elderly member of the party and a force behind the broad **United Front Coalition**. The 1996 United Front government governed the country in 1996-97 with the Janata Dal's H.D. Deve Gowda as its Prime Minister.
- V.P. Singh was diagnosed with cancer in 1998 and ceased his public appearances.
- Chandra Shekar's political importance was reduced after the rise of Narasimha Rao to power. Though he was able to retain his seat in the Lok Sabha for many years his role in Indian Politics remained meager. He died on 8 July 2007.

United Front

It was a coalition of 13 parties formed after the 1996 elections.

The coalition formed two governments in India between 1996 and 1998.

The Prime Minister of first government was from Janata Dal - H. D. Deve Gowda and for the second government was I. K. Gujral.

Both governments were supported from outside by the Indian National Congress with N. Chandrababu Naidu of the Telugu Desam Party as the convener of United Front.

Jan Morcha

- V.P. Singh's Caste-based social justice policies had caused the rise of parties like the Bahujan Samaj Party that was formed around caste identities.
- After reviving from his cancer, V.P. Singh decided to revive his own notion of populist socialism. To remedy the rise of caste-based social justice, he relaunched the Jan Morcha in 2006 with Raj Babbar as President, and began the slow process of aggregation of smaller parties in Northern India. The new Jan Morcha decided to contest the 2007 Uttar Pradesh elections.
- But the New Jan Morcha deviated from its earlier agenda of corruption and anti-Congress and focused on the farmer's issue.
- They agitated against the acquisition of 2,500 acres of farmland area for power project in Dadri area of Uttar Pradesh. However, it could not mobilize the masses again. The Jan Morcha even lost the 2007 Assembly elections in UP.
- Raj Babbar left Jan Morcha and joined the Congress.
- V.P. Singh died on 27th September 2008 in New Delhi. It was continued by V.P. Singh's son Ajeya Singh for some time and in March 2009 Ajeya Singh announced that the Morcha was to be merged with Ram Vilas Paswan's Lok Janshakti Party (LJP). However, later it merged with the Congress.

Conclusion :

- **Religious Fundamentalism:** V.P. Singh was a short term the Prime Minister with a long term effect. The 11-month period of his Prime Ministership saw a rise of regional fundamentalism in the country.
- **Politics of Reservation:** His Mandal commission decision held up a mirror to society by highlighting the societal discriminations and mainstreamed the principle of affirmative action in India.
- **Idealism in Politics:** V.P. Singh formed a bridge between public morality and politics, which was symbolized by Bofors and his resignation over the issue of lack of probity in public life.
- **Base of Diplomacy:** V.P. Singh's international policies of equal status to the neighborhood and noninterference in their internal matters laid the ground for India's future foreign diplomacy. It was soon reflected in India's famous Gujral Doctrine propounded by India's External Affairs Minister I.K. Gujral in H. D. Deve Gowda Government in 1996.

17. P.V. NARASIMHA RAO YEARS (1991-1996)

Introduction :

- **Pamulaparti Venkata Narasimha Rao** was the 9th Prime Minister of India who served his term from 1991 to 1996 as Congress (I) party candidate after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.
- It was during his Prime Ministerial tenure that the Indian economy was restructured from Nehruvian socialist structure to a free-market economy.
- Hence, he is also known as the '**Father of Indian Economic Reforms**' (because of his 1991 Indian Economic Reform Policy-Liberalization, Privatisation and Globalization Policy).
- PV Narasimha Rao was also the first Prime Minister from South India. He was an agriculturist and an advocate by profession. He took an active part in India's struggle for independence and later joined Indian politics and held some important portfolios at state and central level of government (He served as the Minister of Home Affairs, External Affairs, Defence and Foreign Affairs in the cabinets of both Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi).
- He also served as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh from 1971-73.
- PV Narasimha Rao presided over the meetings of Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned Nations on the eve of the New Delhi Summit in 1981. His role at the Conference earned him wide appreciation.

Economic Policies :

- **Economic Policy Reforms of 1991**
 - Narasimha Rao is popularly known for his economic policies which restructured India's economic regime from a **quasi-socialistic order to a liberalized free-market system**.
 - He achieved this transformation at times when India was undergoing an economic balance of payment crisis with a drain of India's forex reserves.
 - The Immediate reason for the crisis was the Gulf wars of the early 1990s, which raised the global prices of crude oil and also India's import bills.
 - He appointed non-political economist Dr. Manmohan Singh as his Finance Minister. They worked together to bring out the 1991 Economic Policy, famously known as 1991 LPG Reforms (Liberalization, Privatisation and Globalization Reforms).

P.V. Narasimha Rao's 1991 Economic Policy

- **Background**
 - The period from 1950-1980 saw average annual economic growth rise to 3.5%, higher than the 1%

during British rule.

- However, with population growth averaging about 2%pa per capita income rose very slowly.
- The decade from 1981-1991 saw some loosening of red tape and introduction of first-generation reforms; GDP rose to a more respectable 5.4% p.a., but still below peers, especially the Far East and ASEAN countries.
- India lagged economically and hence also in human development indicators.
- In this situation, the crisis situation emerged when India's import bills increased due to Gulf wars of the early 1990s raised oil prices. The gulf wars also reduced the remittance inflows in India as many people including Indian started to leave the gulf region.
- To avoid a situation of near bankruptcy, India needed a restructured economic policy.
- P V Narasimha Rao initiated ground-breaking economic reforms with the support of the then Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh and the result was the New Economic Policy of 1991.
- **About the Policy**
 - The new policy aimed at 3 Liberalisation of Economy, Privatisation of Economy and Globalization of Economy.
 - The policy initiated the **Liberalisation** of the Indian economy by ending the existing license raj in the country, cutting government regulations and red tape, abandoning subsidies and fixed prices.
 - It also started the **Privatisation** of state-run industries and correcting the sick government firms by selling government stakes in them. It started to end the government monopoly in Industrial, Banking and other sectors, changing the market orientation from 'produce first and then go to market' approach to 'planning production on the basis of market research, needs and wants of customers'.
 - There was **Globalization** of the Indian economy as it now allowed foreign investments to enter India and spur industrial growth. This was a major shift from the domestic industrial protectionist regime which led to a decrease in the quality of market competition and services provided to the people.
- **Analysis**
 - **GDP Booster:** Its increased India's GDP growth rate. It almost doubled the pre-reform era GDP rates, averaging 6.6% in the next 2 decades from 1990 to 2010 because of the Abolition of Industrial licensing, privatization, advanced foreign technology, and Reduction of taxes.
 - **Enhancing Exports:** The policy gave impetus to special efforts to increase Indian exports. Concepts like Export Oriented Units (EOU), Export Processing Zones (EPZ), Agri-Export Zones (AEZ), Special Economic Zones (SEZ) and lately National Investment and Manufacturing Zones (NIMZ) emerged. All these have benefitted the export sector of the country.
 - **Increasing Investor's Confidence:** There was an increase in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in India due to eased regulatory mechanisms for investors. It made India one of the fastest-growing economies of the world. Today India has allowed 100% FDI in medical services, Telecom sector, and single-brand retail, etc. FDI is also allowed under Make in India scheme. India's FDI inflows reached 106, 693 crores in 2015 from just 408 Crores in 1991.
 - **Employments Generation:** Stock markets of India opened a wide areas of associated services such as Investment Banking, Asset Management, hedging advice, etc. which employed lakhs of people all over India.
 - **Maintaining Balance of Trade:** These trade reforms and changes in the regulation of foreign direct investment not only helped Indian in opening its foreign trade front in a structured manner

but also helped in stabilizing its external loans.

- **Rising Standard of Living:** India saw an increase in per capita income due to an increase in employment and the creation of job opportunities. As per government data on national income, India's per-capita income is estimated to have risen to Rs. 1,14,958 per month by 2017-18. The World Bank has classified India as a 'Lower middle income' country.
- India successfully reduced its unemployment rate from 4.3% in 1991 to 3.4% in 2017 in the background of a rising population. Globalization paved the way for many new foreign companies to India and Liberalisation created an environment of many new entrepreneurial activities.
- **Financial Prudence:** It also eased the financial and administrative burden of the India government due to the privatization of various sectors and entities. It also Curbed India's rising Fiscal Deficit from 8.5 percent of GDP prior to 1991 to 3.4 percent of GDP in 2018.
- **Market Reorientation:** It changed the market orientation from 'produce first and then go to market' approach to 'planning production on the basis of market research, needs and wants of customers'.
- **Harnessing Demographic Dividend:** Globalization gave impetus to the Services Sector of developing countries due to the availability of cheaper human resources and facilitated the IT revolution and numerous job creations.
- It also raised the standards of the **India banking sector** by the entry of new **global private players** and raised competition in the Indian market. IT sector aided this breakthrough and is on the path of bringing the banking revolution.
- The substandard telecom sector (earlier monopoly of government) had a major breakthrough by the entry of new players.
- India saw mushrooming of new private food industries (Agriculture), health and educational facility services making India a hub of global technological interventions.
- **However, it did have some negative implications like:**
 - a. **Skewed Growth:** Agricultural sector which still is the backbone of the Indian economy (employed 72% of the population in 1991 and contributed 29.02% of the GDP) suffered because of less attention being paid to this sector. Its share in GDP went down drastically to 17.9 percent in 2014 because of lowering the per capita income of the farmers and increasing the rural indebtedness. **In other words, it moved India on the path of Jobless Growth.**
 - b. **Global Competition:** It posed a threat to local businesses and companies from foreign competition. The global MNCs have a lot of financial capacity and advanced foreign technology so they have the large production capacity and huge money for promotion and other research activities they are easily defeating our Indian local companies.
 - c. **Environmental Impact:** Globalization adversely impacted on Environment as it contributed to the destruction of the environment through pollution and clearing of vegetation cover. The surge in construction activities and the emissions from manufacturing plants have caused a major environmental pollution which further affects the health of many people. The construction also destroys the vegetation cover which is important in the very survival of both humans and other animals.
 - d. **Income Inequality:** It led to an increase in income disparities by widening income gaps within the country. Globalization benefits only to those who have the skills and technology in the country.

- **Financial Sector**
 - The economic crisis and the new economic reform policy of 1991 made it clear that India needs Banking sector reforms to cope up with the evolving needs of the sector.
 - Various committees were set up for the same purpose, the important one during the tenure of P.V. Narasimha Rao was the 'Banking reform committee under the chairmanship of **M. Narasimham committee of 1991**' (second committee under the chairmanship of M. Narasimham was set up in 1998). It was tasked to analyze India's Banking sector and recommend apt legislation and regulations to make it more competitive and effective.
 - When the dust over the financial crisis settled, RBI in 1994 started '**on-tap**' licensing for the private banks as per the recommendations of the Narasimham Committee. The following private banks came into operation under the RBI's new licensing guidelines:
 - a. Centurion Bank of Punjab (1994) (merged with HDFC Bank in 2008).
 - b. IndusInd Bank Ltd. (1994).
 - c. HDFC Bank Ltd. (1994).
 - d. ICICI Bank Ltd. (1994).
 - e. Global Trust Bank Ltd (1994) (amalgamated with Oriental Bank of Commerce).
 - f. Times Bank (1994) (merged with HDFC Bank Ltd.).
- P.V. Narasimha Rao is also credited for the introduction of the **Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) Act of 1992** which made SEBI a statutory board to regulate the securities market in India.
- Introduction of **Global Depository Receipts (GDR)** (a mechanism that allowed Indian firms to raise capital in foreign markets) was also done during his Prime Ministerial tenure as a part of his various economic policies.
- Other economic reforms included the abolition of the Controller of Capital Issues (which decided how many shares firms could issue and at what prices) and setup of the **National Stock Exchange (NSE)** in 1992 in Mumbai as a computer-based trading system.

Analysis

- **Introduction of Regulatory Mechanism:** Financial sector policies and introduction of regulatory mechanisms like SEBI by Narasimha Rao government prepared the Indian economy to walk the road of an interlinked globalized world.
- **Revitalization of Banking Sector:** '**On-tap**' licensing of private banks by RBI opened up the clogged banking sector to an era of new banking competition which got further impetus with linkages to the IT sector.
- **Promoting Culture of Equity Market:** India became a hub for the stock exchange market by the introduction of the National Stock Exchange (NSE) which emerged as India's largest exchange by 1996.
- **Opening Indians Industries to Foreign Market:** India's FDI increased rapidly over a period of a few years. Domestic Indian firms got the capital inflows for their expansion via GDRs and their overseas presence exposed them to the global technological expertise which in turn benefited them and the nation. Reliance Petroleum became the first company to issue GDRs to raise funds from overseas capital markets.
- **The M. Narasimham committee reports of 1991 and 1998** proved beneficial to date and acted as a benchmark for reforming the banking sector in India. These reports recommended:
 - A three-tier banking structure in India via the establishment of three large banks with an international presence.
 - Eight to ten national banks and a large number of regional and local banks.

- The recent bank mergers by the Government of India are in line with these committee reports.
 - India merged five associate banks and Bharatiya Mahila Bank with State Bank of India (in April 2017), and Dena Bank, Vijaya Bank were merged with Bank of Baroda which came into effect from April 1, 2019.
 - **The recent August 2019 step to consolidate state-owned banks from 27 to 12 is another shift inline with the Narasimham Committee reports of 1991 and 1998.**
 - a. Government **merged** the Oriental Bank of Commerce and the United Bank of India with Punjab National Bank, making it the second-largest bank in the country. The south-based Canara Bank and Syndicate Bank will become one entity that will make it the third-largest local lender.
 - b. There is an **amalgamation** of Andhra Bank and Corporation Bank with Union Bank of India and Allahabad Bank with the Indian Bank.
 - c. This consolidation offers the promise of economies of scale, leveraging of pooled resources, manpower, brands, better utilization of branch networks and increased efficiencies.

International Policies

- **Look East Policy**
 - Initiated in 1991, this policy was aimed to increase India's economic, cultural and strategic relations along with **security integration** in the Southeast Asia region.
 - It was based on the **3 C's principle of Culture, Connectivity and Commerce** to develop better relations with ASEAN nations.
 - It also served its purpose in countering the increasing dominance of China in and around the Indian subcontinent.
 - This policy initiated by Narasimha Rao marked a strategic shift in India's international interaction as it was the first time a developing country like India diversified its international relations deviating from its western leaning.
 - It bolded the dormant diplomatic ties which India had with many states in Southeast Asia.
 - It also helped India to increase its trade outreach to new markets after its 1991 reforms.
 - The Northeastern region of India played a major role in implementing this policy as it acted as India's gateway to **neighbouring countries of the Southeast Asia region.**
 - This policy was rigorously pursued by the upcoming governments of India.
 - India is implementing various projects under this policy such:
 - a. Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport Project (2008) and Rhi-Tiddim Road Project (2010) with Myanmar.
 - b. India-Myanmar - Thailand Trilateral Highway Project (2002).
 - c. India-Bangladesh Border Haat (2010) etc.
- **Cultivate Iran policy**
 - It was pursued by India in the 1990s to extend better diplomatic relations in India-Iran ties.

Look East Policy was later redefined and upgraded as '**Act East Policy**' by the NDA government at the East Asia Summit held in Myanmar in November 2014.

The new policy is based on the same old principle of India avoiding to play the role of 'big brother' and treating all nations as 'equal partners' in all diplomatic relations.

- Earlier Iran used to support Pakistan and India-Iran ties were meager due to India's link with Iraq (an opposite front of Iran).
- However, this linkage between India and Iran started to change in the early 1990s when India and Iran supported the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan against the Taliban regime.
- This policy helped India in blocking Pakistan's effort to pass a resolution by the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva on the human rights situation in Jammu and Kashmir as it met opposition from China and Iran.
- **South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA)**
 - Signed in Dhaka on the 11th of April 1993, it provided for the adoption of various instruments of trade liberalization on a preferential basis.
 - Member States comprised 7 countries namely Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.
 - It was based on the basic principles of:
 - a. Overall reciprocity and mutuality of advantages.
 - b. Step by step negotiations and periodic reviews so as to improve and extend the preferential trade arrangement, in stages.
 - c. Inclusion of all products, manufactures and commodities in their raw semi- processes and processed forms.
 - d. Special and favourable treatment to the Least Developed Contracting States.
 - This arrangement was superseded by the Agreement on the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) which was implemented with effect from 1st January 2006.
 - a. SAFTA is the free trade arrangement of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). SAFTA signatory countries are Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.
- **Other International Initiatives**
 - Narsimha Rao government also signed '**India-Pakistan Agreement on Chemical Weapons**' in 1992 as an intercountry commitment for not developing, possessing or using chemical weapons, as well as not assisting, encouraging or inducing, in any way, anyone to engage in the development, production, acquisition, stockpiling or use of chemical weapons.
 - Narasimha Rao also actively pursued a systematic drive in 1992 to draw international attention towards **Pakistan** sponsored terrorism against India.
 - He also worked on the improvement of **India-China relations** by his visit to China in 1993. His government also maintained its distance from the Dalai Lama in order to avoid aggravating China's suspicions and concerns.
 - India opened its diplomatic relations with Israel in 1992 under the Narasimha government and permitted **Israel** to open an embassy in New Delhi.
 - Linkages with superpowers like the **US** also improved with the Liberalization of the Indian economy. US-India Commercial alliance (USICA) was created in 1995 which was followed by the US declaring India as a "**Big Emerging Market**" status.
 - India also worked on resolving its water issues with neighbouring countries like the signing of **Mahakali Treaty in 1996** between **India and Nepal** pertained to sharing the water of a Mahakali river which originates in Nepal and forms the border between the two countries for a significant distance.

Analysis

- **Reshaping the Image:** The international policies of increasing diplomatic linkages apart from the western world helped India is reshaping its image as a responsible nation that deals with all nations equally irrespective of their geographical or economic extent.
- **Fostering Regional Leadership:** The neighbouring countries started to see India as a nation to look upon for their support and not as a nation to be threatened from.
- **Enhancing Diplomatic Horizons:** The India-Israel bilateral relationship blossomed after 1992 at the economic, military, agricultural and political levels. Over the last 25 years, bilateral trade between the two countries has increased from \$200 million to more than \$4 billion (excluding defense). Israeli supplied weapons that aided India in winning the Kargil War against Pakistan in 1999. Currently, India is the largest arms buyer from Israel.
- **Base for Future Power Projection:** It laid down the ground for the emergence of India as a major superpower in the coming century whose leadership is to be accepted by the nations of its region and beyond. This was evident from the unopposed entry of India to various groups like the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) in 2016, Wassenaar Arrangement in 2017, Australia Group on export control regime in 2018, etc.
- **Building Trust:** It helped India in maintaining the trust of its neighbouring nations during its nuclear tests of 1998 and avoiding any major obstruction to the rise of its status as a nuclear power.
- Nation sponsored Terrorism was brought to limelight by the Indian diplomacy as it got support from the regional linkages it builds up over the period of time.
- These initiatives became **the base of future Indian foreign policies** of reviving the age-old cultural ties India had with Southeast Asia and increasing people to people interaction.

Social Policies

- In their effort to remove social injustice in the society, the Narasimha Rao government introduced two changes to the 1980 Mandal Commission report in 1991:
 - Preference to the poorer sections among the OBCs in the 27% quota, i.e., adoption of the economic criteria in granting reservation.
 - Reservation of another 10% of jobs for poorer (economically backward) sections of higher castes who are not covered by any existing schemes of reservation.
- Narasimha Rao's tenure also saw the rise of **Hindu fundamentalism** as a significant force in national politics for the first time. In 1992 Hindu fundamentalists destroyed the Babri Mosque, which triggered one of the worst Hindu-Muslim riots in the country since its independence and it persisted throughout Rao's term as Prime Minister. Narasimha government worked on all fronts to bring the situation in control.
- The chain of the event was continued by the addition of **the 1993 Bombay bombings**. However, Narasimha Rao's government was highly praised for its post-event crisis management. Government apart from providing active relief to the people, it worked with its diplomatic ties to bring in light the terrorist activities carried out by neighbouring nation like Pakistan and also isolating them. International experts from countries like the US, UK, and other European countries were called upon in Bombay to examine the facts for themselves.
- The 1993's devastating **Latur earthquake** of Maharashtra region killed thousands of people and destroyed their shelters and livelihood sources. Narasimha government actively used modern technology and resources to organize major relief operations to provide relief to the disaster-hit people.

Analysis

- Supreme Court analyzed the scope and extent of Article 16(4), which provides for reservation of jobs in favour of backward classes in the famous **Indra Sawhney v. Union of India (1992)** or the Mandal case. The outcome was :
 - Court rejected the additional reservation of 10% for poorer sections of higher castes but upheld the constitutional validity of 27% reservation for the OBCs with certain conditions viz,
 - a. The advanced sections among the OBCs (the creamy layer) should be excluded from the list of beneficiaries of the reservation.
 - b. No reservation in promotions; reservation should be confined to initial appointments only. Any existing reservation in promotions can continue for five years only (i.e., upto 1997).
 - c. The total reserved quota should not exceed 50% except in some extraordinary situations. This rule should be applied every year.
 - d. The 'carry forward rule' in case of unfilled (backlog) vacancies is valid. But it should not violate the 50% rule.
 - e. A permanent statutory body should be established to examine complaints of over-inclusion and under-inclusion in the list of OBCs.
 - Narasimha government's response:
 - a. It set up the 'Ram Nandan Committee' to identify the creamy layer among the OBCs. It submitted its report in 1993, which was accepted.
 - b. National Commission for Backward Classes was established in 1993 by an act of Parliament. It considers inclusions in and exclusions from the lists of castes notified as backward for the purpose of job reservation.
 - c. Government also brought 'The 76th Amendment Act of 1994' to place the 'Tamil Nadu Reservations Act' of 1994 in the Ninth Schedule to protect it from judicial review as it provided for 69 percent of reservation, far exceeding the 50 percent ceiling.
 - d. In order to nullify the ruling with regard to reservation in promotions, the 77th Amendment Act was enacted in 1995. It added a new provision in Article 16 that empowers the State to provide for reservation in promotions of any services under the State in favour of the SCs and STs that are not adequately represented in the state services.
 - i. The Vajpayee government brought the 81st Amendment Act of 2000 to end the 50% ceiling on reservation in backlog vacancies. Another amendment (85th Amendment Act of 2001) was passed to provide for 'consequential seniority' in the case of promotion by virtue of rule of reservation for the government servants belonging to the SCs and STs with retrospective effect from June 1995.
- Though efforts were made to curtail the rise of fundamentalists in India, but it spurred increasingly over the coming decades and took various forms like mob lynching and communal riots of the 21st century.
 - The Babri masjid or the Ayodhya case could not be solved even till date. The 2010 Allahabad High Court judgment ruling for tri-partition of the 2.77-acre land among deity Ram Lalla, the Nirmohi Akhara and the Sunni Waqf Board was challenged in Supreme Court.
 - Even the mediation process decided by the supreme court failed as it could not satisfy any of the parties.
 - Currently, there has been daily hearing of the case going on in the supreme court to resolve this

issue.

- Though terrorist attacks continue in India decades later after the Narasimha Rao's regime like the Mumbai Taj attacks of 2008 to 2019 Pulwama attack, India has beefed up its territorial security using all the three military commands and have been successful in reducing the terrorist attack rates.
- India's effort to include scientific measures in disaster management saved the lives of many in the 21st century. India made huge advancements in satellite technology and disaster management starting from the base built by the Narasimha Rao regime.

National Security Policies

- **National Nuclear Security**
 - Though India conducted its nuclear test in 1998 (Pokhran nuclear test), the idea and the efforts pursued India becoming nuclear power were the brainchild of P.V. Narasimha Rao. He worked to build up India's national nuclear security and ballistic missiles program.
 - It is speculated that the nuclear tests were planned earlier in 1995 but were delayed due to American pressure when the US intelligence got a hint of it.
 - It was evident from the Vajpayee's statement after he succeeded Narasimha Rao as Prime Minister: "Rao told me that the bomb was ready. I only exploded it."
- Narasimha government also increased the spending on the Indian army to fight the speculated rise of emerging threat of terrorism and insurgencies, as well as Pakistan and China's nuclear potentials.
- In an effort to fight terrorist activities, the Narasimha government also renewed India's first anti-terrorism legislation: **Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA), 1985** in 1991 and 1993 before being allowed to lapse in 1995. It allowed the government to define and counter-terrorist activities.
 - He was also successful in eliminating the Punjab separatist movement that started in the 1970s and 1980s and also neutralizing the Kashmiri separatist movement.
- India launched various ambitious technological programmes under his tenure like:
 - Launching of Ballistic Missile Technology Programme and successful testing of the Augmented Satellite Launch Vehicle (ASLV) and the Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV) in 1992.
 - Development of Intermediate-range ballistic missile (IRBM) after the successful testing of Prithvi Missile in 1994.
- Narasimha government is also known for not conceding the terrorists' demands which is evident from his response to the occupation of the Hazratbal holy shrine in 1993 in Jammu and Kashmir by terrorists and getting it back under Indian control without damage to the shrine.

Analysis

- **Curbing the Separatist Tendencies:** India was able to contain the unstable situation of Punjab by the removal of Pro-Khalistan nationalist from the Indian Soil. However, the issue was internationalized due to the spread of various Khalistani to foreign countries like the US, Canada, the UK, etc. Today though the movement has withered out from Punjab, its effects are seen in other nations such as the 'Referendum-2020' event planned by the US-based Sikhs for Justice (SFJ) radical group in their demand for Khalistan.
- **Boosting Defensive Capabilities:** India's missile technology programme was boosted because of specialized focus on technological fronts. These defense policies prepared the base for India to become a nuclear power.
- **Challenge to Terrorism:** Handling of the Hazratbal holy shrine issue sent a message to the terrorist organizations that India as a nation will not succumb to the terror demands at any possible situation.

- **Resisting Aggression:** The focus on military preparedness bore fruits during 1999 Kargil wars, which led India to a stunning victory on all fronts.

Other Initiatives :

- **Political Measures**
 - To strengthen the rural local government in India, the Narasimha government brought the landmark '73rd Constitutional Amendment Act of 1992'. It gave constitutional recognition to the panchayats (rural local governments) in India by adding a new Part IX and a new Schedule 11 to the Indian Constitution.
 - Similarly, for the urban local government, the 74th Amendment Act of 1992 was enacted. It gave constitutional recognition to the municipalities (urban local governments) by adding a new Part IX-A and a new Schedule 12 to the Constitution.
- Narasimha believed in participatory democracy and thinking above party politics. This was evident from his appointment of two opposition party members Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Subramanian Swamy to important positions by letting Vajpayee represent India in a UN meeting at Geneva and Subramanian Swamy was given a Cabinet rank post as Chairman of the Commission on Labour Standards and International Trade.

Later Life :

- The Lok Sabha election of 1996 brought a change (though for a shorter period) in the political regime. Narasimha Rao's party lost and he was succeeded by Atal Bihari Vajpayee's central government (Government stood for just 16 days).
- Narasimha Rao was accused of corruption in three cases but was acquitted of all charges later.
- He died of a heart attack in December 2004 and was cremated in Hyderabad.
- There have been demands for the Bharat Ratna to be bestowed on Rao for his contribution to India.
- Former President APJ Abdul Kalam described Rao as a "patriotic statesman who believed that the nation is bigger than the political system."
- He is still remembered for his land reform implementation in the state of Andhra Pradesh when he was its Chief minister from 1971-73.

Conclusion :

- Narasimha Rao's Government is credited with the introduction of a new trend of economic diplomacy and India's foreign policy which paved a way for modernization of India and its demography on the scientific and diplomatic lines.
- He is correctly referred to as the **Chanakya of modern India** for his ability to steer tough economic and political legislation at a time when he headed a minority government.

18. UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT (1996-1998)

Introduction :

- The 1991 Congress government under P.V.Narasimha Rao lost 1996 general elections. Bharatiya Janata Party under the leadership of Atal Bihar Vajpayee emerged as the single largest party and was called by the President Shankar Dayal Sharma to form the central government.
- Atal Bihari Vajpayee was sworn in as the new Prime Minister, however, the Vajpayee government failed to attract any new allies, and the **BJP government** lasted for just 13 days.
- Thereafter, 13 opposition parties united under the leadership of Janata Dal and formed a 'United Front government' with H.D. Deve Gowda as their Prime Ministerial candidate.
- This United Front coalition formed two governments in India from 1996 to 1998 with H.D. Deve Gowda and I.K.Gujral heading the government.

H.D. Deve Gowda :

- H.D. Deve Gowda served as the 11th Prime Minister of India from June 1996 to April 1997.
- He was also the Chief Minister of Karnataka for two years i.e. from 1994 to 1996 (he shortened his term to serve as Indian Prime Minister in 1996).
- He was a member of the 16th Lok Sabha, representing the Hassan constituency of Karnataka. He is currently the National President of the Janata Dal (Secular), a splinter group of the Janata Dal formed after the merger of the Janata Party with smaller opposition parties in 1988.
- Gowda joined the Congress in 1953 and left the party in 1962. Later he joined the Congress (O) during the Congress split of 1969 and served as the Leader of Opposition in the state assembly from March 1972 to March 1976.
- He served as a Minister in the Janata Party government in Karnataka under Ramakrishna Hegde from 1983 to 1988. The president of the state unit of the Janata Dal in 1994, Gowda was elected from the Ramanagara Assembly constituency in 1994 Karnataka Assembly elections and subsequently sworn in as the 14th chief Minister of Karnataka.

Gowda As Indian Prime Minister :

- After the 1996 general elections, the Congress party was defeated and Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao resigned after that.
- However, the 1996 election resulted in no clear majority for any party. **BJP emerged as the single largest party in the 1996 general elections** and was invited by the President Shankar Dayal Sharma to form the government. Vajpayee was sworn in as the Prime Minister. He, however, failed to attract any new allies and Vajpayee's **first government** lasted for just 13 days.

- The United Front coalition consisting of non-Congress, non-Bharatiya Janata Party members was able to form government with the external support of the Congress party. The coalition supported Deve Gowda as Prime Minister candidate.
- However, the coalition could not last a year and he had to step down from the Prime Ministerial post on June 1997.
- The fall of Gowda as the Prime Minister was due to the withdrawal of external support by the Indian National Congress (I) party because of internal political conflicts.
- When the Janata Dal split in 1999, he became the National President of the Janata Dal (Secular). That year, he lost the Lok Sabha elections but regained membership of the Lower House by winning the Kanakapura by-elections in 2002.

Important Events of Deve Gowda Government

- **Dream Budget of 1997-98**
 - P. Chidambaram, the Minister of Finance of Deve Gowda government, presented the annual budget for the year 1997-98 on 28th February 1997 (after the completion of nine months of the government).
 - The Budget was termed as the 'Dream Budget' by the media as it presented a road map for India's economic reforms such as:
 - a. It reduced personal income tax rates from 40 percent to 30 percent and cut corporate tax rates, including doing away with surcharge and bringing down royalty rates.
 - b. The limit of FII investment was increased and it also laid the ground for the first round of disinvestment in PSUs.
 - c. Government also cut import duty on many products. Peak customs duty was reduced from 50 per cent to 40 per cent, and the excise duty structure was simplified.
 - d. Individual investors were no longer required to pay dividend tax.
 - e. A Voluntary Disclosure of Income Scheme was also introduced to recover black money.
 - f. Government also introduced a new criterion to widen the tax net. Under it, if an individual satisfied any two of the following four criteria, he/she had to voluntarily file a tax return. The set criteria were:
 - i. Ownership of a four-wheeler.
 - ii. Occupation of an immovable property.
 - iii. Ownership of a telephone.
 - iv. Foreign travel in the previous year.
 - g. Government also went for **Coal reforms** by opening the coal sector for private operations. It allowed the private sector into coal mining - but only for captive use.
 - **Analysis**
 - a. The budget followed the **Laffer curve principle** - lower tax rates would boost compliance, thus ensuring higher tax collections. The impact of the 1997-98 budget and the other reforms that followed the same direction is such that India's direct tax collections grew from Rs 18,700 crore in 1997 to over Rs 7 lakh crore during April - December 2018.
 - b. **Denationalisation:** The **coal sector reforms** initiated by the Gowda government and the follow up reforms led to the denationalisation of the coal sector in India. Government in 2015 via Coal Mines (Special Provisions) Act, 2015 started to allocate coal mines to private

players through auctions. India has become capable of producing **730.354 million tonnes of coal (Provisional)** by 2018-19 with positive growth was 8.1%.

- **Gujral Doctrine**

- H.D.Deve Gowda's Union Minister of External Affairs I.K. Gujral propounded the famous '**Gujral Doctrine**' which became the basis of India's foreign policy from the late 1990s period. (This doctrine has been covered in the upcoming I.K. Gujral topic).

Rise of I.K. Gujral as Prime Minister

- **Introduction**

- Inder Kumar Gujral was the 12th Prime Minister of India from April 1997 to March 1998 in the Janata Dal's United Front Government and the third PM to be from the Rajya Sabha after Indira Gandhi and H. D. Deve Gowda.
- He also participated in the Indian freedom struggle and was jailed during the Quit India Movement in 1942.
- I.K. Gujral joined Indian National Congress (INC) as a young politician in 1964.
- In 1975 when Indira Gandhi declared a state of emergency, Gujral, who was the then Minister of Information and Broadcasting, rejected the government's demand to censor news bulletins and editorials. As a result, he had to resign from his post and was made ambassador of India to the Soviet Union in 1976.
- He quit INC in 1980s and joined Janata Dal. In 1989 Gujral was elected to the Lok Sabha and became the Minister of External Affairs (1989-90) in the V.P. Singh government.
- In 1992 Gujral was elected to the upper house of the parliament and when the Janata Dal-led United Front government came to power in 1996, he was again appointed the Minister of External affairs (1996-97) in the Gowda led government.
- I.K. Gujral propounded the famous '**Gujral Doctrine**' when he was the Union Minister of External Affairs in the H.D. Deve Gowda Government.

- **I.K. Gujral As Prime Minister**

- The Deve Gowda government lost a vote of confidence in April 1997 due to withdrawal of external support by the Indian National Congress (I) party due to internal political conflicts.
- To avoid mid-term elections, a compromise was reached among the parties and Congress (I) agreed to support another United Front government under a new leader. The United Front elected Gujral as its new leader and he was sworn in as the 12th Prime Minister of India on 21 April 1997.
- However, in November the Congress (I) party withdrew its support and pulled down I.K. Gujral's United Front government in 1997. Gujral government remained as a caretaker government until a new government could be formed in March 1998.
 - a. The demand for withdrawal of support to the I.K. Gujral government under the United Front came after the preliminary report of the Jain Commission (set up to investigate Rajiv Gandhi's assassination in Sriperumbudur on May 1991 by the LTTE) gave its report on August 1997.

- b. The interim report of the Commission suggested that the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and its leadership had been involved in encouraging LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) leader V. Prabhakaran and his followers.
 - i. LTTE was a Tamil militant and political organisation based in northeastern Sri Lanka during its civil war.
 - c. While the report did not refer to any particular leader or involvement of any political party in the conspiracy, it was a problematic situation for the United Front government in which the DMK was a constituent and had members.
 - d. Congress was supporting the government from outside. Congress became restive when the I.K.Gujral government did not take any action on the DMK leaders after the Jain Commission report and decided to withdraw support to the United Front coalition.
- Gujral government was succeeded by the Vajpayee government in 1998.
 - I.K. Gujral died due to multiple organ failure on November 30, 2012, at the age of 92 years.

Important Events Related To I.K. Gujral :

- **The Gujral Doctrine**

- Despite his brief tenure, I.K. Gujral made his mark by introducing the Gujral Doctrine, which set the stage for countless negotiations in subsequent years.
- The Gujral doctrine was a five-point roadmap which sought to build trust between India and its neighbours and to remove immediate quid pro quos in a diplomatic relationship.
- The 'doctrine' emphasized the importance of unilateral accommodation for friendly and warm relations with India's neighbours.
- These principles were similar to the 'Panchsheel Principles of Peaceful Coexistence' that were issued as a joint statement by the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Chinese premier Zhou Enlai during 1954 India-China summit.
- Five Principles of Gujral Doctrine are :
 - a. With neighbours such as Bhutan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Maldives, and Sri Lanka, India does not seek reciprocity but offers and accommodates what it can in good faith and trust.
 - b. No South Asian country should permit its territory to be used against the interest of another south Asian nation.
 - i. This was similar to the second Principle of Panchsheel i.e Mutual non-aggression.
 - c. Countries should not interfere in the internal affairs of one another.
 - i. It was similar to the third Principle of Panchsheel i.e. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
 - d. All South Asian countries should respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
 - i. Similar to the first Principle of Panchsheel i.e. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
 - e. They should settle all their disputes by peaceful bilateral negotiations.
 - i. Similar to the fourth and fifth principles of Panchsheel i.e. Equality and mutual benefit & Peaceful co-existence.
- The essence of the Gujral Doctrine has been that being the largest country in South Asia, India can extend unilateral concessions to its neighbours in the sub-continent.
- The principles of this doctrine were reflected in India's diplomacy such as :
 - a. India concluded an agreement with Bangladesh in 1996 to share its Ganga River Water with the latter, increasing the water allocation from its previous 1977 agreement.

- i. The 1977 bilateral agreement for sharing Ganga river water was signed between Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai and the then-President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh.
 - ii. It was signed for a period of five years. The agreement expired in 1982 without getting renewed.
- b. India also improved its linkages with China via confidence-building measures by freezing the border dispute between the two countries in 1996. Efforts were made for peaceful negotiations on the border dispute.
 - c. India unilaterally announced in 1997 several concessions to Pakistan tourists, particularly the elder citizens and cultural groups, in regard to visa fees and police reporting. All this was done to increase people to people contact with Pakistan and create an enabling atmosphere for both the countries to sort out their differences. As a result, the two countries identified eight areas for negotiation in 1997 to seek a peaceful resolution on them.

Analysis

- The significance of the doctrine was enumerated in India's vision to become a global power as it requires a peaceful neighbourhood to achieve its goal.
- The "Gujral Doctrine" offered India to walk the extra mile in resolving long-standing neighbourhood problems.
- The doctrine centralised around the idea of cordial relations with neighbours. Hence it has its relevance even in today's geopolitical scenario as India does need the support of its neighbours to fight the problems like terrorism, drug menace, human trafficking etc.
- The doctrine helped achieve a fundamental recasting of South Asia's regional relationships, including the difficult relationship between India and Pakistan.
 - Taking a broader view, it is noticed that **Delhi-Lahore bus service** inaugurated by Vajpayee on February 19 in **1999** and his visit to Pakistan was the case with the Gujral Doctrine being followed in principle.
- The Gujral Doctrine was accepted not only within the country, but also by most of the neighbours and major powers.
- It was implemented by different regional powers like USA, Russia, the People's Republic of China, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Brazil, Germany, etc.

Conclusion :

- The period of the 1990s was a highly unstable period for the politico-administrative system in India.
- H.D. Deve Gowda and I.K. Gujral were the Prime Minister candidates from the same Janata Dal's United Front government.
- The short tenure of both personalities had a significant impact on India's future economic and foreign policies.
- They not only reshaped India's financial policies by improving its tax to GDP ratio but also improved India's image as a soft power in the world by reshaping its foreign policies.

19. ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE ERA (1998-2004)

Introduction :

- Atal Bihari Vajpayee was the 10th Prime Minister of India and the first non-Congress Prime Minister to complete a full term in office.
- Vajpayee was born on December 25, 1924. He joined the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) as a teenager in 1939 and became a full-time worker in 1947.
- Vajpayee entered Indian Parliament in 1957 when Jawaharlal Nehru was Prime Minister and he worked with the current generation of younger political leaders.
- He was a parliamentarian for nearly 47 years as he was elected ten times to the Lok Sabha and twice to the Rajya Sabha.
- Vajpayee's remarkable oratorical skills were noticed by Jawaharlal Nehru who, while introducing him to a visiting foreign dignitary, once said: "This young man one day will become the country's Prime Minister".
- Vajpayee served as the Prime Minister between 1996 and 2004 in three non-consecutive terms - first for 13 days, then for 13 months between 1998 and 1999 and then from 1999-2004.

Vajpayee And Electoral Politics: Timeline :

- In 1951, the RSS deputed Vajpayee and Deen Dayal Upadhyaya to the **Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS)**, which was formed in 1951 under the leadership of Syama Prasad Mookerjee.
- Vajpayee became political secretary to Mookerjee and was then appointed as national secretary in charge of the northern region, based in Delhi.
- Vajpayee was nominated as the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) candidate in the 1955 by-poll for the Lucknow Lok Sabha seat, which had fallen vacant following the resignation of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. However, he could not win the majority and finished third.
- Two years later, he was the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) candidate for three Lok Sabha seats in the second general election of 1957. He won from Balrampur, finished runner-up in Lucknow, and lost his deposit in Mathura.
- In 1977 the BJS joined three other parties to form the **Janata Party**, which led a government that lasted until July 1979. As a Foreign Minister in the Janata government, Vajpayee earned a reputation for improving relations with Pakistan and China.
- In 1980, following a split in the Janata Party, Vajpayee helped the BJS to reorganize itself as the **Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)**.
- Vajpayee became the founding president of the BJP at its inaugural session in Bombay in 1980. He espoused the principle of "Gandhian Socialism"; however, it failed to produce electoral dividends as the party could win only two seats in the 1984 Lok Sabha election.

- L. K. Advani took charge of the party in 1986, geared it fully to the Ramjanmabhoomi movement and presided over its growth to 85 seats in 1989 and to 120 in 1991.
- In a surprise move at the BJP's plenary in Mumbai in 1995, Advani declared Vajpayee to be the party's PM candidate, acknowledging that the latter had greater political acceptability to forge a coalition.
- The BJP emerged as the single largest party in the 1996 general elections and was invited by President Shankar Dayal Sharma to form the government. Vajpayee was sworn in as the PM. He, however, failed to attract any new allies, and the **first government** lasted for just 13 days. The fall of BJP's first government was followed by the rise of Janata Dal's United Front government under H.D. Deve Gowda.
- The situation changed when in 1997 I.K. Gujral government fell because of losing confidence vote due to the withdrawal of external support by Congress(I) party. The BJP party in 1998 elections won more than 180 seats and formed their **second government** as the leader of the **National Democratic Alliance (NDA)**. **Kocheril Raman Narayanan** was the President of India at that time.

National Democratic Alliance (NDA)

It is a coalition of right-leaning political parties in India led by BJP.

It was formed in 1998 under the chairmanship of Atal Bihari Vajpayee and had 13 constituent parties at that time.

Today the number of its member parties has increased to 23 and its current chairperson is Mr. Amit Shah

United Progressive Alliance (UPA)

It is a coalition of left and centre-left political parties in India that was formed after the 2004 general election.

Indian National Congress is its largest member party.

UPA was formed with a coalition of around 10 political parties and has Mrs Sonia Gandhi as its chairperson.

- However, due to internal conflicts, Vajpayee lost confidence vote in Lok Sabha by a single vote on April 17, 1999, as the AIADMK (All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, a political party of Tamil Nadu) withdrew support.
- The Kargil War of 1999 turned the Vajpayee government into a caretaker government. Following the victory in the Kargil war, the NDA came back to power in 1999.
- Hence the **third term** of the Vajpayee started in 1999 and he became the first PM to run a 23-party coalition for full five years till 2004.
- The BJP party could not win a clear majority in the 2004 general elections and lost to the Congress-led **United Progressive Alliance (UPA)**, ending the Vajpayee era of Indian politics.
- In December 2005, Vajpayee announced his retirement from active politics, handing over the command of BJP to Lal Krishna Advani and Pramod Mahajan (A second-generation BJP leader).

Important events of the Vajpayee Government :

- **1998 Pokhran Nuclear Test: Operation Shakti**
 - **Background**
 - a. The global nuclear governance set-up after the second world war had the **Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT)** as its basis and it had divided the world into the **P-5** and others. India, though fully embedded in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, was not very happy with this discriminatory world.

- b. The People's Republic of China had already detonated a 16-kiloton bomb, its first nuclear test on 16 October 1964 and was one of the five nations to enter the exclusive nuclear-armed State club.
 - c. The presence of a nuclear-empowered country in the neighbourhood was a threat to India, especially after the 1962 Indo-China war that escalated tensions between the two countries.
 - d. India tested its nuclear capability for the first time in **1974** with Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister. Gandhi conducted the **Pokhran-I** test in 1974 on Buddha Purnima under the code name of '**Operation Smiling Buddha**'. The test was called a "**peaceful nuclear explosion**" to pacify the western powers and avoid the threat of sanctions from them.
 - e. As a reaction to India's test, **The Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)** was created to avoid the misuse of transferred nuclear technology across the world.
 - f. However, this wasn't enough to place India on the same page with other nuclear states. For the next two decades, many Prime Ministers tried to revive nuclear research – most notably PV Narasimha Rao's effort of 1995 but it was hindered by American surveillance satellites and the threat of sanctions.
 - g. In 1996, Atal Bihari Vajpayee came to power and tried to fulfill his long-standing dream of converting India into a nuclear state. However, before the plans could have shaped, his government fell in just 13 days.
 - h. The two leaders who followed Vajpayee – HD Deve Gowda and IK Gujral – did a little with the nuclear programme and the plans were put on hold.
 - i. Post-1974, Pakistan had actively started acquiring nuclear weapons. China was sharing technology and materials with Pakistan. The situation was getting intense for India as it was faced with two adversaries. If India had to carry on with its business, including the business of developing itself, it could not possibly be done under the threat of two nuclear adversaries. Nuclear deterrent was the need for India's future progress.
- **Pokhran – II: 1998**
 - a. BJP came back to power in March 1998 with Atal Bihari Vajpayee as the Prime Minister for his second term.
 - b. Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) chief R Chidambaram and DRDO chief APJ Abdul Kalam drew up the plans for India's nuclear test in 1998.
 - c. The operation was planned in full secrecy and the teams operated at night to avoid the US spy satellites. They wore army uniforms to disguise themselves and bomb shafts were dug under camouflage. The nuclear devices were also flown from different parts of the country to avoid suspicion.
 - d. On May 11, 1998, at around 3:45 PM, India tested three devices – thermonuclear device (Shakti I), the fission device (Shakti II), and a sub-kiloton device (Shakti III). On May 13, India detonated two more sub-kiloton devices – Shakti IV and V.
 - **Outcome: International Outrage**
 - a. The US condemned the tests and said it was "deeply disappointed" and subsequently slapped sanctions against India.
 - b. Britain conveyed its "dismay" and Germany called it "a slap in the face" for the countries that ratified the **Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)**.
 - c. The then-UN secretary-general Kofi Annan issued a statement expressing his "deep regret".

- d. Some European nations and Japan halted their aids to India under various programmes following the US sanctions.
- e. China issued a condemnation calling upon the international community to exert pressure on India to sign the **Non-Proliferation Treaty** and eliminate its nuclear arsenal.

Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) :

- Opened for signature in 1996, CTBT bans all nuclear explosions, everywhere and by everyone.
- It is an offshoot to the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty (supported by India) which significantly reduced global levels of fallout, but did little to constrain the nuclear arms race.
- The CTBT with 184 signatories and 163 ratifications is one of the most widely supported arms-control treaties.
- India did not support the treaty in 1996 and still does not because of its total ban provision for a nuclear program.
- CTBT has yet to become global law as it requires ratification of all 44 countries listed in Annex 2. These countries possessed nuclear power or research reactors when the CTBT was negotiated.
 - Eight of the Annex 2 States have not yet ratified it:
 - a. China.
 - b. North Korea.
 - c. Egypt.
 - d. India.
 - e. Iran.
 - f. Israel.
 - g. Pakistan.
 - h. United States of America.
 - India, Pakistan and North Korea are the only non-signatories from this list.
- **The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organisation (CTBTO)**
 - It is a Vienna-based international organization that will be established upon the entry into force of the CTBT.
 - CTBTO is also making contributions to the nuclear safety field. Example: After the March 2011 Fukushima nuclear accident, CTBTO data provided timely information on the radioactive emissions from the crippled plant and their global dispersion.
- In 2019, the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organisation (CTBTO) has offered India an '**Observer**' status and access to state-of-art International Monitoring System (IMS) data. IMS consists of 337 facilities worldwide that monitor the planet for signs of nuclear explosions.

Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) :

- It was set up in 1974 in response to India's 1974 Pokhran-1 nuclear test in order to prevent nuclear proliferation by controlling nuclear exports.
- The NSG is a 48-member grouping which regulates global nuclear commerce.
- Serbia (2013) is the latest member of the group.
- Its guidelines are not binding. Decisions, including on membership, are made by consensus.
- In 2008, the NSG exempted India from its full-scope safeguards (FSS) condition, making it the first country to be allowed to have nuclear trade with NSG members while retaining its nuclear weapons program. India won this waiver after tough negotiations and having resisted tough nonproliferation conditions.

- Being a nonmember of NSG, India is not able to get access to state-of-the-art technology from the other members of the Group. India applied for the NSG membership in 2016.
- However, India's entry into NSG has been blocked by China as it has been insisting that only those countries which have signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) should be allowed to enter the organization.

Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) :

- The NPT is an international treaty whose objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to foster the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and to further the goal of disarmament.
- It was opened for signature in 1968 and entered into force in 1970.
- On 11 May 1995, the Treaty was extended indefinitely. A total of 191 States have joined the Treaty.
- It aims to restrict the ownership of nuclear weapons to five Nuclear weapon States (P5) - China, France, the United Kingdom, the USSR and the United States of America - which had exploded a nuclear device before 1 January 1967. All the other states are therefore considered non-nuclear weapon states (NNWS).
- India has ruled out the possibility of joining the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as a non-nuclear weapon state as it discriminates among countries for the control of Nuclear Power by allowing only a few to possess nuclear power.
- Despite being a non-party, India abides by the principles and objectives of the NPT, including its nuclear disarmament aspirations.

○ **Indian Nuclear Doctrine**

- After the Pokhran test of 1998 Prime Minister Vajpayee told Parliament that India was imposing a voluntary moratorium on further tests.
- He also assured that India would not be the first to carry out a nuclear strike and would always follow a 'No-First-Use doctrine'.
- These assurances became the basis of India's new nuclear doctrine. In August 1999, the Indian government released a draft of the doctrine. **India adopted its Nuclear Doctrine in 2003** that can be summarized as follows:
 - Building and maintaining a credible minimum deterrence.
 - A posture of "No First Use": nuclear weapons will only be used in retaliation against a nuclear attack on Indian territory or on Indian forces anywhere.
 - Nuclear retaliation to a first strike will be massive and designed to inflict unacceptable damage.
 - Nuclear retaliatory attacks can only be authorized by the civilian political leadership through the **Nuclear Command Authority**.
 - Non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states.
 - However, in the event of a major attack against India, or Indian forces anywhere, by biological or chemical weapons, India will retain the option of retaliating with nuclear weapons.
 - A continuance of strict controls on the export of nuclear and missile-related materials and technologies, participation in the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty negotiations, and continued observance of the moratorium on nuclear tests.
 - Continued commitment to the goal of a nuclear-weapon-free world, through global, verifiable and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament.
- The year 2019 witnessed a new controversy regarding India's Nuclear doctrine when the Indian Defence Minister stated that although India has strictly followed its 'no first use'

nuclear doctrine, circumstances will determine what happens to this policy in the future. This statement was made amid heightened tensions between India and Pakistan after New Delhi revoked Jammu and Kashmir's special status and reorganized the erstwhile state into two Union territories. Pakistan has condemned the move.

- The **Nuclear Command Authority** comprises a Political Council and an Executive Council. The Political Council is chaired by the Prime Minister. It is the sole body that can authorize the use of nuclear weapons. The **Executive Council** is chaired by the National Security Advisor. It provides inputs for decision making by the Nuclear Command Authority and executes the directives given to it by the Political Council.

- **1999 Kargil war**

- **Background**

- a. India and Pakistan have fought three wars before the Kargil War 20 years ago: In 1948, 1965 and 1971.
- b. The two countries had declared their status as nuclear weapons states in 1998 (Pakistan conducted its Chagai nuclear explosions in 1998, soon after India's test).
- c. Various efforts were made to reduce the existing tensions between the two countries after 1998 :
 - i. **Delhi-Lahore bus service:** On February 19 in **1999**, Vajpayee inaugurated the Delhi-Lahore bus service and traveled in the same to meet his counterpart Nawaz Sharif in Pakistan. This step became an iconic symbol of international diplomacy and he was globally lauded for his pragmatism.
 - ii. **Lahore Declaration:** The two Prime Ministers agreed on a historic treaty called the Lahore Declaration, on February 21, **1999**, under which, among other things, it was agreed upon that the two sides were fully committed to undertaking measures to reduce risks of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons.
- d. However, Pakistan followed their dual face diplomacy by dealing peacefully on the political front and aggressively on their military front.
- e. The Kargil war occurred during the 1999 election campaign, the military victory was closely enmeshed with the political narrative of the period.
- f. This emergency situation turned the Vajpayee government of 1998 into a caretaker government.

- **Course of War**

- a. In late 1998, four generals in Pakistan conspired to launch intrusions on the Line of Control (LoC) in the Kargil-Drass sector for the purpose of internationalizing the Kashmir issue and cutting the India lifeline to Siachen glacier.
- b. By the first four months of 1999, Pakistani soldiers established approximately 140 posts and pickets. The intrusion went undetected until early May when the Pakistani infiltration in the Kargil sector was first reported by Tashi Namgyal, a local shepherd.
- c. Infiltrators were grossly underestimated by the Army, which thus pushed soldiers piecemeal, leading to heavy losses with no breakthrough in the initial stages.
- d. The Indian army eventually pushed more than 30,000 soldiers in the area, flooded it with Bofors guns and attained some initial success as the Indian Air Force was also brought in. Eventually, half of the Pakistani pickets and posts were captured by the Indian military.

Under huge global diplomatic pressure, Pakistan vacated the rest of the posts, which almost restored the status quo ante.

- **Analysis**

- a. **Pakistani Humiliation:** It was a humiliating military and diplomatic loss for Pakistan. While it is true that Pakistan achieved initial tactical surprise, it failed abysmally when confronted by a determined Indian military. Globally, Pakistan came to be seen as an irresponsible country despite possessing nuclear weapons.
- b. **Last attempt of Conventional Conflict:** The Kargil war also punctured the Pakistani myth that no conventional conflict was possible under a nuclear umbrella.
- c. **No War = No Ceasefire:** The Kargil war was never formally declared in 1999 and it ended without a ceasefire, as in 1948 or 1965, or a surrender document, as in 1971.
- d. **Border Skirmishes:** It was limited to about a 150-km frontage of the Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir by the Atal Bihari Vajpayee government by choice, contrary to what Lal Bahadur Shastri did in 1965 when he chose to open a front in Punjab.
- e. **Reforms in Defense System:** A four-member '**Kargil review committee**' chaired by K. Subrahmanyam was constituted on July 29, 1999, by Union Government to recommend such measures as are considered necessary to safeguard national security against such armed intrusions.
- f. It was the first war to be televised in India.

- **Gujarat Godhra riots of 2002**

- **Background**

- a. India was witnessing a high wave of communal tensions after the demolition of Babri Masjid in 1992 during a 'Kar Seva' event of Hindu nationalists. It triggered one of the worst Hindu-Muslim riots in the country.
- b. The agenda of 'Kar Seva' (demolition of the mosque and construction of the temple) was set by the BJP party under the leadership of L.K.Advani.
- c. Though Vajpayee belonged to the same BJP party, he described the incident as "unfortunate" in a television interview, and said that it "should not have happened" and apologized for the demolition.
- d. Though the riots were controlled by the police action at that time the feeling of resentment was not faded in the hearts of people in the coming years.

- **Cause of Riots**

- a. In this background, on 27 February 2002, few bogies of a train namely the Sabarmati Express were set on fire in the Godhra region of Gujarat. 58 people were burnt to death in that fire. The victims were all Hindus, karsevaks or volunteers, returning from participating in a religious ceremony at Ayodhya.
- b. This event sparked massive riots in Gujarat, mostly targeting Muslims, for nearly a week.

- **Aftermath**

- a. Gujarat government appointed **Justices GT Nanavati and KG Shah commission** to probe the Godhra train burning incident of 27 February 2002 and the subsequent communal riots in Gujarat (In March 2008, following Shah's death, he was replaced by retired high court judge Akshay Mehta, hence termed as **Nanavati-Mehta Commission**).
 - i. The first part of the report that mainly dealt with the carnage case, was handed over by the commission to the then Chief Minister of Gujarat, Narendra Modi on September 2008 and was tabled in the state assembly immediately. The report

held that the fire on the train was indeed the result of a pre-planned conspiracy involving some individuals.

- ii. The Nanavati Mehta Commission has submitted its full report and part two of the report will be tabled in the state Legislative Assembly in 2019.

The Railway Ministry under the UPA government appointed the **U.C. Banerjee committee** in September 2004, and later turned it into a commission to probe the train burning incident. Justice Banerjee's findings were in total contrast to Justice Nanavati's. In its interim report, it held that the fire was an accident.

- b. The killing and pillaging in Gujarat had given Vajpayee a bad name, the more so because Gujarat had a BJP government in place.
- c. It was alleged that the state administration did not come down hard on the rioters.
- d. Many political observers believe the Gujarat riots were one of the reasons why PM Vajpayee could not retain power in the general elections two years later.

● IC-814 Hijack

- The Kargil war ended in July 1999. As soon as India started to believe that crisis has been over, another incident of Indian plane hijacked by terrorists shook the nation.
- The hijacking of the Indian Airlines Flight 814, commonly known as IC 814, was done on December 24, 1999, when the flight was en route from Tribhuvan International Airport in Kathmandu, Nepal to Indira Gandhi International Airport in Delhi.
- The flight was flown to several locations by terrorists including Amritsar (Punjab), Lahore (Pakistan), Dubai (UAE) before landing in Kandahar, Afghanistan. Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, a Pakistan-based Islamic Terrorist group was accused of hijacking with the support and active assistance from ISI, Pakistan's intelligence agency.
- The terror group demanded the release of few militants including Masood Azhar, who was arrested in Kashmir in the mid-1990s by the Indian Army.
- Keeping in view the safety of Indian passengers, the Vajpayee government agreed to release Masood Azhar in 1999 in return for the 155 hostage passengers of the IC 814.
 - a. Soon after his release, Azhar founded the Jaish-e-Mohammed in 2000 with the motive of separating Kashmir from India and merging the province with Pakistan. The February 14, 2019 attack in Pulwama on the convoy of CRPF was claimed by Azhar's terror group.

Criticism of the Government :

- **Lack of Coordination:** It is alleged that the hijacked plane could have been stopped in India only when the hijacked plane landed at Amritsar and remained parked on the tarmac for nearly 45 minutes.
 - The hijackers demanded that the aircraft be refueled in Amritsar, Punjab.
 - However, lack of inter-ministerial (Union Defence Ministry, External Affairs Ministry, and Home Ministry) and Centre-State government coordination created a scenario of inactivity during that crucial time period. National Security Guard (NSG) failed to take timely action and the state police were not allowed to interfere in this issue.
- **Diplomatic Failure:** Many call this event a diplomatic failure of the Indian government as the Indian government was not able to establish timely and strong communication with the governments of Pakistan, UAE, and Afghanistan. It was evident from the fact that not a single foreign government was willing to take responsibility for a hijacked plane and take timely actions.

- **Delayed Justice:** Masood Azhar was in the Indian for my years after his arrest in Kashmir. The government could have taken timely actions to serve the justice for his actions and could have successfully averted future events like the **2001 Indian Parliament attack, 2008 Mumbai attacks, etc.**

Analysis :

- **Terrorism as a Threat:** Earlier Terrorism was not considered a serious threat to India in the 1990s period. The IC-814 event gave impetus to the terrorist activity in the region as terrorists were able to get their demands fulfilled by the government. This resulted in the 2001 Indian parliament attack done by Masood Azhar's Jaish-e-Mohammed.
- **Long term Repercussions:** The failure of Indian diplomacy to handle the crisis situation and bending to the demands of terrorists cost many Indian lives in the future as in the 2016 Pathankot attack, 2019 Pulwama attack, etc.
- **Security Consolidation:** India took measures to strengthen its defence mechanism post hijack and 2001 Parliament attacks. India even developed the 'Cold Start Doctrine' (military doctrine) to handle the external aggressions after 'Operation Parakram' that India carried out as a response to the 2001 Parliament attacks.

Other Important Events/Policies of the Vajpayee Government :

- **Kashmir policy**
 - Kashmir region of India has witnessed unrest since India got its independence in 1947.
 - Kashmir has gone through a period of conventional and unconventional wars raged by the terror-sponsoring Pakistan. Various Indian governments have made efforts to bring Kashmir's situation in control.
 - However, Vajpayee is applauded for using his soft power to reduce the Kashmir unrest that started post the breakout of insurgency in the 1990s (The rigging of the state assembly election in 1987 created a political vacuum in the state which eventually sparked insurgency in the region).
 - Vajpayee gave the **doctrine of 'Insaniyat, Jamhooriyat and Kashmiriyat'**, which meant **humanity, democracy and keeping the sanctity of the people of Kashmir**, in 2003 which later became a cornerstone of the forces of reconciliation in the State.
 - For tackling the issue of separatists :
 - a. He announced a unilateral ceasefire and gave the opportunity to the moderate faction of the Hurriyat to enter into talks with the government of India. The dreaded militant outfit, Hizbul Mujahideen, split into two, with the faction led by Majid Dar surrendering for peace negotiations. The surrender was instrumental in young Kashmiris realizing the futility of the gun and effectively rejecting it.
 - b. He moved boldly to conduct elections in 1996 and broke the spine of insurgency. Vajpayee's unwavering commitment to Jamhooriyat in the state elections of 2002 ushered a wave of confidence through the widespread participation of the people. The scars of fraudulent elections of the past, and particularly the assembly polls of 1987, were now replaced by a new movement towards a democratic mode of expression, not just in an electoral sense but also in terms of the reconciliation of the conflict as a whole.
 - **Indo-Pak Agra Summit 2001**
 - a. This historic two-day summit meeting between India and Pakistan was organized with the aim of resolving long-standing issues between India and Pakistan, including the Kashmir issue.
 - b. It was a step forward in keeping alive the spirit of the 1999 Lahore Declaration.

- c. Pakistan President Musharraf proposed a four-point plan in the summit (famously known as Musharraf Plan) :
 - Demilitarisation or phased withdrawal of troops on both sides of the Line of Control (LoC).
 - There will be no change in the borders of Kashmir. However, people of Jammu & Kashmir will be allowed to move freely across the Line of Control (LoC).
 - Self-governance of Kashmir without independence.
 - A joint supervision mechanism in Jammu and Kashmir involving India, Pakistan and Kashmir.
- d. However, the details of the plan were not in favour of India. Hence a consensus could not be built upon the plan.

Analysis

- **New Beginning:** Vajpayee opened possibilities for progress in the resolution efforts on the state where none existed. He had talked of Kashmir settlement within the framework of Insaniyat.
- **Idealism:** The word 'Insaniyat' had the immediate effect of altering the frame of reference for Kashmir at the time, obviating the need for the parties to conform to the confines of the Indian constitution in search of a way out.
- **Decentralized Approach:** Vajpayee government's firm belief that Kashmir issue can be resolved by embracing the people of Kashmir, was a major breakthrough approach that set the baseline for the upcoming governments to handle the Kashmir issue.
- **A Precedent:** India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi evoked this Vajpayee's vision during his Independence Day Speech in 2018. This reflects the relevance of Vajpayee's Kashmir doctrine even in the present-day scenario.

- **Economic Initiative of Vajpayee**
 - **Raising India's GDP**
 - a. He took India to new heights by introducing economic reforms. Under his tenure from 1998 to 2004, India maintained a good GDP rate (touching even 8.8% in 1999), lower levels of inflation and flourishing foreign exchange reserves.
 - b. Although India faced catastrophic events during his tenure, including the Kargil conflict (1999), two cyclones (1999 and 2000), Bhuj earthquake (2001), a horrible drought (2002-2003), oil crises (2003), and a Parliament attack, yet he maintained a stable economy.
 - **Introduction to Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management Act, 2003**
 - a. Besides raising India's GDP to eight percent in his tenure, he further introduced the Fiscal Responsibility Act which aimed to reduce the fiscal deficit and boost public-sector savings.

Current Review :

The targets were put off several times:

- In May 2016, the government set up a committee under **N.K. Singh** to review the FRBM Act. The government believed the targets were too rigid. The committee recommended that the government should target a fiscal deficit of 3 percent of the GDP in the years up to March 31st, 2020 cut it to 2.8 percent in 2020-21 and to 2.5 percent by 2023.
- In Budget 2017, Finance Minister Arun Jaitley deferred the fiscal deficit target of 3% of the GDP and chose

a target of 3.2%, citing the NK Singh committee report. The Comptroller and Auditor General of India had pulled up the government for deferring the targets which it said should have been done through amending the Act.

- In Budget 2018, the government was not able to meet the fiscal deficit target of 3.2% due to several factors such as low GST collections, the spike in oil prices and pressure to spend more due to upcoming elections.
- Budget estimates of 2019-20 set the target of maintaining a fiscal deficit of 3% of GDP by 2020-21 from the present 3.4% of GDP.

○ **Privatization**

- a. In 2000 his government began an extensive program of divestment of public funds from several key state-run industries. Along with giving rise to private business in India, it reduced the government's involvement in the industry.
- b. He formed a separate Ministry of Disinvestment (It was later made a separate department as 'Department of Investment and Public Asset management': DIPAM under the Ministry of Finance).
- c. The most important disinvestments were Bharat Aluminium Company (BALCO) and Hindustan Zinc, Indian Petrochemicals Corporation Limited and VSNL.

○ **The Rise of the Indian Telecom Industry**

- a. His government introduced a revenue-sharing model under New Telecom Policy which helped telecom firms to get away with fixed license fees.
- b. International telephone service Videsh Sanchar Nigam Ltd was ended and Bharat Sanchar Nigam Ltd was separately created to head over the services and policies.
- c. To further enhance the telecom sector, he created Telecom Dispute Settlement Appellate Tribunal.

○ **Educational and Scientific Initiatives**

a. **Education Policy.**

- His government brought a major breakthrough in the Indian education system by the introduction of the 86th amendment on December 2002, which made elementary education free for children aged 6-14 years.

The 86th Amendment Act, 2002 :

- The Amendment made the following changes to the Constitution:
 - Changes in the Fundamental Rights:
 - a. It added a new article Article 21A to the fundamental rights of the Indian constitution and was named as 'Right to education'.
 - b. Article 21A stated that the State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may, by law, determine.
 - It made changes to the Directive Principles of State Policy:
 - a. Article 45 originally stated: "The State shall endeavor to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years."
 - b. It was substituted as "The State shall endeavor to provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years."

- It also made changes to the Fundamental Duties in the constitution:
 - a. Article 51A was amended to make parents or guardians duty-bound to provide opportunities for education to his/her child between the age of six and fourteen years. and brought a drastic change in the number of dropouts in India.
- Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) was started as a flagship programme of the Indian government for achievement of Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE) in a time-bound manner, as mandated by the 86th amendment to the Constitution of India.
- The 2002 amendment was followed by the 'Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009 (Right to Education Act, 2009), which was a consequential legislation envisaged under Article 21-A. This act made elementary education of satisfactory and equitable quality in a formal school as the right of every child in the age group of six to fourteen years. Article 21-A and the RTE Act of 2009 came into effect on 1 April 2010.

- His government also brought the Special Educational Needs and Disability Act 2001 to prevent the unfair treatment of individuals in educational organizations.
 - a. **Science and Research:** Vajpayee passed the Chandrayan-1 project on India's 56th Independence Day. He made India a nuclear weapon state as in 1998, India conducted five nuclear tests in one week.
- **Infrastructure Initiatives**
 - He initiated the **National Highways Development Project (NHDP)** in 1998 to upgrade, rehabilitate and standardize major highways in India.
 - The most ambitious road projects in India were launched by him, including the Golden Quadrilateral project of 2001 and the Pradhanmantri Gramin Sadak Yojna (2000).
 - a. The Golden Quadrilateral made transportation easy, connecting metropolitan cities Chennai, Kolkata, Delhi and Mumbai through a network of highways.
 - b. Pradhanmantri Gramin Sadak Yojna connected distant villages across the country with a network of all-weather roads.
- **Political Initiatives**
 - Supreme court in the famous **Indra Sawhney v. Union of India (1992)** case said that the total reserved quota should not exceed 50% limit each year. It allowed the 'carry forward rule' in case of unfilled (backlog) vacancies for the OBC section but it was made subject to this 50% rule.
 - a. In their effort to remove social injustice, the Vajpayee government brought the 81st Amendment Act of 2000 to end the 50% ceiling limit for the OBC backlog vacancies.
 - b. Another amendment (85th Amendment Act of 2001) was passed to provide for 'consequential seniority' in the case of promotion by virtue of rule of reservation for the government servants belonging to the SCs and STs with retrospective effect from June 1995.

Conclusion :

- **Era of Achievements:** Atal Bihari Vajpayee is still considered as a successful India Prime Minister who could successfully run a 23-party coalition for full five years mainly because of his humility.
- **Government of Principles:** He was known for holding the democratic polity in high esteem. Political accommodation is a virtue that Vajpayee's life sets out as an example for politicians.
- **Propagator of Peace:** His efforts for peace in the Indian subcontinent and boldness to pin India on the world map by taking nuclear test decision separated Vajpayee from other Indian politicians.

- **Diplomatic Prudence:** is soft power diplomacy and extending the hand of friendship even after the Kargil war was admired even by the Pakistan government.
- Atal Bihar Vajpayee was a great poet, a man of an open mind and pioneering ideas, a statesman in both words and deeds.
- The former Prime Minister died on 16 August 2018 due to age-related illness.



20. LAND REFORMS SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Introduction :

- India's land resource accounts for **2.4 percent** of the total world surface area.
- The agriculture sector of India alone employs more than 50 percent of its total workforce and contributes around 17-18 percent to the country's GDP.
- India's agricultural operated area is estimated at 159 million ha as per Agriculture Census 2015-16.
- However, this agricultural area is distributed unequally among its population.
- As per 2011-12 Agricultural Census and 2011 Socio-Economic Caste Census data:
 - **India has 101 million landless people which is equivalent to the populations of Germany and Sri Lanka.**
 - Nearly 95.1% of Indian farmers are called "marginal, small and semi-medium farmers", owing up to 1.0 ha, 2.0 ha and 4ha of land, respectively.
 - Around 4.9% of farmers control 32% of India's farmland.
 - A "large" farmer in India has 45 times more land in proportion to the "marginal" farmer.
 - About 4 million people i.e. 56.4% of rural households own no land.
- The origin of this disparity can be traced back to India's colonial-era history.

UNO definition of Land Reforms :

- "Land reforms include reforms or improvements in the land tenure system as well as reforms in other institutions which are related to the land and its utilization such as consolidation of holdings, size of holdings, methods of farming and supply of agricultural credit etc".

The Colonial Impact: Indian Agriculture at Independence :

- **Commercialization of Agriculture:** Colonialism shattered the basis of the traditional Indian agricultural system by changing its self-sufficiency nature. Commercialization of agriculture and differentiation within the peasantry occurred on an unprecedented scale and did not mark the shift towards capitalist commodity production and the rise of the rich peasant/capitalist farmer.
- **Facilitation of Drain of Wealth:** Commercialization of agriculture in colonial India facilitated the extraction of surplus from the peasantry (through land revenue demand in cash) and the transfer of this surplus from India to Britain which is otherwise called "**Drain of wealth**".

- **The colonial state made a very high tax demand on agriculture.**
 - In the early colonial period, the state made permanent settlements with zamindars (the zamindari or Permanent Settlement introduced by Cornwallis in 1793) fixing the land revenue rates at a very high level.
 - Later Ryotwari (1820) and Mahalwari (1833) settlement came into the picture.
 - Till the turn of the twentieth-century land revenue constituted more than half of the total revenue raised by the colonial state.
- **Culture of Landlordism:** Colonialism promoted the growth of landlordism, tenancy, and rack renting on a very wide scale. In the zamindari areas, absentee landlordism and sub in feudation was rampant. On the eve of independence, roughly 60 to 70 percent of the total cultivable land in British India (including zamindari areas) was owned by landlords.
- **Collapse of Traditional Industries:** the destruction of traditional handicrafts and artisanal industry and the absence of a rapid growth of modern industry created an enormous population pressure on agriculture and an adverse land–man ratio of about 0.92 acres per capita at independence.
- **Problem of Landless Rural Population:** Apart from the rent demand, the landlords resorted to numerous illegal exactions in cash, kind or labour (begar), which put a severe burden on the peasant. It led to an increase in the number of landless hungering for land in the context of the unavailability of virtually any alternative employment.
- **Non-Investment in Agriculture:** Given the above situation, it made much more economic sense for the large landowners to give out their entire land on tenancy, extracting very high rents and other illegal dues from landless peasants competing for land, rather than go in for large-scale capitalist agriculture using hired wage labour under their direct supervision.
 - This caused a very little agricultural investment and colonial state did not put back a fraction of what it extorted from agriculture.
- Despite high concentration in landownership the operated holdings in India remained by and large small and often very tiny.
- Petty commodity production with traditional techniques rather than large-scale modern capitalist farming was the typical production pattern in colonial India. The problem of smallholdings was further accentuated by their fragmentation among family successors.
 - The efforts of the colonial state to handle this problem of subdivision and fragmentation proved very meager.
- **Extreme indebtedness of the peasantry: -**
 - Bonded labour or debt bondage became a common feature in large parts of the country. The overwhelming bulk of the peasants' debt was contracted at usurious rates from private money lenders.
- Because of colonial neglect, India faced an acute food shortage at Independence, which created problems in many areas.
- Between 1946 and 1953 about 14 million tonnes of food grains worth Rs 10,000 million had to be imported, seriously affecting India's planned development effort.

Pre-Independence National and Peasant Movements :

- Since the late nineteenth century, the early nationalists had been highlighting the backwardness of Indian agriculture under colonialism like:
 - It's overcrowding due to de-Industrialisation.

- Its failure to modernize techniques of agricultural production due to hefty tax levies on Indian farmers causing little or no investment for efficiency improvement.
- The declining trend in productivity and the vast unemployment and underemployment in the rural sector.
- The link between excessive competition for land caused by colonialism and rack renting of tenants, the subdivision of land and so on.
- High land revenue collected by British reduced agri-investment and cut into peasant's very subsistence.
- G. V. Joshi (an economist of the late 19th century) argued for the establishment of small peasant farming which would be maintained through vigorous tenancy legislation giving protection and permanent tenure for the actual cultivator, availability of cheap credit, and a permanent and low land tax.
- Justice Ranade went a step further and was among the first to argue for a structural change that would replace the existing semi-feudal agriculture with capitalist agriculture and demanded a **mixed model for agriculture**.
- **The early peasant and tenant movements fought for their specific demands** without directly confronting colonialism and the colonial state. For example:
 - In Bengal in the 1870s, 'agrarian leagues' or 'combinations' were formed which organized rent strikes against enhanced rents demanded by zamindars. It led to the passage of the **Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885** by the British government which defined the rights of zamindars and their tenants.
 - Similarly, in Maharashtra a powerful violent movement emerged in the 1870s against money lenders (famously known as **Deccan Agrarian Riots**)
- **The twentieth century saw the emergence of a much firmer linkage between the peasant movements and the wider anti-imperialist movement.**
 - The peasant movements now emerged through modern and national-level organizations articulating their class demands more effectively.
 - The 1920s saw peasant movements emerging in Uttar Pradesh and Malabar in close association with the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movements raising demands like:
 - a. Security of tenure for tenants.
 - b. Decrease in rent.
 - c. Abolition of illegal exactions in cash, kind or labour.
 - **Bardoli Satyagraha (1928)** in Gujarat marked the start of coalescence of the peasant movement and the national movement with leaders like Sardar Patel playing a direct and active role in it under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi.
 - In the 1930's and 1940's the peasantry moved further centre stage and grew as an integral part of the national movement.
 - In the Karachi session in 1931, Congress in the 'Fundamental Rights and Economic Programme' included a reduction in agricultural rent, relief of agricultural indebtedness, etc.
 - Kisan Conference held in Allahabad in 1935 was presided by Sardar Patel along with a member of Bihar Kisan Sabha - Swami Sahajanand Saraswati and Andhra Riyad Association - NG Ranga. It passed a resolution which in unequivocal terms called for the abolition of zamindari. A peasantry system without any intermediaries was advocated.
 - The year **1936** saw the formation of **All India Kisan Sabha** by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati and NG Ranga.

- The **50th session** of the Indian National Congress (INC) was held in **Faizpur**, Maharashtra in 1936. It was the first session of INC that was held in the village to connect with the rural and peasant population.
- The Faizpur session and the All India Kisan Sabha manifesto influenced the INC's 1937 general election manifesto. It was made by including the peasant's need for immediate relief with regard to the revenue, rent and debt burden.
- In between 1937-39, a series of legislations were passed by the various ministries on issues concerning tenancy rights and indebtedness.
 - a. Most provinces passed laws regulating the activity of the money lenders and providing debt relief. In Bombay, 40,000 tied serfs or bonded labor were liberated.
- In the 1930s, the Mahatma Gandhi also raised voice for the agrarian question as he said, 'land and all property is his who will work it'.
- After the war ended in 1945, the peasant movements re-emerged and demanded zamindari abolition with greater urgency.
- Militant anti-landlord movements sprang up in various parts of the country like the Telangana movement (1946) in Hyderabad state and the Tebhaga movement in Bengal (1946-47).
- By the time India became independent, the leaders were clear that an urgent reform of the land system needs to be undertaken like the abolition of intermediaries, the problem of rural indebtedness, etc.
- Sufficient mobilization among the peasantry had not occurred on the issue of cooperativization.

Legacy of Indian Peasant Movements :

- The pre-independence peasant's movements created a platform for post-independence movements to build upon. The legacy was continued in the form of:
 - **Non-Violent Struggles:** The earlier movements set a non-violent approach to continue the peasant struggle. Example: The **2019 Kisan Long March** organized by the All India Kisan Sabha in Maharashtra was a peaceful nonviolent protest carried by farmers to seek government support in the wake of a severe drought that has gripped half the State.
 - **Statutory Provisions:** The earlier successful efforts of demanding statutory provision for their rights (like the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885) were continued even in the post-independent era. Example: The passage of the Land ceiling act by various Indian states after independence was the result of agitations done by various small and tenant farmers in their effort for egalitarian land distribution.
 - **Grass Root Movement:** The linkage of peasant struggle and political organization has given rise to various grass root level movements even in post-independent India. Example: The **2019 Haryana Farmers' agitation** against their land acquisition got massive support from the local peasant organizations.
 - **Abolition of Middlemen:** The majority of the peasant movements in India even from the pre-independence era has focused on the removal of middlemen in the agricultural activity. In the present scenario, the famous **Agricultural Produce Market Committee (APMC) Act of 2003** was the fruitful outcome of various peasant movements for the same. Though this middlemen issue has not been completely resolved to date, the efforts for this are continuously made both by the farmers and the government.
 - **Regulation of Market:** Unfair prices for the farm produce has been a cause for the misery of Indian farmers. Keeping in view the demands of the peasant movements, the government has introduced

various measures like eNAM (e-National Agriculture Market) for the unification of Indian markets for better regulation and provide better prices to farmers.

Some Important Pre-Independence Peasant Movements :

- **Sanyasi Rebellion (1763):** This was the earliest peasant movement of India led by displaced peasants and dispossessed Zamindars against the introduction of permanent settlement systems in the Bengal region. It was made famous by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in his novel Anandmath.
- **The Deccan Riots (1875):** It was the peasant movements that turned violent in the deccan area of India. It was led by peasant cultivators against the heavy land revenue demand by the British and against the local money lenders.
- **Moplah Rebellions (1921):** It was the Kerala peasant movement led by the Moplah tenants who were Muslims against the Hindu Landlords and the British government's land tenure system.
- **Tebhaga movement (1946):** It was led by Bengal sharecroppers against the Jotedar's demand for a high share in their crops.

Efforts Post-Independence :

After independence, a multi-pronged attempt was made to reduce the various kinds of legal and illegal burdens on the peasant producer, remove the large 'semi-feudal' intermediaries and improve the terms of tenancy.

- The important objectives of land reform measures in India were:
 - **Enhance Land Productivity:** by improving the economic conditions of farmers and tenants.
 - **Redistribute land:** To ensure distributive justice and to create an egalitarian society by eliminating all forms of exploitation.
 - **Reduce Inequality:** To reduce the gap between have(s) and have not(s) by creating a system of peasant proprietorship with the motto of land to the tiller.
 - **Abolition of Intermediaries:** To directly benefit the actual tillers of the land and improve their input to output capital ratio.
- Immediately after the independence **Economic Programme Committee (1948)** was appointed. Some of the recommendations were:
 - All intermediaries between the tiller and the state should be eliminated.
 - All middlemen should be replaced by non-profit making agencies, such as cooperatives.
 - The state should organize pilot schemes for experimenting with cooperative farming among smallholders.
 - Introduce the notion of land ceiling.
 - The maximum size of the holding should be fixed.
 - The surplus land over and above the ceiling limit must be placed at the disposal of the village cooperatives.
 - The present land revenue system needs to be replaced by a progressive agricultural income tax.
 - Remunerative prices for agricultural produce.
 - The consolidation of small holdings and the prevention of further fragmentation.
- **The Second Five-Year Plan (1956-1961)** emphasized the objectives of the land reforms thus:
 - To remove impediments in the way of agricultural production as may arise from the character of the agrarian structure and to evolve an agrarian economy conducive of high levels of efficiency and productivity;
 - To establish an egalitarian society and to eliminate social inequality;

- A dichotomy soon began to emerge between the recommendations made by the central government and what the states were willing to implement. Some of the issues were: -
 - Compulsion for promoting cooperative farming.
 - Replacing private trade and moneylending with state or cooperative organizations.
 - Implementing land ceilings.

Phases of Land Reform :

Land in India is a state subject. The process of land reforms were undertaken in India in the following phases:

1. First phase (phase of institutional reforms till 1960s)

- Abolition of Zamindari.
- Tenancy laws (security of tenure, decrease in rent, ownership rights to tenants)
- Land-ceiling laws.
- Placing the above laws in the 9th schedule to make them immune from judicial review.
- Land acquisition acts by states such as Rajasthan and Punjab in 1953.
- Bhoodan and Gramdan movements to encourage voluntary giving up of excess land and redistribution.
- Cooperativization.

2. Second phase

- Green Revolution (technological reform).
- Right to property [A. 19 (1) (f)] was abolished as a fundamental right.

1. FIRST PHASE :

• Zamindari Abolition

- Land was made a state subject in the independent India. Many states like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Bombay, etc. introduced zamindari abolition bills or land tenure legislation in 1949 in line with the G. B. Pant committee report (The compensation paid to the zamindars was inversely related to the size of the land which came under a zamindar).
- However, the zamindars challenged the constitutionality of the law permitting zamindari abolition by raising the issue of the right to property and unjust compensation. Some courts, like the Patna High Court, upheld the landlord's suit.
- The government responded by getting **first and fourth constitutional amendments passed in 1951 and 1955**, making the question of violation of any fundamental right or insufficiency of compensation not permissible in the courts.
- By 1956 the process of land reform involving the abolition of intermediaries can be said to have been completed.
- Zamindari abolition completed in a short period partly because the zamindars as a class had been isolated socially during the national movement itself as they supported imperialists.
- The main beneficiaries of zamindari abolition were the occupancy tenants or the upper tenants, who had direct leases from the zamindar, and who now became landowners.
- The abolition of zamindari meant that about 20 million erstwhile tenants now became landowners.
- The compensation actually paid to the zamindars once their estates were acquired was generally small and varied from state to state depending upon the strength of the peasant movement. In Kashmir, no compensation was paid.
- **Weaknesses With The Zamindari Abolition:**

- a. **Absence of Land Records:** The absence of adequate land records made the implementation of these acts difficult.
- b. **Personal cultivation:**
 - i. 'Personal cultivation' was very loosely defined. Cultivators to include all those who tilled the soil supervised the land personally or via a relative provided capital and credit to the land.
 - ii. In Uttar Pradesh, the zamindars were permitted to retain lands that were declared to be under their 'personal cultivation'.
 - iii. Moreover, in states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madras there was no limit on the size of the lands that could be declared to be under the 'personal cultivation' of the zamindar.
- c. **Malpractices by Zamindars:** Zamindars resorted to large-scale eviction of tenants, mainly the less secure small tenants.
- d. **Exploitation of Loopholes:** Even after the laws were enacted the landlords used the judicial system to defer the implementation of the laws.
- e. Zamindars refused to hand over the land records in their possession, forcing the government to go through the lengthy procedure of reconstructing the records.
- f. Implementation of the law was made difficult with the **collusion between the landlords and lower-level revenue officials.**

- **Tenancy Reforms**

- When India achieved independence only about half the area was under zamindari tenure. The other half was under ryotwari where the problems of landlordism and an insecure, rack-rented tenancy were rampant
- The varied political and economic conditions in different parts were reflected in the varied implementation of tenancy legislations.
- Tenancy reforms had three basic objectives:
 - a. To **guarantee security of tenure to tenants** who had cultivated a piece of land continuously for a fixed number of years.
 - b. To **seek the reduction of rents paid by tenants to a 'fair' level.**
 - c. The tenant should gain the right to acquire ownership of the lands he cultivated, subject to certain restrictions.
- The system of absentee landowners was highly prevalent at that time. So to secure the rights of tenant cultivators, complex formulas were derived for distribution of revenue shares among cultivators and landowners.
- Some landowners started to resume self-cultivation of their land, by removing tenant cultivators. It was made sure that the landowner could not deprive the tenant of his entire lands while exerting his land right. In some states, the tenant had to be left with at least half his holding.
- The rights of small landowners and their tenants were subject to ceilings prescribed by each state.
- **The substantial proportion of tenants did acquire security and permanent occupancy rights.**
- In the 1960s, a massive programme of conferment of titles to lands to hutment dwellers and tenants was undertaken in Kerala under 'The Kerala Land Relinquishment Act, 1958'. The programme achieved considerable success.

- **Operation Barga:**
 - d. Similarly, in West Bengal Operation Barga was launched in 1978 with the objective of achieving the registration of sharecroppers and provide them permanent occupancy and heritable rights and a crop division of 1:3 between landowners and sharecropper.
 - e. This effort was made to mobilize the support of the rural poor and especially the bargadars and their active participation were sought in the implementation of the reform measures.
 - f. This went a long way in neutralizing the lower-level revenue officials like patwaris, etc. who often acted as major impediments in the successful implementation of government programmes.
 - g. An innovative move was to start a number of orientation camps while launching Operation Barga, where agricultural workers, sharecroppers, and officials were made to stay together, eat together and discuss together on the same premises in distant rural areas.
 - h. Operation Barga led to the recording of a large number of sharecroppers and consequently providing them with the security of tenure.
- **Failure of Operation Barga:**
 - a. The process could not be completed and it reached more or less a stalemate after a little more than half the sharecroppers had been covered.
 - b. It was found politically unviable to proceed with Operation Barga when faced with 'landlords' who themselves were cultivators withholdings only marginally larger than those of the sharecroppers.
 - c. In West Bengal, an overwhelming majority of the cultivators were small cultivators controlling less than 5 acres, a further redistributive thrust was difficult.
 - d. Such was the land to man ratio in Bengal that the landlord was often able to rotate a piece of leased land among two or more sharecroppers or bargadars so more than one bargadar claimed tenancy rights.
 - e. It did not permit the full implementation of the notion of 'land to the tiller' or even the provision of full security of tenure to each cultivator.
- **Weaknesses of Tenancy Reforms:**
 - a. **Collusion between Landlords and Revenue Officials:** The provisions introduced to protect the small landowners were misused by the larger landlords with the active connivance of the revenue officials.
 - b. **Legal Loopholes:** Provisions like the right of resumption and the loose definition of 'personal cultivation' was used for the eviction of tenants on a massive scale.
 - c. **Inordinate Delays:** The inordinate delays in enacting and implementing the legislation enabled the zamindars to evict potential beneficiaries before the law came into force.
 - d. **Adoption of Extra- Legal Means:** Even after the tenants got legal protection against eviction, large-scale evictions occurred as the tenants were 'persuaded' under threat to give up their tenancy rights 'voluntarily'.
 - e. **Ineffective Implementation:** To avoid evictions, the Fourth Plan was constrained to recommend that all voluntary surrenders should only be in favour of the government, which could allot such lands to eligible persons. However, only a handful of states acted upon this recommendation.
 - h. **Continuation in the Concealed form:** In many cases, tenancy legislation led to a tenancy being continued in a concealed form.

- i. The tenants were now called 'farm servants' though they continued in exactly the same status.
- ii. In West Bengal sharecroppers, known as bargadars received no protection until as late as July 1970 when the West Bengal Land Reforms Act was amended to accord limited protection to them.
- iii. **Most tenancies were oral, informal and were not recorded.** Hence providing security of tenure to all tenants, met with only limited success and large-scale tenants remained unprotected with high rent rates.
- iv. The market rates of rent tended to be around 50 percent of gross production and it was only the poor insecure tenants or sharecroppers who paid it.
- v. The tenant often ended up bearing the cost of the production inputs either fully or to a substantial extent.
- vi. The Green Revolution which started in some parts of India in the late 1960s aggravated the problems, with land values and rentals rising further.
- vii. The acquisition of ownership rights by tenants was achieved only partially.
- viii. Tenants hardly had any motivation to try and acquire full ownership which would involve not only raise capital but legal and other complications.

- **Land Ceilings**

- **The First Five-Year Plan (1951–1956)** broadly accepted the Congress economic committee's (Kumarappa Committee) suggestion, which recommended a ceiling on land holding which was to be three times the size of an economic holding as fair.
- In 1957 the **Standing Committee of National Development Council (NDC)** adopted a decision to complete the imposition of ceilings in the few states where such legislation had been passed by the end of 1960.
- In the meantime, opposition to ceilings was building up in large parts of the country. A threat to the right to private property was perceived by the rural landowners as well as urban interests.
- **The Nagpur Congress in 1959 passed a resolution** stating that Ceiling should be fixed on existing and future holdings so that uncertainty regarding land reforms is removed and farmers get some stability. It recommended that:
 - a. Legislation to this effect should be completed in all States by the end of 1959.
 - b. Further, the land which is declared above ceiling limits needs to be vested **in the panchayats and managed through cooperatives consisting of landless labourers.**
- **Consequences of Nagpur congress:**
 - a. A wave of criticism by the big and influential landowners was to follow in the months after the Nagpur session as the resolution affected their landholding rights.
 - b. Consolidation of the conservative forces started both in the rural and urban sectors of the country to maintain the status quo.
 - i. N. G. Ranga and C. Rajagopalachari, alarmed at the moves towards land ceilings and threats of compulsory cooperativization, now **joined hands with Minoo Masani, to form the Swatantra party in 1959.**
 - c. The campaigners and beneficiaries of zamindari abolition, the tenants who had now become landowners, also criticized this move.
 - d. The opponents of the ceilings legislation were victorious at the state level, as it was the states which had to formulate and implement the legislation and they showed no haste in implementing the Nagpur Resolution.

- e. The ceilings issue thus dragged on and most states passed the enabling legislation only by the end of 1961.
- f. Only in Jammu and Kashmir were ceiling laws fully implemented and by the middle of 1955 about 230,000 acres of surplus land had been handed over to tenants and landless laborers, that too without having to pay any compensation.
- **Weaknesses in Land Ceiling Legislation**
 - a. **Inordinate Delays:** The long delay and the nature of the legislation ensured that the ceilings would have a very muted impact. Most of the states pass ceiling laws only by 1961.
 - b. **Unrealistic Ceilings:** Post-independence India had more than 70 percent of landholdings in India under 5 acres so the ceiling fixed on existing holdings by the states was very high.
 - c. **Exploitation of Legal Loopholes:** In most states, the ceilings were imposed on individuals and not family holdings, enabling landowners to divide up their holdings in the names of relatives or make Benami transfers merely to avoid the ceiling.
 - d. **Faulty Laws:** Further, in many states, the ceiling could be raised if the size of the family of the landholder exceeded five.
 - e. **Exemptions by the Governments:** A large number of exemptions to the ceiling limits were permitted by most states following the Second Plan recommendations that certain categories of land could be exempted from ceilings. For example, Tamil Nadu permitted 26 kinds of exemptions.
 - f. Exemption to land held by cooperatives was open to great misuse with landlords transferring their lands to bogus cooperatives.
 - g. Some landowners shifted to direct efficient farming in order to avoid alienation of their lands.
 - h. The landowners also resorted to mass eviction of tenants, resuming their lands at least up to the ceiling limit, and claimed to have shifted to progressive farming under their direct supervision.
 - i. Till the end of 1970, not a single acre was declared surplus in large states like Bihar, Mysore, Kerala, Orissa, and Rajasthan.
- **The Bhoodan Movement (1951) :**
 - Bhoodan was an attempt at land reform, to bring about institutional changes in agriculture, like land redistribution through a movement and not simply through government legislation.
 - The idea was that each average family of five should give up to one-sixth of their land accepting the poor landless man as a member of the family.
 - **Eminent Gandhian Acharya Vinoba Bhave** drew upon Gandhian techniques and ideas such as construction work and trusteeship to launch this movement in the early 1950s.
 - **He organized an all-India federation of constructive workers, the Sarvodaya Samaj**, which was to take up the task of a nonviolent social transformation in the country.
 - He and his followers were to do padayatra by walking on foot from village to village to persuade the larger landowners to donate at least one-sixth of their lands as Bhoodan or 'land-gift' for distribution among the landless and the land poor.
 - The target was to get as donation 50 million acres, which was one-sixth of the 300 million acres of cultivable land in India.
 - The movement, though independent of the government, had the support of the Congress, with the AICC urging Congressmen to participate in it actively.

- In less than three months he had covered about 200 villages in the Telangana region and received 12,200 acres as a donation.
- The movement then spread to the North, particularly Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.
- **GRAMDAN:**
 - a. By the end of 1955, the Bhoodan movement took a new form, that of Gramdan or 'donation of village'.
 - b. This movement again took off from the Gandhian notion that all land belonged to 'Gopal' or God.
 - c. In Gramdan villages, the movement declared that all land was owned collectively or equally, as it did not belong to any one individual.
 - d. The movement started in Orissa and was most successful there. By the end of 1960, there were more than 4,500 Gramdan villages.
 - e. It has been argued that this movement was successful mainly in villages where class differentiation had not yet emerged and there was little disparity in ownership of land or other property such as those inhabited by certain tribal communities.
- **Failure of Bhoodan/GRAMDAN**
 - a. **Lack of Effective Leadership:** The movement lost momentum later and very little new land was received as donations. Also, a substantial part of the land donated was unfit for cultivation or under litigation. Hence, its creative potential essentially remained unutilized.
 - b. **Lack of Long-Term Policies:** The programme dragged on indefinitely, essentially forgotten such as the Bihar government decision of 1999 to dissolve the State Bhoodan Committee for its inability to distribute even half the Bhoodan land available over the past 38 years.
 - c. **Lack of Organised Structure:** The Sarvodaya Samaj, on the whole, failed to build an active large-scale mass movement that would generate irresistible pressure for social transformation in large parts of the country.
- **Significance/Success of Bhoodan**
 - d. Received over 4 million acres of land as a donation by March 1956.
 - e. It was one of the very few attempts after independence to bring about land reform through a movement and not through government legislation.
 - f. The potential of the movement was enormous, as it was based on the idea of trusteeship or that all land belonged to God.
 - g. The movement created a moral ambiance, which, while putting pressure on the landlords, created conditions favourable to the landless.
 - h. Both the movements stimulated political activity by the peasant masses and have created a favourable atmosphere for political propaganda and agitation.
 - i. For redistribution of the land.
 - ii. For abolition of private ownership of land.
 - iii. For the development of agricultural producers' cooperatives.

2. SECOND PHASE :

● **New Initiatives in Land Reforms :**

- The dismal record in using ceiling legislation for a more equitable distribution of land and sharply increasing polarization in the country since the mid-1960s called for a new initiative in land reform.

- The rural areas saw the growing consolidation of the owner cultivator/rich peasant interests and they found a distinct political voice in formations such as the Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD). It later merged with Swatantra and other parties to become Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD) in 1974 and the BLD was the principal component of the Janata Party
- In mid-1960s there was a political and economic crisis like inflation, devaluation, the Indo-Pak war, etc. and there emerged a strong strand of agrarian radicalism in large parts of the country.
- There was also the emergence of the Naxalite movement led by the CPI (ML) peaked in West Bengal and some other states.
- In this background, the 1970s saw the rise of the 'land grab' movement by the landless in many parts of the country under the leadership of the Communist and Socialist parties.
 - a. The movement was effectively suppressed.
 - b. About 20,000 political activists were arrested.
 - c. The movement had a significant symbolic effect. The nation's attention was drawn dramatically to the agrarian question.
- **This was the context in which the second spurt of land reform efforts was to occur in the 1960s and early 1970s.**
- The '**Land Reform Implementation Committee**' of the National Development Council made sustained efforts to put pressure on the Chief Ministers to plug the loopholes in the land reform legislation and implement them effectively.
- In 1971, the committee made a series of recommendations like
 - a. Substantial reduction in the ceiling limits.
 - b. Withdrawal of exemptions such as those in favour of 'efficient' or mechanized farms.
 - c. Making ceilings applicable to the family as a unit and not just to individuals.
- **The new 1971 policy guidelines** were based essentially on the recommendation of the '**Land Reform Implementation Committee**'. Important features of 1971 guidelines include:
 - a. Different ceiling limit for wetland and unirrigated land.
 - b. A change over to family rather than the individual as the unit for determining land holdings lowered ceiling for a family of five.
 - c. Fewer exemptions from ceilings.
 - d. Retrospective application of the law for declaring Benami transactions null and void.
 - e. No scope to move the court on the ground of infringement of fundamental rights
 - f. In the distribution of surplus land, priority was to be given to landless agricultural workers, particularly those belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
 - g. Compensation payable for surplus land was to be fixed well below market price
- Following the 1972 guidelines, most states passed revised ceiling legislation, lowering the ceiling limits within the range prescribed in the guidelines.
- Resistance to the ceiling laws and efforts to evade the ceiling continued in a variety of ways. A common method was to seek judicial intervention on a number of grounds.
- In an attempt to tackle this menace, the government got the 34th constitutional Amendment passed getting most of the revised ceiling laws included in the Ninth Schedule of the constitution so that they could not be challenged on constitutional grounds.
- The renewed effort of the 1970s did lead to some progress in surplus land being redistributed.

- **Failures**
 - a. The overall results were still far from satisfactory. The objective set out in the 1947 economic programme of the Congress, of distributing surplus lands to village cooperatives or even using such lands to start new cooperatives did not achieve any success.
 - b. Out of the land declared surplus but not distributed, nearly 1.6 million acres were under litigation.
 - c. There was wide regional variation in the implementation of ceiling laws.
 - d. Total area declared surplus that could be distributed among the landless constituted only about 2 percent of the cultivated area.
 - e. It killed the land market and prevented an increasing concentration in landholdings through de-peasantization.
 - f. In the long run, the high population growth and the rapid subdivision of large holdings over several generations led automatically to little land remaining over the ceiling limits.
 - g. Any further attempt at land redistribution through the lowering of ceilings does not appear to be politically feasible or even economically viable.
 - h. Given the adverse land-man ratio in India and high dependency on agriculture, any attempt to further reduce ceilings would vastly increase the number of uneconomic and unviable holdings.
 - i. Also, it would make the landowning classes, powerfully mobilized under the 'new' farmers' movement, against any regime which tried to do so.

Recent Developments in Land Reforms :

- Two centrally sponsored schemes are administered by Land Reforms Division in the Department of Land Resources, Ministry of Rural Development to remove the problems inherent in the manual systems of maintenance and updating of land records.
 - 1. **Computerization of Land Records (CLR)**
 - a. It was started in 1988-89 with 100% financial assistance on a pilot project basis in eight districts of Telangana, Assam, Jharkhand, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha and Rajasthan.
 - b. During the Eighth Five-year Plan (1992 to 1997), the scheme was approved as a separate centrally sponsored scheme on the computerization of land records.
 - c. During the Ninth Five Year Plan, the Ministry of Rural development expanded it to 259 more districts. In 2007, the scheme is being implemented in 582 districts of the country leaving those districts where there are no proper land records.
 - 2. **Strengthening of Revenue Administration and Updating of Land Records (SRA and ULR)**
 - a. Started in 1987, initially, the scheme was approved for the states of Bihar and Orissa and later extended to other states and union territories.
 - b. This scheme was financed by the centre and the state on a 50:50 sharing basis.
 - c. Union territories are provided full Central assistance.
 - d. Under this scheme, financial assistance is given for the purchase of modern survey equipment like Global Positioning System (GPS), work stations, Aerial Survey, etc.
- **Committee on State Agrarian Relations and the Unfinished Task in Land Reforms**
 - Constituted in 2008, the Committee was divided into seven sub-groups and each focused on an important dimension of land reforms.

- **Observations and Recommendations :**
 - a. The committee relates to inefficiency and lack of interest on the part of officialdom.
 - b. It observed that the inferior quality land was surrendered or taken over and even where the beneficiaries were in possession, they were given land on bunds and in such areas that they became more of a liability.
 - c. It recommended the urgent need to revisit the land ceiling limits in different categories and to be implemented with retrospective effect.
 - d. It argued strongly for the effective implementation of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006.
 - e. It recommended recognizing the Primitive Tribe Groups in the land they occupy.
 - f. It also highlights the representation for women, especially for SC/ST women, in agencies set up to monitor land reforms.
- **The Draft National Land Reforms Policy**
 - Prepared in 2013, the policy has five goals:
 - a. Distribution of land to all rural landless poor.
 - b. Restoration of land unjustly taken from vulnerable communities like Dalits and Tribals.
 - c. Protection of the land of Dalits and Tribals including the commons that they depend on going forward.
 - d. Liberalization of leasing laws.
 - e. Improving the land rights of women.
 - The policy suggests the following measures:
 - a. Stop land-holding exemptions to religious, educational, charitable, research and industrial organizations beyond 15 acres.
 - b. Allow smaller land-holdings in states where the existing limit is more than five to 10 acres for irrigated land and 10 to 15 acres for non-irrigated land.
 - c. A single-window for redistribution of surplus land within a specified time.
 - d. A curb on Benami (in someone else's name) land transfer practice.
 - e. Complete database of land inventories available for public scrutiny.
 - The policy credited West Bengal, Kerala and Jammu and Kashmir for having well performed in the surplus land distribution.
 - It highlighted the land taken over and distributed in Punjab to be more than land declared surplus. It pointed towards the inconsistencies in raising concerns over the reporting and verification of surplus land declaration and distribution nationwide.
- **Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013**
 - Also known as the 'Land Acquisition Act of 2013', it came into effect from 01. 01. 2014 by repealing the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 of British era.
 - The act aims to provide just and fair compensation to farmers via cohesive national law while ensuring that no land can be acquired forcibly.
 - It deals with the issue arising out of compensation, rehabilitation and resettlement process of land acquisition.
 - **Features of the act:**
 - a. **Involving Stakeholders:** It mandates that the acquisition process needs to be carried out in consultation with the local self-government and gram sabhas to ensure the least disturbance is caused to the owners of the land along with other affected families.

- b. **Minimum Support:** Act defines the consensus limit of affected families for land acquisitions. For private and PPP (Public Private Partnership) projects, 80% and 70% of the affected families must agree respectively. However, no consent required for government projects.
 - c. **Regulating Authority:** It provides for the establishment of 'Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Authority' for speedy disposal of disputes. It will be established by the state government as a "One Person" Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Authority with powers of the civil court. The chairman must be either qualified to be a District Judge or must have seven years of law practice experience.
 - d. **Feasibility Studies:** Act highlights the need for Social Impact Assessment (SIA) for all types of projects before its initiation. It includes obtaining the consent of farmers, tenant farmers, artisans, etc. whose livelihood will be affected because of the given project.
 - e. **Handsome Compensation:** Compensation of any land must be given in proportion to market rates along with one-time payment to people who do not own any land and their livelihood is affected by that project.
 - f. **Definitions to Curb Ambiguities:** 'Public Purpose projects' have been defined under the Act. It includes projects which involve land acquisition for strategic purposes or national security and defence of the country, projects for housing for lower income groups or landless or to persons residing in areas affected by natural calamities or to persons displaced or affected by reason of the implementation of any scheme undertaken by the Government.
 - g. **Special Provisions:** There is a special provision for the protection of fertile and irrigated croplands. Irrigated multi-cropped land cannot be acquired beyond a limit specified by the state government. These must be acquired as a last resort by developing an equal size of wasteland for agriculture purposes at some other place.
 - h. Act defines the responsibility of relief and rehabilitation of the private company if the land acquired for that company by the government.
 - i. Interests of **SC/ST owners** are taken care of by the provision of **additional rehabilitation packages** for them.
 - j. The time limit has been defined to return the land to the original owner or land bank if the project does not start in 5 years.
 - k. There are provisions to make affected people as partners in any development project to ensure a smooth rehabilitation process for post-acquisition. It Includes employment to one member of an affected family.
- **Criticism of the act**
- a. **Limited Implementation:** The Compensation & rehabilitation and resettlement (R&R) provisions of the Act do not apply to acquisitions under 13 existing legislations including the Special Economic Zones Act, 2005, the Atomic Energy Act, 1962, Railways Act, 1989, etc.
 - b. **Unrealistic Compensation:** The act made the compensations too high, which deprived investments for various projects and affected infrastructure projects.
 - c. **Overriding Powers:** Government has overriding power on the disapproval given for any project by the committee which assesses the Social Impact Assessment report.

- d. **Bureaucratic Hurdles:** Complex procedures for land acquisition intertwined with red-tapism and bureaucratic hassles cause a delay in projects making them costly and unviable. This issue is also compounded by the problem of improper land records.
- **Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (Amendment) Bill, 2015**
 - a. To overcome the shortcomings of the 2013 act, the government brought an amendment bill in 2015.
 - b. The new bill enables the government to exempt five categories of projects from the requirements of:
 - i. Social impact assessment.
 - ii. Restrictions on acquisition of multi-cropped land.
 - iii. Consent for private projects and public private partnerships (PPPs) projects.
 - c. The five categories of projects are:
 - i. Defence.
 - ii. Rural infrastructure.
 - iii. Affordable housing.
 - iv. Industrial corridors
 - v. Infrastructure including PPPs where the government owns the land.
 - d. The 2013 Act deemed the head of a government department guilty of an offense by the department. The Bill removes this and adds the requirement of prior sanction to prosecute a government employee.
 - e. The term 'private company' changed to 'private entity' which is defined as an entity other than a government entity and includes a proprietorship, partnership, company, corporation, non-profit, etc.
 - f. For 1-person employment of project affected family, the bill clarifies that employment will be given to 'one member of such affected family of farm labour'.
 - g. It specifies that Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (LARR) Authority must hold its hearing in the district where land acquisition is taking place, after a reference from the Collector and giving notice to all concerned parties.
 - h. The new bill also provides for a survey of wasteland and maintenance of their records.
 - i. The bill also reduces total time for possession of land from 50 months to 42 months to speed up the projects.

Constitutional Provisions for Land Reforms :

- Constitution of India contains certain articles that pertain to land reforms such as:
 - Article 23 - It abolished Begar or forced unpaid labour in India.
- Part IV of the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) indirectly mandates the government to take initiatives for land reforms to achieve an egalitarian society.
 - Article 38 - This Directive principles directed the state to minimize inequality of income, status, and opportunities.
 - Article 39 - It directs the state to work for equitable distribution of the material resources of the community for the common good.
 - Article 48 - State to organize agriculture and animal husbandry on modern-scientific lines.

- Entry 20 in the concurrent list also mandates the Central Government to fulfil its role in Social and Economic Planning.

Present Status :

- Land declared surplus (meaning, it could be taken away from landlords) has fallen over the years.
- In the period between 1973 and 2002, an average of 150,000 acres of land was declared surplus while 140,000 acres of land were distributed every year.
- In contrast from 2002 to 2015, the land declared surplus every year was 4,000 acres, while land in government possession and distributed land declined by 29,000 acres and 24,000 acres per year respectively.
- This highlights that there is less land declared surplus every year over the past 13 years and there has been a reversal in the growing trend of government possession and distribution of land.
- Even today, the disparities for land distribution exists.
 - As per the 2011-12 Agricultural Census and 2011 Socio-Economic Caste Census data, about 5 percent of farmers hold about 32 percent of farmland and a large farmer (owner of around 43 acres) owns 45 times the size of land that a marginal farmer (owner of around 0.96 acres) owns.

Way Forward :

- There are many factors responsible for the tardy progress of India's Land reforms including lack of adequate direction and determination, lack of political will, inadequate policy instrument, legal hurdles and absence of correct up-to-date land records.
- There is a need to break up the landlord-tenant nexus and effective implementation of ceiling legislation.
- Distribution of surplus land and simplification of legal procedures along with awareness of potential beneficiaries is the key to make land reforms a success in the Indian context.
- It is time we think seriously about land reforms when especially a "humble farmer" is on top.
- Asian Development Bank's recommended a strategy for bringing reforms in the land sector:
 - Political commitment at the top.
 - Administrative preparedness including the improvement of the technical design of enactments.
 - Provision of financial resources and the streamlining of the organizational machinery of implementation, creation of necessary supporting service for the beneficiaries.
 - Finally, the organization of beneficiaries themselves.

This ADB's strategy can be followed as an ad-on in our efforts to form the egalitarian society and solve the long pending land issues in India.

21. INDIAN ECONOMY (1947-1991)

INTRODUCTION :

- The 72 years of independence have seen many changes in the socio-economic landscape of Asia's third-largest economy.
- The economic development in India followed socialist-inspired policies in the early phase of its independent history.
- Indian economy followed this socialist set up right from the Nehruvian era politics to the late 1980s until the crisis of the 1990s built up.

BACKGROUND :

- The Indian economy was large and prosperous under the Mughal Empire, up until the 18th century. The Mughal economy functioned on an elaborate system of coined currency, land revenue, and trade.
- The British rule which lasted for almost two centuries purposely worked to reduce the country to being a raw material supplier for Great Britain.
- By the time India won its independence, the impact of the two-century long British colonial rule was already showing on all aspects of the Indian economy.
 - The agricultural sector was already saddled with surplus labour and extremely low productivity.
 - The industrial sector was crying for modernization, diversification, capacity building and increased public investment.
 - Foreign trade was oriented to feed the Industrial Revolution in Britain.
 - Infrastructure facilities, including the famed railway network, needed upgradation, expansion and public orientation.
 - Prevalence of rampant poverty and unemployment required welfare orientation of public economic policy.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES :

A. FIVE YEAR PLANS:

- **Five-Year Plans (FYPs)** - are centralized and integrated national economic programs. Joseph Stalin implemented the first Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union in 1928. Most communist states and several capitalist countries subsequently have adopted them.

- India launched its First FYP in 1951, immediately after independence, under the socialist influence of the first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru.
- **Planning Commission** - The Planning Commission formulated a draft plan in consultation with the various ministries.
 - In the second stage, the Commission formulated a short memorandum which was placed before the cabinet and the National Development Council.
 - In the third stage, a draft outline of the Five-Year Plan is prepared keeping in view the observations made by the National Development Council and is published several months before the plan is to come into force.
 - Then, the final report is prepared and presented before the cabinet, National Development Council and finally before the Parliament for approval.
 - **Five-Year Plans**, developed, executed, and monitored by the Planning Commission (1951-2014) and the NITI Aayog (2015-2017).
- **National Development Council** - set up on 6 August 1952 to strengthen and mobilize the effort and resources of the nation in support of the Five Year Plans made by Planning Commission, to promote common economic policies in all vital spheres, and to ensure the balanced and rapid development of all parts of the country.
- **Gadgil formula**- Prior to the Fourth Plan, the allocation of state resources was based on schematic patterns rather than a transparent and objective mechanism, which led to the adoption of the Gadgil formula in 1969.

FIRST FYP (1951-56)

- It was based on the **Harrod–Domar model** with few modifications.
- The main focus was on the development of the primary sector, price stability, power, and transport.
- Irrigation projects including Bhakra Dam and Hirakud Dam were started.
- The plan was successful due to favorable monsoons and relatively higher crop yields.
- Target growth rate was 2.1% annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth and the achieved growth rate was 3.6%
- At the end of the plan period in 1956, five Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) were started as major technical institutions.

SECOND FYP (1956-61)

- The plan followed the **Mahalanobis model**, an economic development model developed by the Indian statistician Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis in 1953.
- Plan focused on industry, especially heavy industry.
- Steel mills at **Bhilai** with the support of the then **Soviet Union**, **Durgapur** with the help of the **United Kingdom**, and **Rourkela** with the help of **Germany** were established.
- Atomic Energy Commission was formed in 1948 with Homi J. Bhabha as the first chairman.
- Enhanced coal production and more railway lines were introduced in this plan.
- The target growth rate was 4.5% and the actual growth rate was 4.27%

THIRD FYP (1961-66)

- India made efforts to achieve self-reliance in food production and industry.
- The period saw political and economic problems such as the Indo-China war 1962 and Indo-Pak

War 1965 etc.

- 1965-66 was a near-famine year, and the problem became more severe due to a lack of buffer stocks.
- The growth rate was targeted at 5%, however, it achieved only 2.2%.

PLAN HOLIDAY: 3 ANNUAL PLANS (1966-69)

- Due to back to back wars and failure of the Third Five Year Plan and the devaluation of the rupee (to boost exports) along with inflationary recession led to the postponement of Fourth FYP.
- The main reasons for plan holidays were the war, lack of resources and an increase in inflation.
- A whole new agricultural strategy was implemented involving the wide-spread distribution of high-yielding varieties of seeds, extensive use of fertilizers, exploitation of irrigation potential and soil conservation.

FOURTH FYP (1969-74)

- Plan launched by Indira Gandhi government amid the pressure of drought, devaluation, and inflationary recession.
- Needed to tackle the problem of Bangladeshi refugees after the 1971 war.
- The nationalization of 14 major Indian Banks was done.
- India also performed the Smiling Buddha underground nuclear test in 1974.
- The Oil Crisis of 1973 skyrocketed the oil and fertilizer prices leading to a very high inflation.
- The target growth rate was 5.6%, but the actual growth rate was 3.3%.

FIFTH FYP (1974-78)

- Twin objectives of poverty eradication and attainment of self-reliance were inculcated in the fifth plan.
- **National Programme for Minimum Needs** including elementary education, safe drinking water, health care, a shelter for the landless. It is prepared and launched by D.P.Dhar.
- Electricity Supply Act, 1948 was amended in 1975, which enabled the central government to enter into power generation and transmission.
- The target growth rate was 4.4% and the actual growth rate was 4.8%.

ROLLING PLAN (1978-80)

- There was no fixation of dates for the commencement and termination of the plan in the rolling plans.
- The main advantage of the rolling plans was that they were flexible and were able to overcome the rigidity of fixed Five-Year Plans by mending targets, allocations.
- Frequent revisions resulted in a lack of stability in the economy.

SIXTH FYP (1980-85)

- Massive investment in Social Services like education, health and family planning.
- Removal of poverty through the rural development schemes such as the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP), etc.
- Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM) was started in 1979.

- The target growth rate was 5.2% and the actual growth rate was 5.7%.

SEVENTH FYP (1985-90)

- The basic objectives were: Speedy development, modernization, self-reliance, and social justice.
- Laid stress on improving the productivity level of industries by upgrading of technology.
- Foreign exchange reserves were just one billion Dollars in January 1991, which was sufficient to finance three weeks' worth of imports.
- The target growth rate was 5.0% and the actual growth rate was 6.01% struggling out of the 'Hindu Rate of Growth'.

ANNUAL PLANS (1990-92)

- 1989-91 was a period of economic instability in India and hence no Five-Year Plan was implemented.
- The Eighth Plan could not take off in 1990 due to the fast-changing political situation at the center and the years 1990-91 and 1991-92 were treated as Annual Plans.

EIGHTH FYP (1992-97)

- Beginning of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG) in India.
- The gradual opening of the Indian economy was undertaken to correct the burgeoning deficit and foreign debt.
- India became a member of the World Trade Organization on 1 January 1995.
- Its objectives included controlling population growth, poverty reduction, employment generation, strengthening the infrastructure, institution building, tourism management, human resource development, involvement of Panchayati raj, Nagar Palikas, NGOs.
- The target growth rate was 5.6% and the actual growth rate was 6.8%.

NINTH FYP (1997-2002)

- Started with an objective of "**Growth with Social Justice and Equality**".
- New implementation measures in the form of Special Action Plans (SAPs) were evolved. It concentrated on five areas: food and agriculture; physical infrastructure; health, education and drinking water; information technology and water resources.
- Focused on the relationship between the rapid economic growth the average target growth rate was 6.5% but the achieve and the quality of life for the people of the country.
- d growth rate was 5.5%.

TENTH FYP (2002-07)

- An average growth of 7.7%, the highest in any Plan period so far.
- The objective was the reduction of the poverty rate by 5% by 2007.
- follow a regional approach rather than a sectoral approach to bring down regional inequalities.
- Target growth was 8.1% and growth achieved was 7.7%

ELEVENTH FYP (2007-12)

- Its main theme was "**faster and more inclusive growth**".
- India emerged as one of the fastest-growing economies in the world in the initial years of this

plan.

- Focused on distant education, the convergence of formal, non-formal, distant and IT education institutions.
- Rapid and inclusive growth (poverty reduction).
- To increase the growth rate in agriculture, industry, and services to 4%, 10%, and 9% respectively.
- The growth rate of the economy averaged 8 percent in the Eleventh Plan.

TWELFTH FYP (2012-17)

- Themed as “**Faster, More Inclusive and Sustainable Growth**”. Growth target has been set at 8%
- Create 50 million new work opportunities in the nonfarm sector.
- To provide access to banking services to 90% of households.
- To reduce malnutrition among children aged 0–3 years.

Significance of FYPs:

- **Institutes and labs set up** - During the First Plan itself, high-powered national laboratories and institutes were set up by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research for conducting fundamental and applied research.
- **Green Revolution**- The adoption of the Green Revolution strategy of introducing a package of high-yield variety (HYV) seeds, fertilizers, and other inputs in a concentrated manner to some suitable selected areas paid immediate dividends in creating food security and poverty reduction.
- **Industrial growth**- Industry, during the first three Plans, grew even more rapidly than agriculture, at a compounded growth rate of 7.1 percent per annum between 1951 and 1965.
 - The industrial growth was based on rapid import substitution, initially, of consumer goods and since the Second Plan, of capital goods and intermediate goods.
- **Role of the Public sector** - The weight of the public sector in the overall economy increased rapidly.
- **Infrastructure development** - Apart from industry and agriculture, the early planners gave utmost priority to the development of infrastructure, including education and health.
- **Community development work** - The setting up of a massive network for agricultural extension and community development work at the village level and the large infrastructural investment in irrigation, power and agricultural research had created the conditions for considerable agricultural growth.

Criticism of FYPs:

- **No involvement of states** -The least involvement of the state governments in this process of planning and its implementation diluted the federal character of the nation.
- **Lower growth rate**- The first three decades of planning in India (1951-81) were characterized by the lower rate of economic growth at around 3.6 percent per annum on an average.
- **No focus on R&D**- Reserving certain areas for small-scale industries meant excluding some areas from the advantages of scale and larger resources for R&D activities.
- **Inefficiency in the public sector**- The large public sector in India, which controlled the ‘commanding heights’ of the economy, also began to emerge as a major source of inefficiency.
- **Loss in public sector**- Over the time, political and bureaucratic pressure on the public-sector undertakings gradually led to most of them running at a loss.

- **Fiscal losses** - The gradual erosion of fiscal prudence was reflected in government expenditure rising consistently, mainly because of the proliferation of subsidies and grants, salary increases with no relationship to efficiency or output, overstaffing and other '**populist**' measures such as massive loan waivers.
- **Growing fiscal deficit**- The growing government saving-investment gap and the fiscal deficit had a negative impact on the balance of payments and debt situation.

With the Planning Commission dissolved, no more formal plans are made for the economy, but Five-Year Defence Plans continue to be made.

NITI Aayog has come up with a new idea of planning for the future development of India. The first major difference is that instead of a single five-year plan, the country will have three plans spread over three different time periods.

First is a **15 year "Vision"** that encompasses the overall goals and objectives of the country for the next 15 years.

Second is a **7-year "Strategy"** which lays the roadmap of development for the next seven years dividing those goals and objectives into two parts.

Third and Final is a **3 Year "Action Agenda"** which states the tasks and targets to be accomplished in the next three years' time frame.

Significance:

- **Advisory body and think tank**- With not as much as authoritative powers in hand, NITI Aayog works as a think tank and truly advisory body whose main job is to set priorities and instrumentalities to achieve those priorities.
- **Broad roadmap** - These documents provide only a broad roadmap to the government and have not detailed any schemes or allocation, because there are no financial powers with NITI Aayog.
- **Containing SDGs focussed goals** - It will also be coterminous with the UNDP's 2030 sustainable development goals to which India is committed to meet broader social objectives.
- **Includes defense planning** - The 15-year vision document also includes defense and internal security. They were not part of five-year plans.
- **Wide range of sectors** - The agenda has covered a wide range of sectors including agriculture, industry, and manufacturing.
 - It has discussed the policies necessary for urban and rural transformation and a range of growth enabling ingredients including transport, digital connectivity, entrepreneurship, etc.
- **Flexible in nature**- The 3, 7- and 15-years plans allow flexibility to adapt to the changing circumstances and exogenous variables.

Criticism:

- **Lacks on implementation measures** - Action agenda lacks on how policies should be implemented, the creation of a feedback loop, taking into account changes on the ground.
- **No focus on bureaucratic reforms** - It puts limited or negligible focus on bureaucratic reforms and government-citizen interaction, which is core to several good ideas remaining on paper.
- **No role in finances** - It has no role in influencing public or private investment. India requires planning that addresses social justice, reduces regional and gender inequalities, and ensures environmental sustainability.

B. INDUSTRIAL POLICIES:

- **Industrial policy** refers to **government actions that alter the structure of the economy**, encouraging resources to **move into sectors that are perceived as desirable for future development**.
- The government of India adopted the first industrial policy of India in 1948.
- The objective of the present industrial policy is to globalize the Indian economy and provide free play of market forces in the domestic economy.

Indian Industrial Policy: 1947 to 1991

India followed a '**Mixed Economy**' pattern comprising of public and private sectors participation with the prime objective of transforming India into a **socialistic pattern of society**.

1. **Industrial Policy, 1948**

- It was the first policy of independent India and it stresses the socialistic pattern of society.
- The main focus was to allow the state to play an active role in the development of industries and introduce a mixed economy where the private and public sectors were considered important in the development of the economy.
- This policy remained in force for 8 years.
- It classified large industries into 4 categories:
 - **Industries with exclusive State Monopoly/Strategic industries** like industries engaged in the activity of atomic energy, railways and arms, and ammunition.
 - **Industries with Government control.** It included industries of national importance. 18 such categories were mentioned in this category such as fertilizers, heavy machinery, defense equipment, heavy chemicals, coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding, etc.
 - **Industries with the Mixed sector.** These industries were allowed to operate independently in the private or public sector and were under the government review. Eg. automobiles. Machines, tractors, etc.
 - **Industry in the Private sector.** These were generally small businesses and small industries which were not included in the above list.

2. **Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956**

- It replaced the earlier 1948 policy. It gave the state a primary role for industrial development as capital was scarce and business was not strong. Its features were:
 - It focused on the **development of machine-building industries** and the increasing rate of industrial development.
 - Its objective was to prevent private monopolies and concentration of economic power in the hands of a few numbers of individuals.
 - Stressed the importance of cottage and small-scale industries for expanding employment opportunities and for wider decentralization of economic power and activity.
 - It divided industries into three categories:
 - **Schedule A industries:** These were the monopoly of the state or government. The private sector was also introduced in these industries if required in the national interest. These industries were arms and ammunition, atomic energy, iron and steel, heavy

machinery, mineral oil, coal, etc.

- **Schedule B industries:** In this category of industries, the state was allowed to establish new units but the private sector was not denied to set up or expand existing units e.g. chemical industries, fertilizer, synthetic, rubber, aluminum, etc.
- **Schedule C industries:** So, the industries that were not a part of the above-mentioned industries then it formed a part of Schedule C industries.

3. Industrial Licensing Policy, 1970

- This policy was introduced on the recommendation of the Dutt Committee.
- Its main features were:
 - The policy defines a sector called a heavy investment sector. It consisted of industries involving investment of more than Rs 5 crore. Such industries were opened for the private sector except those reserved for the public sector in IPR, 1956.
 - Industries involving investment between Rs 1 crore and 5 crores were included in the middle sector. Licensing policy was considerably liberalized and simplified for these industries.
 - The setting up of Industries involving investment of less than Rs 1 crore does not require any license.

4. Industrial Policy Statement, 1973

- It allowed larger industries to start operations in rural and backward areas with a view to developing those areas and enabling the growth of small industries around.
- The term “Core Industries” was included. It referred to the 6 Core Industries: Iron and Steel Industry, Cement, Coal, Crude Oil, Oil Refining, Electricity.
- The Public-Private Partnership (PPP) also was emphasized as a prototype and it was called the “**Joint Sector**” in which a partnership between state, center and private sector was allowed.
- It features were:
 - The policy was **aimed at removing the distortions**, it provided for closer interaction between the agriculture and industrial sector.
 - Priority was given towards the generation and transmission of power.
 - Target on the development of small-scale and cottage industries.

5. Industrial Policy Statement, 1977

- It targeted the development of small-scale and cottage industries.
- The focus was on revival and rehabilitation of sick units and on the development of ancillary industries.
- The policy called for the use of indigenous technology as far as possible.
- This policy called for minimum export and maximum possible self-sufficiency.
- Policy laid emphasis on the increased participation of workers in management.

6. Industrial Licensing Policy, 1982

- The central idea of this policy was :
 - Promotion of balanced growth.
 - Extension and simplification of automatic expansion.

- Taking over industrial sick units.
- Regulation and control of unauthorized excess production capabilities installed for industrial houses.
- Redefining the role of small-scale units.
- Improving the performance of the public sector.
- Some industries were exempted from the provisions of the MRTP Act.
- Foreign Investors now could raise the equity investment above 40% as prescribed by FERA.

Significance:

- **Investments** - Created a favorable investment climate for the private sector as well as mobilize resources for the investment in the public sector.
- **Balanced development** - By laying emphasis on heavy industries and development of the capital goods sector, industrial policies seek to bring a balance in industrial structure.
- **Preventing Monopoly**- Aimed at reducing the monopolistic tendencies and preventing the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few big industrial houses.
- **Tackling regional imbalances** - Correcting regional imbalances in industrial development.
- **Stock markets emerged** - A new feature of the 1980s was the phenomenal increase in new stock market issues, the stock market thus emerging as an important source of funds for industry.

Criticism:

- **Inefficiency and backwardness of industries** - The excessive protection through import restrictions started leading to inefficiency and technological backwardness in the Indian industry.
- **License Quota Raj** - This situation was further accentuated by the so-called 'Licence Quota Raj', that is, a whole plethora of rules, regulations, and restrictions which stifled entrepreneurship and innovation.
- **Entry into business was made difficult** - Licensing, MRTP Act, small-scale reservation made entry or expansion of business very difficult; since the mid-1970s virtually no exit was possible for inefficient loss-making companies as they could not close down or retrench without government permission.
- **Investment inefficiency** - All this led to the investment efficiency in India is very low or the capital-output ratio is very high.
- **New opportunities did not rise** - India did reasonably well till the mid-1960s, basing herself on an inward-oriented, import substitution-based strategy. However, India failed to respond adequately to the new opportunities thrown up by the changing world situation despite the availability of the East Asian experience.
- **Less FDI** - The prejudice against foreign direct investment (FDI) led to this excessive dependence on foreign debt rather than foreign equity capital, and inadequate returns on the borrowings led to an unsustainable debt service burden.
 - India's **foreign exchange reserves fell** from \$5.85 billion in 1980–81 to \$4.1 billion in 1989–90, and in the next year (1990–91) they fell drastically by nearly half to \$2.24 billion enough only for one month's import cover.
- **Credit rating downgraded** - India's international credit rating was sharply downgraded and it was becoming extremely difficult to raise credit abroad.

The crisis pushed India into initiating a process of **economic reforms** and **structural**

adjustment.

New Industrial Policy, 1991

- The government of India announced its **New Industrial Policy in 1991** with an aim to correct the distortion and weakness of the Industrial Structure of the country that had developed in 4 decades; raise industrial efficiency to the international level; and accelerate industrial growth.
- **Abolishing Industrial Licensing** - This policy abolished the Industrial licensing for all industries except for a shortlist of 18 industries. This list of 18 industries was further pruned in 1999 whereby the number reduced to six industries viz. drugs and pharmaceuticals, hazardous chemicals, explosives such as gun powder and detonating fuses, tobacco products, alcoholic drinks, and electronics, aerospace, and defense equipment.
- **Industries were opened for the private sector** - the number of industries reserved for the public sector was reduced. Currently only two categories viz. atomic energy and Railways are reserved for the public sector.
- **Push to foreign investments** - Automatic permission was given for foreign technology agreements in high priority industries.

C. POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMMES:

The government's approach to poverty reduction was of three dimensions.

1. The **first one** is a **growth-oriented approach**. It is based on the expectation that the effects of economic growth — rapid increase in gross domestic product and per capita income — would spread to all sections of society and will trickle down to the poor sections also.
2. The **second approach** has been initiated from the **Third Five Year Plan (1961-66)** and progressively enlarged since then. To specifically address the poor, policymakers started thinking that incomes and employment for the poor could be raised through the creation of additional assets and by means of work generation. This could be achieved through specific poverty alleviation programs.
3. The **third approach** to address poverty is to provide minimum basic amenities to the people. India was among the pioneers in the world to envisage that through public expenditure on social consumption needs — provision of food grains at subsidized rates, education, health, water supply, and sanitation—people's living standards could be improved.

Some important poverty alleviation and employment generation programs are as follows:

Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) :

- IRDP in India is among the world's most ambitious programs to alleviate rural poverty by providing income-generated assets to the poorest of the poor.
- This program was first introduced in 1978-79 in some selected areas but covered all the areas by November 1980.
- The main objective of IRDP is to raise families of identified target groups below the poverty line by the creation of sustainable opportunities for self-employment in the rural sector.
- The target group under IRDP consists of small and marginal farmers, agricultural laborers and rural artisans having an annual income below ₹11,000 defined as the poverty line in the Eighth Plan.
- The program is implemented in all blocks of the country as a centrally sponsored scheme funded on a 50:50 basis by the center and the states.

Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM) :

- This scheme was started in 1979.

- The objective of the scheme was to help unemployed rural youth between the age of 18 and 35 years to acquire skills for self-employment.
- Priority was given to SC/ST Youth and Women.
- After the completion of training, credit was provided to the trained youth to set up their own business and trade

National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) :

- This program was launched in 1980.
- The main aim of the program was to create employment opportunities by building and maintaining community assets like village roads, ponds, and wells, etc.
- The scheme was expected to generate additional gainful employment to the extent of 30 to 40 crore man-days per annum and to develop community assets.

Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) :

- Launched on 15 August 1983 by Prime Minister of India Indira Gandhi during the Sixth Five-Year Plan.
- It was to be limited only to the landless, with guaranteed employment of 100 days.
- The entire expenditure of this Programme was financed by the Central Government.

Jawahar Rozgar Yojana/Jawahar Gram Samridhhi Yojana :

- Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) was launched on April 1, 1989 by merging National Rural Employment Programme and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme.
- This was a consolidation of the previous employment programs and it was the largest National Employment Program of India at that time with a general objective of providing 90-100 Days Employment per person particularly in backward districts
- **Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY)** is restructured, streamlined and comprehensive version of Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY).
- The JRY was meant to generate meaningful employment opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed in rural areas through the creation of economic infrastructure and community and social assets.

Rural Housing – Indira Awaas Yojana :

- Indira Awas Yojana was started in 1985-86 to provide residential units free of cost to SC and ST and freed bonded labor.
- It aimed at creating 20 lakh housing units out of which 13 lakhs were in rural areas.
- This scheme also gives out loans to people at subsidized rates to make houses.

Criticism of poverty alleviation programs :

- The incidence of poverty declined from 54.9 percent in 1973-74 to 36 percent in 1993-94. But the absolute number of poor did not decline much over this period of 20 years. There were 321 million poor in 1973-74 and 320 million in 1993-94.
- The IRDP has been successful in providing incremental income to the poor families, but in most cases, the incremental income has not been adequate to enable the beneficiaries to cross the poverty line on a sustained basis mainly because of a low per family investment.

- The rural youth trained under TRYSEM were only interested in the stipendiary benefits they received during the course of training and therefore, had not utilized the knowledge gained under the program for furthering their self-employment prospects.
- In 1992-93, a review of the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) revealed that the per person employment generated was inadequate in terms of the requirement and did not provide enough income to the poor.

D. BANK NATIONALISATION (1969 and 1980)

- Despite the provisions, control, and regulations of the Reserve Bank of India, banks in India except the State Bank of India (SBI), remain owned and operated by private persons.
- By the 1960s, the Indian banking industry had become an important tool to facilitate the development of the Indian economy also it had emerged as a large employer.
- Bank nationalization aimed to attain **three primary objectives**.
 - First, to **break the nexus between the banks and the big businesses** who were disproportionately cornering bank finance for their narrow, selfish ends and rapidly expand the banking network to the unbanked regions, especially rural areas and deliver institutional credit to farmers, small businesses and other weaker sections of society.
 - Second, to ensure the **balanced flow of credit** to all the productive sectors, across various regions and social groups of the country.
 - And, third, to provide **stability to the banking system** by preventing bank failures and speculative activities.
- The Government of India issued the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Ordinance, 1969 and nationalized the 14 largest commercial banks which had **deposits of over Rs.50 crore** with effect from the midnight of 19 July 1969.
- Within two weeks of the issue of the ordinance, the Parliament passed the **Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertaking), Bill**. The following banks were nationalized 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
 - United Bank of India

The above was followed by a second phase of **nationalization in 1980**, when the Government of India acquired the ownership of 6 more banks, thus bringing the total number of Nationalized Banks to 20. The following banks were nationalized in 1980:

- Punjab and Sind Bank
- Vijaya Bank

- Oriental Bank of India
- Corporate Bank
- Andhra Bank
- New Bank of India

The private banks at that time were allowed to function side by side with nationalized banks and the foreign banks were allowed to work under strict regulation.

Significance:

- **Public confidence in the banking system** - Nationalization of the Banks brought the public confidence in the banking system of India.
- **Government ownership** - After the two major phases of nationalization in India, 80% of the banking sector came under the public sector/government ownership.
 - Government ownership gave the public implicit faith and immense confidence in the sustainability of public sector banks.
- **New branches in unbanked areas** - The one positive impact of bank nationalization was that financial savings rose as lenders opened new branches in areas that were unbanked.
 - The Indian banking system has reached even to the remote corners of the country.
- **Financial inclusion** - The spread of banking network in rural areas, and disbursement of rural credit has been mainly because of PSBs.
 - Public banks also played a central role in furthering the financial inclusion agendas of successive governments.

Criticism:

- **Inefficiency and delays**- Banking is a highly competitive enterprise that works on profits, the nationalization of banks has led to lesser competition between the public sector and private sector banks. This has created a bureaucratic attitude in the functioning of the banking system.
 - Lack of responsibility and initiative, red-tapism, inordinate delays are common features of nationalized banks.
- **High overdue loans** - The experience of the nationalized banks have shown that these banks are now facing the problems of heavy overdue loans and economically unviable branches.
- **Diversion of funds**- Due to lack of performance audit of banks, policy-making failed to ensure that the finance from the public institutions is, in fact, going to productive uses in the large public interest.
- **Political pressure on bank officials** - The smooth work-ing of nationalized banks have also been hampered by growing political pressures from the Centre and the States. Such pressures are created in the selection of personnel and grant of loans to particular parties without considering their creditworthiness.

None can dispute the beneficial impact of bank nationalization on the Indian economy but let us not forget that everything is transient in its time and place. There are obvious unwanted consequences and developments that call for change now. The point of non-performing assets (NPAs), the inherent deficiency of public sector banking in many areas and new issues require a holistic look.

CONCLUSION:

- The period from 1950-1980 saw average annual economic growth rise to 3.5%, higher than the 1% during British rule.

- The decade from 1981-1991 saw some loosening of red tape and introduction of first-generation reforms; GDP rose to a more respectable 5.4% per annum, but still below peers, especially the Far East ASEAN countries.
- The long-term constraints that were building up over a few decades and debilitating the Indian economy were combined with certain more recent and immediate factors causing massive **Fiscal and Balance Of Payments** crisis that climaxed in 1991.
- However, with the changing needs of the time and the changing global economic orientation in this age of rising globalization, India needs continuous progressive reforms of both micro and macro in nature to keep up its growth pace with the rest of the world and emerge as a nation which keeps economic and social goals in balance.





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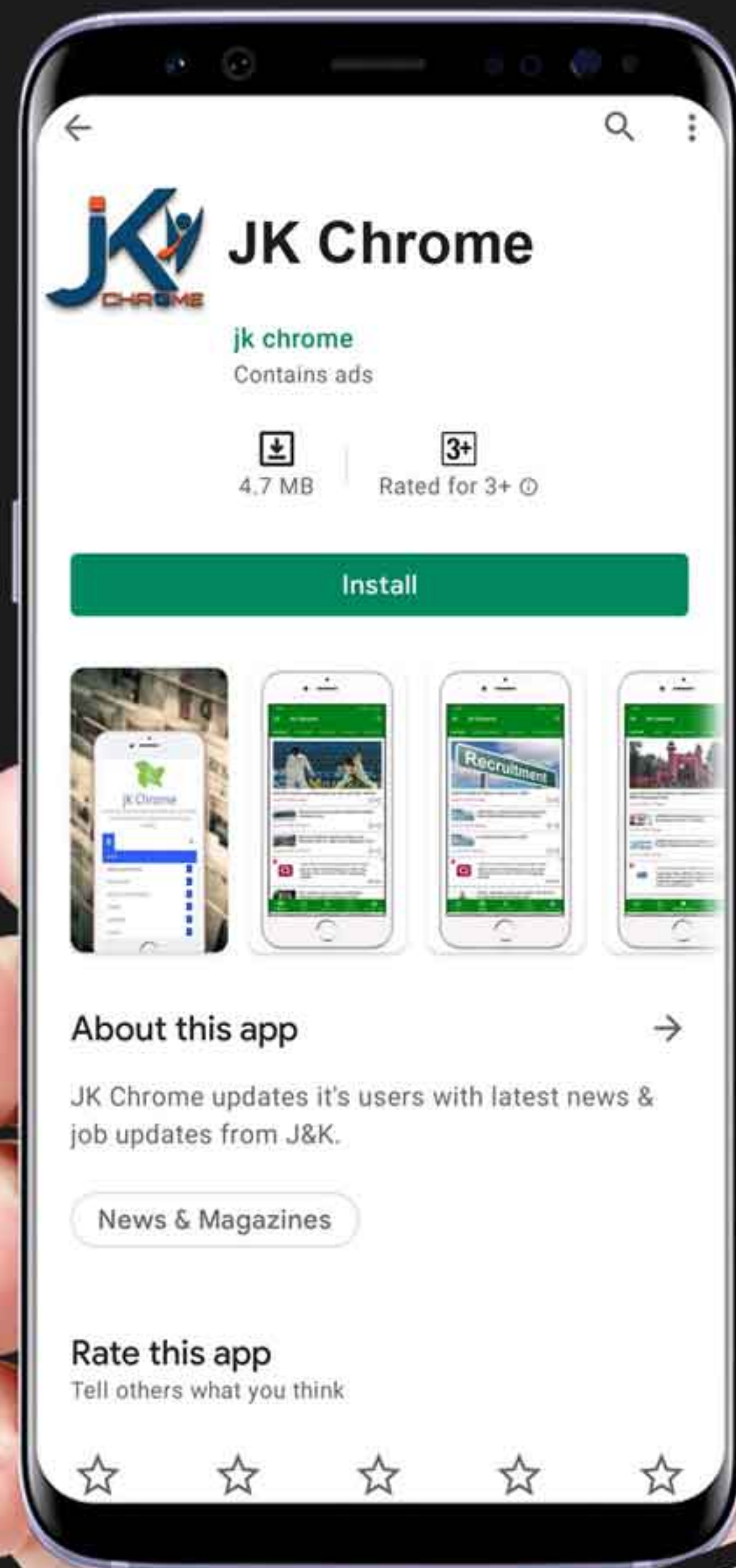
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22. INDIAN ECONOMY SINCE 1991

Introduction :

- Indian constitution has prescribed India to be a socialist form of democracy. The word socialist was added to the Preamble of the Indian Constitution by the 42nd amendment act of 1976.
- Indian economy followed this socialist set up right from the Nehruvian era politics to the late 1980s until the crisis of the 1990s built up.
- In this chapter we will analyze India's major economic reforms of 1991 in detail and the path they carved for our shift towards the capitalist form of economy, deviating from our socialist type of setup.

Background :

- India had an independent economy before the advent of British rule.
- The British rule which lasted for almost two centuries purposely worked to reduce the country to the status of a raw material supplier for Great Britain.
- By the time India won its independence, the impact of the two-century long British colonial rule was already showing on all aspects of the Indian economy.
 - The agricultural sector was already saddled with surplus labour and extremely low productivity.
 - The industrial sector was crying for modernization, diversification, capacity building and increased public investment.
 - Foreign trade was oriented to feed the Industrial Revolution in Britain.
 - Infrastructure facilities, including the famed railway network, needed upgradation, expansion and public orientation.
 - Prevalence of rampant poverty and unemployment required welfare orientation of public economic policy.
- In the wake of the above conditions, India was in dire need of the Industrial Revolution to build up its shattered economy and de-stress the overburdened agricultural sector.

Indian Industrial Policy: 1947 to 1991 :

- **Industrial policy** refers to **government actions that alter the structure of the economy**, encouraging resources to **move into sectors that are perceived as desirable for future development**.
 - Since independence, India followed a '**Mixed Economy**' pattern comprising of public and private sectors participation with the prime objective of transforming India into a **socialistic pattern of society**.
1. **Industrial Policy, 1948**
 - It was the first policy of independent India and it stresses the socialistic pattern of society.

- The main focus was to allow the state to play an active role in the development of industries and introduce a mixed economy where the private and public sector was accepted as important in the development of the economy.
- This policy remains in force for 8 years.
- It classified large industries into 4 categories:
 - **Industries with exclusive State Monopoly/Strategic industries** like industries engaged in the activity of atomic energy, railways and arms, and ammunition.
 - **Industries with Government control.** It included industries of national importance. 18 such categories were mentioned in this category such as fertilizers, heavy machinery, defense equipment, heavy chemicals, etc.
 - **Industries with the Mixed sector.** These industries were allowed to operate independently in the private or public sector and were under the government review.
 - **Industry in the Private sector.** These were generally small businesses and small industries which were not included in the above list.

2. Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956

- It replaced the earlier 1948 policy. It gave the state a primary role for industrial development as capital was scarce and business was not strong. Its features were:
 - It focused on the **development of machine-building industries** and the increasing rate of industrial development.
 - Its objective was to prevent private monopolies and concentration of economic process in the hands of a few numbers of individuals
 - It divided industries into three categories:
 - i. **Schedule A industries:** These were the monopoly of the state or government. The private sector was also introduced in these industries if national interest required. These industries were arms and ammunition, atomic energy, iron and steel, heavy machinery, mineral oil, coal, etc.
 - ii. **Schedule B industries:** In this category of industries, the state was allowed to establish new units but the private sector was not denied to set up or expand existing units e.g. chemical industries, fertilizer, synthetic, rubber, aluminum, etc.
 - iii. **Schedule C industries:** So, the industries that were not a part of the above-mentioned category formed a part of Schedule C industries.

3. Industrial Licensing Policy, 1970

- This policy was introduced on the recommendation of the Dutt Committee or the 'Industrial licensing policy inquiry committee' of 1969.
- Its main features were:
 - The policy defines a sector called a heavy investment sector. It consisted of industries involving investment of more than Rs 5 crore. All such industries were opened for the private sector except those reserved for the public sector in IPR, 1956.
 - Industries involving investment between Rs 1 crore and 5 crores were included in the middle sector. Licensing policy was considerably liberalized and simplified for these industries.
 - The setting up of Industries involving investment of less than Rs 1 crore does not require any license.

4. Industrial Policy, 1973

- It allowed larger industries to start operations in rural and backward areas with a view to developing those areas and enabling the growth of small industries around.
- It features were:
 - The policy was **aimed at removing the distortions**, it provided for closer interaction between the agriculture and industrial sector.
 - Priority was given towards the generation and transmission of power.
 - Special legislation was made to protect cottage and household industries were introduced.

5. Industrial Policy Statement, 1977

- It targeted the development of small-scale and cottage industries.
- The focus was on revival and rehabilitation of sick units and on the development of ancillary industries.

6. Industrial Policy, 1980

- The central idea of this policy was :
 - Promotion of balanced growth.
 - Extension and simplification of automatic expansion.
 - Taking over industrial sick units.
 - Regulation and control of unauthorized excess production capabilities installed for industrial houses.
 - Redefining the role of small-scale units.
 - Improving the performance of the public sector.

Indian Economy: 1991 and later :

- **Overview till 1991**
 - The period from 1950-1980 saw average annual economic growth rise to 3.5%, higher than the 1% during British rule.
 - However, with population growth averaging about 2% pa, per capita income rose very slowly.
 - The decade from 1981-1991 saw some loosening of red tape and introduction of first-generation reforms; GDP rose to a more respectable 5.4% p.a., but still below peers, especially the Far East ASEAN countries.
 - India lagged economically and hence also in human development indicators.
- **The 1991 Crisis**
 - The long-term constraints that were building up over a few decades and debilitating the Indian economy were combined with certain more recent and immediate factors causing massive **Fiscal and Balance of Payments** crisis that climaxed in 1991.
 - Reason for the Balance of Payment Crisis.
 - a. The proximate trigger of the 1991 crisis was the Gulf War in the second half of 1990-1991, which raised the international oil prices (and India's oil import bill).
 - b. There was also a reduction in remittance inflows from the Gulf to India.
 - c. Unstable coalition politics of 1990-1991 compounded the economic problems and hastened a full-fledged balance of payment crisis.
 - This Balance of Payments crisis of 1991 pushed the country to near bankruptcy.

- To solve the forex crisis situation, India reached out to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a bailout.
- India had to pledge 20 tons of gold to Union Bank of Switzerland and 47 tons to Bank of England as part of a bailout deal with the International Monetary fund.
- In addition, the IMF required India to undertake a series of structural economic reforms which included liberalization of economy and dereservation of the industrial sector to allow private players in it.
- The situation allowed the Indian government to break through the traditional mindset and attempt an unprecedented, comprehensive change at a time when both the ideological opposition and the resistance of the vested interests were at a weak point.
- The then Prime Minister of the country, P V Narasimha Rao initiated ground-breaking economic reforms with the support of the then Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh and the result was the New Economic Policy of 1991.
- **The New Economic Policy, 1991: Liberalization, Privatisation, and Globalization (LPG)**
 - **What is LPG?**
 - a. **Liberalization** - Liberalisation refers to the process of making policies less constraining of economic activity and also reduction of tariff or removal of non-tariff barriers.
 - b. **Privatization** - The term “Privatisation” refers to the transfer of ownership of property or business from a government to a privately-owned entity.
 - c. **Globalization** - Globalisation refers to the expansion of economic activities across the political boundaries of nation-states. More importantly, perhaps it refers economic interdependence between countries in the world economy.
 - **The major objective of the new 1991 policy:**
 - a. Utilizing fully the indigenous capabilities of entrepreneurs.
 - b. Fostering research and development efforts for the development of indigenous technologies.
 - c. Raising investments into the Indian manufacturing sector.
 - d. Removing regulatory system and other weaknesses from its banking sector.
 - e. Improvement in efficiency and productivity of Indian industries.
 - f. Controlling the monopolistic power of the state.
 - g. Assigning the right areas for the public sector undertakings and reducing governmental holdings in PSUs.
 - h. Ensuring the skill development of workers to enable them to face new technologies.
 - i. Retaining the capacity to earn our own foreign exchange through exports.
 - j. To achieve self-reliance by substitution of imports.
 - **Salient Features of 1991 Economic Policy**
 - a. **It Reduced Government Monopoly** in Industrial sector by reducing the number of industries reserved for public sector from 17 (as per 1956 policy) to only 8 industries: Arms and Ammunition, Atomic Energy, Coal, Mineral Oil, Mining of Iron Ore, Manganese Ore, Gold, Silver, Mining of Copper, Lead, Zinc, Atomic Minerals and Railways.

Present Status :

- Only two categories from the above list are reserved for the public sector in 2019:
 - Atomic energy.
 - Railways.

- Atomic minerals come under the purview of the Atomic Energy Act, 1962 and India does not grant a license to the private sector for mining of atomic minerals and mineral sand also.

- b. It **abolished the licensing policy** for all industries except for some list of 18 industries and the industries reserved for the small-scale sector was still reserved.

This list of 18 reserved industries was further reduced in 1999 to only 5 industries like:

- Hazardous chemicals like Hydrocyanic acid and its derivatives etc.
- Industrial explosives such as gunpowder, matches, detonating fuses, etc.
- Cigars and cigarettes of tobacco and manufactured tobacco substitutes.
- Distillation and brewing of alcoholic drinks.
- Electronic, aerospace and defence equipment.

- c. **Entry of Foreign Companies:** The major change which this policy brought for the first time was to allow foreign companies to have a majority stake in India. This type of trade reforms and changes in the regulation of foreign direct investment not only helped Indian in opening its foreign trade front in a structured manner but also helped in stabilizing external loans.

- In 47 high priority industries, up to 51% FDI was allowed. Today, there are numerous sectors in the economy where the government allows 100% FDI like the Automotive sector, Textile sector, etc. via automatic route.
- 34 Industries were placed under the automatic approval route for direct foreign investment up to 51 percent foreign equity.
- It proposed amendments to the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, 1973 (FERA).
- NRIs were allowed to 100% equity investments in all activities except the negative list.
- Foreign Investment Promotion Board (FIPB) was also established to negotiate with international firms and approve FDI in selected areas. (It was abolished in 2017 and was replaced by the Foreign Investment Facilitation Portal).

- **Foreign Exchange Regulation Act 1973 (FERA)**

- It aimed at regulating the foreign payments and dealings in Foreign Exchange & securities along with the conservation of Foreign exchange for the nation.
- This law applied throughout India on all Indian citizens.
- **Salient Features:**
 - RBI to authorize any person/company to deal in foreign exchange.
 - Money changer to convert Indian rupee to other currency only on the rates defined by RBI.
 - NO person, other than “authorized dealer” would enter in **any transaction of the foreign currency.**
 - Authorization to the dealers by the Reserve Bank of India for transacting foreign currencies, subject to review and revocation of the authorization in the case of non-compliance.
 - The import/export of currencies was subject to various restrictions.
 - Restrictions were imposed on holding or acquiring immovable properties outside India.

- Making/receiving payment to/from a resident outside India was restricted.
 - RBI was to have the power to call for information and seize documents, wherever or whenever required
 - This act has been termed as the “**Draconian Act**” as it hindered the growth and modernization of Indian Industries by controlling their activities.
- FERA act 1973 was later replaced by the **Foreign Exchange Management Act (FEMA), 1999**.
 - It shifted the focus from Control of entities to the Management of entities, hence facilitates Trade as opposed to FERA.
 - **Salient Features**
 - It classified the foreign exchange transactions in two categories, viz. capital account and current account transactions.
 - It allowed full current account convertibility and contains provisions for progressive liberalization of capital account transactions.
 - It clearly lays down the areas requiring specific permissions of the Reserve Bank/Government of India on acquisition/holding of foreign exchange and there are no blanket provisions as was the case in the FERA act.
 - It gives full freedom to a person resident in India, who was earlier resident outside India, to hold/own/transfer any foreign security/immovable property situated outside India and acquired when he/she was resident.
 - This act is a civil law and contraventions of the Act provide for arrest only in exceptional cases.
 - FEMA does not apply to Indian citizen residing outside India.

- d. **Beginning of Disinvestment:** Disinvestment was started by the government in those Public Sector Enterprises that had been running in loss. In other words, the government started selling out these industries to the private sector. The PSUs which were chronically sick and which are unlikely to be turned around were to be referred to the Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction (BIFR) for their re-vival.
- e. Another major breakthrough was the **amendment** of obsolete ‘Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practice Act, 1969 (MRTP Act).

Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practice Act, 1969

- This law prevented the expansion of the companies whose assets were 100 crore and above to avoid the creation of monopoly by private players.
- Companies need to take government permission to expand their business.
- However, the provisions of this act led to distortions in the fair market competition and gave promotion to other illicit means like corruption and red-tapism.
- To give promotion to market competition, this act was later replaced by the **Competition Commission Act, 2002**.
 - India’s official anti-monopoly body, ‘The Competition Commission of India (CCI)’ became operational in 2009 under the new act.

- f. **Foreign Technology Agreements (FTA)** were given automatic approval in high priority industries along with the government easing the hiring process of foreign technocrats.

- This new policy has been hailed as a 'land-mark' in the opening up of the Indian economy.
- **Positive Impacts of the Policy:**
 - a. **GDP Booster:** It increased India's GDP growth rate. It almost doubled the pre-reform era GDP rates, averaging 6.6% in the next 2 decades from 1990 to 2010 because of the Abolition of Industrial licensing, privatization, advanced foreign technology, and Reduction of taxes.
 - b. **Impetus to Exports:** The policy gave impetus to special efforts to increase Indian exports. Concepts like Export Oriented Units (EOU), Export Processing Zones (EPZ), Agri-Export Zones (AEZ), Special Economic Zones (SEZ) and lately National Investment and Manufacturing Zones (NIMZ) emerged. All these have benefitted the export sector of the country.
 - c. **Enhancement in FDI:** There was an increase in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in India due to eased regulatory mechanisms for investors. It made India one of the fastest-growing economies of the world. Today India has allowed 100% FDI in medical services, Telecom sector, and single-brand retail, etc. FDI is also allowed under Make in India scheme. India's FDI inflows reached Rs. 106,693 crores in 2015 from just Rs. 408 Crores in 1991.
 - d. **Employment Generation:** Stock markets of India opened a wide areas of associated services such as Investment Banking, Asset Management, hedging advice, etc. which employed lakhs of people all over India. India successfully reduced its unemployment rate from 4.3% in 1991 to 3.4% in 2017 in the background of a rising population. Globalization paved the way for the entry of many new foreign companies to India and Liberalisation created an environment to support new entrepreneurial activities.
 - e. **Raising Standard of Living:** India saw an increase in per capita income due to an increase in employment and the creation of job opportunities. By 2017-18 India's per Capita Income reached Rs. 1,14,958.
 - f. It also eased the financial and administrative burden of the India government due to the privatization of various sectors and entities. It also controlled India's rising Fiscal Deficit from 8.5 percent of GDP prior to 1991 to 3.4 percent of GDP in 2019.
 - g. It changed the market orientation from 'produce first and then go to market' approach to 'planning production on the basis of market research, needs and wants of customers'.
 - h. Globalization gave impetus to the Services Sector of developing countries due to the availability of cheaper human resources and facilitated the IT revolution and numerous job creations.
 - i. It also raised the standards of the India banking sector by the entry of new global private players and raised competition in the Indian market. IT sector aided this breakthrough and is on the path of bringing the banking revolution.
 - j. The substandard telecom sector (earlier monopoly of government) had a major breakthrough by the entry of new players.
 - k. India saw mushrooming of new private food (Agriculture), Health and educational facility services making India a hub of global technological interventions.
- **Limitations of LPG policy:**
 - a. **Skewed Growth:** An agricultural sector which still is the backbone of the Indian economy (employed 72% of the population in 1991 and contributed 29.02% of the GDP) suffered because of less attention being paid to this sector. Its share in GDP went down drastically to 17.9 percent in 2014 because of lowering the per capita income of the farmers and

increasing the rural indebtedness. In other words, it moved India on the path of Jobless Growth.

At 2011-12 prices, the 2018-19 composition of the Agriculture & allied sector, industry sector, and the Services sector are **14.39%, 31.46%, 54.15% respectively.**

- b. **Global Competition:** It posed a threat to local businesses and companies from foreign competition. The global MNCs have a lot of financial capacity and advanced foreign technology so they have the large production capacity and huge money for promotion and other research activities they are easily defeating our Indian local companies.
 - c. **Environmental Impact:** Globalization adversely impacted on Environment as it contributed to the destruction of the environment through pollution and clearing of vegetation cover. With the construction of companies, the emissions from manufacturing plants are causing environmental pollution which further affects the health of any people. The construction also destroys the vegetation cover which is important in the very survival of both humans and other animals.
 - d. **Income Inequality:** It led to an increase in income disparities by widening income gaps within the country. Globalization benefits only to those who have the skills and technology in the country.
- **Issues after 1991 reforms**
 - Little was achieved with regard to reform of the public sector, particularly of state-owned utilities like electricity boards, transport corporations.
 - Also, there was no significant move towards **reform of the labour market** and creating possibilities of exit for loss-making enterprises.
 - After a few years of initial success, the tempo of economic reform in India seemed to be waning.
 - The **GDP growth rate had decelerated** significantly to 5 percent in 1997-98, down from 7.8 percent in 1996-97.
 - The slowing down of the economy from 1996-97 was partly because of the **East Asian crisis**, with Japan in recession and South Korea, Indonesia, Thailand, and others showing negative growth rates.
 - Also, the economic sanctions imposed on India because of the **nuclear tests** had a dampening effect on the economy.

Banking Sector Reforms in India Since 1991 :

- **Need for Banking Sector Reforms**
 - Prior to 1991, the Indian Banking Sector was undergoing through various structural and non-structural problems listed as:
 - a. **State Dominance of the Banking Sector:** The 1969 bank nationalization increased the state control on the banking sector in India. It was done to curb the discriminatory lending by the commercial banks, however, it ended up by reducing intra sectoral competition and hence the poor quality of banking services provided by these entities.
 - b. **Low financial depth:** Lower incentives to expand bank outreach confined the banks majorly to the main cities and towns of India. This led to lower financial inclusion of the people, especially the majority of the rural Indian population.
 - c. **High share of non-performing assets (NPAs) :** The governmental socialist programs like 'Loan Melas' and Direct Credit Programme (it required to direct 40% of their commercial advances to the priority sector which consists of agriculture, small scale industry, small

scale transport operators, artisans etc.) led to increase in Bank NPAs as the loans were provided for even lower quality assets because of political pressure and not by fair market standards.

- d. **Lower Banking Autonomy:** Prior to 1991, Reserve Bank of India controlled the rates payable on deposits of different maturities and also the rates which could be charged for bank loans which varied according to the sector of use and also the size of the loan. This created an external control on the banking operations which swayed away many well-off corporate houses to establish banks in India.
 - e. **Shortage of Funds:** The capacity of Indian banks to disburse loans to the market was reduced due to ill-conceived monetary rates like Cash Reserve Ratio (CRR) and Statutory liquidity ratio (SLR). At one stage, the CRR applicable to incremental deposits was as high as 25% and the SLR was 40%, thus pre-empting 65% of incremental deposits.
 - f. **Irregular Accounting Processes:** Prior to 1991 India's banks did not follow uniform accounting practices for income recognition, classification of assets into performing and non-performing, provisioning for non-performing assets, and valuation of securities held in the banks' portfolio. Nor were they subject to uniform capital adequacy requirements.
 - All these issues set the ground for financial sector reforms in India. The financial sector reforms got momentum with the recommendations of various committees such as Chakravarty Committee (1985), Vaghul Committee (1987).
 - The most notable recommendations among these committees were given by the Narasimham Committees of 1991 and 1998 which are discussed below.
- **M. Narasimham Committee (1991)**
 - This committee was set up by the Government of India in order to study the problems of the Indian financial system and improve its efficiency. Committee in its report suggested various measures to improve India's financial system like:
 - a. **Reduction in the Statutory liquidity ratio (SLR) and Cash Reserve Ratio (CRR) :** The committee recommended the gradual reduction of the higher proportion of the SLR (from 38.5% to 25%) and CRR (from 15% to 3-5%) as they both were a hindrance in the productivity of the bank as they were reducing the amount of funds with the banks to lend more loans. The committee also recommended that banks should get some interest on the CRR balances.
 - b. **Phasing out Directed Credit Programme:** This programme compelled banks to earmark their financial resources for the needy and poor sectors at concessional rates of interest under government direction and not by commercial judgement of banks under a free-market competitive system. It was reducing the profitability of banks and thus the committee recommended to phase out this programme.
 - c. **Interest Rate Determination:** The committee felt that the interest rates in India are regulated and controlled by the authorities. It recommended that Government / RBI must not regulate the banks' loan interest rates. Banks should be allowed to decide their home loan, bike loan etc rates by themselves on the basis of present market forces.
 - d. **Structural Reorganizations of the Banking sector:** The committee recommended that the actual numbers of public sector banks need to be reduced. It recommended to develop:
 - i. Three to four big banks as international banks.
 - ii. Eight to Ten Banks having nationwide presence concentrating on the national and universal banking services.

- iii. Local banks as the third level banks to concentrate on region-specific banking.
- iv. The RRBs (Regional Rural Banks) to focus on agriculture and rural financing.

It also recommended the government to not go for further bank nationalization and private and foreign banks should be allowed liberal entry in India.

- e. **Establishment of the Asset Reconstruction Fund (ARF) Tribunal:** The proportion of bad debts and Non-performing assets (NPA) of the public sector Banks and Development Financial institutes was very alarming in those days. The committee recommended the establishment of an Asset Reconstruction Fund (ARF). This fund was to take over the proportion of the bad and doubtful debts from the banks and financial institutes. It would help banks to get rid of bad debts.
- f. **Removal of Dual Control:** Those days banks were under the dual control of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and the Banking Division of the Ministry of Finance (Government of India). The committee recommended the stepping of this system. Committee considered and recommended that the RBI should be the only main agency to regulate banking in India.
- g. **Banking Autonomy:** The committee recommended that the public sector banks should be free and autonomous. In order to pursue competitiveness and efficiency, banks must enjoy autonomy so that they can reform the work culture and banking technology upgradation will thus be easy. It also recommended the government to reduce its shareholding from public sector banks.
- o. **Government response to Narasimham committee (1991) report:** Government accepted various measures suggested by the committee report like:
 - a. **Lowering of SLR and CRR:** Government gradually reduced SLR 25% in 1997 and the CRR had been brought down to 4.1% by June 2003.
 - i. The passage of the RBI (Amendment) Act 2006 allows RBI to prescribe CRR for scheduled banks without any floor or ceiling rate thereby removing the statutory minimum CRR limit of 3%.
 - ii. RBI started payment of interest on CRR money to the scheduled banks from 1999-2000 in the wake of banking slow down. However, this was discontinued from mid-2007.
 - b. New prudential norms for income recognition, classification of assets and provisioning of bad debts were introduced in 1992 by RBI in order to impart professionalism in commercial banks. They required banks to make 100% provision for all of their Non-performing Assets (NPAs).
 - c. The RBI introduced the CRAR or Capital to Risk-Weighted Asset ratio in 1992 for the soundness of the banking industry. RBI fixed CRAR at 8% in 1992 and by 1996, all public sector banks had attained a ratio of 8%.
 - d. Entry of new private sector banks and foreign banks was allowed after RBI issued banking license guidelines in 1993.
 - e. RBI adopts Benchmark Prime Lending Rate (BPLR) (nowadays Base Rate) as a reference rate for the banks to decide their own lending rates. Since 1992, interest rate determination by banks has become much simpler and freer.
 - f. The Government of India passed the "Recovery of Debts due to Banks and Financial Institutions Act 1993" to set up Debt Recovery Tribunals. Later SARFAESI Act in 2002 was also enacted to give them more powers.

- g. Banks were allowed to access Capital Markets by amending 'Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Act of 1970'. This was subject to the provision that the holding of the Central Government would not fall below 51% of paid-up-capital. In 1993, SBI was allowed access to the capital market with permission given to sell its share to the tune of 33% through the SBI(Amendment) Act, 1993.
 - h. Scheduled Commercial Banks were given more autonomy by allowing them the freedom to open new branches and upgrade extension counters, after attaining capital adequacy ratio and prudential accounting norms. However, it was subject to the condition of opening 25% of the new branches each year in rural areas.
 - i. RBI issued guidelines in 1996 for setting up Local Area Banks (LABs) and it gave its approval for setting up 7 LABs in the private sector. LABs helped in mobilizing rural savings and channeling them into investment in local areas.
 - j. For effective supervision of commercial banks, RBI in 1993 established a new department known as the Department of Supervision as an independent unit.
- **M. Narasimham Committee (1998)**
 - Government of India in 1998 appointed yet another committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Narsimham. It is better known as the Banking Sector Committee as it reviewed banking reform progress and suggested measures for further strengthening the financial system of India. Its recommendations were:
 - a. **Strengthening Banks in India:** The Committee suggested that to strengthen the India Banking market, it would be desirable that banking capital adequacy requirements take into account market risks in addition to the credit risks. Thus, it recommended the merger of strong banks which will have a 'multiplier effect' on the industry. Also, Banks should also pay greater attention to asset-liability management to avoid mismatches and to cover, among others, liquidity and interest rate risks
 - b. **Tackling NPAs:** In the background of rising Non-performing assets (NPAs) in the public sector banks, the committee recommended the 'Narrow Banking Concept' for their successful rehabilitation. In this weak banks were allowed to place their funds only in the short term and risk-free assets. It also recommended that banks and financial institutions should avoid the practice of "evergreening" by making fresh advances to their troubled constituents only with a view to settling interest dues and avoiding classification of the loans in question as NPAs.
 - i. Committee defined the target of reducing the average level of net NPAs for all banks to below 5% by the year 2000 and to 3% by 2002. For those banks with an international presence the minimum objective should be to reduce gross NPAs to 5% and 3% by the years 2000 and 2002, respectively, and net NPAs to 3% and 0% by these dates.
 - c. **Capital Adequacy Ratio:** In order to improve the inherent strength of the Indian banking system the committee recommended that the minimum capital to risk assets ratio be increased to 10% from its present level of 8% in a phased manner. It gave an intermediate minimum target of 9% be achieved by the year 2000 and the ratio of 10% by 2002.
 - d. **Banking Operations:** The committee observed the need to improve the operational efficiency of the banks. It recommended introducing an appropriate Voluntary Retirement Scheme with incentives to lay off the excess staff that may not be suitable for redeployment on grounds of aptitude. It also felt that the government control over the

banks in the form of management and ownership and bank autonomy does not go hand in hand and thus it recommended a review of functions of boards and enabled them to adopt the professional corporate strategy.

- e. **Three-tier Banking structure:** It recommended to set up a three-tier banking structure in India after bank mergers:
 - i. Tier 1 to have 2-3 banks of international orientation.
 - ii. Tier 2 to have 8 to 10 banks of national orientation.
 - iii. Tier 3 to have larger number of local banks.

The first and second tiers were to take care of the banking needs of the corporate sector in the economy.
- f. **Entry of Foreign Banks:** It recommended to raise the minimum capital requirement to \$25 million from existing \$10 million for foreign banks to start their banking business in India. It also recommended allowing foreign banks to set up subsidiaries in India and be treated on par with private banks.
- g. **Reform in the Board of Banks:** It suggested that bank boards should be depoliticized under the RBI supervision.
- o. **Government action in response to the committee report:**
 - a. Government implemented more stringent Basel II norms of capital adequacy ratio to tackle the market risks (Basel norms are global, voluntary regulatory framework on bank capital adequacy, stress testing, and market liquidity risk). The capital adequacy ratio was raised to 9% with effect from 2000. Presently, the Government is about to complete its adoption status of Basel III norms end of 2019. Banks' collective CRAR was 14.3 percent in March 2019 in India.
 - b. To handle NPAs, the Government set up the first Asset Reconstruction Company in June 2002. Banks were advised to tone up their credit risk management systems; put in place a loan review mechanism to ensure that advances, particularly large advances are monitored on an on-going basis so that signals of weaknesses are detected and corrective action is taken early. In order to ensure recovery of the stock of NPAs, guidelines for a one-time settlement were also issued in July 2000. Government also passed 'The Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Securities Interest Act, 2002' (SARFAESI Act) to strengthen bank loan recovery.
 - c. Voluntary retirement scheme (VRS) was implemented by 26 out of the 27 public sector banks in 2000-01. According to Indian Banks' Association (IBA), the total staff strength in public sector banks at the end of March 2000 was 8, 63, 188 out of whom 1, 26, 714 applied for VRS.
 - d. To allow entry of new private banks in India, RBI again in 2001 issues its banking licensing guidelines. It also subsequently raised minimum capital requirements for foreign banks as recommended by the report.
 - e. Government took various measures over a period of time to reform the governance of bank boards in India. Government constituted The Banks Board Bureau in 2016 as an autonomous recommendatory body to recommend a selection of chiefs of government-owned banks and financial institutions.

RBI Guidelines for Licensing of Private Sector Banks In India :

- With the coming of liberalization policy, the Government of India issued guidelines for licensing of new banks in the private sector.
- These guidelines were issued three times (since 1991) in 1993, 2001 and 2013 respectively.
- The objective was to instill greater competition in the banking system to increase productivity and efficiency.
- Banks which came into operation after 1991 include:
 - Axis Bank (earlier UTI Bank) (1993)
 - Centurion Bank of Punjab (1994) (merged with HDFC Bank in 2008)
 - IndusInd Bank Ltd. (1994)
 - HDFC Bank Ltd. (1994)
 - ICICI Bank Ltd. (1994)
 - Global Trust Bank Ltd (1994) (amalgamated with Oriental Bank of Commerce)
 - Times Bank (1994) (merged with HDFC Bank Ltd.)
 - Development Credit Bank Ltd. (1995)
 - Kotak Mahindra Bank Ltd. (2003)
 - Yes Bank Ltd. (2004)
 - IDBI Bank Ltd (2004)
 - Bandhan Bank (2015)
 - IDFC First Bank (2015)

Analysis of Banking Sector Reforms in India :

- **Removal of Stagnation:** The reform in the Banking sector has improved the competition and efficiency of the banking sector. The RBI's subsequent 'On tap licensing policy' has been very significant in this process as it allowed entry of new private players in India.
- **Greater Financial Inclusion:** India has been successful in improving its financial inclusion rates. RBI in its recent progress report mentioned that banking coverage reached 80% of the Indian population. Governmental financial inclusion programmes like Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (started in 2014) has been a great aid to this process.
- **Regulation of Financial Market:** Rise of NPAs has also been curbed due to the introduction of various prudential norms and government's 4R's strategy of recognition, resolution, recapitalization, and reforms to improve banking operations.
- **Banking Sector Improvements:** India has successfully improved its global position in the banking sector by merging its Public sector banks as suggested by the Narasimham committee report. It is because of this effort that State Bank of India has been listed among the top 50 largest banks of the world following the merger of six associate banks into it on April 1, 2017.
- Indian Banks have become more capable of disbursing more capital into the Indian economy due to the rationing of CRR and SLR rates in India.

Other Major Economic Reforms of Indian Economy :

- To provide consumption-led growth and improve social conditions of people, Indians enacted the **National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005** to provide right based work of 100 days for the people.
- Indian economy suffered from the intentional defaults and irresponsible acts of the promoters of the companies which duped investors of their money and affected livelihoods of various people. The

Government of India introduced **Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code, 2016 (IBC)** to solve this issue of sick companies and allow lenders to oust errant promoters from a company and hand it over to financially sound owners.

- With improving ease of doing business high on the agenda of the Indian government, **Goods and Service Tax (GST) was implemented in 2017** by merging 17 central and state taxes any keeping only 4 tax rates.
- Government of India approved the **National Policy on Software Products – 2019**, to develop the country as a software hub.
- **The National Mineral Policy 2019, National Electronics Policy 2019** and Faster Adoption and Manufacturing of (Hybrid) and Electric Vehicles (FAME II) have also been approved by the Government of India in 2019.
- As part of the **Banking sector reforms**, the Government of India merged five associate banks and Bharatiya Mahila Bank with State Bank of India (in April 2017), and Dena Bank, Vijaya Bank were merged with Bank of Baroda which came into effect from April 1, 2019. This was in line with the report of **the Narasimham Committee on Banking Sector Reforms (1991 and 1998)**.
 - **The recent August 2019 step to consolidate state-owned banks** from 27 to 12 is another shift inline with the **Narasimham Committee reports of 1991 and 1998**.
 - Government **merged** the Oriental Bank of Commerce and the United Bank of India with Punjab National Bank, making it the second-largest bank in the country. The south-based Canara Bank and Syndicate Bank will become one entity that will make it the third-largest local lender. There is an **amalgamation** of Andhra Bank and Corporation Bank with Union Bank of India and Allahabad Bank with the Indian Bank.
 - This consolidation offers the promise of economies of scale, leveraging of pooled resources, manpower, brands, better utilization of branch networks and increased efficiencies.
- To promote economic activities in the remotest areas and improve the livelihood conditions of people, Village electrification in India was completed in April 2018. Universal household electrification is expected to be achieved in 2019.
- The Government of India released the maiden **Agriculture Export Policy, 2018** which seeks to double agricultural exports from the country to US\$ 60 billion by 2022.

Conclusion :

- The earlier 'Nehruvian' socialist strategy had its own historical significance as it gave the Indian economy a certain depth and spread, increased its bargaining power and independence, and lent the Indian economy and society the dignity it did not possess after the colonial experience.
- However, with the changing needs of the time and the changing global economic orientation in this age of rising globalization, India needs continuous progressive reforms of both micro and macro in nature to keep up its growth pace with the rest of the world and emerge as a nation which keeps economic and social goals in balance.

23. COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENTS SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Introduction :

- India has been mainly an agrarian society with more than half of its population still residing in the villages (almost 69 percent) and the rural sector as the major contributor to the overall GDP of the nation. Hence, the lack of development in villages means a lack of development in India.
- Cooperatives are seen as an important element for the development at this lowest level of hierarchy via people's participative approach.
- A Cooperative can be defined as an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise.
- Cooperatives allow people to take control of their economic future. As they are not owned by any external shareholders, the economic and social benefits of their activities stay within the communities where they are established. Profits generated are either reinvested in the enterprise or returned to the members.
- As per the '2016 Cooperative Statistical Profile' of National Cooperative Union of India:
 - By 2014-15, India has a total of 833, 560 cooperatives with a total membership of 274.97 million people across India. The majority of these cooperatives are led by women.
 - The membership of cooperative societies in the country includes 95% of villages and 71% rural families.
 - The majority of the Indian Cooperatives are Non-Credit Cooperatives with Credit Cooperatives making only 16.9% of the total share.
 - Maharashtra has the highest number of Cooperatives among Indian states followed by Uttar Pradesh.

Evolution of Cooperatives in India:

- Cooperatives originated in the West during the middle of the last 19th century and from there these came to India.
- In India, the idea of cooperative Societies first came into existence when the farmers of Poona and Ahmednagar area started a protest against the high-interest rates charged by the local money lenders. To settle this conflict the British government enacted three legislations :
 - The Deccan Agricultural Relief Act (1879).

- Land Improvement Loan Act (1883).
- Agriculturists Loan Act (1884).
- But Formally, co-operatives were introduced to India in 1904 when the Cooperative Credit Societies Act, 1904 was passed by the British government.
- Subsequently, visualizing the need for the formation of other types of societies like federal societies, the Cooperative Societies Act, 1912 was enacted.
- In 1919, cooperation became a provincial subject and the provinces were authorized to make their own cooperative laws under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms.
- India saw the formation of the 'All India Cooperative Institutes Association' in 1929 as an apex organization representing the entire cooperative movement in the country. It acted as a torchbearer of the cooperative movement in the country. (It was later re-organized as Indian Cooperative Union via the merger of Indian Provincial Cooperative Bank Association with it).
- The status of "Cooperative Societies" as a provincial subject was maintained in the Cooperative Societies Act, 1935.
- The British government also enacted the '**Multi-Unit Cooperative Societies Act**' in 1942 to cover Cooperative Societies with membership expanding to more than one province.
- The main aim of the cooperative was to get the poor and indebted farmers out of poverty and out from the clutches of money lenders.

Cooperatives in Post Independent India :

a. Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee or Kumarappa Committee 1949

- It was set up to look into the problems of land in the post-Independence period. The committee observed that:
 - a. Land was concentrated in the hands of a few and there was a proliferation of intermediaries who had no vested interest in self-cultivation.
 - b. Leasing out the land was a common practice and the tenancy contracts were expropriative in nature and tenant exploitation was ubiquitous.
 - c. Land records were in extremely bad shape giving rise to a mass of litigation.
- In this background, the committee recommended that:
 - a. The State should be empowered to enforce the application of varying degrees of cooperation for different types of farming. It implied that:
 - i. Family farmers will have to make use of the multipurpose cooperative societies for marketing, credit, and other matters.
 - ii. The below-basic holders (i. e. peasant with small uneconomic holding) will have to cultivate their farms jointly with such other holders.
- **The First Five Year Plan (1951–1956)**
 - It approached the issue more judiciously. It recommended that small and medium farms, in particular, should be encouraged and assisted to group themselves into cooperative farming societies.
 - It focused on the idea of these cooperatives and village panchayats working alongside the trained worker of the **Community Development Programme (in October 1952)**. This joint effort was sought to implement rural development projects for bringing critical institutional changes in Indian agriculture.

- **The Second Five Year Plan (1956-1961)**

- The main task during the Second Five Year Plan is to take such essential steps as will provide sound foundations for the development of cooperative farming so that over a period of ten years or so a substantial proportion of agricultural lands are cultivated on cooperative lines’.
- **In 1956 two Indian delegations** (one of the Planning Commission, the other of the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture), was sent to China to study how they organized their cooperatives and achieved such rapid increases in agricultural output. They both recommended (barring the minute of dissent by two members of one committee) a bold programme of extending cooperative farming in India.
- **The National Development Council and the All India Congress Committee (AICC)** now set targets even higher than the one envisaged by the Second Plan, proposing that in the next five years agricultural production be increased by 25 to 35 percent if not more, mainly by bringing about major institutional changes in agriculture such as cooperativization.
- The states, however, resisted any large-scale plan for cooperativization, agreeing only to experiments in cooperative farming and that too if they remained strictly **voluntary**.

Community Development Programme (CDP)

Started in 1952, CDP was the biggest rural reconstruction scheme undertaken by the government of free India. This multi project programme aimed for the overall development of rural areas and people’s participation.

The program was culmination of the economics of rural reconstruction as learnt and developed in the United States.

The programme consisted of reconstruction activities in different sectors like agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, cooperation, village industries etc.

There are officials for each activity at district level to plan, execute and evaluate the programme up to the block and village level.

The importance of the project is highlighted by Jawaharlal Nehru’s view that, “not so much for the material achievements that they would bring about, but much more so, because they seem to build up the community and the individual and to make the latter the builder of his own village centers and of India in the larger sense.” In other words, the essence of the project is : People are the greatest resource and they can become developed only by participating in the improvement activities.

Project is intended to apply the concept of the ‘village community as a whole’, cutting across caste, religious and economic differences.

The National Development Council (NDC)

Also known as Rashtriya Vikas Parishad, it is the apex body for decision making and deliberations on development matters in India.

This non-statutory Council was set up 1952 and is presided over by the Prime Minister.

It aims to strengthen and mobilize the effort and resources of the nation in support of the Plan, to promote common economic policies in all vital spheres, and to ensure the balanced and rapid development of all parts of the country.

Council comprises of the Prime Minister, the Union Cabinet Ministers, Chief Ministers of all States, representatives of the Union Territories and members of the NITI Aayog.

- **The Nagpur Resolution of Indian National Congress, 1959**
 - It clearly stated that ‘the organization of the village should be based on village panchayats and village cooperatives, both of which should have adequate powers and resources to discharge the functions allotted to them’.
 - The future agrarian pattern should be that of cooperative joint farming, in which the land would be pooled for joint cultivation, the farmers continuing to retain their property rights, and getting a share of the net produce in proportion to their land.
 - Further, those who actually work on the land, whether they own the land or not, will get a share in proportion to the work put in by them on the joint farm.
 - As a first step, prior to the institution of joint farming, service cooperatives should be organized throughout the country within a period of three years. Even within this period, however, wherever possible and generally agreed to by the farmers, joint cultivation may be started.
- **The Third Five Year Plan (1961–1966)**
 - It reflected on the mellowed position regarding cooperativization and took a very pragmatic and cautious approach.
 - As regards to cooperative farming, it accepted a modest target of setting up ten pilot projects per district.
 - At the same time, it put in the caveat that ‘cooperative farming has to grow out of the success of the general agricultural effort through the community development movement, the progress of cooperation in credit, marketing, distribution and processing, the growth of rural industry, and the fulfillment of the objectives of land reform.

Outcome :

- **Rapid Growth of Cooperatives:** Over the period of these three five year plans, the co-operative movement made rapid progress. The number of societies of all types increased from 1.8 lakhs to 3.47 lakhs; membership rose from 137 lakhs to 503 lakhs. There was a near-doubling of the number of societies, a more than 3½ times increase in membership and a more than 10 times rise in working capital.
- **Regional Disparities:** This growth was, however, not equally shared among all the states. The progress was more marked in the states of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Punjab and Madhya Pradesh. The movement was, however, weak in the eastern region comprising the states of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Manipur, and Tripura.
- **Skewed Financial Support:** The uneven progress was reflected in wide differences in the per capita loan distribution to rural populations which ranged all the way from rupees 33 in Maharashtra to just two rupees in Bihar and Assam.

Based on the nature of activities performed, co-operatives can be categorized as:

Consumers Co-operative Societies: They are formed for the benefit of consumers who wish to get household goods at reasonable prices.

Producers Co-operative Societies (also called as industrial co-operatives): These are formed by small producers who plan to obtain inputs (raw materials, components, tools and equipment) and to sell their output (finished goods) by direct distribution and without any involvement of middlemen.

Marketing Co-operatives: These are voluntary associations of producers formed with the objective of ensuring a steady market for the output of members.

Housing Co-operatives: These are formed by those who are interested in acquiring residential property.

Co-operative Credit Societies: They provide loans to members at reasonable rates of interest and help in developing the habit of thrift among members.

Agricultural credit societies (In rural areas)

Non-agricultural credit societies (In Urban areas)

Co-operative Farming Societies: These are formed by small farmers with the objective of maximizing agricultural output.

Case study - Milk Cooperatives: Operation Flood

- **Introduction : Operation Flood/ White Revolution**
 - The launch of the operation flood was preceded by the creation of the **National Dairy Development Board (NDDB)** in 1965 in Anand, Gujarat, under the headship of Dr.V.Kurien.
 - Drawing heavily from the Kheda Union for personnel, expertise and much more, the NDDB launched '**Operation Flood**' in 1970, a programme to replicate the 'Anand Pattern' in other milk sheds of the country.
 - India's Operation flood/White Revolution was the world's biggest dairy development program which gave a major thrust to the milk production of the nation.
 - It aimed at helping the dairy industry sustain itself economically while providing employment to poor dairy farmers. It helped dairy farmers in directing their own development by placing control of the resources they create in their own hands.
 - It aligned dairy farmers into village milk-producing cooperatives, which became the bedrock of Operation Flood. Milk cooperatives procured milk and provided inputs and services along with making modern management and technology available to their members.
- **Background of Operation Flood**
 - In 1955, village milk unions set up a factory in Anand, Gujarat to manufacture milk powder and butter. It was done partly to deal with the problem of the greater yields of milk in winter not finding an adequate market.
 - In 1956 the union chose the name of '**AMUL**' (Anand Milk Union Limited) for its range of products.
 - In 1960, a new factory was added which was designed to manufacture 600 tonnes of cheese and 2, 500 tonnes of baby food every year-the first in the world to manufacture these products on a large commercial scale using buffalo milk.
 - In 1964, a modern plant to manufacture cattle feed was commissioned.
 - Over time, sophisticated computer technology was used by the union to regularly, cost-benefit analysis of the prices.

- An efficient **artificial insemination service** through the village society workers was introduced so that the producers could improve the quality of their stock.
- A special effort was made to **educate women** who generally looked after the animals in a peasant household.
- An **Institute of Rural Management (IRMA)** was founded in Anand, Gujarat for training professional managers for rural development projects, using the AMUL complex and the Kaira Cooperative as a live laboratory.
- As the 'Anand Pattern' gradually spread to other districts in Gujarat, in 1974, the **Gujarat Cooperative Milk Marketing Federation Ltd**, Anand, was formed as an apex organization of the unions in the district to look after marketing.
- This experiment, which started modestly in the Kheda district of Gujarat eventually, became the harbinger of the 'White Revolution' that spread all over India.
- Dr Verghese Kurien, the heart and soul of the White Revolution in India, was the celebrated and proud employee of the Kheda farmers, and the chief executive of the union from 1950 to 1973.
- **Why This Cooperative Movement Become Success?**
 - A crucial feature of the cooperative movement associated with the 'Anand Pattern' was the **democratic mode of functioning of the cooperatives**.
 - This cooperative was unique as it effectively **combined modern technology with the initiatives of the direct producer**.
 - **Mentoring** by various advanced professionals for managerial, technical and scientific support aligned the efforts of all stakeholders for collective progress. The structure of the cooperative engendered such a combination.
- **Impact of Operation Flood**
 - **Significant Increase in Milk Supply:** There was a considerable increase in milk supply and a consequent increase in income of the milk producers, particularly the poor. At village-level dairying was increasingly becoming an important activity of the farmer and in some cases becoming the main source of income, particularly among the poor.
 - **Anti-Poverty Initiative:** Milk cooperatives proved to be a significant anti-poverty measure.
 - a. The Anand-type milk cooperatives reached the poor irrespective of caste, religion or gender, without targeting any of these groups specifically.
 - **Impetus to Industrialisation:** As the World Bank study reported, 'A by-product impact of Operation Flood and the accompanying dairy expansion has been the establishment of an indigenous dairy equipment manufacturing industry and an impressive body of indigenous expertise'.
 - **Women Empowerment:** Operation Flood in cooperation with NGOs like the Self-Employed Women's Association (**SEWA**), established about 6, 000 Women Dairy Cooperative Societies (**WDCS**).

Milk Statistics of India

- The Operation food programme has transformed India as the largest producer of milk and a net exporter within a few decades with a total production of 176.3 million tonnes in 2017-18.
- India became the leading milk-producing country in the world with 21.3% of global milk production by 2017-18. India is followed by the USA and Pakistan in terms of milk production.
- Per capita availability of milk in India increased from 130 gm/day in 1950-51 to 375 gm/day in 2017-18.
- As per the 2017-18 data of the National Dairy Development Board, Top 5 Milk producing state of India are: Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat (in their respective decreasing order).
- As per National Accounts Statistics-2016, India's Livestock Sector contributed 4.6% in GVA in 2016-17.

Other Successful Cooperatives

- The spread of the '**Anand Pattern**' was not to be limited to milk. Cooperatives for fruits and vegetable producers, oilseeds cultivators, small-scale salt makers, and tree growers were started at the initiative of the NDDB.
- In many parts of the country cooperative outlets of fruits and vegetables are beginning to be as common as milk outlets.
- The '**Dhara**' brand of vegetable oils represents another success story of a successful cooperative in the area of vegetable oils in India. Dhara's journey began in Gujarat under NDDB through a partnership with Gujarat Cooperative Milk Marketing Federation (Amul's parent company) under the **Golden Flow operation** (focusing on edible oil production). Then the brand moved to Dhara Vegetable Oil and Foods Company Ltd (DOFCO) and finally to Mother Dairy Fruit & Vegetable limited. (MDFVPL).
- **Amaragol Primary Agriculture Credit Cooperative Society**, Amaragol, Karnataka was registered on 27th April 1915 and has completed a hundred years in serving its members for their economic upliftment by providing credit facilities at affordable rates and schemes.
- **Indian Farmers Fertiliser Cooperative Limited (IFFCO)** is one of India's biggest cooperative society which is wholly owned by Indian Cooperatives.
 - Founded in 1967 with just 57 cooperatives, it is today an amalgamation of over 36, 000 Indian Cooperatives with diversified business interests ranging from General Insurance to Rural Telecom apart from our core business of manufacturing and selling fertilizers.
- **Shri Mahila Griha Udyog Lijjat Papad** also known as '**Lijjat**', was started in 1959 in Mumbai and is another example of a successful Indian women's cooperative involved in the manufacturing of various fast-moving consumer goods.
 - The objective of the organization is the empowerment of women by providing them employment opportunities.
- **Farmer Producer Organisations (FPOs)**
 - **Introduction**
 - a. Small and marginal farmers in India constitute around 85% of the total land holding and hold around 44% of the land under cultivation. Some of the key concerns relating to small farm holders include:
 - i. Inadequate farming and extension services and low level of technology adoption.
 - ii. Lack of capital and poor business skills.
 - iii. Low income due to poor infrastructure and low market efficiency

- b. In this context, a sustainable solution lies in the collectivization of agricultural produce in a cooperative way.
- c. Farmer Producer Organisations are another form of cooperative societies formed by the producers by pooling in their resources to get better prices for their produce.
- d. The basic idea behind FPOs is to create economies of scale by collaboration of various member producers. Members of these FPOs are usually small farmers who trade in agricultural platforms.
- e. Similar to cooperatives, FPOs are also owned and controlled only by participative stakeholders.
- f. It deals with business activities related to the farm produce and it works for the benefit of the member producers.
- g. These FPOs follow a B2B (Business to Business) model.
- **Current Status of FPOs in India**
 - a. Presently there are around 5000 FPOs in existence in the country, which were formed under various initiatives of Govt. of India, State Governments, NABARD and other organizations over the last 8-10 years.
 - b. At the central level, the formation and growth of Farmer Producer Organizations are supported by Small Farmers Agri-Business Consortium (SFAC), which is a society promoted by the Department of Agriculture, Cooperation and Farmers Welfare, Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare, Govt. of India.
 - c. Of the total 5000 FPOs, around 3200 FPOs are registered as Producer Companies and the remaining as Cooperatives/ Societies, etc.
 - d. The majority of these FPOs are in the nascent stage of their operations with shareholder membership ranging from 100 to over 1000 farmers. They require not only technical handholding support but also adequate capital and infrastructure facilities including market linkages for sustaining their business operations.
 - e. **The Government of India in the Union budget 2018-19**, announced the following measures to promote FPOs :
 - i. Launching of “Operation Greens” for onion, potato and tomato crops on the lines of Operation Flood with an allocation of Rs. 500 crores. The initiative aims to address :
 - Price fluctuation in vegetables for the benefit of farmers and consumers. It will promote FPOs, agri-logistics, processing facilities, and professional management.
 - ii. With a view to encouraging an enabling environment for aggregation of farmers into FPOs and take advantage of economies of scale, the Govt. announced a 100% tax deduction for FPOs with an annual turnover of up to Rs. 100 crores.
 - f. **Examples of a few successful FPOs:**
 - i. **Raitha Mitra FPO** (founded in 2015) which is aimed at enabling the cultivation of super crops in India. It supplies vegetables to the Kerala government at the lowest of prices and plans to soon have its own retail brand.
 - ii. **RamRahim, founded in 2012, is an entity created by farmers, for farmers. It was established by 1, 500 women from 162 SHGs who wanted to ensure that farmers could sell their produce in the marketplace at prices and terms set by**

them and not by middlemen or traders. In 2014, the FPO became the first producer company to be granted an equity grant by the Indian government.

Positive Impact of the Cooperatives

- Co-operatives **propagate self-help** through mutual help and all get the benefit of collective efforts.
- Co-operation **facilitates mass voluntary participation** in an organized way to enlist the support of millions of small farmers, artisans, craftsmen, cottage and small-scale enterprises.
- **Rural development** through Cooperatives facilitates regional development of the areas neglected so far by the urban capitalists and industrialists. At the same time Co-operatives also **reduce disparities** in income and employment because the resultant gains are not polluted by a few but shared by a large number of people.
- Co-operation has been accepted as an important medium for the **regeneration of the country's socio-economic life**. In the words of Margaret Digby, "only through Co-operative institutions can the common man influence the direction of social and economic change in a decisive manner".
- Co-operatives in India has been recognized as **part of the pattern of Indian socialism**, especially interpreted in terms of rural society. They have become an **effective tool for women empowerment** in India as today's **majority of the cooperatives are run by women members**.
- Cooperatives have become an **effective institution for credit supply** in the Indian agricultural scenario. At the time of independence, credit supplied by cooperatives was only 33 percent of the total credit requirements of the cultivator. By 1981, of the total low-cost institutional credit taken by the cultivators, nearly half of it was supplied by Indian Service Cooperatives.
- Cooperatives are also contributing substantially to our efforts for achieving **inclusive development**.
 - Dairy cooperatives through the 'White Revolution' have enabled the country to achieve self-sufficiency in milk production.
 - Housing cooperatives are contributing to the construction of housing units for economically weaker sections and low-income groups at affordable rates.
 - Through fair price shops, cooperatives are supplying essential commodities to the weaker sections of society at concessional rates.

Problems Faced by Cooperatives in India

- The progress that the cooperative movement made in India, by and large, fell far short of the goals set by its early proponents.
- As for joint farming, two types of cooperatives were observed:
 - First, cooperatives that were formed essentially to evade land reforms and access incentives offered by the state.
 - a. Typically, these cooperatives were formed by well-to-do, influential families who took on a number of agricultural labourers or ex-tenants as bogus members. Forming a cooperative helped evade the ceiling laws or tenancy laws.
 - Second, there were the state-sponsored cooperative farms in the form of pilot projects, where generally poor, previously uncultivated land was made available to the landless, Harijans, displaced persons, and such underprivileged groups.
 - a. The poor quality of land, lack of proper irrigation facilities, etc., and the fact that these farms were run like government-sponsored projects rather than genuine, motivated, joint efforts of the cultivators led them to be generally expensive unsuccessful experiments.

- The other problems by which cooperatives suffered in India are:
 - **Lack of/ Inadequate Professional Management:** Cooperatives are required to be efficiently managed by experienced, trained and professionally qualified CEOs and other personnel under the supervision and control of democratically-elected Boards of Directors. However, such trained manpower is presently not available in the rural space to manage Cooperatives business professionally.
 - **Weak Financials:** Cooperatives are mostly represented by small and marginal farmers with poor resource base and hence, initially they are not financially strong enough to deliver vibrant products and services to their members and build confidence.
 - **Inadequate Access to credit:** Lack of access to affordable credit for want of collaterals and credit history is one of the major constraints, the Cooperatives are facing even today. Further, the credit guarantee cover being offered by SFAC for collateral-free lending is available only to Producer Companies (other forms of FPOs are not covered) having a minimum 500 shareholder membership. Due to this, a large number of FPOs particularly those, which are registered under other legal statutes as also small size FPOs are not able to access the benefits of the credit guarantee scheme.
 - **Lack of Risk Mitigation Mechanism:** Presently, while the risks related to production at farmers' level are partly covered under the existing crop/livestock other insurance schemes, there is no provision to cover business risks of Cooperatives.
 - **Inadequate Access to Market:** Marketing of produce at remunerative prices is the most critical requirement for the success of Cooperatives. The input prices are largely fixed by corporate producers. The Cooperatives lose through the complex gamut of market processes in the input and output prices. There are more market opportunities; if Cooperatives can identify the local market needs of the consumers and have a tie-up for the sale of its produce. The linkage with Industry/ other market players, large retailers, etc. is necessary for the long-term sustainability of Cooperatives.
 - **Inadequate Access to Infrastructure:** The producer's collectives have inadequate access to basic infrastructure required for aggregation like transport facilities, storage, value addition (cleaning, grading, sorting, etc.) and processing, brand building, and marketing. Further, in most of the commercial farming models, the primary producers are generally excluded from the value chain.
 - **Lack of technical Skills/Awareness:** Inadequate awareness among the members about the potential benefits of collectivization & nonavailability of competent agency for providing handholding support, is a major hindrance in the success path of various Cooperatives. Further, lack of legal and technical knowledge about various Acts and Regulations related to the formation of Cooperatives, FPOs, and statutory compliances thereafter is another challenge to tackle.
 - **Lack of Political Support:** Government and other political formations with similar objectives, viz., the Socialists and the Communists, failed to use the political space provided at the grassroots level for the success of cooperatives. The resourcefulness of the panchayats, the Community Development programme and the cooperatives to the underprivileged in the country were huge. However, these resources were not mobilized into action successfully by the governments and these institutions were taken over by the dominant sections in the village, who used them to further buttress their economic and political influence.
 - **Bureaucratic Neglect:** A common shortcoming of the cooperative movement was that instead of promoting people's participation it soon became like a huge **overstaffed government department**

with officials, clerks, inspectors, and the like, replicated at the block, district, division, and state levels.

- a. The bureaucratic element was generally not sympathetic to the principles of the cooperative movement and was often influenced by local vested interests, typically becoming a hindrance to their success.

Other Notable Initiatives of Government of India for Indian Cooperatives

- Cooperative Societies are made a **state subject** under entry 32 state list of the Seventh Schedule of the Indian Constitution.
- Establishment of **National Cooperative Development Corporation (NCDC)** as a statutory Corporation in 1963 under the Ministry of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare. Its functions include:
 - Planning, promoting and financing of programmes for production, processing, marketing, etc. of agricultural products and consumer goods.
 - Assist different types of cooperatives and to expand its financial base.
 - Finance projects in the rural industrial cooperative sectors and for certain notified services in rural areas.
 - Advancing loans and grants to State Governments for financing primary and secondary level cooperative societies.
- India enacted the **Multi-State Cooperative Societies Act 1984** to remove the plethora of different laws governing the same types of societies.
- Government of India announced a **National Policy on Co-operative in 2002**. The ultimate objective of the policy is to:
 - Revitalization of the cooperative structure particularly in the sector of agricultural credit.
 - Reduction of regional imbalances.
 - Strengthening of cooperative education, training, and human resource development.
 - Ensuring the benefits of the cooperatives reach the poorer section of the society.
 - Greater participation of members in the management of cooperatives and promoting the concept of user members.
- Government's progressive legislation '**Multi-State Cooperative Societies' (MSCS) Act, 2002**' aims to facilitate the organization and functioning of the cooperative societies having jurisdiction in more than one States.
- Government of India has also set up various expert committees for analysing the situation of cooperatives in India:
 - All-India Rural Credit Survey Committee Report (1954).
 - Chaudhary Brahm Prakash Committee (which proposed a model law for cooperatives) (1990).
 - Mirdha Committee (1996).
 - Jagdish Kapoor Committee (2000).
 - Vikhe Patil Committee (2001).
 - V. S. Vyas Committee (2001 and 2004).
- India enacted the **Constitutional (97th Amendment) Act, 2011** to allow forming a Cooperative Society a fundamental right under Article 19 (1) (i) of the constitution.

Constitutional (97th Amendment) Act, 2011

- Passed in 2011, the basic goal of this amendment was to insulate about eight lakh cooperative societies from political and government interference and to strengthen the cooperative movement.
- **Provisions of the Amendment:**
 - The amendment added the words “or co-operative societies” in Article 19 (1) (i), making the right to form co-operative societies a fundamental right.
 - It also added Part-IXB i.e., The Co-operative Societies to the constitution (Articles 243-ZH to 243-ZT).
 - In Part IV of the Constitution, a new Article 43-B was inserted, which says: “The state shall endeavour to promote voluntary formation, autonomous functioning, democratic control and professional management of co-operative societies”.
 - It provided for reservation of one seat for the Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe and two seats for women on the board of every cooperative society.
 - It brought uniformity in the structure of cooperatives. It specified the number of directors of a society and provided a fixed term of five years from the date of election of members and office-bearers. But the maximum number of directors of a co-operative society shall not exceed twenty-one.
 - It specified the time period of 6 months beyond which no board shall be superseded or kept under suspension. The board may be superseded or kept under suspension in case:
 - a. Of its persistent default.
 - b. Of negligence in the performance of its duties.
 - c. Of committing any act prejudicial to the interests of the co-operative society or its members.
 - d. There is a stalemate in the constitution or functions of the board.
 - e. Of the election body had failed to conduct elections in accordance with the provisions of the State Act.
 - IT-enabled the state legislature to make provisions for co-option of persons having experience in the field of banking, management, finance or in any other related field, as members of the board. But, the number of such co-opted members shall not exceed two (in addition to twenty-one directors).
 - It also provided for the right of information to the members of the co-operative societies.
 - The state legislature may make provisions for the maintenance of accounts by the co-operative societies and the auditing of such accounts at least once in each financial year. It shall lay down the minimum qualifications and experience of auditors and auditing firms that shall be eligible for auditing the accounts of the co-operative societies.
 - It also made enabling provision for state legislatures to define Offences and Penalties relating to the co-operative societies.
- **Analysis:**
 - It made it obligatory for the state to ensure the autonomy of cooperatives and facilitate the voluntary formation, independent decision-making, and democratic control.
 - Holding regular elections under the supervision of autonomous authorities after every five years provided a free and fair ecosystem for the cooperatives to operate.
 - The uniform structure and mandatory representation of women in cooperatives ensured the adequate representation of the voices of women, which are the main beneficiaries of these

societies.

- However, the amendment failed to address other problems faced by cooperatives like credit overdue, awareness of rules and regulations, infrastructural facilities, etc.

Way Forward :

- During the celebration of the International Year of Cooperatives in 2012, the United Nations declared that 'Cooperatives are a reminder to the international community that it is possible to pursue both economic viability and social responsibility'.
- The UN declaration highlighted the contribution of cooperatives to socio-economic development, in particular recognizing their impact on poverty reduction, employment generation, and social integration.
- The cooperative movement in India has emerged as one of the largest in the world. Considering India's sizeable population below the poverty line, there is a need to expand the outreach of these cooperatives to the remotest corners.
- The role of Cooperatives is crucial for India's further development, be it economic progress or social demographic development.
- Though legislative measures have ensured the proper functioning and autonomy of Indian Cooperatives, there is a need to overcome the structural and non-structural issues faced by the cooperatives in India for their further growth.

24. AGRARIAN STRUGGLES IN INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

BACKGROUND :

- According to Census 2011, India's 70% population lives in rural areas that's why agrarian reforms are necessary.
- The agrarian movements for agrarian reforms in India have always been centered on the issue of land ownership and land distribution.
- The main demands of these movements centered on the reduction of excessive rent or revenue on produce and land redistribution from the rich to the poor.
- The years since independence have seen agrarian struggles of enormous variety, ranging from the legendary Telangana peasant movement and the PEPSU tenants' movement which continued from the pre-independence years to the Naxalite or Maoist movement in the late 1960s and the 'new' farmers' movements of the 1980s.
- In this chapter, we will discuss some of the important agrarian struggles post-independence and their impacts on India as a nation.

TELANGANA PEASANT STRUGGLE :

Background :

- The Telangana or Telugu-speaking area of Hyderabad state ruled by the autocratic Nizam had been experiencing political opposition since the late 1930s under the influence of nationalist and democratic organizations such as the State Congress and the Andhra Mahasabha.
- The peasants in Telangana suffered extreme feudal-type oppression at the hands of Jagirdars and Deshmukh's, some of whom owned thousands of acres of land.

Struggle :

- **Role of the Communist Party of India** - The Communist Party of India took up the issues as the basis for a peasant's struggle against feudalism in the period 1946-48.
 - a. The communists organized gram sabhas and formed guerilla bands for attacking Razakar camps. **Razakars** were militia of Nizam with the state backing.
- **Integration with India** - When the Nizam refused to join the Indian Union, people started a movement under the leadership of State Congress for integration with India.
 - a. In September 1948, the Indian army moved into Hyderabad. The Nizam surrendered and the army then moved into rural areas to clear out the Razakars.
- **Communist organizations** - The communists increased their influence on hundreds of villages. They formed "village republics" (*gram rajyams*) which functioned as the parallel government in the areas under their control. Parallel governments were established in about 3000 villages in the region.

- a. The communists decided to fight a war of liberation against the Indian army. The army flushed out activities from the villages in a few months.
- **Struggle against police** - The struggle turned violent with police retaliation against the Gram Raj Committees that were set up by the peasant groups to work as defence squads and institutions for self-governance.
 - a. The objectives of this armed struggle were land grabbing and redistribution, the abolition of compulsory levy to the government, and stopping the eviction of tenants under any pretext.
- The village republics started redistributing land to landless agricultural laborers and evicted tenants, increasing the popularity of the movement.
- **Guerilla squads** - By the end of August 1948, almost 10,000 peasants, students, and party workers actively involved themselves in the village squads and some 2,000 formed mobile guerilla squads.
- **Leadership:** P.C. Joshi, the then General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, provided inspiration for the armed struggle in Telangana. He arranged for the supply of arms and ammunition to the struggling peasants. He was supported in his endeavor by many military officers who gifted weapons-free of cost and arranged for their shipment.
- By the end of 1950, only isolated guerilla groups existed, there was little coordination among village republics, and the severe military repression had taken its toll on the population, with a huge loss of life, and the movement weakened.
- By early 1951, Congress government made several conciliatory gestures towards the CPI, and, after several rounds of negotiations, the CPI formally declared the struggle withdrawn on October 21, 1951.

Impacts :

- The government was quick to respond to the issues raised by the movement.
- **Jagirdari Abolition Regulation** - The Jagirdari Abolition Regulation was laid down in 1949 itself, and the **Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act** was passed in 1950.
 - Under the Jagirdari Abolition Regulation, over 600,000 tenants covering over one-quarter of the cultivated area were declared 'protected' tenants with a right to purchase the land on easy terms.
 - Land ceilings were also introduced in the mid-1950s.
- **A.P. (Telangana Area) Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1950** - Later the A.P. (Telangana Area) Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1950 was passed when the Indian Government took over from the Nizam's rule.
- The Telangana movement represents the culmination of efforts by communist and socialist parties in the first few decades of the communist movement.
- **Landlordism broke down** - The movement had broken the back of landlordism in Telangana as the landlords agreed to sell land at low rates, were subjected to pressure for higher wages.

PATIALA MUJARA MOVEMENT :

Background :

- The '**muzara**' or **tenants** movement that was going on in Patiala at independence had its origins in the late nineteenth century.
- **Landlords/Biswedars**, who earlier had only revenue collection rights, succeeded in claiming proprietary states. This relegated the cultivators to the position of tenants.
- These new tenants regarded Biswedars as illegitimate occupiers of their land.
- Opportunity for expression came only with the new wave of political awareness brought by the national movement and its associated movements such as the Akali and the Praja Mandal movements in the 1920s.

- From 1939, a powerful movement emerged and from 1945 it escalated into an open confrontation between muzaras and biswedars.
- The Government led by Maharaja Yadvender tried to win the confidence of the peasantry by appointing various commissions in 1939, 1945, 1946 and 1948 to resolve the dispute between the tenants and the Biswedars. But all these efforts proved futile.

Struggle :

- Patiala joined the Indian Union. However, the repression of Muzaras continued, it only decreased after the formation of PEPSU. On July 15, 1948, a group of East Punjab Princely States Nalagarh, Malerkotla, Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot, Kapurthala, and Kalsia agreed to form a new territorial unit known as PEPSU.
- The end of imperialist domination and consequently weakening of the power of the princes and landlords after the formation of Pepsu considerably invigorated the peasantry to make a final assault against the feudal order.
- Under the influence of the Marxist leaders, the Muzara war council armed guards to safeguard the gains of the movement.
- The decision to organize guards was also taken because of the fact that the Biswedars too, had organized armed bands of hooligans to get their land vacated which had been forcibly occupied by the Muzaras.
- Thus, by the end of 1948, this small band of armed men was in place, whose duty was to rush to the aid of muzaras who were threatened with physical, especially armed assault by the biswedars and their organized gangs.
- The Lal Communist Party which had a mass following among the tenants mobilized, the peasantry on revolutionary lines. It desired an alliance of landless labourers, poor peasants and middle peasants against the Biswedars
- The Kisangarh village witnessed a militant phase when Comrade Chhajju Mal Vaid along with Dharm Singh Fakkar supervised the 'no-batai' (no rent) operation in this village. The Government was determined to break the tenant resistance in this village.
- In a cross firing between the tenants and police, the sub-inspector of police was killed and a constable injured. In police action, six kisans lost their lives and large-scale arrests were made. Five police posts were set up in the disturbed area and an additional force of 2000 was raised.
- In this background, the Maharaja on April 20, 1949, announced an ordinance for the abolition of Biswedari.
- The abolition of the biswedari ordinance offered a division of land between Biswedars and occupancy tenants in the ratio of 1:3.
- In order to settle the partition of land, the State Government despatched revenue staff assisted by the police and Biswedari ruffians but the Police force couldn't curb the Communist revolutionaries.

Impacts :

- **Occupying Biswedari land** -The Peasants began to occupy the Biswedari land in some villages with beating of drums, symbolizing the victory of the movement.
 - Despite the Government's repeated threats, the peasants occupied the land. On the contrary, the grabbing of biswedari land by the peasants gained momentum. Some of the Biswedars left the villages and fled to the cities and some voluntarily surrendered all their lands to the Kisan Sabha.
- The situation changed radically with the formation of a new, purely Congress ministry in 1951.
- **PEPSU Tenancy (Temporary Provision) Act - An Agrarian Reforms Enquiry Committee** was set up to make recommendations and, till such time as the legislation could be enacted, the PEPSU Tenancy (Temporary Provision) Act was promulgated in January 1952 which protected tenants against eviction.

- Introduction of President's Rule brought about a qualitative change in the situation, as the President issued the **PEPSU Occupancy Tenants (Vesting of Proprietary Rights) Act (1954)**. Under this act, occupancy tenants could become owners of their land by paying compensation amounting to twelve times the land revenue.

NAXALBARI MOVEMENT

Background :

- Naxalism in India began in a small village in West Bengal called Naxalbari in the year 1967. It began when a group of tribal people known as the Santhals started agitation against the landlords they were working for.
- The struggle started even before India gained independence from the British because the Britishers forced the tribal people into agriculture.
- After independence, as per the 5th and 6th Schedule, the government of India became the custodian of all forest and tribal lands, ending the autonomy of the tribal.

Reasons :

- **Faulty Agrarian Reforms:** Many observers have found incomplete agrarian reforms as the reason behind the Naxal movement. After Independence, the government abolished the zamindari system as part of agrarian reform but redistribution of land was not undertaken amid protests by some groups.
- **Division of Society:** Improved practices in agriculture produced many neo-rich farmers, who were not ready to share their profit with the tillers and labourers, who put the real hard work in the fields.
- **Massive displacement:** of tribal population in the Naxalism-affected states due to development projects, mining operations, and other reasons.
- **Discontent among Downtrodden:** Extreme poverty, exploitation of landless tillers - often from Dalit and tribal communities - and denial of social justice by the administration gave birth to extreme discontent among the masses and left-wing leaders.

Struggle :

7. It was in 1967, a small group of Communist Party of India (Marxist) leaders decided to break away and launch their own armed struggle against big landowners. These leaders were Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal, and Jangal Santhal.
8. On 18 May 1967, the Siliguri Kisan Sabha, of which Jangal Santhal was the president, declared their support for the movement initiated.
9. A sharecropper near Naxalbari village was attacked by the landlord's men over a land dispute. On 24 May, when a police team arrived to arrest the peasant leaders, it was ambushed by a group of tribals led by Jangal Santhal, and a police inspector was killed in a hail of arrows. This event encouraged many Santhal tribals and other poor people to join the movement and to start attacking local landlords.
10. Their objective was to snatch the lands from those big zamindars and re-distribute the same among the tilling farmers and landless labourers.
11. During the movement, several peasant committees were set up and the land was redistributed. Several landlords were put on trial and executed. Village defence squads were established with agricultural labourers as its leaders.
12. Mao Zedong provided ideological leadership for the Naxalbari movement, advocating that Indian peasants and lower class tribals overthrow the government of the upper classes by force.
13. Peasants' committees formed in villages became the nuclei of armed guards, who occupied land, burnt land records, declared debts canceled, delivered death sentences on hated landowners, and set up a parallel administration.

Mao Zedong was a Chinese communist revolutionary who became the founding father of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Ideologically a Marxist, his theories, military strategies, and political policies are collectively known as **Maoism**.

Maoism is a doctrine that teaches to capture State power through a combination of armed insurgency, mass mobilisation and strategic alliances.

14. Using People's courts, similar to those established by Mao, Naxalites tried opponents and execute with axes or knives, beat, or permanently exile them.
15. **Operation Steeplechase**- In July 1971, Indira Gandhi ordered to mobilize the Indian Army against the Naxalites and launched a colossal combined army and police counter-insurgency operation, termed "*Operation Steeplechase*," killing hundreds of Naxalites and imprisoning more than 20,000 suspects and cadres, including senior leaders.

Impacts :

- **Heavy-hand dealing approach of the government** - The Naxalbari movement was violently repressed by the West Bengal government, of which CPI(M) was a major partner. Within the party, the hardliners rallied around an All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries in 1967.
 - The heavy-hand dealing approach of the government has continued ever since.
- **Increased efforts** - Efforts have increased to deal with the problem with a multi-layered approach, which has helped in reducing the sphere of Maoist influence in the country.
- **Solidarity with other terrorist groups** - The CPI(Maoist) has frequently expressed solidarity with the Jammu and Kashmir terrorist groups and north-east insurgent groups. They also had close links with foreign Maoist organizations like Turkey, Philippines, South Asian countries, etc.
- **Effect on scarce resources** - The Naxalite activities are using up scarce resources on defence and internal security when it should be spent on areas such as social development.
- **Peasant struggle** - Naxalbari merged in spirit with the peasant struggles in Bihar and Telangana in the 1980s and 1990s. In districts in south Chhattisgarh, the military movement has survived to date much on Majumdar's lines.
- According to the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA), the influence of Naxalism has shrunk from 106 to 90 districts spread over 11 states.
- **Broad issues** - The Naxalbari movement is one of the most widespread movements of the present times. Now, it no longer confines its issues to land reforms, but also on larger issues of corruption, exploitation, maladministration

SRIKAKULAM PEASANT UPRISING :

Background :

- In Srikakulam, another group of revolutionaries claiming to be inspired by Mao Zedong were about to lead another group of tribals into a suicidal confrontation with the Indian state.
- From 1957-58 to 1967, a movement that organized tribals into **Girijan Sanghams** and **Mahila Sanghams** had secured many gains, including restoration of land illegally taken over by non-tribal moneylenders and landlords, wage increases, better prices for forest produce, reduction of debts, and free access to forests for timber for construction of houses and other daily needs.

Struggle :

- The Srikakulam peasant uprising occurred in 1967–1970, in regions of Srikakulam district, Andhra Pradesh, inspired by the Naxalbari upsurge.
- On October 31, 1967, two persons associated with the communists, Koranna and Manganna were killed by landlords at Levidi Village while the two were going to attend Girijan Samagam Conference.
- In retaliation, the Girijans started retaliating by land, property and food grain seizure from the landlords.
- Communist revolutionaries roamed the villages asking people to form village defence squads (dalams) and get whatever arms they could.
- In 1969, the **Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (ML)** was formed under the leadership of **Charu Majumdar**, a new party of extreme left activists, a fresh turn was taken with emphasis shifting from mass line to guerrilla action and individual annihilation.
- These activities spread in different villages paralyzing the local police for six months until additional police forces were sent by the government.

Impacts :

- By mid-June 1970, a massive police operation was launched in which 1,400 were arrested.
- On 10 July 1970, V. Satyanarayana and Adibhatla Kailasam, the two major leaders were killed, and that brought the movement to an end.
- CPI(ML) was converted into People's War Group (PWG) in 1980 which had its base in Andhra Pradesh and struck heavy casualties among police personnel.
- Rather than blind support, the intellectuals should also encourage Naxals to eschew violence, fight elections, join mainstream society and learn the art of give and take of democratic bargaining without aggression.
- Groups of Maoist youth continue even today in remote, backward pockets, often inhabited by tribals or very poor low-caste cultivators and agricultural labourers, in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh, trying to build their model of revolution.

NEW FARMERS' MOVEMENTS IN CONTEMPORARY INDIA :**Background:**

- The farmers' movements burst onto the national political stage in 1980 with the road and rail roko agitation in Nasik in Maharashtra led by the Shetkari Sangathana of Sharad Joshi.
- These 'new' farmers' movements that have attracted much media and political attention, have focussed mainly on demanding remunerative prices for agricultural produce and lowering or elimination of government dues such as canal water charges, electricity charges, interest rates and principal of loans, etc.
- Two of the prominent movements of the rural rich, one led by the Bhartiya Kisan Union (BKU) in western Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana and the Shetkari Sangathan (SS) represented primarily the interests of sugarcane, cotton, tobacco, grapes and onion growers in south-west Maharashtra though it also has its base in Gujarat.

Struggle :**Bhartiya Kisan Union (BKU) :**

- The BKU was originally formed on August 13, 1978, in Haryana under the guidance of **Charan Singh**, the undisputed peasant leader of North India and who later on became Prime Minister of India.
- After the death of Charan Singh, **Mahender Singh Tikait** got the leadership of BKU.
- The region of west Uttar Pradesh and the states of Punjab and Haryana that forms the backbone of the

movement is highly prosperous because of the massive capitalist investment in agriculture.

- A section of the peasantry having land in these states has been transformed into a class of capitalist farmers who produce much more than what their family consumes and hence the surplus is sold in the market. They own capital assets like tractors, thrashers, pump sets, etc. and hire agricultural labourers for cultivation since their family labour is not sufficient.
- In **Shamli agitation** in April 1987, the BKU raised demands against the rise in power tariff and erratic supply of electricity that was so crucial for the farmers of western Uttar Pradesh.
- The concessions which the BKU could secure (a reduction in the power tariff by one-sixth) increased the prestige of the BKU and its leader, Mahendra Singh Tikait and soon after that many rich peasants from several districts joined the organization.
- After the Shamli agitation, two more agitations solidified the support base of the BKU and brought the BKU into national prominence. The two agitations were the Dharna in Meerut and Delhi in 1988. The agitations were long and militant in nature and received widespread support.
- The **Meerut dharna** continued for 25 days and was impressive and peaceful. The main demands of the movements were similar to the demands of the other agitations of the prosperous farmers in the country.
- Recently, over 70000 BKU farmers from Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Haryana, Punjab and other parts of North India, along with a large convoy of tractors and trolleys, marched towards Delhi in October 2018.

Shetkari Sangathan (SS) :

- **Sharad Joshi's** Shetkari Sangathan has its origin in the late 1970s when, in October 1979, it opened an office in Chakan, Maharashtra.
- It primarily represents the interests of the farmers who cultivate cotton, onions, tobacco, grapes, and sugarcane in rural Maharashtra.
- The SS and Sharad Joshi rose to national prominence with the **rasta roko** (block roads) agitation in 1980 when thousands of farmers in the state of Maharashtra blocked important roads connecting Bombay and other cities and the most important issue, which the SS raised, was the issue of low prices of sugarcane and cotton and demanded that the prices of these products be raised.
- The movement was successful because it could secure some rise in the prices of the commodities and because it was able to bring the farmers' movement in the state to prominence.
- In the early 1980s, Sharad Joshi entered the Gujarat scene. Since then the **SS is associated with the farmers' movement in Gujarat**.
- His novel contribution to Gujarat lay in his emphasis that the Farmers' movement cannot succeed unless and until the agricultural labourers and poor peasants are associated with the movement.
- The movement's support, however, started declining till the mid-1980s because though the leadership announced a number of agitations, it did not launch any serious one.

Comparisons between both of them :

- BKU began as an organization of all the rich farmers of western Uttar Pradesh but today it has essentially become the organization of the well to do Jat peasants. The Rajputs, Gujjars, Tyagis and the Muslims after participating enthusiastically in the BKU led movements in its early years had deserted the organization.
- Thus, the BKU has lost its multi-caste peasant alliance character. The second fundamental point regarding the BKU is its apolitical character. The constitution of the BKU states very clearly that it is an **apolitical organization**.
- The leadership of the BKU has zealously guarded the apolitical character of the organization. Mahendra Singh Tikait detested politics and argued that all parties are parties of India and not of Bharat.

- The BKU is largely concerned with the owner cultivators, primarily Jats of the region whereas the SS has tried to mobilize the rural poor though essentially it is a movement of the rural rich.
- The Shetkari Sangathana (SS) which has been joined and led by a few intellectuals, makes it an ideologically organized movement in contrast to the BKU which possesses only an informal organizational setup.

Impacts :

- The movement no doubt touched a vital chord among peasants by drawing attention to the neglect and backwardness of rural areas.
- These were only the more dramatic moments in what had emerged in the 1980s as a widespread grassroots mobilization of rural dwellers.
- In recent years, there has been a considerable decline in the support base of the SS largely because it has failed to launch any serious agitation in the 1990s and also because of Sharad Joshi's blatant support to the liberalization of the economy.

CONCLUSION :

- Though the Independence was achieved in 1947, still the condition of the farmers remained the same.
- The movements were begun to shut down the harsh treatment of the landlords and their unfair pay to the farmers.
- Half of India's population works on farms, but farming contributes only 15% of the country's GDP.
- The demands of farmers have been more or less the same over the years, from procuring loan waiver to respectable minimum support price for their yield.
- Recently, farmers' uproar in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra were seen and Tamil Nadu farmers protested for a month at Jantar Mantar, Delhi, with almost the same demands.

RECENT FARM PROTESTS :

- India was swept by about a dozen major farm protests in 2018, with thousands of farmers traveling to Delhi, Kolkata, and Mumbai in November 2018 alone.
- Tens of thousands of Indian farmers have marched to the Parliament in the capital, Delhi, to highlight the deepening agrarian crisis.
- One of their chief demands was a special parliamentary session to discuss solutions to the agrarian crisis, including a full loan waiver and higher crop prices.
- They also demand implementation of Swaminathan Commission recommendations that say the minimum support price should be fixed at 50% above the comprehensive cost of production.
- In March 2018, tens of thousands of farmers from the western state of Maharashtra had walked 160km to Mumbai city in support of similar demands.
- And last year, drought-hit farmers from the southern state of Tamil Nadu brandished human skulls and held live mice in their mouths to draw attention to their plight.

- To secure the future of agriculture and to improve the livelihood of half of India's population, adequate attention needs to be given to improve the welfare of farmers and raise agricultural income.

25. GREEN REVOLUTION

INTRODUCTION :

Green Revolution in India refers to a period when Indian agriculture was converted from an intensive system to a mechanized system due to the adoption of modern methods and technology such as the *use of high yielding variety (HYV) seeds, tractors, irrigation facilities, organic and inorganic pesticides, and fertilizers.*

It was mainly found by **M.S. Swaminathan**, the father of the Green Revolution in India and this was part of the larger Green revolution endeavor initiated by **Mexican Scientist Norman Borlaug**.

The Green Revolution in India commenced in the early 1960s that led to an increase in food grain production, especially in **Punjab, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh**.



Fig. Regions showing Green Revolution Areas

REASONS :

- India was an agricultural dependent economy and yet the state of the Indian agricultural sector was dismal.
- Agriculture was suffering from the lack of investments, a dearth of technology, low yield per acre and many such problems.

- The government of India invited a team of experts sponsored by the Ford Foundation which submitted a report suggesting the means of improving production and productivity of the country with stress on modern inputs, especially fertilizers, credit, marketing facilities, etc.
- This new 'agriculture strategy' was put into practice for the **first time in India** in the **Kharif season of 1966** and was termed **HIGH-YIELDING VARIETIES PROGRAMME (HYVP)**.

IMPACTS:

- **Increase in Agricultural Production** - The biggest beneficiary of the plan was the wheat grain. Its production increased to 55 million tonnes in 1990 from just 11 million tonnes in 1960.
 - India has become the world's second-largest producer of both wheat and rice and the largest exporter of rice in 2018.
- **Increase in per Acre Yield** - Green Revolution not only increased the total agricultural output, but it also increased the per hectare yield.
 - In the case of wheat, the per hectare yield increased from 850 kg/hectare to an incredible 2281 kg/hectare by 1990.
- **Less Dependence on Imports** - There was enough production for the population and to build stock in case of emergencies. We did not need to import grains or depend on other countries for our food supply.
- **Scientific Cultivation** - Farmers started using HYV seeds and traditional fertilizers were replaced by chemical fertilizers.
 - Consequently, land under HYV seeds increased sharply from 1.66 million hectares in 1966-67 to about 78.4 million hectares in 1998-99.
- **Change in Cropping Pattern** - The proportion of cereals in the food grains output increased and the proportion of pulses declined. Also, the proportion of wheat cereals increased while that of coarse grains declined.
- **Employment** - It was feared that commercial farming would leave a lot of the labour force jobless. But on the other hand, a rise in rural employment was seen. Because the supporting industries such as Irrigation, transportation, food processing, marketing created employment opportunities.
- **Benefit to the Farmers** - The Green Revolution majorly benefited the farmers. Their income saw a significant raise. Not only were they surviving, they were prospering. It enabled them to shift to commercial farming from sustenance farming.

LIMITATIONS:

- **Inequality among farmers (Interpersonal inequalities)** -The new technologies required huge amount of investment which can only be afforded by big farmers. Hence, those farmers were getting the absolute benefits of the green revolution and became comparatively richer than other farmers. This increased inequality in rural India.
- **Regional inequality** -The benefits of the new technology remained concentrated in the wheat-growing area since the green revolution remained limited to wheat for a number of years. These were the regions of Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh. On account of these reasons, the new agricultural strategy led to an increase in regional inequalities.
- **Environmental Damage** - Excessive and inappropriate use of fertilizers and pesticides polluted waterways and killed beneficial insects and wildlife. It has caused over-use of soil and rapidly depleted its nutrients. The rampant irrigation practices led to eventual soil degradation.
- **Labour Absorption** -There was a general consensus that the adoption of new technology had reduced labour absorption in agriculture. The uneven regional growth was mainly responsible for the low absorption of

labour within agriculture. The growth of output was also slow to generate adequate employment opportunities.

- **Undesirable Social Consequences** - Some micro-level socio-economic studies of green revolution areas have revealed certain undesirable social consequences of the green revolution. Many large farmers evicted tenants as they found it more profitable to cultivate land themselves. Thus, a large number of tenants and share-croppers had lost their lands and had been forced to join the ranks of agricultural laborers.
- **Health Hazards** - Increased mechanization that has accompanied the modernization of farm technology in green revolution areas carried with it the risk of accidents. Farming villages using large amounts of pesticides have significantly higher rates of cancer than villages that use fewer chemicals. '**Cancer Train**' is a train from Bhatinda In Punjab to Bikaner in Rajasthan which carries cancer patients for treatment. The patients on this train are mostly small farmers from the Malwa region, which is Punjab's cotton belt.

PROBLEMS OF GREEN REVOLUTION :

1. Why the Green Revolution could not be reciprocated in the rest of the country?
 - Resources such as high-cost inputs were available in these regions such as Punjab, Haryana, and parts of Uttar Pradesh.
 - The government wanted to have a *trickle-down effect* on other areas later.
 - Modern irrigation practices were present in these states as compared to eastern India which was primarily dependent on rain-based agriculture.
 - Land fragmentation was less in Green Revolution states so mechanization was more effective. More than 80% of the total land holdings in Eastern India were/are small and marginal landholdings.
 - The cropping pattern in Eastern India was traditionally dominated by rice and other low-value crops.
 - Major focus was on wheat and Green Revolution areas were high productivity regions for the wheat crop.
 - Land was used more intensively in Punjab, Haryana than in Eastern states.
2. **Farmers' Suicides** - Largely from the erstwhile Green Revolution (GR) belts, such as Punjab, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, etc.
 - The National Crime Records Bureau of India reported that a total of 296,438 Indian farmers had committed suicide since 1995. Of these 60,750 farmer suicides were in the state of Maharashtra since 1995.
 - Ironically, Punjab, which benefited most from the Green Revolution, also presents a depressing picture of farmer's suicides in India. Between 1995-2015, 4687 farmers' suicides have been reported from the state of Punjab of which 1334 from one Mansa district alone.
 - Reasons such as monsoon failure, climate change, high debt burdens, government policies, mental health, personal issues, and family problems are responsible for farmers' suicides in India.
 - Concentration of these suicides in the water-deficit regions of states like **Maharashtra, Karnataka** is a manifestation of how the water crisis and thereby failure to meet production demands have intensified the menace.
 - Denial of the right price is the key reason for the suicide rate going up in big agrarian

states like **Punjab, Haryana** which have more than 80 percent irrigation. Infertility of soil due to salinization is also responsible.

- In essence, the factors sum up to crop failure, unsustainable production and subsequent farmer indebtedness leading to failure of strengthening the economic state of the farmer as the driving force behind these suicides.
3. Why sex ratio is falling in agricultural prosperous regions?
- According to Census 2011, the Sex ratio of India stands at 943 per 1000 males. Punjab, Haryana, Delhi and Western Uttar Pradesh are the traditional areas where the sex ratio is generally lower.
 - Haryana with a sex ratio of 879 is the state with the lowest sex ratio in the country.
 - A strong preference for a male child has encouraged female foeticide in these states resulting in a low sex ratio.
 - Earlier due to male migration from these regions, females were working in farm fields which led to the feminization of agriculture.
 - But after mechanization, work available for females got decreased which led to de feminization and lower sex ratio

ANALYSIS :

- **Food unavailability** - More than five decades after India launched the Green Revolution, its war on hunger is far from won.
 - Despite the large increase in total production, **per capita availability** of food grains has increased only modestly as the population has more than tripled since the start of the 1960s.
- **Lack of high yield seeds** - India has failed to extend the concept of high yield value seeds to all crops or all regions. In terms of crops, it remains largely confined to foodgrains only, not to all kinds of agricultural produce.
- **Malnutrition** - India's increase in total food production has, unfortunately, not translated into a proportionate decrease in malnutrition. India ranks 103 out of 119 countries on the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)'s **Global Hunger Index (GHI), 2018** and is home to the largest number of malnourished people in the world, about one-quarter of the global total.

WAY FORWARD :

- Green Revolution transformed the image of India from being a 'begging bowl' to 'breadbasket'. However, to rectify the flaws and loopholes of the Green Revolution, the Evergreen Revolution is needed.
- "Evergreen Revolution" is the pathway of increasing production and productivity in a manner such that short and long term goals of food production are not mutually antagonistic.

SECOND GREEN REVOLUTION :

- The Green Revolution has made us self-sufficient in food grains but the environmental consequences and ecological costs are offsetting the progress made.
- The second Green Revolution aims at creating **sustainable agriculture** by leveraging advancements in technology.
- The second green revolution has been called for in **Eastern States** via the **Bringing Green**

Revolution in Eastern India (BGREI) programme in recent years.

- BGREI focuses on bringing the second Green Revolution in the eastern region, which has rich water resources. Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, West Bengal and eastern Uttar Pradesh (Purvanchal) are the seven states.
- It focuses on -
 - Harnessing the water potential for enhancing agriculture production in Eastern India.
 - Promoting horticulture, floriculture, sericulture, aquaculture, plantation crops, medicinal crops, aromatic crops, spices, etc.
 - Achieving self-sufficiency in pulses and oilseeds.
 - Crop diversification and multiple cropping.
 - Keeping into view the local geographical and climatic position, soil fertility.
- Introducing Indian farmers to innovative **information and communication technologies (ICT)** can enhance farm productivity. ICT initiatives can tackle key challenges in the agricultural value-chain through networking on weather alerts, the sowing period, the prices of produce.
- Implementation of new and efficient irrigation methods, better watershed management and maintenance of vegetation cover in catchment areas and development of drought-tolerant crop varieties are required to optimize water utilization.
- There must be a mix of traditional knowledge and scientific breakthroughs in the field of biotechnology.

26. COMMUNALISM AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Introduction :

- For the last nearly three decades, India has been regularly racked by a spate of communal riots. Communalism is one of the most serious dangers facing Indian society and polity. It is undermining secularism and has become a menace to the unity of the Indian people threatening to unleash the forces of barbarism.
- Communalism is an ideology based on the belief that 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. As an ideology, it is akin to racialism, anti-Semitism, and fascism. In fact, it can be considered the Indian form of fascism.
- Communalism is a strong allegiance to one's own ethnic group rather than to society.
- The cause of communal violence is the spread of communal ideology or belief system. So, communal ideology can thus prevail without violence but communal violence cannot exist without communal ideology.

Causes of Communalism :

- **Historical causes**
 - **During Ancient India:**
 - a. Ancient India was predominantly a Vedic society.
 - b. During this phase, various heterodox sects like Buddhism and Jainism emerged against the Brahminical Vedic religion. This caused communal violence in the subsequent era. For example, a Brahmin King Pushyamitra Shunga of Magadh put the price of 100 gold coins on the head of each Buddhist monk.
 - c. However by and large coexistence among different religions prevailed as they preached the ideology of nonviolence.
 - **During Medieval India:**
 - a. The medieval period witnessed the arrival of Islam in India.
 - b. The rulers of Medieval India were majorly Muslim kings. They brought in art, culture and other traditions of Islam.
 - c. Occasional occurrences of violence were present. For Example, Mahmud Ghazni's destruction of Hindu temples and Mahmud of Ghori's attack on Hindus, Buddhists, Jains.

- d. However, there has been a broad tolerance towards the religious practices of one community towards another and the people of all religions coexisted with peace and harmony.
- **During British Rule:**
 - a. The British government adopted a policy of Divide and Rule particularly with respect to Hindus and Muslims in India after the Revolt of 1857.
 - i. British used this policy of favouring one community over others to weaken national movement but this had serious consequences on Indian society.
 - ii. Fear was induced in the minds of Muslims that Hindus who are majority would dominate them and the belief was that different communities in India cannot co-exist, neither history nor culture will allow cooperation.
 - b. **Hindu tinge in nationalist thoughts and propaganda** linked to the glorification of the past also created a rift between different communities, for instance, Tilak's glorification of Ganesh Puja, Shivaji or Gandhiji's frequent references to 'Ram Rajya'. Similarly, during the cow protection movements, Muslims were considered foreigners and aliens which hurt their sentiments.

Rise of Indian Communalism: Chain of Events till 1947

- **Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan** was the Muslim educator, jurist, author and principal motivating force behind the reformation of Indian Islam in the late 19th century.
 - Though his work majorly focused on the modernization and reformation of Islamism in India, in the later years of his life there was a shift towards the promotions of Islamic interests. Many historians recognize him as one of the earliest supporters of the Two-Nation Theory that Hindus and Muslims were distinct and incompatible nations.
 - He established **Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College (MAO) College** in Aligarh in 1875 for the promotion of English education on the British line among the Islamic community, which became **Aligarh Muslim University** in 1920.
 - He opposed Indian National Congress considering it a Hindu body. In order to oppose, he established the **United Patriotic Association at Aligarh** in 1888 with Raja Shiv Prasad Singh of Benaras, to promote political co-operation with the British and Muslim participation in the British government.
- The year 1906 saw the formation of the '**Muslim League**' as a separate party on the communal lines to protect the interest of the Muslim community during the Swadeshi Movement of Bengal. It played major role in the partition of India.
- **Indian Council Act of 1909** made provision of **separate electorate** system for the Muslims (This system reserved separate seats for only Muslim candidates and only Muslim community was allowed to vote for them). This provision was introduced by Lord Minto, the then Governor-General of India, who is also known as Father of Communalism in India.
- Indian National Congress accepted the separate electorates for the Muslim community in **Lucknow Pact with the Muslim League in 1916**. Though the Pact brought short term unity among Hindu - Muslims, in the long run, it proved fatal to the united India.
- **Muhammad Ali Jinnah proposed 14-point demands in 1929** as an amendment to the '**Nehru Report**' of 1928 which was prepared by Motilal Nehru as an alternate to the **Simon Commission** set up by the British Government.

- These points again stressed upon separate electorates for Muslims along with special provisions for the Muslim community alone.
- Announcement of “**Communal Award**” by the British Prime Minister Rarnay Macdonald in 1932 which extended Communal Electorate to Depressed Classes along with other communities to which it was already implemented.
- The loss of the Muslim League in the 1937 provincial election provoked Muslim leaders to pursue their communal agenda rigorously. In other words, Muslim League henceforth **turned away from moderate communalism to extreme communalism**.
- Muslim League passed ‘**Resolution for separate state**’ in 1940 Lahore session to fight for an independent Pakistan on communal lines. This was a watershed event in the history of communalism in India.
- Muslim League adopted the slogan ‘**Divide and Quit**’ in 1943 Karachi session in order to counter INC’s Quit India Movement.
- **Direct action** was launched by the Muslim League on **16th August 1946** to achieve Pakistan as a separate nation. On this date, the Muslim League government of Bengal followed policies of violence that led to Great Calcutta Killings and thereafter widespread violence across the country between Hindus and Muslims.
- After this event, the idea of independence with partition became acceptable to the majority of Indian society including its leadership.
- Ultimately, the **Mountbatten Plan of 3rd June 1947** inked the era of communalism in the history of the Indian subcontinent by the partition of India on the basis of communal lines.

- **Economic factors**

- According to critics, after independence uneven development, failure of land reforms, lack of adequate industrial expansion made Muslim artisans fall in the laps of traders especially Hindus. So economic stratification took place on communal lines.
- After independence problems of poverty, unemployment, and inequality arising out of colonial underdevelopment have been only partially tackled. Capitalist development has generated sharp and visible economic inequality. These problems breed frustration and personal and social anxiety among the people and generate unhealthy competition for inadequate economic and social opportunities.

- **Social factors**

- Traditional social institutions like caste, joint family, village have been rapidly breaking down. The new institutions and solidarities of class, trade unions, Kisan Sabhas, youth organizations, social clubs, political parties, and other voluntary associations have made tardy progress and have not been able to take their place to a significant extent. In this situation, many turn to communal organizations as an alternative focus of unity and solidarity.
- Minor incidents escalate into major communal events.
- The intermediate castes gained mobility in the economic sphere but the need to be seen as culturally superior alienates them from other castes and religions. This gives way to intense communalist feelings.
- Social anger and frustration, fed by horrid living conditions in urban areas especially of the migrants, make them easy victims of communal hatred and finds expression in spontaneous violence and loot and plunder whenever a communal riot provides the opportunity.

- In more recent years, criminal gangs engaged in lucrative illegal activities, such as smuggling, illicit distillation, and sale of liquor, gambling, drug pushing, and kidnapping have used communal riots to settle scores with their rivals.
- **Political factors**
 - Communal organizations' roles are given importance because of their valuable vote bank.
 - Sometimes the government does not take action at the right time. Seldom has action been taken even under the existing laws against the instigators of communal hatred and organizers of communal violence.
 - Political self/party interests surpass national interests.
 - Inevitable exhaustion of the political idealism generated by the national movement which inspired the people, particularly the youth.
 - Police neglect in curbing the initial incidents escalates violence.
 - Political opportunism towards communalism practiced by secular parties, groups, and individuals. They have often permitted the intrusion of religion into politics and sometimes associated and entered into an alliance with communal parties.
 - a. Congress was the first to do so by allying with the Muslim League in Kerala in the early 1960s.
 - b. The soft approach towards communal parties and groups has had an extremely negative consequence of making them respectable and legitimizing communalism.
- **Psychological Causes:**
 - The Hindus in India constitute the majority of the population (around 80%). Muslims belong to a minority and as a result, they develop a complex of the following:
 - a. A feeling of deprivation for not belonging to a majority community.
 - b. A feeling of fear and insecurity.
 - c. A feeling of status frustration due to their economic backwardness.
 - d. A feeling of exclusion (this arises because there is no easy bonding and friendship between the two communities).
 - For Example, there have been reports of landlords belonging to the Hindu community not willing to rent his/her residence to Muslims. This happens the other way around as well.

Characteristics of Communalism :

Communal violence in India is mostly concerned with Hindus and Muslims. Instances of violence concerning Christians, Jews, Sikhs, etc. have also been reported. The characteristics of communal violence:

- **Politically Motivated:** The Madan Commission which looked into communal disturbances in Maharashtra in May 1970 had found the same.
- **Economic Interest:** it plays a major role in communal clashes as participants mostly belong to lower sections of the society. Communal riots seem to be more common in North India than in South India due to prevailing economic conditions.
- **Recurrent:** The possibility of recurrence of communal riots in a town where communal riots have already taken place once or twice is stronger than in a town in which riots have never occurred.
- **Urban in Background:** Communal riots are more common in urban areas than in rural areas. For eg. Mumbai Riots (1993) and Godhra Riots (2002)
- **Religious Divide:** Communalism claims that religious identity overrides everything else. It denies the possibility of similarity between people of different religions even if they have more commonalities with other communities than their own co-religionists.

- Like all ideologies and politics, **communalism has a concrete social base or roots**. It is the product of and reflects the overall socio-economic and political conditions.

Communalism in India :

- **Muslim communalism** flourished in the 1940s in colonial India on **the basis of the cry of Islam in danger**. Though communal organizations like Arya Samaj (1875), Hindu Mahasabha (1915) and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) (1935) were present, the communalism did not gain much currency among Hindu society.
- Hindu communalism did not surface initially because of the following reasons:
 - Hinduism is not an organized religion as it is not based on the sanctity and authority of a single sacred book or a hierarchical priestly class.
 - Hindus do not have one God or one set of beliefs. Consequently, there is immense intra-religious diversity among them.
 - It was also not easy to convince Hindus, who constituted the large religious majority in India, that their religion was in any danger.
 - Hindu communalists found that without the strong emotional appeal to religion or a religious issue the progress of communal politics was tardy.
 - Hindu communalism in India began from the late 1970s to grope for a religious issue around which to develop their politics. In the 1980's they saw an opportunity with the Babri Masjid –the birthplace of Ram issue, which could inflame Hindus.
 - Over the years, communal organizations like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Bajrang Dal, succeeded in using this issue and its religious appeal to gain influence with a large number of Hindus all over the country and to weaken their resistance to communalism.

Communal Parties in India Over The Years

- A communal party is one that is structured around communal ideology. Such parties have since their inception promoted communal thinking and often whipped up communal passions.
- Communal parties made a poor showing in the elections of 1951, 1956 and 1961 and for years remained a marginal force in Indian politics.
- Consequently, people became complacent and came to believe that economic development and the spread of education, science, and technology would automatically weaken and extinguish communal thinking from the Indian scene.
- However, this was not the case as it would not disappear without an active struggle. Moreover, even while communal politics lay dormant, communal ideologues continued their work and communal organizations such as the Shiv Sena, Jan Sangh, Jamaat-i-Islami, Muslim League, Akali Dal and various Christian communal groups in Kerala continued to function.
- **Communalism became active in the 1960s**, gaining in strength as seen in the rising communalization and communal riots in the Indian society and large sections of the common people became susceptible to communalism and caste-ism.
 - Independence and the three Five-Year Plans did open up a wide range of opportunities for the middle classes because of the Indigenisation and expansion of the officer ranks in the government, army, banking, education and other social services. **But this initial push to middle-class employment was exhausted by the mid-1960s.**
 - **Changes in agrarian relations threw up new strata of rich and middle peasants and capitalist farmers**, who provided a fertile ground for the germination and spread of communal and casteist

ideologies, movements and parties. However, there was an absence of active state support to communal ideology and communal forces.

- The Bangladesh war at the end of 1971 also gave a major impetus to both Hindu and Muslim communalisms due to increased religious persecution in India's neighbourhood.
- However, communalism and communal violence began to once again increase from 1978 and has become endemic since then, assuming alarming proportions.

Communalism and the Use of State Power :

- **Communalization of Education**

- Political power at the state level had been used consistently in the 1990s to put in place school textbooks which preached the sectarian and divisive view of Indian history and society.
- In some states, books demonizing Muslims, and describing minorities as foreigners, and valorising Hindu civilization were made part of the curriculum.
- In the late 1990's there was the attempt to use government institutions and state power to attack scientific and secular history and historians and promote an obscurantist, backward-looking, communal historiography through state-sponsored institutions at the national level.
- The NCERT introduced a new National Curriculum Framework (NCF) in 2000, without attempting any wide consultation through discussion in parliament and the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) which was the tradition.
- Deletions had already been made from textbooks for pointing out the oppressive nature of the caste system in India.
- The Human Resource Ministry stated that 'all material in textbooks connected with religions should be cleared by the heads of the religions concerned before their incorporation in the books'.
- Communalization of textbooks had long-term dangerous consequences was shown by the way communal violence flared up in Gujarat.

Cases of Communalism in India :

- **Godhra Riots in Gujarat: A Case Study**

- **Timeline:**

- a. The gruesome story began at Godhra in 2002 where 58 people burnt to death in a fire that engulfed a bogey of the Sabarmati Express. The victims were all Hindus, karsevaks or volunteers, returning from participating in a religious ceremony at Ayodhya.
- b. U.C. Banerjee Enquiry Report has shown that that the fire was possibly accidental or caused by some inflammable material such as kerosene or diesel being carried in the train itself but hands were pointed at Muslims without any evidence.
- c. Also, the Gujarat government gave a state funeral for the victims and made a statement that this was the work of Pakistan's ISI.
- d. The VHP openly put the blame on Muslims and called for a state-wide bandh which also received the support of the government.
- e. On 28 February began a wave of communal carnage which lasted for almost three months.
- f. Mobs started looting Muslim neighbourhoods, setting a fire, burning people to death and slaughtering them, molesting, raping and sexually torturing women.
- g. While this was happening the police and administration looked the other way or even connived and helped.

- h. Considerable evidence surfaced that officials were instructed by the highest political authorities not to intervene to stop the violence.
- i. The pattern, scale, and persistence of violence suggests that it was by no means spontaneous. The attacks were well planned.
- j. It was noticed that the violence spread to villages, where people who had lived together for generations suddenly became enemies.
- k. What distinguished the events of 2002 was that, unlike a typical riot situation in which two groups engage in, usually spontaneous, violence, the assault was one-sided, premeditated, brutal, and supported or facilitated by the state.
- l. After the first shock was over, there were also instances of violence being initiated by minority groups in areas where they had numerical preponderance.
- m. Gujarat government with pressure from all sides urged the Centre to intervene effectively under Article 355 of the Constitution and centre appointed K.P.S. Gill, as the Security Adviser to the Gujarat state chief minister.
- n. The situation began to improve thereafter and violence began to subside.
- o. **Post Godhra Riots:**
 - a. **Nanavati-Mehta commission** was set up by the Gujarat government in 2002 to enquire about Gujarat violence.
 - b. After the rampage, the Gujarat government wanted to go for early elections but was turned down by Election Commission because:
 - i. Due to the communal riots, many people were displaced and election rolls need to be updated.
 - ii. The law and order in the state is far from normal.
 - iii. Also, drought caused another problem so the government should focus on the state's welfare first.
 - c. Similarly, the Supreme Court turned down the appeal of the Gujarat government to conduct elections immediately and upheld the election commission's idea.

Present Scenario

- **Justice GT Nanavati and KG Shah commission** probed the Godhra train burning incident of 27 February 2002 and the subsequent communal riots in Gujarat (In March 2008). (The commission was renamed as **Nanavati-Mehta Commission** when the retired high court judge Akshay Mehta replaced K.G.Shah following his death). The commission divided its report into two parts :
 - The first part of the report that mainly dealt with the carnage case, was handed over by the commission to the then Chief Minister of Gujarat, Narendra Modi on September 2008 and was tabled in the state assembly immediately. The report held that the fire on the train was indeed the result of a pre-planned conspiracy involving some individuals.
 - The Nanavati Mehta Commission has submitted its full report and part two of the report will be tabled in the state Legislative Assembly in 2019.

The Railway Ministry under the UPA government appointed the **U.C.Banerjee committee** in September 2004, and later turned it into a commission to probe the train burning incident. Justice Banerjee's findings were in total contrast to Justice Nanavati's. In its interim report, it held that the fire was an accident.

Zakia Jafri Case

- The wife of former Congress MP Ehsan Jafri, who was killed in the Gulmarg society massacre during the 2002 Gujarat riots, filed a case in 2006 against the present Prime Minister Narendra Modi for his alleged role in the 2002 riots.
- The district magistrate court of Gujarat rejected Zakia's allegations against Narendra Modi.
- Following her plea, Supreme Court in 2009 ordered a SIT (special investigation team) to look into this matter. The SIT also filed its closure report by upholding the magistrate court ruling in 2012.
- Zakia then moved to the Gujarat high court in an attempt to challenge the findings of the investigation in 2014. In October 2017, the high court upheld the findings of the SIT report and the magistrate court's decision to acquit Modi and 58 others. However, the high court permitted Jafri to demand a fresh probe into the matter.
- Zakia challenged the Gujarat High Court acquittal of then Gujarat chief minister Narendra Modi, other politicians, and senior officials.
- The case is pending with the Supreme Court as of 2019.

- **Outcome of The Gujarat experience: Negatives and Positives**

- a. **Negatives:**

- i. There was the continuation of victimization of the Muslims through economic boycott, via refusal of employment and hounding of Muslim- owned businesses.
- ii. There was also the refusal to take back Muslim residents by villages unless they promised not to pursue cases against them.
- iii. The recourse to the law was consistently blocked by the police not filing FIRs, not framing charge-sheets, withdrawing cases, etc.
- iv. Activists were threatened and sought to be physically intimidated.
- v. Discriminatory compensation was provided by the government to the Hindu and Muslim families whose members died in the Godhra train tragedy and the subsequent communal riots.
- vi. The Prevention of Terrorist Act, 2002 was used to terrorize Muslims by picking up 'suspects' who had supposedly conspired to set fire to the train at Godhra.
- vii. There was an inevitable ghettoization as a consequence of all these developments, and even middle-class Muslims were forced to gravitate towards mono-religious habitats.
- viii. There was a pervasive climate of fear, of the state, of the police, of the communal bands.

- b. **Positives:**

- i. On the other hand, there were civil society groups, such as Citizens for Justice and Peace, Anhad, Communalism Combat, Sahmat, and many others who worked to help in getting justice for the affected people.
- ii. An independent Citizen's Tribunal collected evidence, human rights and feminist groups conducted inquiries, journalists kept public interest alive, and filmmakers produced documentaries and campaigned with them all over the country.
- iii. A major focus of the resistance was to secure legal redress, and the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) and the Supreme Court played a sterling role in this process.

- iv. The NHRC, responding to complaints of threats received by witnesses asked the Gujarat police on measures taken to protect the safety, dignity, and privacy of victims and witnesses.
 - v. The Supreme Court Judgement in the famous Best Bakery case, 2002 was also a landmark one, for it ordered fresh investigations and retrial outside Gujarat of individuals who had been acquitted in a widely - criticized trial for setting on fire and killing fourteen people at a bakery in Vadodara.
 - vi. The biggest victory was the Supreme Court's response as it ordered the state government to set up a panel of senior police officials to review cases where the local police had filed closure reports instead of charge-sheets and asked the Director-General of Police, Gujarat, to report every three months on the progress made by the review committee.
- **Communal Violence in Uttar Pradesh- A Case Study**
 - **International Religious Freedom Report 2013 (USA)** has slammed the Uttar Pradesh government for not taking effective steps to control communal violence and intolerance.
 - Uttar Pradesh has seen the frequent occurrences of communal riots. For Example, **The Muzaffarnagar riots of 2013.**
 - The following are some of the broad reasons for frequent occurrences of communal riots in Uttar Pradesh.
 - a. **Lack of Government Control:** Both the State and Central Government has not taken effective steps to reduce the communal clashes.
 - b. **Inequality in the region:** Post the spread of Green Revolution, Western Uttar Pradesh became prosperous but Eastern Uttar Pradesh lagged behind. This widened the gap between the people of these two regions. This polarisation between communities is one of the reasons for many communal riots.
 - c. **Political Advantages:** There has been evidence of communal riots occurring just before the elections which are found to be politically engineered.
 - d. **Communal Consciousness:** The feeling of identity with religion is widespread among both Hindus and Muslims.
 - **Other Communal Events of Modern Indian History: Chronology**
 - India witnesses mass bloodshed and violence at the time of partition in 1947 and it continued up to 1949.
 - There was a period of calmness after that until 1961 when the Jabalpur riots took place because of conflict of economical interest between Hindu and Muslim tobacco manufacturers.
 - Eastern India witnesses a series of riots during the 1960s in the areas of Rourkela, Jamshedpur and Ranchi where Hindu refugees settled from East Pakistan due to religious persecution in their own country.
 - The 1969 Ahmedabad riots made another entry in the list when the Jan Sangh passed a resolution on Indianisation of Muslims as an opposition to Indira Gandhi's leftward thrust.
 - The 1970 **Bombay-Bhiwandi riots** were instances of anti-Muslim violence. There were large amounts of vandalism of Muslim-owned properties and caused the deaths of over 250 people.
 - India witnessed a worst ethnic riot in 1983 in the Nellie area of Central Assam (famously known as **Nellie Massacre**) as a fallout of the decision to hold the controversial state elections in the midst of the Assam Agitation when India gave the right to vote to 4 million immigrants from Bangladesh.

- The black spot on the history of India was the October 1984's Anti-Sikh riots that broke out after the assassination of the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. According to the finding of the Ahuja Committee, 2733 Sikhs were killed in Delhi alone however other estimates claim killing of more than 4000 people
- The communal violence touched its peak in December 1992 when the Babri Masjid was demolished by right-wing parties rationalizing it to be the place of Ram Janam Bhoomi. The demolition resulted in several months of intercommunal rioting between India's Hindu and Muslim communities, causing the death of at least 2,000 people.
- The Gujarat Godhra riots of 2002 are another communal event in Indian history. (Explained earlier).
- Uttar Pradesh witnessed the worst violence in 2013. Famously known as Muzaffarnagar riots, it was a clash between the Hindu and Muslim communities. No conducive reasons have been found for the beginning of these riots however there has been citation of cases of eve-teasing and other personal conflicts that took the shape of communal riots.
- India has been witnessing cases of mob lynching since 2015 in different areas of the country like 2015 Dadri (Uttar Pradesh), 2016 Jharkhand, 2017 Alwar (Rajasthan) mob lynching because of issue like cow vigilantism. These are also linked to communal violence because of social media rumours on religious lines.

Cow Vigilantism

- Cow is considered as a holy animal in the Hindu religion. According to Article 48 of the Indian Constitution, the State shall prohibit the slaughter of mulching animals. Accordingly, various state governments have put a blanket ban on Cow slaughter in their respective territory.
- However, some self-formed groups of people in India have started to work for the protection of cow slaughter as they believe that laws in this regard are not followed efficiently.
- These self-proclaimed groups are posing a threat to law and order in many states as this has led to the killing of many innocents by these groups on the false allegations of cow slaughtering or illegal trading.
- As per the Human Rights Watch report, between May 2015 and December 2018, at least 44 people were killed across 12 Indian states in the attacks carried on by these cow protection groups and the majority of them were targeted against Muslims and dalit people of India.
- Manipur and Rajasthan state governments have passed their respective 'Protection from Lynching Bills' to stop this menace of violence in their states.

Solutions to communalism in India :

- **Economic:**
 - Poverty is one of the major factors for communal violence. Poverty alleviation measures are thus important for promoting communal harmony.
 - Reducing educational and economic backwardness of Muslims. This can uplift their socio-economic status and reduce their deprivation compared to Hindus.
- **Social:**
 - Children in schools must be taught through textbooks and pamphlets to maintain brotherhood and respect for all religions.
 - Creating awareness in the society about the ill effects of communalism through mass media.

- **Political:**

- Political communalism should be avoided as per the recent Supreme court's directives.
- Identification and mapping of riot prone areas. For Example, the Delhi police used drones to monitor to maintain vigil during communal festivals.
- Mass media should take excessive care when publishing communally sensitive news that has the potential to induce violence.
- There is a need to bring legislative laws to curb such violence instances. National Advisory Committee came out with a Communal Violence Bill in 2011 to prevent acts of violence or incitement to violence directed at people by virtue of their membership to any "group". An existing bill titled "Communal Violence (Prevention, Control and Rehabilitation of Victims) Bill, 2005" was also brought which was not passed in Rajya Sabha.

Conclusion :

- Tensions like communal violence and riots cannot be tackled with a single approach or solution.
- Efforts must be made by all involved governmental and nongovernmental stakeholders.
 - Parenting of children should be done in such a way to avoid instigation of hatred and building up of qualities like tolerance and acceptance.
 - Citizens themselves and the followers of different communities concerned should understand that nationalism is greater than their personal vengeance.
 - Religious teachers should promote rational thinking and interpretation among their followers for the promotion of peace and security.
 - Media culture must be improved and made responsible for their actions to avoid any incitements for violence.
- Thus, there is a need for collective efforts to curb this menace of communal violence from a country that was formed on the ideas of peace and prosperity promoting leaders like Mahatma Gandhi.

27. CASTE, UNTOUCHABILITY, AND ANTI - CASTE POLITICS

Context :

- Even after seventy-three years of independence, the hierarchical view of society in India holds their opinions in the defence of caste, untouchability, and reassertion of categories like pure and impure.
- India's caste system is among the world's oldest forms of surviving social stratification.
- The Indian caste system **divides Hindus into rigid hierarchical groups** based on their karma (work) and dharma (the Hindi word for religion, but here it means duty). It is generally accepted to be more than 3,000 years old.
- Untouchables or “Dalits” are members of the lowest social status group in the Hindu caste system. Dalits are considered to present at the lowest level of the Indian Varna system.
- At present, the caste system is prevalent not only among Hindus but among all Indian communities. This is due to the convergence of various religious and cultural practices in India over a period of time.

Historical Background of Caste System :

- **Origin of the caste system:**
 - Earlier, the caste of a person in India used to define his or her occupation and till death, the person had to stick to that occupation.
 - As per **Purusha sukta hymn of Rig Veda** (early Hindu text), there were four categories known as ‘varnas’.
 - Varna Literally means colour, and was a framework for grouping people into classes, first used in Vedic Indian society.
 - The grouping was done into 4 different classes. These were:
 - a. The Brahmins: priestly people.
 - b. The Kshatriyas: also called Rajanyas, who were rulers, administrators, and warriors.
 - c. The Vaishyas: artisans, merchants, tradesmen, and farmers.
 - d. Shudras: the labourers.
 - The varna categorization implicitly had a fifth element, being those people deemed to be entirely outside its scope i.e. people who are not civilized. Example hunters, food gatherers, fishermen etc.
 - Most of the historians still believe that today's caste system is based on these varnas.

- But when and how so many castes originated in India is not clear. Many theories have been put forward regarding the origin of the caste system but, so far, no concrete answer has been collected in this regard. Some of the theories are as follows:
 - a. **Traditional theory:** According to this theory, Brahma, the creator of the universe had created the caste system. This theory has been criticized for its being a supernatural theory and for its base is just divine.
 - b. **Occupational theory:** According to occupational theory, castes in India are developed as per the occupation of a person. The concept of superior and inferior caste also came with this as some persons were doing superior jobs and some were into lower kinds of jobs.
 - c. **Present-day discovery:** Archeologists say that the caste system is a hierarchy and it existed in India as far back as the Harappan civilization. They further added that within Harappa, walls separated one section of the people from another, which clearly shows how the caste system existed way back.
- **Caste system during the British Raj:**
 - When the British Raj began to take power in India in 1757, they exploited the caste system as a means of social control.
 - The British used two terms to describe Indian communities i.e. Castes and Tribes. They used term Caste to describe 'Jati' and also for Varnas. Tribes were those communities who lived deep in jungles, forests, and mountains far away from the main population and were hard to be defined as castes.
 - The Government of India Act 1935 replaced the term 'depressed classes' with 'Scheduled Castes'. Even though seats in the legislature were reserved both for the 'minority' communities and for the 'depressed classes', reservation in the public service was denied to the 'depressed classes', whereas the minority communities enjoyed 'reservation' in the public services.
 - There were many Indian reformists who worked for the rationalization of Indian society during the British Period:
 - a. **Jyotirao Govindrao Phule** denounced the injustice of the caste system and scorned its rules of purity and pollution. In 1873 he founded the Satyashodhak Samaj (Truth Seekers Society), which was devoted to securing human rights and social justice for low-caste people.
 - b. **Savitri Bai Phule** was the first headmistress of the country's first school for girls in Pune. She devoted her life to educating Shudras and Ati-Shudras. She started a night school for agriculturists and labourers. She died while serving plague patients.
 - c. **Sri Narayana Guru**, born into a low-caste Ezhava family in Kerala, preached brother-hood for all and fought against the ill effects of the caste system. He led a quiet but significant social revolution and gave the watchwords '**One Caste, One Religion, One God for all men**'. His doctrine aimed at improving the Ezhavas' social position. He urged them to abandon the occupation of toddy-tapping and to abstain from liquor. He also started **Aravipuram Movement in 1888** to defy the religious restrictions traditionally placed on the Ezhava community and consecrated an idol of Shiva at **Aravipuram**. Later a charitable organization known as **Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam** was also set up in 1903, which is working for the spiritual and educational uplift of the Ezhava community from the past many years.
 - d. **Periyar (E. V. Ramaswamy Naickar)** is known as a rationalist and the leader of the lower caste movement in South India. He aroused people to realize that all men are equal and that

it is the birthright of every individual to enjoy liberty and equality. He led the **Self-Respect Movement** (also known as **Dravidian Movement**) which was founded by S.Ramanathan in 1925. The movement was aimed at breaking down the Brahmanical hegemony, equal rights for the backward classes and women in the society and revitalization of the Dravidian languages including Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, and Malayalam.

- e. **Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar** began organizing protests against untouchability from the 1920s onwards.
 - i. B. R Ambedkar organized Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha in 1924 for the promotion of education and socio-economic improvement of the depressed classes.
 - ii. He also started newspapers like Mooknayak (1920), Bahishkrit Bharat (1927), Janata (1930) etc for the protection of the rights of the depressed classes.
 - iii. He also started **Mahad Satyagraha in 1927** to allow untouchables to use water from a public tank (they were not allowed to use water by upper-caste Hindus of the area) in the Mahad area of Maharashtra, India. It was the first collective protest of untouchables under the leadership of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar. The day (20 March) is observed as Social Empowerment day in India.
 - iv. He also led **Kalaram Temple Entry Movement (1930)** in the Nashik area of Maharashtra to allow entry of Dalits into the temple. The movement was towards having equal rights for all including the matters of religious practices.
 - v. He also condemned 'Manusmriti' for ideologically justifying caste discrimination and untouchability.
 - vi. All India Scheduled Castes Federation was organized in 1942 for campaigning the rights of the Dalit community.
- f. **Mahatma Gandhi** popularised the term 'Harijan' (the children of God) as a reference to the communities traditionally considered as "Untouchables" or lower castes.
 - i. **Poona Pact 1932:** The British government announced the **Communal Award in 1932**, which was an attempt to deepen the caste system in India as it introduced separate electorates for the depressed classes. Mahatma Gandhi went on a hunger strike in Poona's Yerawada Jail in opposition to this award. Finally, an agreement known as '**Poona Pact of 1932**' was signed between **B.R Ambedkar** on behalf of the depressed classes and **Madan Mohan Malviya** on behalf of the Caste Hindus to end Gandhi's hunger strike. This Poona pact was accepted by the British government and joint electorates were formed with reserved seats for the people of depressed classes.
 - ii. **Harijan Sevak Sangh:** After the Poona Pact, Gandhi founded **All India Anti Untouchability League in 1932**, an organization that worked for the removal of untouchability in the society. This organization was later renamed as Harijan Sevak Sangh. He also launched a weekly paper '**The Harijan**' along with it. The organization also organized various temple entry movements across India.

- **Caste System in India at Independence :**

- The British government did little to improve the caste inequalities in India. Independent India had to face the problem of caste system inequalities along with rising communal tensions.
- To undo or re-correct the historical mistakes of caste and class discrimination, India adopted ideologies like secularity, socialist and equality as the basis for the formation of the Indian constitution.

- The lists which the British made for caste and tribe categorization were used by the Indian governments to create lists of communities who were entitled for positive discrimination.
- Constitutionally guaranteed fundamental human rights were added such as Right to Equality.
 - a. **Article 14:** It provides that the state shall not deny to any person Equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws in the Territory of India.
 - b. **Article 15:** Says no citizen shall be subjected to any disability or restriction on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.
 - c. **Article 16:** It provides for equality of opportunity for all people in matters of public employment without discriminating anyone on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them.
 - d. **Article 17:** Declares that untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. It prescribes punishment for preaching and practice of untouchability.
- Indian continued the terms use of terms Schedule Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) for the depressed classes as started by the British government in India.
 - a. The Constitution made provisions for reservation of seats in legislatures, educational institutions and government jobs for SCs and STs.
 - b. Initially, the reservations were made for 10 years but have been extended continuously since then.

III Effects of Caste System:

- **Primitive Social Customs:** The caste system did not allow any flexibility in societal rules. The caste system rules that were established were extremely rigid and there was no leeway provided for offenders. Straying away from the rules and regulations was not an option and any rebels were severely punished.
- **Anti-Democratic:** Caste system went against the democratic rights of people. Keeping the country's democracy aside, the caste system expected people to abide by the caste segregation laws.
- **Social Disparities:** The practice of untouchability was born solely due to the introduction of the caste system. The socio-economic conditions were unequal due to the practice of the caste system. The wealth accumulated within the higher castes whereas the lower castes were doomed in eternal poverty.
- **Rigidity in the Society:** The caste system also deprived people of taking up different employment opportunities as the caste system rigidly linked few professions to certain castes of people.
- **Social Malpractices:** The caste system also encouraged child marriage, so that there are lesser chances of inter-caste union.

Dalit Movements in India Since Independence :

India saw the emergence of various dalit movements post-independence for the upliftment and improvement of livelihood of the depressed classes.

- **Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha and the Conversion movement**
 - Ambedkar belonged to the Mahar community which was considered as lower caste in Maharashtra. He firmly believed that religion is for man, man is not for religion.
 - B.R. Ambedkar was inspired by the Buddhist philosophy that promoted the spiritual brotherhood of mankind and the recognition of the dignity of the individual human being instead of promoting paternalistic charity which hurt individual dignity. These rational and universalistic set of moral values motivated Ambedkar to convert to Buddhism.

- Ambedkar formed Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha in 1954 in Maharashtra as the national Buddhist organization. With this organization, he started the Buddhism Conversion movement in 1956. The aim of this organization and movement was to remove caste distinctions present in Indian society and provide equal status to all other depressed classes.
- **Dalit Panthers**
 - Dalit Panther as a social organization was founded by Namdev Dhasal, Raja Dhale, J. V. Pawar, and Arun Kamble on July 9th 1972, in Mumbai, which saw its heyday in the 1970s and through the 80s.
 - Dalit Panther was inspired by the Black Panther Party, a revolutionary movement amongst African-Americans, which emerged in the United States and functioned from 1966-1982. They called themselves “Panthers” because they were supposed to fight for their rights like panthers, and not get suppressed by the strength and the might of their oppressors.
 - The US Black Panther Party always acknowledged and supported the Dalit Panther Party through the US Black Panther Newspaper which circulated weekly throughout the world from 1967-1980.
 - To Panthers, Dalit meant members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, Neo-Buddhists, the working class, the landless and poor farmer, women, and all those who are being exploited politically, weaker economically and neglected in the name of religion.
 - The Dalit Panther movement was a radical departure from earlier Dalit movements. Its initial thrust on militancy through the use of rustic arms and threats gave the movement a revolutionary colour.
 - The Dalit Panther Movement spread to cities such as Bombay, Poona, Nasik, and Aurangabad where a large number of Dalit population is concentrated.
 - The organization split in 1976 because of internal political conflicts. Dhale and J V Pawar left and formed their own organization ‘Mass Movement’.
 - After 1977, a new generation of leaders such as professor-orator Arun Kamble and Ramdas Athawale took charge, renaming it to the Bharatiya Dalit Panthers. They helped the Panthers grow roots in every village and among non-Dalits.
 - In the post-Panthers days, Raja Dhale chose to adhere to Ambedkar’s path of propagation of Buddhism in the land of Hinduism Brahmanism. He died on 16 July 2019 in Mumbai.
 - Presently Ramdas Athawale is the president of the Republican Party of India and is serving as the Minister of State for Social Justice and Empowerment in the Narendra Modi government.
- **Bahujan Samajwadi Party: Phenomenon of Kanshiram and Mayawati**
 - It started with the formation of “Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and Minorities Employees Welfare Association” by Kanshi Ram in 1971.
 - Attempts were made to look into the problems and harassment of depressed classes along with their educational empowerment and create awareness about the caste system.
 - In 1973 Kanshi Ram established the “BAMCEF: Backward And Minority Communities Employees Federation” with the motto “Educate Organize and Agitate”.
 - In 1980 he created a roadshow named “Ambedkar Mela” which showed the life of Ambedkar and his views through pictures and narrations.
 - ‘Dalit Soshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti or DS4’ was founded as a parallel association to BAMCEF in 1981 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 that 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.

- With the demise of Kanshi Ram in 2006, Mayawati emerged as the undisputed leader of the party.
- The BSP from the beginning worked on the ideology of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.
- **Dalit Movement in South India**
 - **E.V.Ramasamy** (famously known as **Periyar**) leaded the '**Self Respect Movement**' or the **Dravidian Movement** in southern India that was founded by S.Ramanathan in 1925. This movement played a major role in the fight for the rights of Dalits in the pre-independence period via various agitations like the **Vaikom Satyagraha of 1924** which was a temple entry movement for Dalits.
 - He was the leader of the Justice Party (formed in 1916 to oppose the economic and political power of the Brahmin groups). In 1944 he renamed the party as '**Dravidar Kazhagam**' or '**Dravidian Association**' which became famous among urban and village communities as it opposed the Hindi and other associated elements linked to the Brahmanical priesthood. This movement intensified after 1949 and it worked for the removal of superstitions, untouchability among the Dalits. It also focused on women's liberation and education along with widow marriage.
 - This movement saw a split in 1949 due to the difference in political demand for separate independent Dravidian or Tamil states supported by Periyar. Periyar's Dravidar Kazhagam party continued to counter Brahmanism. The splinter group '**Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)**' formed by C. N. Annadurai also made efforts to carry on E.V. Ramasamy's Self-Respect Movement to villagers and urban students.
- **Other Important organization of Dalit movement:**
 - **Republican Party:** It was formed in 1957, after the death of Dr BR Ambedkar by replacing the All India Scheduled Castes Federation. It worked to voice the concern against the atrocities committed to Dalits and to make them conscious.
 - **Vanchit Bahujan Aghadi**
 - a. Founded by Prakash Ambedkar (grandson of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar) in March 2018 in Maharashtra. It works on the ideology of Constitutionalism, Ambedkarism, Secularism, Socialism, and Progressivism.
 - b. Its origin is traced to the convention held by the Dhangar community(herders) people at Pandharpur, Maharashtra. The convention was presided over by Prakash Ambedkar and attended by many small political parties and social organizations.
 - c. It made efforts for mass mobilization by organizing conferences for farmers, workers, youths and also discussed the rights of OBCs and their reservation.
 - d. This party has entered into an alliance with All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (AIMIM) party headed by Asaduddin Owaisi. With the support of Dalits in Maharashtra, the alliance secured 1 seat in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections. However, the two allies are locked in a bitter fight over sharing of seats for the forthcoming assembly elections.
- **Reservation for Dalits in India**
 - Element of reservation was introduced in India even before its Independence. The British government mainframe this idea in the Government of India Act of 1909 by providing separate electorates and seat reservation for Muslims in central and provincial legislative councils. It evolved over the years via various events like Poona Pact of 1932 (which reserved a certain number of seats for depressed classes).

- Getting hold of political power was seen by many Dalit movements as a tool to eliminate this class distinction in India and upliftment of dalit classes.
- Post-Independence, our constitution makers including Dr.B.R.Ambedkar were of the view that short term reservations to the depressed classes can improve the social and economic conditions of these depressed classes.
- Dr. Ambedkar believed that giving the lower classes higher education and to open to them the doors of services is the only solution to the class problem in India.
- The 'Part 16-Special provisions relating to certain classes' was added to our constitution in the same spirit. It enjoined the government to make special efforts to "improve the conditions of the socially and educationally backward classes" in India. Hence reservation provision was made for these depressed classes (SCs and STs) in post-independent India.
- Scheduled Castes (SC) were given 15% quota in jobs/higher educational institutions while Schedule Tribes (ST) were given a 7.5% quota in jobs/higher educational institutions.
- This reservation has been continued since its inception by the government of India as the problem for which this provision was made i.e. class and a caste-based distinction is still not solved even in the modern period of this 21st century.

Other Backward Class Movements in India

- **Background**

- *Independent India in 1947 pursued its agenda of providing benefits to the "Depressed Classes" or the Scheduled Castes and Tribes of India to compensate for the historical wrongdoings and improve their livelihood conditions.*
- *However, there were no benefits for other backward classes apart from SCs and STs, who were equally or more backward in terms of social and economic parameters.*
- *To tackle this problem, India set up its first Backward Classes Commission on January 29th, 1953, by a Presidential Order under Article 340 of the Constitution. It was famously known as the Kaka Kalelkar Commission of 1953. The commission in its 1955 report highlighted that India has 2399 backward groups out of which 837 were 'most backward' and the major evidence of backwardness cited was caste.*
- *The recommendations of the commission regarding the acceptance of caste as criteria for backwardness were rejected. Government cited the reason: 'It cannot be denied that the caste system is the greatest hindrance in the way of our progress towards an egalitarian society, the recognition of the specified castes as backward may serve to maintain and even perpetuate the existing distinctions on the basis of caste.'*
- *The unchanged circumstances of various backward castes in India over the years increased the need to understand this caste linked backwardness.*
- *Hence this Socially and Educationally Backward Classes Commission (SEBC) was established in India on 1 January 1979 by the Janata Party government under Prime Minister Morarji Desai with a mandate to "identify the socially or educationally backward classes" of India.*
- The Commission first time used the term 'Other Backward Classes' and reported that 52% of the country's population was comprised of OBCs.
- OBCs were the castes between the three "higher" varnas and the Dalits (Scheduled Castes) and Adivasis (Scheduled Tribes).

- **The Mandal Commission and the scenario after it**

- Mandal Commission published its report in 1983, but no action was taken by the successive governments because of popular agitation in opposition to it.
- Recommendations of the Mandal Commission report were:
 - a. Keeping in view the already 22.5% of the reservation quota for SCs and STs along with Supreme Court's various decisions of capping reservation under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) to below 50%, the commission recommended reservation of 27% for OBC candidates in all levels of government services, even though their population was almost twice this figure.
 - b. States which have already introduced reservation for OBCs exceeding 27%, to remain unaffected.
 - c. This reservation should also be made applicable to promotion quota at all levels.
 - d. Reserved quota remaining unfulfilled should be carried forward for a period of three years and dereserved thereafter.
 - e. Relaxation in the upper age limit for direct recruitment should be extended to the candidates of OBCs in the same manner as done in the case of SCs and STs.
 - f. A roster system should be prepared for the backward classes on the pattern of that for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.
- V.P. Singh's decision (the then Prime Minister of India) to implement the Mandal Commission recommendations caused big upheavals across the country. There was self-immolation by young people and V.P. Singh was portrayed as a destroyer of social harmony.
- *The reaction of the southern states was mild to the recommendation of the commission as reservation in those states was already touching 50% and they were more agreeable to those recommendations.*
- The government's decision was followed by the filling of various litigations in the Indian courts. Supreme Court put a temporary stay on the implementation of this reservation to hear the cases.
- ***Indra Sawhney & Others vs Union of India - 1992 / Mandal Case:***
 - a. ***Supreme Court upheld the 27% reservation for the OBC section on the basis that Article 16(4) of the constitution enables the government to make provisions for the backward classes of citizens.***
 - b. ***It added that only caste should not be an indicator of social and educational backwardness.***
 - c. ***The concept of the 'Creamy layer' among OBCs was desired by the supreme court to avoid misuse of this provision.***
 - d. It laid down the concept of Vertical Reservation i.e. the overall reservations are subject to a 50% quota limit.
 - e. However, it denied the policy of reserving seats in promotions and allowed reservations only at entry-level. Supreme court reasoned that Article 16(4) merely enables the government to make such provision at entry-level and does not empower the government to extend it for the promotion.
- This decision was followed up by all states except Tamil Nadu as the 50% quota limit affected the Tamil Nadu's already present 69% reservation for backward classes.
 - a. In lieu of the rising demands from the people of the state to continue its 69% reservation, Tamil Nadu government enacted a legislation namely "Tamil Nadu Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Reservation of Seats in Educational Institution

and of appointments or posts in the Services under the State) Bill, 1993” and got President’s assent on it.

- b. Government of India added this provision to the 9th Schedule of India constitution via ‘The Constitution (Seventy-sixth Amendment) Act, 1994’ to avoid it from getting challenged in a court of law.
 - In 2006 the government decided to implement this reservation policy in central and private institutes of higher education. There were a series of protests against this provision and it was challenged in Supreme Court.
 - Supreme Court of India on April 2008 upheld the law providing 27% reservation to OBCs in higher educational institutes. However, it directed the government to exclude the ‘creamy layer’ among OBCs for the same.
- **Rise of Quota Agitations in India**
 - The Central and State Governments categorize certain socially backward castes as Other Backward Classes (OBC) which become eligible for affirmative action benefits since 1991.
 - The reservation provision for OBCs sparked the demand for reservation and OBC status all over India. In many places, these agitations took a violent form.
 - This chain reaction is still going on with a regular rise in regional demands for quota. Some recent quota agitations in India :
 - a. **Jat Agitation in Haryana:** Despite being a politically influential group, the Jats of Haryana have been demanding to be included in the “Backward Classes”. Supreme court had already rejected the Jat reservation in March 2015. This agitation was continued by the Jat community in Haryana and it took violent form in February 2016. It paralyzed the State for 10 days by disruption of various roads and essential services.
 - b. **Kapu Agitation of Andhra Pradesh:** The Kapu community of Tuni, a settlement in East Godavari district (Andhra Pradesh) broke out in violent protests in February 2016, demanding the inclusion of the Kapu community in the ‘backward castes’ list.
 - c. **Patel Agitation in Gujarat:** Famously known as Patidar reservation agitation, it was started in 2015 by the Patel community to seek Other Backward Class (OBC) status. Mass protest took violent form in the western state of Gujarat over reservation demands. It has continued till then even after the Government of India provided a 10% reservation to **economically weaker sections** of society.
 - d. **Gujjar Agitation in Rajasthan:** Gujjars are a pastoral community of Rajasthan. Members of the Gujjar community are demanding a 5 percent reservation under the Special Backwards Category (SBC). Gujjars have been covered under the OBC category since 1994. However, in 2006, they demanded that their community be given reservations under the Scheduled Tribe category. The Chopra Commission set up by the government ruled that Gujjars cannot be covered under the ST category. State-provided them 5 percent reservation under a new State Backward class category but it was later quashed by the Rajasthan High Court as it crossed the reservation limit of 50%. Members of the Gujjar community have been embroiled in these protests for more than a decade now. In May 2015, this protest even took a violent form in Rajasthan.
 - e. **Maratha Agitation:** The Marathas are a group of castes comprising of peasants, landowners, and warriors which make almost 30% of Maharashtra’s total population. The demand for Maratha reservation dates back to the 1980s however it intensified in 2014 when Bombay High Court stayed the decision of the government to provide 16 percent

reservations to Marathas. The agitation continued then after in series of protests. It was in 2019 that Maharashtra government decided to bring in an Ordinance to implement the 16 percent reservation for Marathas in jobs and educational institutions. However, this decision of the government has angered the other general category communities.

Economically Weaker Section (EWS) :

- There was a rising demand by the general section of the society (Non-SC/ST and Non-OBC) for reservation quota in jobs, educational institutes etc like the other depressed classes.
- The rationale for this demand was the prevalence of economic disparities among their various sections.
- Government of India added a 10% quota to the economically weaker section (EWS) of society (among general category) via the 103rd Constitution Amendment Act, 2019.
- This benefit is subject to various eligibility criteria set by the government to benefit the targeted population and avoid its misuse.

The Constitution (One Hundred and Third Amendment) Act, 2019 :

- The Constitution (One Hundred and Third Amendment) Act, 2019 seeks to provide for the advancement of “economically weaker sections” of citizens.
- **Provisions:**
 - Article 15 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination against any citizen on the grounds of race, religion, caste, sex, or place of birth. However, the government may make special provisions for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes, or for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
 - a. The act amended Article 15 by adding a sub-clause ‘Article 15(6)’ to additionally permit the government to provide for the advancement of “economically weaker sections”. Further, up to 10% of seats may be reserved for such sections for admission in educational institutions. Such reservation will not apply to minority educational institutions.
 - Article 16 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination in employment in any government office. However, the government can allow reservation for any “backward class of citizens”, if they are not adequately represented in the services under the state.
 - a. The act amended Article 16 by adding a sub-clause ‘Article 16(6)’ to permit the government to reserve up to 10% of all posts for the “economically weaker sections” of citizens. The reservation of up to 10% for “economically weaker sections” in educational institutions and public employment will be in addition to the existing reservation.
 - The central government will notify the “economically weaker sections” of citizens on the basis of family income and other indicators of economic disadvantage. The criteria include the people who :
 - a. Have an annual income of less than Rs.8 lakhs, or
 - b. Own less than five acres of farmland, or
 - c. Have a house less than 1,000 sq feet in a town (or 100 sq yard in a notified municipal area).
 - The states are free to set the annual income limit as per their assessment subject to a maximum limit of 8 lakh defined by the act.

- The 10% additional reservation provided by this amendment has breached the 50% reservation limit set by the Supreme Court, in the majority of Indian states. The removal of this 50% cap limit has also sparked demands for reservation by other communities.
- The constitutional amendment is yet to pass the judicial scrutiny by the Supreme Court.

Analysis of Caste Based Reservation in India :

- **Arguments That Favour Caste Based Reservation:**

- **Equal Opportunities and respect-** The underlying theory for the reservation by the state is the under-representation of the identifiable groups as a legacy of the Indian caste system. The framers of the Constitution believed that, due to the caste system, SCs and the STs were historically oppressed and denied respect and equal opportunity in Indian society and were thus under-represented in nation-building activities.
- **Oppression on weaker sections of the society-** The oppression of the weaker section of society (Including lower and backward castes and tribes) by the stronger (upper castes) section has not ended. In fact, it has been aggravated. A new era of social justice and equality still remains a dream to be achieved. The benefits of development have been appropriated by about 20 percent of the population at the top.
- **Social Justice-** It establishes a new social order that would secure to the underprivileged sectors of our social justice in social relations and equality of opportunity to rise in society.
- **Positive Discrimination-** The underlying political philosophy of the Constitution of the country supports this discrimination in order to bring about egalitarian society.

- **Arguments Against the Caste Based Reservation:**

- **Increased Casteism -** Casteism has been granted a fresh lease of life. Our country is already divided into various groups. Reservation will further divide the population artificially. Earlier, reservations were accepted under special conditions for a period of ten years only, but continuing them for a longer period will produce vested interests and separatism, and will lead to a caste-war and the disintegration of the country.
- **Reduced Meritocracy-** Merit and caliber have been replaced by mediocrity. Reservation policy has generated a spirit of self-denigration, each caste, and community competing to be more backward than others.
- **Breach of 50% limit-** The Supreme Court in the famous Indra Sawhney & Others vs Union of India - 1992 (Mandal Case) ruled that reservations cannot exceed 50% and put a cap on reservations. The central government of India reserves 27% of higher education, and individual states may legislate further reservations. Reservation in most states is at 50%, but certain Indian states like Rajasthan have proposed a 68% reservation that includes a 14% reservation for forward castes in services and education. However, there are state laws that exceed this 50% limit. For example, the caste-based reservation fraction stands at 69% and is applicable to about 87% of the population in the state of Tamil Nadu. The addition of the new 10% reservation for Economically weaker sections by the 103rd Constitution Amendment Act, 2019 further contributes to breach of the defined 50% limit in various states.
- **Vote bank politics -** Attempts to include more and more castes/classes in the list of OBCs, have changed the social and economic landscape beyond recognition.

- **Increased conflicts** - In some states for anti-reservation agitation have increased violence in society. There is an increase in discontent among people of advanced castes. The Jat, Gujjar, Maratha etc agitations are recent examples of these increasing conflicts.
- **Lobbyism in administration** - Entry on the basis of reservation quota into the administration system led the formation of community lobbies among various ranks. This has not only politicized the civil services but also affected the efficiency of the administration. Some biased elements in the administration work on the basis of caste and creed.

Current India Scenario :

- Seventy-three years later, in spite of the Constitutional provisions, democracy, and reservations, the hierarchical view of society finds expression in the defence of caste and reassertion of categories like pure and impure. For Instance:
 - The National Council of Hindu Temples (NCHT) and the Hindu Council UK criticized the British government's call for public consultation on caste.
 - UK citizens have time till September 18th 2017, to reflect if caste should be banned by law or not.
 - Yogi Adityanath in 2017 ordered purification of the CM's office in Lucknow before entering it and Musahar Dalit families of Kushinagar received soap and shampoo to clean themselves before attending one of his meetings.
 - In June 2018, A dalit groom was **threatened for riding a horse in Gandhinagar district of Gujarat** as it was considered an upper-caste privilege.
 - **Three Dalits men were killed in Tamil Nadu for sitting cross-legged in front of upper-caste Hindus during a temple ritual.**
 - **Three Dalit boys were stripped, beaten and paraded naked by villagers** in the western state of Maharashtra in 2018 for swimming in a well that belonged to an upper-caste family.
 - **A 13-year-old Dalit boy was allegedly attacked** in the western state of Gujarat for wearing a pair of "mojris" - leather shoes traditionally seen as royal footwear and worn by upper-caste members in some parts of India.
 - Dalit and upper-caste men attacked each other in a town in Gujarat after a 22-year-old man **decided to add a suffix to his first name** on his Facebook profile that is traditionally used by an upper-caste community in the state.
- Great inequalities still remain in access to education, employment, and social opportunities.
 - The link between caste and literacy is strong as the literacy rate among scheduled castes and tribes remains well below the rest of India's population.
 - However, the gap has closed significantly during the last few years.

Year	Rural			Urban			Combined		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
1951	4.87	19.02	12.1	22.33	45.6	34.59	8.86	27.15	18.32
1961	10.1	34.3	22.5	40.5	66	54.4	15.35	40.4	28.31
1971	15.5	48.6	27.9	48.8	69.8	60.2	21.97	45.96	34.45
1981	21.7	49.6	36	56.3	76.7	67.2	29.76	56.38	43.57
1991	30.17	56.96	36	64.05	81.09	67.2	39.29	64.13	52.21
2001	46.7	71.4	59.4	73.2	86.7	80.3	53.67	75.26	64.83
2011	58.75	78.57	67.8	79.92	89.67	84.1	65.46	82.14	74.04
% Increase in 2011 over 2001	26%	10%	14%	9%	3%	5%	22%	9%	14%

Figure: All India Literacy rate as per 2011 Census of India

Year	Rural			Urban			Combined		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
1961	2.52	15.06	8.89	10.04	32.21	21.81	3.29	16.96	10.27
1971	5.06	20.04	12.77	16.09	38.93	28.65	6.44	22.36	14.67
1981	8.45	27.91	18.48	24.34	47.54	36.60	10.93	31.12	21.38
1991	19.45	45.95	33.25	42.29	66.90	55.11	23.76	49.91	37.41
2001	37.84	63.66	51.16	57.49	77.93	68.12	41.90	54.69	34.76
2011	52.60	72.60	62.80	68.60	83.30	76.20	56.50	75.20	66.10
% Increase in 2011 over 2001	39%	14%	23%	19%	7%	12%	35%	38%	90%

Figure: SC literacy rate as per 2011 Census of India

Year	Rural			Urban			Combined		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
1961	2.90	13.37	8.16	13.45	37.09	22.41	3.16	13.83	8.53
1971	4.36	16.92	10.68	19.64	37.09	28.84	4.85	17.63	11.30
1981	6.81	22.94	14.92	27.32	47.60	37.93	8.04	24.52	16.35
1991	16.02	38.45	27.38	45.66	66.56	56.60	18.19	40.65	29.60
2001	32.44	57.39	45.02	59.87	77.77	69.09	34.76	59.17	47.10
2011	46.90	66.80	56.90	70.30	83.20	76.80	49.35	68.53	58.96
% Increase in 2011 over 2001	44.57	16.40	26.39	17.42	6.98	11.16	41.97	15.82	25.18

Figure: ST literacy rate as per 2011 Census of India

- There is significant regional contrast as well. In Kerala, the gap is much lower as compared to states like Uttar Pradesh. The regional contrast shows that it is possible to reduce inequality through positive social measures such as the provision of elementary education.
- Atrocities against SCs continue to occur. Dalits continue to be oppressed and discriminated against in villages, in educational institutions, in the job market, and on the political battlefield.
- Crimes against Dalit are on rise. According to a 2010 report by the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), a crime is committed against a Dalit every 18 minutes.

Measures for Elimination of Caste Discrimination: Efforts Post-Independence :

- **Political Measures**

- The Indian Government has enacted laws to remove untouchability and has also brought in many reforms to improve the quality of life for the weaker sections of society. Few among them are:
 - a. **Abolition of ‘untouchability’ in 1950.**
 - b. **Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955**
 - i. This act was enacted to prescribe punishment for the preaching and practice of “untouchability” in any form.
 - ii. Act added new types of offenses in the Indian Penal Code (IPC) and provides penalties for the offenses like preventing a person from entering into public temples or places of worship, preventing the drawing of water from sacred lakes, tanks, wells, etc.

- **Protection of Civil Rights (Amendment) Act, 1976**

- It changed the title of the act from the Untouchability (Offences) Act to the “Protection of the Civil Rights Act”.
- The Act provided for enhanced and stringent punishment, the appointment of officers and special courts to deal with offenders, legal aid for victims, etc.
- It made willful negligence on the part of the investigating officers of complaints relating to untouchability tantamount to abatement.

- c. **SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989**

- i. The law punishes crimes against people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Tribes.
- ii. It gives special protections and rights to victims.
- iii. It sets up courts for the fast completion of cases.

- **The SC and ST Prevention of Atrocities (Amendment) Act, 2015**

- More stringent provisions for prevention of Atrocities against Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
- New activities were added to the list of offenses- Preventing SC/STs from using common property resources, from entering any places of public worship, and from entering education or health institution.

- d. **Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and Their Rehabilitation Act, 2013**
 - i. The law prohibits the employment of manual scavengers, the manual cleaning of sewers and septic tanks without protective equipment and the construction of insanitary latrines.
 - ii. It also provides for rehabilitation of manual scavengers and alternative employment.
- e. The government also set up various constitutional commissions to protect the rights of SCs, STs, and OBCs in India:
 - i. **National Commissions for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes** was set up in 1990 via the 65th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1990. The 89th Constitutional Amendment Act of 2003 bifurcated this combined commission to form two separate bodies namely, National Commission for Scheduled Castes and National Commission for Schedule Tribes.
 - ii. The **National Commission for Backward Classes** was set up in 2018 via the **102nd Constitutional Amendment Act of 2018**.
- f. **Kelkar Commission (1953)**: It was the first Backward Classes Commission of India. (discussed earlier).
- g. **Dhebar Commission (1960)**: It highlighted inequality within scheduled Tribes and defined a new class of Particularly vulnerable tribal groups (PVTG).
- h. **Justice Rohini Commission (2017)**: The commission was tasked to examine the extent of inequitable distribution of benefits of reservation among OBCs. The commission is yet to submit its report. The Terms of Reference of the commission are:
 - i. To examine the extent of inequitable distribution of benefits of reservation among OBCs included in the Central List.
 - ii. To work out the mechanism, criteria, norms, and parameters in a scientific approach for subcategorization within such OBCs.
 - iii. To take up the exercise of identifying the respective castes or communities in the Central List of OBCs and classifying them into their respective subcategories.

- **Educational Measures**

- Various scholarships are provided to the students belonging to the SCs and STs to ensure that education is not denied due to the poor financial condition of their families.
 - a. A scheme '**Upgradation of Merit of SC Students**' was launched in 1987-88 with an objective to upgrade the merit of Scheduled Caste students studying in Class IX to XII, by providing them with facilities for education in residential /non-residential schools. Central assistance is released to the State Governments/UT Administrations for arranging remedial and special coaching for Scheduled Caste students.
 - b. **Eklavya Model Residential Schools** were started in the year 1997-98 to impart quality education to ST children in remote areas, in order to enable them to avail of opportunities in high and professional education courses and get employment in various sectors. The schools focus not only on academic education but on the all-round development of the students from Class VI to XII. Hitherto, grants were given for construction of schools and recurring expenses to the State Governments under Grants under Article 275 (1) of the Constitution. In order to give further impetus to EMRS, it has been decided that by the year 2022, every block with more than 50% ST population and at least 20,000 tribal

persons, will have an EMRS. Eklavya schools will be on par with Navodaya Vidyalaya and will have special facilities for preserving local art and culture besides providing training in sports and skill development. Across the country, as per census 2011 figures, there are 564 such sub-districts out of which there is an EMRS in 102 sub-districts. Thus, 462 new schools have to be opened by the year 2022.

- c. **Another scheme started from 2013-14, 'Post Matric Scholarship for Scheduled Caste Students (PMS-SC)' is the single largest intervention by the Government of India for the educational empowerment of scheduled caste students. This is a centrally sponsored scheme. 100% central assistance is released to State Governments/UTs for expenditure incurred by them under the scheme over and above their respective committed liability.**
 - d. **National Fellowship scheme** was started in 2005-06 to provide financial assistance to SC students for pursuing research studies leading to M.Phil, Ph.D. and equivalent research degrees.
 - e. **National Overseas Scholarships for Scheduled Tribe Students** was started as a Central sector scheme to provide financial assistance to meritorious students for pursuing higher studies in a foreign university in specified files of Master Level Courses, Ph.D. and Post-Doctoral research programmes, in the field of Engineering, Technology, and Science.
- **Economical Measures**
 - The breakdown of the jajmani system and the increasing delinking of caste from traditional occupation, has been critical in the economic empowerment of the Scheduled Castes.
 - a. Anti-poverty programmes have been started by Government of India like:
 - i. **Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY):** It is the restructured and streamlined version of the erstwhile Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) that was launched in April 1999. It has been designed to improve the quality of life of the rural poor by providing them additional gainful employment.
 - ii. **Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awaas Yojana:** it is restructured version of Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY) which aims to address gaps in the rural housing programs and achieve Government's commitment to providing "Housing for All" by the scheme 2022
 - iii. Other schemes focusing on similar goals include the National Old Age Pension Scheme (NOAPS), National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS), National Maternity Benefit Scheme, Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP), etc.
 - *Grants-in-aid under Article 275(1) of the Constitution is provided by the Government of India to States. It is charged to the Consolidated Fund of India (except grants for NE States, a voted item) and is an additive to State Plan funds and efforts for Tribal Development.*
 - *Government also started the 'Standup India' scheme in 2016 to facilitate bank loans between Rs. 10 lakh to Rs. 1 crore to at least one Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe borrower and at least one-woman borrower per bank branch for setting up greenfield enterprise. In the case of non-individual enterprises, at least 51% of the shareholding and controlling stake should be held by either an SC/ST or women entrepreneurs.*
 - *National Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC) has been set up under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment in 1989, to finance income-generating activities of Scheduled Caste beneficiaries living below double the poverty line limits. It assists*

the target group by way of refinancing loans, skill training, Entrepreneurship Development Programmes and providing marketing support via various institutions.

- **National Safai Karamcharis Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC)** has been set up in 1997 under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment to avail credit facilities to beneficiaries amongst Safai Karamcharis, manual scavengers and their dependents for income-generating activities for socio-economic development through State Channelizing Agency.
 - a. In 2014, NSKFDC has launched a new scheme viz. Swachhta Udyami Yojana- "Swachhta Se Sampannta ki Aur". Under the scheme financial assistance is provided for Construction, Operation & Maintenance of Pay and Use Community Toilets in Public-Private Partnership (PPP) Mode and Procurement and Operation of Sanitation related Vehicles. This Scheme has twin objectives of cleanliness and providing a livelihood to Safai Karamcharis and liberated Manual Scavengers to achieve the overall goal of Swachh Bharat Abhiyan.
- Government has also formed a **National Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Hub** as a part of the Startup India initiative, for building an entrepreneurship ecosystem among Dalits in the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise sector in partnership with industry associations. This Hub will provide professional support to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe entrepreneurs to fulfill the obligations under the **Central Government Public Procurement Policy for Micro and Small Enterprises Order 2012**, adopt global best practices and leverage the Stand-Up India initiative. Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises, has made an initial allocation of Rs. 490 Crore for the period 2016-2020 for the National SC/ST Hub.
- **Vocational Training Centres** in Tribal Areas have been started since 1992 with the objective of upgrading the skills of the tribal youth in various traditional/ modern vocations depending upon their educational qualification, present economic trends, and the market potential, which would enable them to gain suitable employment or enable them to become self-employed. This scheme was revised with effect from 1.4.2009.

Way Forward :

- There is a need for more emphasis on anti-poverty strategies such as rapid economic development and employment and income expansion via employment guarantee schemes.
- Emphasis on providing universal primary and secondary education, Constitutional safeguards and protective legal clauses can play a great role but more than this, a change in attitude among the ruling class is needed.
- Educating people about their democratic and moral rights will make them see through the evils of the caste system. Women's education is also important to prevent them from getting exploited.
- Modernization of rural areas will increase unbiased job opportunities for people even in rural areas. To break the caste system, it is important to increase the employment rate.
- The demands for special concessions and privileges to the under-privileged are matters of right and not of charity or philanthropy.
- Reservations should be accompanied by structural changes like land reforms and inclusive educational support systems.
- Reservation policy should be reviewed every five years so that the state can rectify distortions and people both backward and non-backward. As soon as it is found that they no longer need the crutches of reservations, all jobs should be declared open to all.

28. INDIAN WOMEN SINCE INDEPENDENCE

BACKGROUND :

- The National movement treated women as political beings capable of nationalist feelings and capable of struggle and sacrifice as men, resolved many doctrinal debates about the desirability of women's role in the public sphere.
- Political participation by women in the massive popular struggles from the 1920s onwards changed the image of women from a recipient of justice in the 19th century to an ardent supporter of nationalist men in the early 20th, to a comrade by the 1930s and 1940s.
- From Gandhian to Socialist, from Communist to Revolutionary terrorism, Indian women had participated in all. Be it a trade union movement of peasant struggle, Indian women were always active.
- Marked changes have taken place in the legal, political, educational and social status of women in India since independence.
- While on one hand, India has witnessed an increased rate of literacy among women and women are now opting for different professional fields, the practices of female foeticide, child marriage, poor health conditions and lack of education still persist.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS: POST-1947 :

- After independence, with different political forces in the national movement going their own ways, the women's movement too diversified.
- Many women leaders became involved in government-initiated and other institutional activities for women's welfare, including rehabilitation and recovery of women, lost or abandoned as a result of the mass migration and riots accompanying Partition.
- In the late 1960s and early 1970s, there was a new political ferment in the country which gave rise to a host of new political trends and movements, such as the Naxalite movement, the JP Movement, the Chipko movement, and the anti-price rise movement.

The following are the notable women's Movements in post-independent India.

1. **Anti-price rise movement** - In the anti-price rise movement of 1973-75, which was organized by Communist and Socialist women in the urban areas of **Maharashtra**, thousands of housewives joined in public rallies and those who could not leave their houses joined by beating thalis (metal plates) with lathas (rolling pins).

2. **Anti-liquor campaign** - A very different kind of movement emerged in the **Shahada tribal area** of **Dhulia** district in Maharashtra in 1972.
 - It was led initially by Gandhian Sarvodaya workers and later also by Maoist activists.
 - The movement for drought relief and land in which the Bhil tribal women were very prominent culminated in a **militant anti-liquor campaign** in which women, who saw liquor as the main cause of wife-beating, broke liquor pots in drinking dens and marched to punish in public, men who beat their wives.
3. **Chipko movement** - From 1974, women in **Uttarakhand** were again very active in the **Chipko movement** which got its name from the actions of women who hugged trees in order to prevent them from being cut down by timber contractors.
 - It became famous as the **first major movement for saving the environment** and gave rise to the understanding that women had a special nurturing role towards nature.
 - There is one famous story about, Amrita Devi, who died while trying to save the trees grown in her village. The incident inspired several other rural women, who in the 1970s launched such similar movements in different parts of India.
 - This movement practiced methods of **Satyagraha** where both male and female activists from Uttarakhand played vital roles.
4. **Against mechanization** - In Chhattisgarh, women were very militant in the **Chhattisgarh Mines Shramik Sangh** which was set up in 1977 in the tribal belt to protest against the Bhilai steel plant's policy of mechanization, which was seen as being detrimental to women's employment.
5. The **Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangthan** played a leading role in the effort to secure justice for the victims of the chemical gas leak in the Union Carbide factory in Bhopal in 1984.
 - **Bhopal gas tragedy** was a methyl isocyanate (MIC) gas leak incident on the night of 2-3 December 1984 at the Union Carbide India Limited (UCIL) pesticide plant in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh, India
 - This organization is fighting for gas leak survivors, have been seeking proper medical care, adequate compensation and cleaning of the groundwater and soil which became contaminated after the incident.
6. **ANTI-DOWRY MOVEMENT** emerged around 1979.
 - The earliest **protests** against dowry in the post-independence feminist movement were made by the **Progressive Organization of Women** in Hyderabad in 1975, with 2000 people turning up at one among the many demonstrations.
 - Organizations like Mahila Dakshata Samiti, National Federation of Woman, All India Democratic Women's Association, Nari Raksha Samiti played an important role in initiating and conducting the campaigns against dowry.
 - In December 1983 the Criminal Law (second amendment) Act was passed, introducing **Section 498A** to the **Indian Penal Code**. According to this section, cruelty, specifying both physical and mental harassment, was made a non-bailable offense, punishable by up to two years in jail and a fine.
 - Lastly, there was also an amendment of Section 174 of the **Criminal Procedure Code**, which made it compulsory to do a post-mortem of a woman who died within 7 years of marriage.
 - In 1984, the government amended the **Dowry Prohibition Act** (1961).
7. **ANTI-RAPE PROTESTS:**
 - Custodial rape emerged as a major campaign issue.

- A number of cases, the Rameeza Bi case (1978) in Hyderabad, the Mathura Rape Case in Maharashtra (1972) and the Maya Tyagi case (1980) in western Uttar Pradesh brought the whole issue to public attention.
 - An organization named Freedom Without Fear Platform (FWFP) played an important role in the campaign.
 - In 1983, existing law on rape was amended -the main change that it brought about was that custodial rape was treated as a more heinous crime than the other forms of rape and the burden of proof was shifted from the victim to the accused.
8. **'AUTONOMOUS' WOMEN'S GROUPS:**
- These emerged in urban centres from about mid-1970s.
 - Few earliest organizations were:
 - i. Progressive women's organization at Osmania University in Hyderabad in 1974.
 - ii. Purogami Stree Sangathan in Pune in 1975.
 - iii. Stree Mukti Sangathan in Bombay in 1975.
- After the emergency in 1977, a new dimension of activity began. The different organizations actively participated and led the anti-dowry and anti-rape movements.
9. In the mid-1980s, the **Samagra Mahila Aghadi** emerged as the women's wing of the Shetkari Sanghatana, which was spearheading the farmers' movement in Maharashtra from 1980.

Impact of these movements :

- **Change in community attitudes** - Issues of gender relations and the place of women in political, social, economic spheres have been taken up.
 - These movements seeks to change community attitudes to violence against women such as attitudes of entitlement to sex and victim-blaming.
- **Anti Arrack Movement** - Another important women's movement was Anti Arrack Movement in the 1990s. The anti-arrack movement started as a spontaneous movement in a remote village in **Dubagunta in the state of Andhra Pradesh**.
 - They had a simple demand complete ban on selling of Arrack. Most of the activities were planned and implemented by the women, be it canvassing, patrolling at night, organizing processions, stopping men from drinking and burning of liquor sachets.
- **Dalit Women's Movement:** At the end of the eighties, Dalit women progressively started arguing that their needs, difficulties, and aspirations were rarely accounted for.
- **Centre for Women's Development Studies (CWDS)** - was established on 19th April 1980 by a group of men and women, who were involved in the preparation of the first-ever comprehensive government report on '**Status of Women in India**' entitled 'Towards Equality'.
- These organizations took up issues such as women's education, the abolition of evil social customs (purdah, child marriage) equality of rights and opportunities and women's suffrage.

INITIATIVES FOR WOMEN WELFARE

CONSTITUTIONAL:

- The state shall not discriminate against any native of India on the ground of sex. Article 15(3) incorporated such provisions and mandated the state to legislate special measures to promote equality and bring women at par with men.
- The state to ensure equal pay for equal work for both Indian males and females [Article 39(d)].

- The state shall make procurement for securing just and humane conditions of work and maternity welfare [Article 42].
- It shall be the duty of every native of India to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women [Article 51-A(e)].
- The **73rd Constitutional Amendment** Acts passed in 1992 by parliament ensures one-third of the total seats for women in all elected offices of Panchayats.

SOCIAL:

Beti Bachao Beti Padhao (2015):

- To prevent gender-biased sex-selective elimination.
- To guarantee the survival and protection of the girl child.
- To ensure the education of the girl child.
- Enforcement of PC & PNDT Act, 1984 for nation-wide awareness and advocacy campaign and multi-sectoral action in select 100 districts (low on Child Sex Ratio) in the first phase.
- Under this scheme, there is a strong emphasis on mindset change through training, sensitization, awareness-raising and community mobilization on the ground.
- It is a tri-ministerial effort of Ministries of Women and Child Development, Health & Family Welfare and Human Resource Development.

UJJAWALA (2014) :

- To prevent trafficking of women and children for commercial sexual exploitation through social mobilization and involvement of local communities, awareness generation programs, generate public discourse through possible ways
- To encourage rescue of victims from the place of their exploitation and place them under safe guardianship.
- To encourage reintegration of the victims into the family and society at large
- To encourage repatriation of cross-border victims to their country of origin.
- The **Ministry of Women and Child Development** is implementing it.

Pradhan Mantri Matru Vandana Yojana (PMMVY), 2017 :

- Maternity Benefit Programme is implemented in all the districts of the country in accordance with the provision of the National Food Security Act, 2013.
- Providing partial compensation for the wage loss in terms of cash incentives so that the woman can take adequate rest before and after delivery of the first living child.
- The **Ministry of Women and Child Development** is implementing it.

One-Stop Centre Scheme (2015) :

- To provide integrated support and assistance to women affected by violence, both in private and public spaces under one roof.
- To facilitate immediate, emergency and non-emergency access to a variety of services including psychological, medical, legal, and counseling assists to fight against any type of brutality against ladies.
- Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) will provide support to the State Governments/UT Administrations for the establishment of OSC
- In addition to this, a **single uniform number –181** will provide 24-hour emergency response to all women affected by violence.

SWADHAR Greh :

- To provide to the essential need of shelter, food, clothing, medical treatment and care of the women in trouble and who are deficient with regards to social and monetary support.
- To empower them to recuperate from their emotional strength that gets hampered due to their experience with lamentable conditions.
- To give them lawful guide and direction to empower them to make strides for their rearrangement in family/society.
- The Ministry of Women and Child Development is implementing it.

Mahila Shakti Kendra (2017) :

- Mahila Shakti Kendras will converge all Govt. Schemes for women at National, State, District and Block level
- A centre for Skill Development, Employment, Digital Literacy, Health, and Nutrition.
- Through this scheme, the government plans to reach 115 most backward districts in the country with 920 Mahila Shakti Kendra.
- The Ministry of Women and Child Development is implementing it.

Nirbhaya Fund (2013) :

- Nirbhaya Fund is an Indian rupee 10 billion corpus announced by the Government of India in 2013 Union Budget.
- This fund is expected to support initiatives by the government and NGOs working towards protecting the dignity and ensuring the safety of women in India.
- The Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) is the nodal Ministry to appraise/recommend proposals and schemes to be funded under the Nirbhaya Fund.

LEGISLATIONS :

- **Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956** - An Act to provide in pursuance of the International Convention signed at New York on the 9th day of May 1950, for the prevention of immoral traffic.
- **Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961** (Amended in 1986)- An act that abolishes the dowry system practiced in Indian weddings and imposes penal charges on violation of the act. It discourages the taking or giving of dowry.
- **Equal Remuneration Act, 1976** - This major piece of legislation dealing with equal rights in employment for women workers. This act was implemented in the International women's year on the demand for equality in employment voiced by working women.
- **The Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986** - An act to prohibit indecent representation of women through advertisements or in publications, writings, paintings, figures or in any other manner and for matters connected with or incidental thereto.
- **The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987** - An act to provide for the more effective prevention of the commission of sati and its glorification and for matters connected with or incidental thereto, whereas sati or the burning or burying alive of widows or women.
- **National Commission for Women in 1992** - The government also constituted the National Commission for Women in 1992 to look into the issues concerning women's rights and the promotion of their empowerment. It is a statutory body tasked to provide advice to the government on women's issues.
- **Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of misuse) Act, 1994** - An Act to provide for the regulation of the use of pre-natal diagnostic techniques for the purpose of detecting genetic or

metabolic disorders or chromosomal abnormalities or certain congenital malformations or sex-linked disorders and for the prevention of the misuse of such techniques for the purpose of pre-natal sex determination leading to female foeticide.

- **Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005** - An Act to provide for the more effective protection of the rights of women guaranteed under the constitution that are victims of violence of any kind occurring within the family and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.
- **The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (PREVENTION, PROHIBITION, and REDRESSAL) Act, 2013** - An act to provide protection against sexual harassment of women at the workplace and for the prevention and redressal of complaints of sexual harassment and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

Supreme Court's Judgements :

- **Vishaka Vs State of Rajasthan** - In 1997, the Supreme Court commissioned the Vishaka guidelines that defined sexual harassment and put the onus on the employers to provide a safe working environment for women.
 - Vishaka guidelines, which are **legally binding**, imposed **three key parameters** on the institutions **i.e., prohibition, prevention, and redressal.**
 - The Supreme Court directed that employer establish a **Complaints Committee**, to look into the harassment at the workplace.
 - A woman must head the complaints committee and no less than half its members should be women.
 - **Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act** was passed in 2013. It broadens the Vishaka guidelines, which were already in place.
- **Laxmi Agarwal Vs Union of India** - In 2006, Laxmi, an acid attack victim, filed a petition seeking measures to regulate the sale of acid and provide adequate compensation to the victim.
 - She is an acid attack survivor and speaks for the rights of acid attack victims. She is the founder of **Stop Sale Acid**, a campaign against acid violence and sale of acid
 - Taking cognizance of the number of cases relating to acid attacks against women on the rise, the Supreme Court imposed stringent regulations on the sale of acid in 2013.
 - Under the new regulations, acid could not be sold to any individual below the age of 18 years. One is also required to furnish a photo identity card before buying acid.
- **Triple Talaq Verdict:** In a landmark judgment, the Supreme Court held the Muslim practice of instant Triple Talaq as unconstitutional.
 - Triple talaq is a form of divorce that was practiced in Islam, whereby a Muslim man could legally divorce his wife by pronouncing *talaq* (the Arabic word for divorce) three times.
 - The Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage) Act, 2019 has been passed which makes a declaration of talaq a cognizable criminal offense, attracting up to three years' imprisonment with a fine.
 - It stipulates that instant triple talaq (*talaq-e-bidat*) in any form – spoken, written, or by electronic means such as email or SMS – is illegal and void, with up to three years in jail for the husband.
- Supreme Court judgement struck down **Section 497** of the **India Penal Code** that dealt with **adultery**.
 - The adultery law has been criticized for treating women as property owned by men. The act of adultery is voluntary sexual intercourse between a married person and someone other than that person's current spouse or partner.
 - It said that adultery can be the ground for civil issues including the dissolution of marriage but it cannot be a criminal offense.

- It said that the 158-year-old law was unconstitutional and is violative of **Article 21 (Right to life and personal liberty)** and **Article 14 (Right to equality)**.

WOMEN IN INDIA – STATISTICS :

Sex Ratio:

- According to Census 2011, the sex ratio (number of females per 1000 males) at all India levels was 943. Among the states, Kerala has the highest sex ratio of 1084 and Haryana has the lowest 879.
- The problem of son preference and daughter aversion persists.

Health:

- Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR) has declined from 301 in 2001-03 to 130 in 2014-16.
- The percentage of institutional births in India has doubled from 38.7% to 78.9% in the decade to 2015-16, according to the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-4).

Literacy:

- As per the 2011 census, literacy rates for females and males are 65.46% and 82.14% respectively.
- Kerala holds 1st rank in the country in female literacy (93.90%); Rajasthan (52.6%) has recorded the lowest female literacy rate preceded by Bihar.
- The male-female gap stood at 21.59% in 2001 whereas in 2011 it was 16.68%. There has been a substantial improvement in the respect of females.

Participation in Economy:

- According to the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Report, 2019 The female labor force participation rate (FLFPR) in India fell from 31.2% in 2011-12 to 23.3% in 2017-18. The report highlighted that women are paid 20% lower than men, as a global average.
- Contribution to the economy is far below potential.

Participation in Decision Making:

- In the 17th Lok Sabha constituted in May 2014, 14% of the total members are women.

Crime Against Women:

- According to the **NCRB report** published in 2016, the majority of cases categorized as crimes against women were reported under 'Cruelty by husband or his relatives'
- The highest share of crime against women is in Uttar Pradesh followed by West Bengal and Maharashtra.

CRITICISM :

- **Ineffective implementation** - We have many schemes, many programs for the purpose of women empowerment at every stage of administration, all we need is a good system and agencies for the implementation of these policies and programs.
- **Lack of political voices** - Lack of women's participation in political decision making deprives women of important rights and responsibilities as citizens, and excludes their perspectives and interests from policymaking. Their voices are missing from key decisions on national budgets and the setting of government priorities.

- **Social Exclusion** - Most of our programs revolve around income and credit without hitting the social structures we are living in. Along with this, constraints from social norms like ‘marriages’ have not loosened their grip thereby affecting the true potential of women in the country as a human resource.
- According to the **Global Nutrition Report 2017**, more than half (51%) of all women of reproductive age have anaemia in India.
- India ranks 108 in the **Global Gender Gap Index** released by the **World Economic Forum** in 2018 which measures gender equality across *four pillars– they are an economic opportunity, political empowerment, educational attainment, and health and survival.*
- **Low labour force participation** - In spite of rising education and rising aspirations, the participation of women in labour markets have not increased accordingly.

Some Female Activists:

- **Medha Patkar** - Indian social activist known chiefly for her work with people displaced by the **Narmada Valley Development Project (NVDP)**, a large-scale plan to dam the Narmada River and its tributaries in the Indian states of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, and Maharashtra.
 - She has been a central organizer and strategist for **Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA)**, a people’s movement organized to stop the construction of a series of dams planned for India’s largest westward flowing river, the Narmada.
 - Upon completion, **Sardar Sarovar** would submerge more than 37,000 hectares of forest and agricultural land. The dam and its associated canal system would also displace some 320,000 villagers, mostly from tribal communities, whose livelihoods depend on these natural resources.
 - In 1985, Patkar began mobilizing massive marches and rallies against the project and, though the protests were peaceful, was repeatedly beaten and arrested by the police.
 - As an outgrowth of her work to stop dam construction, Patkar has helped establish a network of activists across the country—the **National Alliance of People’s Movements**.
- **Maneka Gandhi** - She is a self-described environmentalist and animal rights leader in India.
 - She currently chairs the Jury of International Energy Globe Foundation which meets annually in Austria to award the best environmental innovations of the year.
 - She started the *People for Animals* in 1992 and it is the largest organization for animal rights/welfare in India.
- **Aruna Roy** - Social activist known for her efforts to fight corruption and promote government transparency.
 - Set up the **Workers and Peasants Strength Union (Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan; MKSS)**, an organization devoted to empowering workers and peasants and increasing the accountability of local governments.
 - A nationwide grassroots campaign launched by MKSS led to the adoption of right-to-information laws by nine states in the early 2000s, and national **right-to-information** law was approved by India’s parliament in 2005.
- **Vandana Shiva** - She is an Indian scholar, environmental activist, food sovereignty advocate, and anti-globalization author. She is the first Indian ecofeminist.
 - She has worked to promote biodiversity in agriculture to increase productivity, nutrition, farmer's incomes.
 - Shiva argues that the seed-chemical package promoted by Green Revolution agriculture has depleted fertile soil, destroyed living ecosystems, and negatively impacted people's health.

CONCLUSION :

- To truly understand what women empowerment is, there needs to be a sea-change in the mindset of the people in the country.
- Not just the women themselves, but the men have to wake up to a world that is moving towards equality and equity.
- An integrated approach is needed along with women-centric policy-making where women are not treated as passive beneficiaries but are seen as potential contributors to society.
- Swami Vivekananda said, “There is no chance for the welfare of the world unless the condition of women is improved. It is not possible for a bird to fly on only one wing.” Thus, our country should thus be catapulted into the horizon of empowerment of women and revel in its glory.

PRACTISE QUESTION:**Q. Why most of the feminist movement in India are led by men?**

- Unlike the Western feminist movement, India's movement was initiated by men, and later joined by women.
- In the early phase, women were neither educated nor aware of their basic rights, so they did not get involved in raising demands for their welfare.
- Also, patriarchy was prevalent in family and society which did not allow them to go outside and participate in these movements.
- The efforts of Bengali reformers included abolishing sati, which was a widow's death by burning on her husband's funeral pyre, abolishing the custom of child marriage, abolishing the disfiguring of widows, allowing widow remarriages.
- The 1920's was a new era for Indian women and is defined as 'feminism' that was responsible for the creation of localized women's associations.
- Women's participation in the struggle for freedom developed their critical consciousness about their role and rights in independent India.

29. COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN POST INDEPENDENT INDIA

BACKGROUND :

- Communism is a political and economic ideology that positions itself in opposition to liberal democracy and capitalism, advocating instead a classless system in which the means of production are owned communally and private property is nonexistent or severely curtailed.
- The communist ideology was developed by Karl Marx in his Communist Manifesto (1848) and Das Kapital (1867), is the opposite of a capitalist one, which relies on democracy and production of capital to form a society.
- Prominent examples of communism were the Soviet Union and China. While the former collapsed in 1991, the latter has drastically revised its economic system to include elements of capitalism
- Socialism is a populist economic and political system based on public ownership (also known as collective or common ownership) of the means of production. Those means include the machinery, tools, and factories used to produce goods that aim to directly satisfy human needs.
- In a purely socialist system, all legal production and distribution decisions are made by the government, and individuals rely on the state for everything from food to healthcare. The government determines the output and pricing levels of these goods and services.

HISTORICAL TIMELINE :

- The history of the trade union movement in India can be traced back to the days of the rise of the factory industry which, at the same time, brought to the fore the problems of modern capitalism.
- The **Factories Act of 1881** came into being whose provisions went against child and female labour. It is this movement that created the first labour leader in India **Mr Narayan Meghjee Lokhanday**, who actively took up the cause of the Bombay textile workers.
- In 1890, N. M. Lokhanday founded '**Bombay Mill-hands**' Association to provide a clearing house for the grievances of the Bombay mill workers and to help in drawing public attention to the cause of labour
- The political development of the early twentieth century coincided with the awakening of the working classes of India to move ahead with its economic struggles.
- During 1918-1921, several organised labour unions sprouted throughout the country's industrial centres. Robust unions were formed in shipping, railways, communications, textile and engineering.
- The **All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)**—the first organisation of the Indian working class at the national level—was born on 31st October 1920 under the president-ship of **Lala Lajpat Rai**.
- During this time, workers spent their time and energy towards securing legal recognition. In 1921, **N. M.**

Joshi, the veteran trade union leader, fought for legal protection of the trade union, in the Indian Assembly.

- The moderate group headed by **N. M. Joshi** wanted the labour movement to develop independently of the political movement for national liberation. Thus, several lines of thinking shaped the future destiny of the AITUC—the first central organisation of labour.
- The **Communist Party of India (CPI)** was launched in Tashkent on October 1920. But this was only the primitive work done. It was in December 1925, when Satyabhakta organized these small organizations into one **All India Conference of the Communists** at Kanpur.
- To curb the communist infiltration in the Indian labour movement, repressive measures like the arrest of top active communist leaders, the **Kanpur Conspiracy Case (1928)** and Peshawar Conspiracy cases (1922-27) against the union leaders were put into action.
- The Government arrested 31 choicest trade union leaders (including some British nationals) for 'one of the longest and costliest trials of the world', known as the **Meerut Trial (1929)**.
- **Congress Socialist Party, or (CSP)**, was a left-wing group within the Congress. It was formed with Acharya Narendra Deva as President and Jay Prakash Narayan as General Secretary in 1934. The rise of this party was due to the increased left influence in the Indian National Congress.
- In July 1942, the CPI was legalised, as a result of Britain and the Soviet Union becoming allies against Nazi Germany. At the same time, communists were politically cornered for their opposition to the **Quit India Movement**.

COMMUNISM AFTER INDEPENDENCE :

Main Leaders:

- **Jyoti Basu:** He was an Indian politician belonging to the Communist Party of India (Marxist) from West Bengal, India. He served as the Chief Minister of West Bengal state from 1977 to 2000. When the Communist Party of India split in 1964, Basu became one of the first nine members of the Politburo of the newly formed Communist Party of India (Marxist). Under his leadership, the Left Front government focused on land reforms in the state of West Bengal; it instituted a *Panchayati raj system* giving poor peasants and small farmers a say in running the Panchayati institutions.
- **Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee:** He is an Indian politician and was a former member of the consultancy of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). He was the Chief Minister of West Bengal from 2000 to 2011. After becoming the chief minister, Bhattacharjee liberalized Bengal's economy significantly and attracted a lot of foreign investment in Bengal. Many new industries and information technology related services emerged under his leadership. He was generally seen as a Communist leader who was open to reforms.
- **Elamkulam Manakkal Sankaran Namboodiripad:** Popularly known as **EMS**, was an Indian communist politician and theorist, who served as the first Chief Minister of Kerala state in 1957–59 and then again in 1967–69. As a member of the Communist Party of India (CPI), he became the first non-Indian National Congress chief minister in the Indian republic. In 1964, he led a faction of the CPI that broke away to form the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI(M)). His vision of decentralisation of power and resources and the Kerala Literacy Movement influenced Kerala society.
- **Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee:** He was an Indian independence activist and politician who served three short terms as the fourth and sixth Chief Minister of West Bengal. Earlier a member of the Indian National Congress, he later became a leader in the Bangla Congress, which co-governed with the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in two United Front governments in the 1960s and 1970s.

Different Areas of Communists: The CPI(M) has focused its energies on maintaining power in **Kerala and West Bengal**, instead of building widespread support nationally.

Kerala - a CPI(M)-led coalition has alternated with the Congress for control of the state government.

- The party was able to enact land reforms and build networks with a range of marginalized groups, before the inevitable slide into questionable parliamentary compromises.

West Bengal - where the party has long been dominated by the Hindu *bhadralok* (or the well-educated, culturally refined, upper-caste “gentlemen” of the state), the decline of the CPI(M) has been more precipitous.

- The party was in power from **1977 to 2011**. The CPI(M) embraced public-private partnerships, attracted foreign investment by trumpeting its low-wage workforce, and established Special Economic Zones that allowed multinationals to avoid industrial regulations.
- A fatal blow to CPI(M) was its **attempt to acquire prime agricultural land in Singur** by force and hand it over to the auto giant Tata Motors.
- The project sparked state-wide protests, and the CPI(M) responded brutally, killing a well-known teenage protester.
- Riding the wave of disillusionment and disgust with CPI(M), the opposition Trinamool Congress won the state elections in 2011.

Tripura - The Left Front governed Tripura 1978-1988, and again from 1993 to 2018. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is the dominant party in the coalition.

- The other three members of the Left Front are the Communist Party of India, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the All India Forward Bloc.
- However, in 2018 Tripura Legislative Assembly election, the Left Front was defeated by the Bharatiya Janata Party-Indigenous People’s Front of Tripura combine, who won a landslide majority.

NAXALBARI MOVEMENT :

NAXALISM: Naxalism is considered to be one of the **biggest internal security threat** India faces. It is considered to be the far-left radical communists; the Naxals support Maoist political sentiment and ideology. Maoism is a form of communism developed by Mao Tse Tung. It is a doctrine to capture State power through a combination of armed insurgency, mass mobilization and strategic alliances and through revolution via peasant class and not via industrial class.

Background:

- Naxalism in India began in a small village in West Bengal called Naxalbari in the year 1967. It began when a group of tribal people known as the Santhals started agitation against the landlords they were working for.
- The struggle started even before India gained independence from the British because the Britishers forced the tribal people into agriculture.
- After independence, as per the 5th and 6th Schedule, the government of India became the custodian of all forest and tribal lands, ending the autonomy of the tribal.

Reasons:

- **Incomplete Agrarian Reforms:** Many observers have found the incomplete agrarian reforms as the reason behind the Naxal movement. After Independence, the government abolished the zamindari system as part of agrarian reform but redistribution of land was not undertaken amid protests by some groups.
- **Landlordism:** Improved practices in agriculture produced many neo-rich farmers, who were not ready to share their profit with the tillers and labourers, who put the real hard work in the fields.

- **Massive displacement:** of tribal population in the Naxalism-affected states due to development projects, mining operations and other reasons.
- **Stark Conditions:** Extreme poverty, exploitation of landless tillers - often from Dalit and tribal communities - and denial of social justice by the administration gave birth to extreme discontent among the masses and left-wing leaders.

Struggle:

- It was in 1967, a small group of Communist Party of India (Marxist) leaders decided to break away and launch their own armed struggle against big landowners. These leaders were Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal and Jangal Santhal.
- On 18 May 1967, the Siliguri Kisan Sabha, of which Jangal Santhal was the president, declared their support for the movement initiated.
- A sharecropper near Naxalbari village was attacked by the landlord's men over a land dispute. On 24 May, when a police team arrived to arrest the peasant leaders, it was ambushed by a group of tribals led by Jangal Santhal, and a police inspector was killed in a hail of arrows. This event encouraged many Santhal tribals and other poor people to join the movement and to start attacking local landlords.

Mao Zedong was a Chinese communist revolutionary who became the founding father of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Ideologically a Marxist, his theories, military strategies, and political policies are collectively known as **Maoism**. Maoism is a doctrine that teaches to capture State power through a combination of armed insurgency, mass mobilisation and strategic alliances.

- Their objective was to snatch the lands from those big zamindars and re-distribute the same among the tilling farmers and landless labourers.
- During the movement, several peasant committees were set up and the land was redistributed. Several landlords were put on trial and executed. Village defence squads were established with agricultural labourers as its leaders.
- Mao Zedong provided ideological leadership for the Naxalbari movement, advocating that Indian peasants and lower class tribals overthrow the government of the upper classes by force.
- Peasants' committees formed in villages became the nuclei of armed guards, who occupied land, burnt land records, declared debts cancelled, delivered death sentences on hated landowners, and set up a parallel administration.
- Using People's courts, similar to those established by Mao, Naxalites tried opponents and execute with axes or knives, beat, or permanently exile them.

Impacts:

- **Communist Oppression:** The Naxalbari movement was violently repressed by the West Bengal government, of which CPI(M) was a major partner. Within the party, the hardliners rallied around an All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries in 1967. The heavy-hand dealing approach of the government has continued ever since.
- **Unholy Nexus:** The CPI(Maoist) has frequently expressed solidarity with the Jammu and Kashmir terrorist groups and north-east insurgent groups. They also had close links with foreign Maoist organisations like Turkey, Philippines, South Asian countries etc.
- **Drain of Resources:** The Naxalite activities are using up scarce resources on defence and internal security when it should be spent on areas such as social development.
- **Perpetual Conflict:** Naxalbari merged in spirit with the peasant struggles in Bihar and Telangana in the

1980s and 1990s. In districts in south Chhattisgarh, the military movement has survived till date much on Majumdar's lines. However, on the positive side, according to the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) in 2019, the influence of Naxalism has shrunk from 106 to 90 districts spread over 11 states.

- **Large Span:** The Naxalbari movement is one of the most widespread movements of the present times. Now, it no longer confines its issues to land reforms, but also on larger issues of corruption, exploitation, maladministration

Government's Response:

- **Greyhounds** are elite commando force raised in 1989 that specialises in anti-insurgency operations against Naxals and Maoists and also expert in jungle warfare with operational jurisdiction in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh.
- In July 1971, Indira Gandhi ordered to mobilise the Indian Army against the Naxalites and launched a colossal combined army and police counter-insurgency operation, termed "*Operation Steeplechase*," killing hundreds of Naxalites and imprisoning more than 20,000 suspects and cadres, including senior leaders.
- The government started '**Relief and Rehabilitation Policy**' for bringing Naxalites into mainstream.
- **Operation Green Hunt:** started in 2009 and massive deployment of security forces was done in the Naxal-affected areas. From 223 districts that were affected due to Naxalism in the year 2010, the number has come down to 90 in nine years.
- **National Policy and Action Plan to address Left Wing Extremism**, aimed at eliminating the menace in the shortest possible time frame.
- Filling up critical infrastructure gaps under the **Scheme for Special Infrastructure** in Left Wing Extremism affected States.
- **Security Related Expenditure (SRE) Scheme:** Funds for expenditure related to insurance, training, operational needs of security forces, rehabilitation of surrendered Left-Wing Extremists (LWE) cadres, infra for village defence committee and publicity material.
- Assistance in **training of State Police** through the Ministry of Defence.
- **COBRA (Commando Battalion for Resolute Action)** is a specialised unit of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) of India proficient in guerrilla tactics and jungle warfare. Originally established to counter the Naxalite problem, CoBRA is deployed to address any insurgent group engaging in asymmetrical warfare.

Split in Communist Parties :

- When the relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Communist Party of China soured because of doctrinal divergences that arose from their different interpretations and practical applications of Marxism-Leninism during the Cold War, led to the **Sino-Soviet split**. Sino-Indian relations also deteriorated, as border disputes between the two countries erupted into the Sino-Indian War of 1962. The basis of difference in opinion between the two factions in CPI was ideological – about the assessment of Indian scenario and the development of a party programme. The alleged 'right-wing' inside the party followed the Soviet path and put forward the idea of joining hands with the then ruling party – Indian National Congress. Whereas the faction of CPI which later became CPI(M) referred to this as a revisionist approach of class collaboration.
- In 1967, a rural uprising erupted in the **Naxalbari** area, in the state of **West Bengal**. At the time, the state was led by a Left Front government headed by CPI(M), and the uprising was supported and strengthened by lower-level CPI(M) cadres who had built deep networks with landless agricultural workers, sharecroppers and impoverished peasants.

But the CPI(M) government in West Bengal, after some initial attempts at mediation, came down hard on the Naxalites. In 1969, in this tense atmosphere, **Charu Mazumdar**, a Naxalite leader and former CPI(M) member, hastily formed the **Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)** or **CPI(ML)**, with the enthusiastic support of the Chinese. But by 1971, the initial set of uprisings had been crushed, first by the local CPI(M) government and then the central Congress government.

- CPI(ML) was converted into **People's War Group (PWG)** in 1980 which had its base in **Andhra Pradesh** and struck heavy casualties among police personnel. Simultaneously, **Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI)** grew in strength in Bihar and carried out large scale attacks on landlords and other upper caste outfits.

In 2004, Andhra Pradesh's PWG and Bihar's MCCI merged to form **CPI (Maoist)**. CPI (Maoist) is the major Left-Wing Extremist outfit responsible for most incidents of violence and killing of civilians and security forces. It has been included in the Schedule of Terrorist organisations under the **Unlawful Activities Prevention Act, 1967**.

DOWNFALL OF COMMUNIST PARTIES :

- The biggest downfall for the political organisation was seen in West Bengal where CPI(M) previously ruled for 34 long years (1977 to 2011) when Mamata Banerjee's Trinamool Congress made history by overturning Left from power by a heavy majority in 2011 Assembly Elections.
- From 61 seats in 2004 to a mere 5 seats (1 in Kerala and 4 in Tamil Nadu) in the 17th Lok Sabha, it's almost an end for the left parties.
- It's also important to bring into notice that the setback for Left has coincided with a huge gain for the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).
- The violence in Nandigram and the massive protests that followed swung a huge amount of support towards Mamata Banerjee, leading to a decline in popularity for the Left that was large enough for it to lose the 2011 election.
- The Left, which backed the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government without being a part of it, withdrew support to it, objecting to an Indo-US nuclear deal that the government was working on. They argued that the agreement would undermine Indian sovereignty and foreign policy independence and would bind India to US on foreign policy.
- In the election that followed, the Left's numbers fell drastically. The Left had 24 members in the 15th Lok Sabha and 10 seats in the 16th and 5 seats in 17th.

IMPACT OF COMMUNISM ON INDIA :

Positive:

- **Thriving Socialism:** Where the Left has held state government, particularly in Kerala, democracy has gained more substance in terms of genuine local government, better education and health services, a more vibrant civil society, and generally better protection for workers and peasants than in other states.
- **Enhanced Social Condition:** Enhanced literacy and health, democratic local government, land reform (which brought an end to feudal exploitation), and a secularist stance against communal (inter-religious) and caste violence are surely significant achievements.
- **Prosperity:** Land and local government reforms have transformed rural life and given dignity and political power to previously marginalised rural populations.
- Provides a medium for venting out working-class demands.

Negative:

- **Unnecessary Violence:** It leads to unnecessary violence among peasants, labourers and police causing deaths of many people.
- **No Development:** Being in power for almost 30 years in Bengal, Communists were not able to make it a developed state.
- **Diplomatic Hurdles:** These left front parties sometimes create hurdles for development in the country. Eg. Objection to Indo-US Nuclear deal in 2008.

CONCLUSION :

- The leaders are not seeing the changed mood of the country. They are unable to adapt to the new scenario.
- In spite of the electoral fallout, the left is known for its support of the downtrodden and economically deprived sections of society.
- The Left Front still holds a considerable size of the electorate, forms a ruling coalition in Kerala, and is in opposition in West Bengal and Tripura. Two of its affiliates, the CPI and CPI(M), have national party status.
- Multilateral reforms and grooming the next generation of leaders to fill the vacuum created over the last 10 years would certainly gear up the bloc to better strategize in upcoming elections.
- Without reaching out to the electorate, revolutionary messages against the widespread injustice and inequality are meaningless, and rhetoric alone can never bring voters to the ballot box.
- Indian left needs to be flexible in ideas to achieve bigger goals, instead of sticking to its old-fashioned politics.

30. ISSUE OF TERRORISM

- The terms "terrorist" and "terrorism" originated during the French Revolution of the late 18th century but gained mainstream popularity in the 1970s in news reports and books as a result of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, the Northern Ireland conflict, the Basque conflict, and the operations of groups such as the Red Army Faction.
- Terrorism is, in the broadest sense, the use of intentional violence, generally against civilians, for political purposes. It is used in this regard primarily to refer to violence during peacetime or in the context of war against non-combatants.
- In November 2004, a Secretary-General of the United Nations report described terrorism as any act "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act".
- The international community has been slow to formulate a universally agreed, legally binding definition of this crime.

ORIGIN :

- The first use in English of the term 'terrorism' occurred during the **French Revolution's Reign of Terror**, when the Jacobins, who ruled the revolutionary state, employed violence, including mass executions by guillotine, to compel obedience to the state and intimidate regime enemies.
- **SOVIET-AFGHAN WAR, 1979** - Since 1947, Afghanistan had been under the influence of the Soviet government and received large amounts of aid, economic assistance, military equipment training, and military hardware from the Soviet Union.
 - The war derives from a 1978 coup when Afghanistan's communist party took power, initiating a series of radical modernization reforms throughout the country. These reforms were deeply unpopular among the more traditional rural population and established power structures.
 - Insurgent groups known collectively as the **mujahideen**, as well as smaller Maoist groups, fought a guerrilla war against the Soviet Army and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan government, mostly in the rural countryside.

- The mujahideen groups were backed primarily by the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan, making it a Cold War proxy war.
- Muslim countries provided thousands of volunteer fighters known as "Afghan Arabs", who wished to wage jihad against the atheist communists. Notable among them was a young Saudi named **Osama bin Laden**, whose Arab group eventually evolved into **Al-Qaeda**.
- By mid-1987 the Soviet Union, now under reformist leader Mikhail Gorbachev, announced it would start withdrawing its forces after meetings with the Afghan government and these groups started dispersing into different areas.

TERRORISM IN INDIA :

- Terrorism in India, according to the Home Ministry, poses a significant threat to the people of India. Terrorism found in India includes ethno-nationalist terrorism, religious terrorism, left-wing terrorism, cross border terrorism, and narco-terrorism.
 - **Ethno-nationalist terrorism** – This form of terror focuses either (a) on creating a separate State within India or independent of India or in a neighboring country, or (b) on emphasizing the views/response of one ethnic group against another. Violent Tamil Nationalist groups from India to address the condition of Tamils in Sri Lanka, as well as insurgent tribal groups in North East India are examples of ethno-nationalist terrorist activities.
 - **Religious terrorism** – This form of terror focuses on religious imperatives, a presumed duty or in solidarity for a specific religious group, against one or more religious groups. Mumbai 26/11 terror attack in 2008 from an Islamic group in Pakistan is an example of religious terrorism in India.
 - **Narcoterrorism** – This form of terror focuses on creating illegal narcotics traffic zones. Drug violence in northwest India is an example of narco-terrorism in India.
 - **Cross-Border Terrorism** - A form in which soil of one country is used to create terror in bordering countries. As a grey zone conflict, it is an undeclared war and considered to be the highest form of strategy to bleed a nation for a prolonged period by small efforts. It includes unconventional tactics like cyber-attacks, political warfare, perception war, sponsorship of armed proxy fighters, etc.
 - **Left-wing terrorism** – This form of terror focuses on economic ideology, where all the existing socio-political structures are seen to be economically exploitative in character and a revolutionary change through violent means is essential. The ideology of Marx, Mao, Lenin, and others is considered as the only valid economic path. Maoist violence in Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh are examples of left-wing terrorism in India.

Though India suffers from all these forms of terrorism. In this chapter, we will focus more on religious terrorism.

CAUSES OF TERRORISM : India has 15,106.7 km of land border and a coastline of 7,516.6 km including island territories. Infiltration and smuggling of narcotics, arms, and weapons across the borders have been matters of constant and unmitigated anxiety to all concerned agencies manning the borders.

- **Porous Border**
 - India's borders with most neighbours are porous (not protected) which are extremely easy to cross.
 - These borders cannot be physically wired due to complex geographical features such as mountains, deserts, and other landforms.
 - This complexity makes these borders difficult to protect by security forces.
 - Moreover, Border management in India has been characterized by security ambivalence and lack of strategic thinking.

- This leads to narcotics and arms smuggling through Golden crescent(A mountainous area of Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, producing opium).
- **Support from Non-State Actors**
 - India has a discordant political relationship with Pakistan which provides material support for secessionist militants in the border states of North-East and Jammu and Kashmir.
 - Pakistan facilitates movement of its proxies across the border with the only motive of creating terror in the minds of people of neighbouring states.
 - China provides support to Naxal movement in India.
- **Internal Support**
 - Sometimes the local population support and facilitate cross border movement of terrorists by providing them conveyance and safe places to hide.
 - This could happen due to multitudes of reasons such as identical ethnic affiliation, monetary requirements, fear of life, lack of education, dissatisfaction from the present governance system, etc. Eg. J & K.
- **Socio-Economic Status**
 - Terrorism may also be caused due to the difference in the economic standards of different countries. By comparing the economic differences between themselves and the Western countries, enraged the Muslims youths of underdeveloped countries which increased tension and frustration.
 - This permitted the terrorist organizations to get attention and entry to their countries and associate with them for the purpose of terrorist activities.
 - Radicalization of youth through social media and other internet mediums leads them on the path of terrorist activities.
- **Poverty and Economic Problems**
 - In India, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Bihar are prime examples of left-wing terrorism due to economic causes. Where unemployment, exploitation of landless by landowners and the absence of land reforms, etc. are main causes of terrorism.
- **Cross-Border Terrorism through Maritime Borders**
 - Not only contiguous Border States with land borders are vulnerable to cross border terrorism but **coastal areas are equally vulnerable.**
 - The long coastline of the country remains comparatively unguarded. The presence of the Coast Guard is minimal.
 - In 26/11 Mumbai attacks, terrorists came from the west coast through boats.

EFFECTS OF TERRORISM : Terrorism produces harmful effects in several ways. The consequences of terrorism can be disastrous for all countries, both rich and poor, and their people. As a matter of fact, terrorism is a war against civilization.

- **Economic Effects**
 - The most direct economic effect of a terrorist attack is the loss of manpower and property at the site of the attack.
 - With a higher risk and the same or slightly lower potential return, foreign direct investment in the targeted country's economy can decline.
 - A long-running terrorist campaign can definitely impact a state's GDP, as happened to Israel during the second Intifada.
 - Effects significantly the tourism industry of a country since tourist destinations can be easily substituted and terrorist affected areas usually become instantly unattractive to foreign tourists.

- **Social Effects**
 - The normal social life gets totally disturbed and a large number of innocent lives go in vain.
 - Fear and terror haunt everybody and the productivity of people is miserably stalled.
 - It causes disharmony among different religious groups. After the 9/11 attacks in the USA, numerous incidents of harassment and hate crimes were reported against Muslims in the USA.
 - Human rights violations as women, children etc suffer violence, indiscriminate killings, trafficking as well as sexual abuses, etc.
- **Political Effects**
 - Terrorism breaks down the social, economic political and legal structures of the affected countries and the entire process of development stops.
 - Terrorism not only weakens the established political authority but also brings about political instability. In that situation, maintenance of the rule of law and human rights becomes almost impossible.
 - Terrorism idealizes violence, does away with morality, distorts politics, promotes totalitarianism, subverts progress, destroys the apparatus of freedom in democratic societies.
- **Other Effects**
 - This increases the gulf between two communities on the basis of religion.
 - It causes disruption of trade and affects diplomatic relations for eg relations with Pakistan.
 - Other psychological effects such as drug abuse, other organized crimes.

MAJOR TERRORIST ATTACKS IN INDIA :

- **Mumbai serial bomb blasts, 1993** - Over 250 people were killed in Mumbai in a series of coordinated bomb explosions attributed to Dawood Ibrahim, reportedly as a reprisal for the demolition of the Babri Masjid.
- **Indian Airlines Flight Hijack, 1999** - The IC 814 aircraft en route from Kathmandu, Nepal to Indira Gandhi International Airport in Delhi was hijacked by gunmen shortly after it entered Indian airspace and finally forced the aircraft to land in Kandahar, Afghanistan, which at the time was controlled by the Taliban. The motive for the hijacking was to secure the release of Islamist figures held in prison in India. The hostage crisis lasted for seven days and ended after India agreed to release three militants – Mushtaq Ahmed Zargar, Ahmed Omar Saeed Sheikh, and Maulana Masood Azhar.
- **2001 Parliament attack** - Five terrorists belonging to Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) targeted the nation's safest building – Parliament – on December 13, 2001. Terrorists used fake stickers of Parliament and Home Ministry to breach the security. The attack led to the deaths of five terrorists, six Delhi Police personnel, two Parliament Security Service personnel and a gardener – in total 14
- **2002 Akshardham Temple attack** - The Akshardham Temple complex at Gandhinagar, Gujarat came under attack by two armed terrorists on September 24, 2002. As many as 30 people were killed and more than 80 injured in the attack before the NSG intervened and ended the siege the next day, killing both militants, each belonging to the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) terror groups.
- **2006 Bombay train blast** - A series of seven blasts took place in Mumbai's local trains on July 11, 2006, over a period of 11 minutes during evening rush hour. The bombs were set off in pressure cookers on trains plying the Western line of the Suburban Railway network. A total of 209 people were killed and over 700 were injured. The investigation pointed to Indian Mujahideen's hand behind this attack.
- **2008 Malegaon bombings** - A series of bomb blasts that took place on September 29, 2008, in Malegaon, a town in the Nashik district. The explosions - which resulted in killing 6 people - took place in a Muslim cemetery, adjacent to a mosque. During the investigation in Maharashtra, a Hindu group was alleged to have been involved in the blasts. The case got derailed after the death of Indian Police Service (IPS) officer

Hemant Karkare who was heading Maharashtra Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS) during the Mumbai attacks in 2008.

Saffron terror (Hindu Terror) is a neologism used to describe acts of violence motivated by Hindu nationalism, usually perpetrated by members, or alleged members of Hindu nationalist organizations. The first known use of the term "Saffron Terror" is from a 2002 article in *Frontline*.

It was in the aftermath of the 29 September 2008 bomb blast in the predominantly Muslim town of Malegaon in Maharashtra that it came to be used widely.

On 19 January 2009, Maharashtra Police filed a 4000-page charge sheet for the Malegaon blasts. According to this charge sheet, Lt Col Prasad Purohit was claimed to be the main conspirator who provided the explosives and Pragya Thakur arranged the persons who planted the explosive.

However, Maharashtra Anti-Terrorism Squad's claim to prosecute Sadhvi Pragya for her alleged role in the bombing has been upheld. This was in contradiction to the NIA, which stated a lack of evidence for her prosecution to be taken forward.

She is currently under trial for multiple charges under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act and is currently Member of Parliament from Bhopal.

- **26/11/2008 Mumbai attacks** - 10 Fidayeen terrorists (suicide bombers) entered Mumbai from seaway and went on a killing spree unlike anything seen before. The attacks, which drew widespread global condemnation, began on November 26 and lasted until November 29, 2008, killing 164 people and wounding at least 308. One attacker **Ajmal Kasab** was arrested and nine others were killed by police and NSG commandos in a long battle. The attack was conducted by Pakistan based militant organization Lashkar-e-Taiba and the mastermind was Hafiz Saeed.
- **2008 Jaipur Blasts** - May 13, 2008, Jaipur bombings were a series of nine synchronized bomb blasts that took place in 'Pink City' Jaipur in a span of 15 minutes. Official reports confirm 63 dead with 216 or more people injured. The attack came as a shock for the nation as it was the first-time terrorists had targeted a tourist destination like Jaipur.
- **2016 Pathankot attack** - A terrorist attack committed on 2 January 2016 by a heavily armed group that attacked the Pathankot Air Force Station, part of the Western Air Command of the Indian Air Force. The attack led to a breakdown in India-Pakistan relations, which remained largely unresolved as of now.
- **2016 Uri Attack** - There was an attack by four heavily armed terrorists on 18 September 2016, near the town of Uri in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. It was reported as "the deadliest attack on security forces in Kashmir in two decades". The terrorist group Jaish-e-Mohammed was involved in the planning and execution of the attack.
- **2019 Pulwama attack** - On 14 February 2019, a convoy of vehicles carrying security personnel on the Jammu Srinagar National Highway was attacked by a vehicle-borne suicide bomber at Lethpora (near Awantipora) in the Pulwama district, Jammu and Kashmir. The attack resulted in the deaths of 40 Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel and the attacker. The responsibility for the attack was claimed by the Pakistan-based Islamist militant group Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM).

VARIOUS TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS :

- **Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)** - originated in 1999, which pledged allegiance to al-Qaeda and participated in the Iraqi insurgency following the 2003 invasion of Iraq by Western forces at the behest of the United States.

- In June 2014 the group proclaimed itself a worldwide caliphate and began referring to itself as the Islamic State and claimed religious, political and military authority over all Muslims worldwide.
- **Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT)** - or "Army of the Pure," is the armed wing of a Pakistani-based religious organization founded in 1989 by Hafiz Saeed in Afghanistan, with funding from Osama bin Laden. Its headquarters are in Punjab province of Pakistan and the group operates several training camps in Pakistan-administered Kashmir.
- **Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM)** literally "The Army of Muhammad" - is a Pakistan-based Deobandi jihadist terrorist group active in Kashmir. The group's primary motive is to separate Kashmir from India and merge it into Pakistan. It was established in 2000 by Masood Azhar.
- **Students' Islamic Movement of India (SIMI)**- is a banned Islamist organization that was formed in Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh, in April 1977. The stated mission of SIMI is the "liberation of India" from Western materialistic cultural influence and to convert its Muslim society to live according to the Muslim code of conduct.
- **Indian Mujahideen** - is an Islamic terrorist group led by **Abdul Subhan Qureshi** who is now under Delhi Police custody. the group had engaged in several terrorist attacks in India and had regional aspirations with the ultimate aim of creating an "Islamic caliphate" across South Asia.

EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH TERRORISM

INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS:

- At the international level, response and cooperation against international terrorism has been invoked many a time, and a variety of measures and counter-measures have been designed for checking the menace of terrorism.
- **United Nations General Assembly Measures:** Concerned by the increase of terrorist acts, the United Nations General Assembly in 1972 established a 35-member ad hoc Committee on International Terrorism, and in 1977 asked it to study the underlying causes of terrorism and recommend ways to combat terrorism.
 - In 1979, the Assembly stressed the importance of international cooperation for dealing with acts of international terrorism. Adopting the report of the Committee, it condemned all acts of international terrorism that endangered or took human lives or jeopardized fundamental freedoms.
 - In 1994, the General Assembly adopted a Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, which condemned all acts and practices of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable, wherever and whomever they were committed.
- **UNSC Committee 1267** - In 1999, the UNSC Committee was established pursuant to Resolution 1267, which imposed a limited air embargo and asset freeze on the Taliban.
 - Over time, measures became a targeted asset freeze, travel ban and arms embargo against designated individuals and entities. Recently, Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) chief Masood Azhar was listed as a designated global terrorist by the UN Security Council 1267 Committee.
- **The War on Terror** first began by the USA on a global scale after the 9/11 terrorist attack in 2001.
 - The first global mission for War on Terror was **Operation Enduring Freedom** by 60 countries led by the USA to replace the Taliban government in Afghanistan and defeat Al-Qaeda. However, it appears that this **first global mission** has produced limited positive results. The USA now intends to withdraw from Afghan & is in talks with the Taliban to ensure its **representation in the Afghan government** even though the Taliban still continues terrorist attacks in Afghanistan. The first War on Terror ended by increasing global terrorism.
 - The **second War on Terror** was when 46 nations led by the US formed the '**Coalition of the Willing**' in 2003 to defeat **Saddam Hussein in Iraq**. However, it led to the **destabilization of Iraq**

& the formation of **global terrorist State- ISIS**, which is now undertaking terrorist attacks on a global scale. Therefore, the second War on Terror ended by increasing global terrorism.

- The next War on Terror was conducted in **Libya & Syria** after the **Arab Spring in 2011**. Libya did not have strong linkages with the spread of terrorism but a Coalition of Western countries led by France undertook regime change in Libya & it became destabilized, which now has become a safe haven for **Al-Qaeda**. Similarly, **destabilized Syria** became a safe haven for ISIS & other terrorist groups. Therefore, the next War on Terror in Libya & Syria led to the formation of terrorist groups & safe havens which did not exist earlier.
- **United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy** - was adopted by Member States on 8 September 2006. This is the first time that all Member States have agreed to a common strategic approach to fight terrorism, not only sending a clear message that terrorism is unacceptable in all its forms and manifestation but also resolving to take practical steps individually and collectively to prevent and combat it.
- **UN Global Counter-Terrorism Coordination Compact, 2018** - United Nations has launched a new framework to combat international terrorism and coordinate efforts across the peace and security, humanitarian, human rights and sustainable development sectors.
 - The framework is an agreement between the UN secretary-general António Guterres, 36 organizational entities, the International Criminal Police Organisation (INTERPOL) and the World Customs Organisation to better serve the needs of member states when it comes to tackling the scourge of international terrorism.
- **Christchurch's call to action** - Named after the New Zealand city where 51 people were killed in an attack on mosques. India joined France, New Zealand, Canada, and several other countries in launching a major initiative in Paris to combat terrorism and extremism online and secure the internet. "A free, open and secure internet is a powerful tool by which to promote connectivity, enhance social inclusiveness and foster economic growth," the declaration on Christchurch's call to action said.

INDIAN EFFORTS :

National laws :

- The **Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment Act, 2019** amending the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 is passed by the Parliament. The objective of the proposed amendments is to facilitate speedy investigation and the prosecution of terror offenses and designating an individual as a terrorist in line with international practices.
- **Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958** - Use any kind of force (including lethal force) deemed necessary against the person who is "acting to disrupt the law and order". This is conditional on a prior warning from the security personnel.
- **Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act** - commonly known as **TADA**, was an Indian anti-terrorism law that was in force between 1985 and 1995 under the background of the Punjab insurgency and was applied to the whole of India. It was the **first anti-terrorism law** legislated by the government to define and counter-terrorist activities. It was allowed to lapse in 1995 due to increasing unpopularity after widespread allegations of abuse.
- **Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2002 (POTA)** - was an Act passed by the Parliament of India in 2002, with the objective of strengthening anti-terrorism operations. The Act was enacted due to several terrorist attacks that were being carried out in India and especially in response to the attack on the Parliament. The Act replaced the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance (POTO) of 2001 and the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA) (1985-95) and repealed in 2004.

Organizations :

- **National Security Council (NSC) of India:** is an executive government agency tasked with advising the Prime Minister's Office on matters of national security and strategic interest.
 - It was established by the former Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee on 19 November 1998, with Brajesh Mishra as the first National Security Advisor (NSA).
 - The NSC is the apex body of the three-tiered structure of the national security management system in India. The other two tiers are the Strategic Policy Group, and the National Security Advisory Board.
- **Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC)** of the Government of India: analyses intelligence data from the Intelligence Bureau (IB), Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and the Directorates of Military, Naval and Air Intelligence. The JIC has its own Secretariat that works under the Cabinet Secretariat.
- **National Investigation Agency (NIA):** is a central agency established by the Indian Government to combat terror in India.
 - It acts as the Central Counter-Terrorism Law Enforcement Agency. The agency is empowered to deal with terror-related crimes across states without special permission from the states.
 - The Agency came into existence after the Mumbai attacks of 2008 with the enactment of the **National Investigation Agency Act 2008** by the Parliament of India on 31 December 2008.
- **NATGRID:** is an intelligence-sharing network that collates data from the standalone databases of the various agencies and ministries of the Indian government.
 - It is a counter-terrorism measure that collects and collates a host of information from government databases including tax and bank account details, credit card transactions, visa and immigration records and itineraries of rail and air travel.
 - This combined data will be made available to **11 central agencies**, which are: Research and Analysis Wing, the Intelligence Bureau, Central Bureau of Investigation, Financial intelligence unit, Central Board of Direct Taxes, Directorate of Revenue Intelligence, Enforcement Directorate, Narcotics Control Bureau, Central Board of Indirect Taxes and Customs and the Directorate General of GST Intelligence.
- **MAC is a Multi-Agency Center** for counter-terrorism formed during the Kargil War, whose mandate is to share terrorism-related inputs on a day to day basis was further strengthened and its activities expanded.
- **National Security Guards (NSG):** There is a counter-terrorism unit under the Indian Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA).
 - It was raised in 1984, following Operation Blue Star and the assassination of Indira Gandhi, "for combating terrorist activities with a view to protect states against internal disturbances.
 - The NSG is trained to conduct counter-terrorist tasks to including counter hijacking tasks on land, sea, and air; Bomb disposal (search, detection, and neutralization of IEDs); PBI (Post Blast Investigation) and Hostage Rescue missions.
- The government has created observation posts, Border fencing, floodlighting, deployment of modern and hi-tech surveillance equipment to prevent increased immigration. **Comprehensive Integrated Border Management System (CIBMS)** has replaced manual surveillance/patrolling of the international borders by electronic surveillance to enhance detection and interception capabilities.

Other Efforts :

- **Combating Financing of Terrorism (CFT)** A special Combating Financing of Terrorism (CFT) Cell has been created in the Ministry of Home Affairs in 2011, **to coordinate** with the Central Intelligence

/Enforcement Agencies and the State Law Enforcement Agencies for an integrated approach to tackle the problem of terror funding.

- **Operation Sagar Kavach:** Post the 26/11 attacks on Mumbai, operation Sagar Kavach was put into operation to improve the coordination between several security agencies including Indian Navy and Coast Guards, and the local police
- **Surgical Strikes:** on joint training camps of Jaish and LeT inside Pakistan after Pulwama attacks in February 2019.
- **Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism (CCIT):** India since 1996 is trying to push a global intergovernmental convention i.e. Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism (CCIT) to tackle terrorism. It can provide a legal framework to enhance prosecution and extradition of terrorists.
- **Support to UN initiatives:** India has been supportive of all efforts, particularly in the UN to combat terrorism and has played a leading role in shaping international opinion and urging the international community to prioritize the fight against terror.
- **Dialogues with other nations:** Continuous dialogues with neighbouring countries have been initiated from time to time for motivating them for strict action against terrorists breeding in their respective territories.

TERROR FUNDING : The **financing of terrorism** involves providing finance or financial support to individual terrorists or non-state actors.

- The United Nations Security Council acquired **Resolution 1373** after the 9/11 attacks. This resolution is applied to all states, making sure that they deny all financial aid to those who participate in terrorist activities.
- **Financial Action Task Force (FATF)** - is an inter-governmental body established in 1989 on the initiative of the G7.
 - The objectives of the FATF are to set standards and promote effective implementation of legal, regulatory and operational measures for combating money laundering, terrorist financing and other related threats to the integrity of the international financial system.
- **FATF maintains two different lists of countries:** those that have deficiencies in their AML/CTF regimes, but they commit to an action plan to address these loopholes and those that do not end up doing enough. The former is commonly known as grey list and later as blacklist.
- Recently, FATF's regional sub-group APG (Asia-Pacific Group) has blacklisted Pakistan for non-compliance with anti-money laundering and combating terror financing efforts.
- Once a country is blacklisted, FATF calls on other countries to apply enhanced due diligence and countermeasures, increasing the cost of doing business with the country and in some cases severing it altogether.

WAY FORWARD :

- Dealing with the menace of terrorism would require a comprehensive strategy with the involvement of different stakeholders, the Government, political parties, security agencies, civil society, and media.
- There is a need for **the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC)**. A centrally co-ordinated Terrorism Watch Centre, which could also operate as a think tank with sufficient inputs from academic and private experts.
- United Nations must become the global Centre to fight global terrorism. For such, the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism must be agreed upon on the basis of common definition of terrorism.
- A strategy for fighting terror in India has to be evolved in the overall context of a national security strategy. To tackle the menace of terrorism, a multi-pronged approach is needed.

31. CORRUPTION IN INDIA

- Corruption refers to the act of misuse and abuse of power especially by those in the government for personal gains either monetary or for a favor.
- The menace of corruption is pervasive in India, from petty bribes demands by the policemen to multi-crore scams at the highest political level like 2G scam.
- It is not only limited to government authorities but can be seen within the private sector as well, for instance, the Satyam scandal.
- **Corruption Perception Index of 2018** - which is released by Transparency International, India stands at 78th place out of 180 countries. It not only hampers economic growth but also undermines the rule of law in the country.
- **Corruption** is an issue that adversely affects India's economy of central, state and local government agencies. Not only has it held the economy back from reaching new heights, but rampant corruption has stunted the country's development.

CAUSES OF CORRUPTION:

POLITICAL :

- **Use of black money in elections:** According to various studies, a Lok Sabha election candidate ends up spending at least 30 Cr. as against the legal limit of only Rs. 70 lakh. This rising expenditure is rather seen as an investment by the candidates who then misuse their power to amass illegal wealth. According to Election Commission of India cash, drugs/narcotics, liquor, precious metal (gold, silver etc) and freebies worth Rs 3450 crores were seized in the Lok Sabha elections of 2019.
- **Criminalization of politics:** Around 44% of the legislators in the country have pending criminal cases against them according to the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) data. Corruption and criminalization of politics is hitting at the roots of democracy.
- **Crony capitalism:** With the economic reforms undertaken in the aftermath of the BoP crisis of 1991, the private sector has become a prominent player in the market earlier monopolized by the state. This has led to the growth of unholy nexus between Politicians and businessmen.

ECONOMIC :

- **High share of the informal sector:** In India, more than 80% of the workforce is in the informal sector and therefore do not come under the ambit of tax or labor laws. Such enterprises usually bribe the officials to keep out of the ambit of laws where the compliance is costly and complex.
- **Ease of doing business:** The plethora of approvals required to start and run a business with no transparency and legal accountability related to matters such as time limits force the entrepreneurs to overcome the red-tapism through bribery.
- **High inequalities:** In India, 1% of the rich hold about 60% of the total wealth according to Oxfam Inequality Report. At the upper-income levels, it leads to crony capitalism, at lower income levels it forces people to bribe the officials even to get their basic needs fulfilled. This is so because the poor lack the purchasing power to buy the services from the market and therefore depend mostly on public provisioning of the basic services such as food from PDS shops.

ADMINISTRATIVE :

- **Misuse of power:** Criminalization of politics and politicization of bureaucracy presents the perfect cocktail for the misuse of state power. Misuse and lack of autonomy for enforcement authorities like CBI, ED, IT-Dept, ACB also undermines the deterrence value of the law.
- **Colonial bureaucracy:** The bureaucracy essentially remains colonial in nature characterized by 19th-century laws e.g. Police Act 1861, complex rules, wide discretion, secrecy, moral responsibility devoid of legal accountability and the ivory tower attitude
- **Failed reforms:** Lack of political will and resistance from within the bureaucracy have led to the failure of major reforms like citizen charter, RTI, and e-governance.
- **Low wages:** The remuneration in the public sector remains below par with the private sector along with poor career growth opportunities for those working at the lower levels and the harsher working conditions.
- **Judicial failure:** The judiciary has failed to bring to book the corrupt officials including politicians. The excess protection provided under Article 309 and 310 of the constitution to the civil servants and need of taking the government permission before the prosecution of civil servants further compounds the problem.

SOCIAL AND ETHICAL :

- **Changes in lifestyle:** Increasing shift towards individualization and materialism has led to increased penchant for a luxurious lifestyle. To earn more money people are willing to adopt even the unethical means with no consideration of others.
- **Social discrimination:** The poor and marginalized due to their lack of awareness and high dependence on the state become the easy target of exploitation by corrupt officials.
- **Failure of the education system:** The value education has failed miserably in India to inculcate the value of empathy, compassion, integrity, equity, etc. in the young generation. The lifestyle changes induced by globalization have further degraded the moral fabric of society.

IMPACTS OF CORRUPTION :

- **Eroding public trust:** It degrades the social and moral fabric of the society, erodes the credibility of the government and leads to exploitation and violation of fundamental rights of the poor and marginalized by the state. For instance, diversion of PDS ration deprives the poor violates their right to food.
- **Effecting economy:** It hampers ease of doing business. As the Global Competitiveness Index, 2017 has pointed out "The private sector still considers corruption to be the most problematic factor for doing

business in India”. This obstructs private investments which creates jobs and hampers innovation leading to brain drain from India.

- **Resources diversion:** As many CAG reports which were instrumental in unearthing major scams like 2G and coal mines have pointed out, the state bears huge losses due to nepotism and corruption – money which could have been used in the social sector or infrastructure creation.
- **Increasing operating costs:** Corruption increases the cost of production which ultimately has to be borne by the consumer. In the project execution such as roads and bridges, it leads to the adoption of poor quality of material claiming the lives of many due to the collapse.
- **Neglect of social measures:** Illegal lobbying has led to elite bias in state policies. For instance, tertiary healthcare and higher education receive more political and policy attention than primary health and education.
- **Effect on national security:** Corruption in the defence deals in the past has led to delays in the modernization of the armed forces in the era of increasing hostility in the neighborhood. It does not augur well from the perspective of national security.
- **Environment** Corruption in the past has led to encroachment of the ecologically sensitive areas such as wetlands in the urban areas for real estate projects increasing vulnerability to disasters such as floods and droughts.
- **Law and order disturbances:** Corruption in law enforcement agencies such as police undermines rule of law and leads to the growth of an unholy nexus between the politician - bureaucrat - criminals. The corrupt administration willingly submits itself to the whims of the ruling party in violation of their duty of public service.
- **Rise in criminal** Corruption in police leads to under-reporting of crime encouraging the criminals and judicial corruption compels people of adopting extra-legal methods such as mob lynching, public hanging etc to get justice.

MAJOR CORRUPTION CASES IN INDIA :

1. **Indian Coal Allocation Scam (2012)**- This scam is in regard to the Indian Government’s allocation of the nation’s coal deposits to PSUs and private companies. The basic premise of this scam was the wrongful allocation of coal deposits by the Government without resorting to competitive bidding, which would have made huge amounts to the Government (1.86 Lakh crore). Essentially, the Government of India followed a system of competitive bidding to allocate coal blocks. A report by the **Comptroller and Auditor General of India** showed inefficient and possibly illegal allocation of coal blocks between 2004 and 2009. However, CAG’s investigation revealed that the government followed another route that was “opaque and subjective”.
2. **Commonwealth Games Scam (2010)** - It is estimated that out of Rs. 70000 crore spent on the Games, only half the said amount was spent on Indian sportspersons. The **Central Vigilance Commission**, involved in probing the alleged corruption in various Commonwealth Games-related projects, has found discrepancies in tenders – like payment to non-existent parties, wilful delays in execution of contracts, over-inflated price, and bungling in purchase of equipment through tendering – and misappropriation of funds. Suresh Kalmadi, the Games organizing committee chief, was removed from this post. He has been under investigation over claims of corruption and denies any wrongdoing.
3. **Satyam Scam (2009)** - The company’s former chairman Ramalinga Raju kept everyone in the dark for a decade by fudging the books of accounts for several years and inflating revenues and profit figures of Satyam. The scam at Satyam Computer Services is something that will shatter the peace and tranquility of Indian investors and shareholder community beyond repair. Satyam is the biggest fraud in corporate history to the tune of Rs. 14000 crore.

4. **2G Spectrum Scam (2008)** - This scam surfaced when it was revealed that the government, in 2008, had undercharged mobile telephone companies for frequency allocation licenses. These licenses are used to create 2G spectrum subscriptions for cell phones. At the heart of this Rs. 1.76-lakh crore worth of scam is the former Telecom minister A Raja. **CAG** revealed that he has evaded norms at every level as he carried out the dubious 2G license awards in 2008 at a throw-away price which were pegged at 2001 prices.
5. **INX Media Case (2008)**- The INX Media case is related to alleged irregularities in the Foreign Investment Promotion Board (FIPB) clearance to media group INX Media receiving overseas funds to the tune of Rs 307 crore during the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government. Indrani Mukerjea and her husband Peter, who co-founded INX Media in 2007, were charged with entering into a criminal conspiracy with Karti Chidambaram, whose father P Chidambaram was the finance minister at the time, to get foreign investments and evade punitive measures for not having the necessary FIPB approvals. Recently, former Finance Minister P Chidambaram was arrested by the CBI on August 21, 2019, from his residence in connection with the case.
6. **Telgi Scam(2002)** - Abdul Karim Telgi had mastered the art of forgery in printing duplicate stamp papers and sold them to banks and other institutions. The tentacles of the fake stamp and stamp paper case had penetrated 12 states and was estimated at Rs. 20000 crore plus.
7. **Bofors Scam(1980s)** - The Bofors scandal is known as the hallmark of Indian corruption. The Bofors scam was a major corruption scandal in India in the 1980s; when the then PM Rajiv Gandhi and several others including a powerful NRI family named the Hinduja, were accused of receiving kickbacks from Bofors AB for winning a bid to supply India's 155 mm field howitzer guns.
8. **Fodder Scam (1990s)** - In this corruption scandal worth Rs.900 crore, an unholy nexus was traced involved in the fabrication of "vast herds of fictitious livestock" for which fodder, medicines and animal husbandry equipment was supposedly procured. It is recognized by the name of "Chara Ghotala," as it is popularly known in the vernacular language. Bihar's former CM Lalu Prasad Yadav is in jail for conviction under this scam.

Measures taken by the government to tackle corruption :

LEGAL STEPS :

1. Anti-Defection Law, 1985

- Anti-Defection law under the Tenth Schedule was inserted in the Constitution in 1985 to provide a stable government by ensuring the legislators do not switch sides.
- The anti-defection law sought to prevent political defections which may be due to reward of office or other similar considerations.

2. Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988

- It provides a definition for corruption and lists out the acts which would amount to corruption such as bribes, gifts for favors, etc.
- Seeks to create a balance between the need to bring corrupt to the books and protect honest officers. Prosecution of an officer requires sanction from the government
- Includes employees of the central government and the union territories, the employees of public undertakings, nationalized banks, etc.
- Special judges are appointed for trial under the act who can order a summary trial in appropriate cases.

3. **The Benami Transactions (Prohibition) Act, 1988**

- The Act prohibits any Benami transaction (purchase of property in the false name of another person who does not pay for the property) except when a person purchases property in his wife's or unmarried daughter's name.
- Any person who enters into a Benami transaction shall be punishable with imprisonment of up to three years and/or a fine.
- All properties that are held to be Benami can be acquired by a prescribed authority and no money shall be paid for such acquisition.
- Recent amendments have widened the definition of the Benami property and allow the government to confiscate such properties without any hassles of court approvals.

4. **Prevention of Money Laundering Act, 2002**

- The Act states that an offense of money laundering has been committed if a person is a party to any process connected with the proceeds of crime and projects such proceeds as untainted property.
- The penalty for committing the offense of money laundering is rigorous imprisonment for three to seven years and a fine of up to Rs 5 lakh.

5. **Central Vigilance Commission (CVC) Act 2003**

- CVC was established in 1964 and this Act gave statutory status to CVC. Central Vigilance Commissioner shall be appointed by the President on the recommendations of a Committee consisting of the PM, Minister of Home Affairs and Leader of Opposition in Lok Sabha.
- Commission, while conducting the inquiry has all the powers of a Civil Court.
- The CVC recommends the action to be taken against a public servant but the decision to take any disciplinary action against a civil servant rests on the department authority.

6. **Right to Information (RTI) Act, 2005**

- Makes disclosure of information a legal right of the public to promote transparency.
- Section 4 mandates proactive disclosure of the information and digitization of the records.
- Many RTI activists have used it to bring out the irregularities in the functioning of the public authorities.

7. **Whistle-Blowers Protection Act, 2014**

- Provides a mechanism to investigate alleged corruption and misuse of power by public servants and also protect anyone who exposes alleged wrongdoing in government bodies, projects, and offices has received the assent of the President of India on 9 May 2014 and is pending for notification by the Central Government

8. **Companies Act, 2013**

- It contains certain provisions to regulate frauds by corporations including increased penalties for frauds.
- Giving more powers to the Serious Fraud Investigation Office, mandatory responsibility of auditors to reveal frauds, and increased responsibilities of independent directors.

9. **Lokpal and Lokayukta Act, 2013**

- Appoints an independent authority Lokpal at center and Lokayukta at states to probe into the complaints of wrongdoing by the public servants.
- Lokpal will be appointed by the committee consisting of PM, Leader of Opposition, Chief Justice of India, Speaker of the Loksabha and an eminent jurist.

ELECTORAL REFORMS :**1. Disclosure norms**

- As earlier mandated by SC, politicians are required to make disclosure about their financial assets, education and criminal records thus helping the voters to make an informed choice and helping clean the politics of criminals

2. Judicial Interventions

- Recently SC asked high courts and subordinate courts to complete the cases pending against the legislators within a year. In another order, it asked the center to create special courts for trials of the legislator.
- In Lily Thomas verdict (2013), SC cleared the confusion over the disqualification of convicted legislators as the disqualification takes place from the date of conviction.

3. Cash donations

- Recent amendments have reduced the limit on the cash donation to 2000 from the earlier 20000, thus restricting the inflow of anonymous black money into the funds of political parties.

4. Section 8 of RPA,1951

- According to Section 8 of the Act, any lawmaker sentenced to at least two-year imprisonment will be disqualified. Moreover, a lawmaker will not be able to contest any election for six years after being released from jail.

POLICY STEPS :**1. Goods and Services Tax (GST)**

- Reduced cost of compliance by simplification and digitization of the tax architecture and e-waybills that remove the need to check posts on the state borders are some of the ways through which GST can help in reducing corruption.

2. Income Declaration Scheme, 2016

- It is launched by the Income Tax Department, Govt. of India.
- Under this scheme, persons can declare the undisclosed income and pay tax, surcharge, and penalty totaling in all to forty-five percent of such undisclosed income declared.

3. Demonetisation in 2016

- It was done to break the back of terrorism and corruption by eliminating black money from the system.
- The cash circulation in India is directly connected to corruption hence to reduce the cash transactions and also control corruption and thereby move towards cashless digital transactions.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS :**1. E-governance initiatives**

- E-gov apart from advancing the good governance objectives of accountability and transparency also seeks to reduce the manual interface between state and citizen thus preventing the incidences of bribery.
- Initiatives like service delivery through Common Service Centres (CSCs), digitization of the land records, JAM (Jan Dhan- Aadhar- Mobile), DBT (Direct Benefit Transfer), E-biz (single window system), e-marketplace, etc. help prevent corruption.

2. Citizen Charters and Public Service delivery and Grievance Redress Acts in states

- The **Citizen's Charter and Grievance Redressal Bill 2011** or **Citizens Charter Bill** was proposed by Indian central legislation. The Bill seeks to confer on every citizen the right to time-bound

delivery of specified goods and services and to provide a mechanism for Grievance Redressal. The Bill makes it mandatory for every public authority to publish a Citizen's Charter within six months of the commencement of the Act, failing which the official concerned would face action, including a fine of up to Rs. 50,000 from his salary and disciplinary proceedings.

- These acts also create grievance redress mechanisms (GRMs) for the public to ensure effective enforcement of the act. CPGRAMS is another such GRM created under the e-gov project.
- In many states like Karnataka (SAKLA initiative) and Rajasthan's Guaranteed Delivery of Public Services Act, 2011 have been enacted to make bureaucracy legally accountable for delivering quality service within stipulated time periods.

CRITICISM:

- **Ineffective implementation**- Lack of political willingness to bring serious electoral, administrative and legal reforms. For instance, recently proposed amendments and prevention of corruption Act, RTI, WPA, and Lokpal suggest strengthening the government officials at the cost of public interest.
- **Shortcomings in functioning of CVC** - CVC lacks the resources and authority to independently enquire the cases of corruption and initiate the prosecution as government sanction is required.
- **Ineffective laws** - Laws like PCA, 1988 have been used more to protect the corrupt rather than punish them. Conviction rate under the Act continues to be almost zero.
 - RTI Section 4 continues to be neglected while land records are yet to be digitized in many states.
- **Lack of electoral reforms** - The electoral reforms have only been nominal and political gimmicks. Until a cap is placed on the total cash donations any limit in individual contribution will be an exercise in futile.
- **Rise in bureaucratic machinery**- The administrative structure and attitudes essentially continue to be colonial in nature. The number of ministries and departments have almost tripled since independence. Objective performance evaluations with pay and promotion linked are yet to be implemented.
- **Lack of awareness** - Decentralization which was supposed to bring the government closer to the people has been rendered ineffective by the apathy of the states. Potent tools like citizen charter and social audit too have become the victim of government apathy.
 - E-gov initiatives have only proved to be a tool for administrative convenience and recentralization of power rather than empowering citizens.
- **Political interference**- Political executive continues to micromanage the functioning of bureaucracy via suspension, promotion, transfers, etc.

WAY FORWARD:

Second ARC and Santhanam committee have made important and feasible recommendations, what is required is a strong political will. Following steps are required to empower the citizens and make the government accountable for its performance:

- **Transparency of the Rules Act (TORA)** - Bringing Transparency of the Rules Act (TORA) as recommended by the Economic Survey to increase transparency and awareness about rules.
- **Legalizing citizen charter and social audits** - Giving citizen charter and social audits a legal force and creating GRMs at all levels to ensure their enforcement.
- **Judicial reforms** - to expedite trials against the corrupt officials so that these laws remain a strong deterrent.
- **7-point Police reforms** - as suggested by the Supreme Court in Prakash Singh case to establish rule of law and ensure impartial investigation in cases of corruption
- Amending the anti-defection law to strengthen legislative control over the executive as envisaged under the constitution and not the other way round.

- **Code of Conduct** - Bringing in the Code of ethics and code of conduct for the ministers.
- **Electoral reforms**- Empowering Election Commission of India by giving legal force to Model Code of Conduct and making paid news a criminal offense.
 - Banning the cash donation to the political party and imposing limits on the overall expenditure of the political parties.
- Empowering the local body so as to make them a potent tool for direct democracy.



32. ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS POST INDEPENDENCE

Introduction :

- An environmental movement or Green Movements can be defined as a scientific, social or political movement, for the conservation of the environment or for addressing environmental issues.
- The environmental movements favour the sustainable management of natural resources. The movements often stress the protection of the environment via changes in public policy by the government and via behavioural changes.
- Environmental movements range from the highly organized and formally institutionalized ones to the radically informal activities. They are also focused on health issues or right based issues.
- The spatial scope of environmental movements ranges from being local to the almost global in objectives as well as reach.

Important Environmental Movements in India :

- Bishnoi Movement :
 - Year: 1700s
 - Place: Khejarli, Marwar region, Rajasthan state.
 - Leaders: Amrita Devi along with Bishnoi villagers in Khejarli and surrounding villages.
 - Aim: Save sacred trees from being cut down by the King's soldiers for a new palace.
 - Movement: Bishnoi Community is a Hindu religious sect, motivated by Guru Jambheshwar, mainly located in the Western Thar desert and some northern states. Around 1700 AD, the local King of Jodhpur had ordered the clearing of the forest to built a new royal palace. However, Amrita Devi, a female villager could not bear to witness the destruction of both her faith and the village's sacred trees. She hugged the trees and encouraged others to do the same. In the process, some 363 Bishnoi villagers were killed. The king when learned about the events rushed to the village and apologized, ordering the soldiers to cease logging operations. Soon afterward, the maharajah also designated the Bishnoi state as a protected area, forbidding harm to trees and animals. This legislation still exists today in the region.
- Chipko Movement :
 - Year: 1973
 - Place: In Chamoli district and later at Tehri-Garhwal district of Uttarakhand.
 - Leaders: Sundarlal Bahuguna, Gaura Devi, Sudesha Devi, Bachni Devi, Chandi Prasad Bhatt.

- Aim: The main objective was to protect the trees on the Himalayan slopes from the axes of contractors of the forest. This was done mainly by hugging trees.
- Movement: The Bishnoi Movement of 1700 AD can be considered as first Chipko Movement in India. The Chipko movement of 1973 was one which gave the Chipko Andolan widespread publicity. The first Chipko action took place spontaneously in April 1973 in the village of Mandal in the upper Alakananda valley and over the next five years spread to many districts of the Himalayas in Uttar Pradesh. It was sparked off by the government's decision to allot a plot of forest area in the Alaknanda valley to a sporting goods company. This angered the villagers because of their similar demand to use wood for making agricultural tools had been earlier denied. With encouragement from a local NGO (non-governmental organization), DGSS (Dasholi Gram Swarajya Sangh), the women of the area, under the leadership of an activist, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, went into the forest and formed a circle around the trees preventing the men from cutting them down. Ultimately the government withdrew its decision under public pressure. Some other persons also been involved in this movement and have given it proper direction. Mr. Sunderlal Bahuguna, a Gandhian activist and philosopher, whose appeal to Mrs Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, resulted in the green-felling ban. Mr Bahuguna coined the Chipko slogan: 'ecology is permanent economy'. Mr. Chandi Prasad Bhatt is another leader of the Chipko movement. He encouraged the development of local industries based on the conservation and sustainable use of forest wealth for local benefit. Mr. Ghanasyam Raturi, the Chipko poet, whose songs echo throughout the Himalayas of Uttar Pradesh, wrote a poem describing the method of embracing the trees to save them from felling :

' Embrace the trees and
Save them from being felled;
The property of our hills,
Save them from being looted.'

The Chipko protests in Uttar Pradesh achieved a major victory in 1980 with a 15-year ban on green felling in the Himalayan forests of that state by the order of Mrs Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India.

- Save Silent Valley Movement :
 - Year: 1973
 - Place: Silent Valley, an evergreen tropical forest in Palakkad district of Kerala, India.
 - Leaders: The Kerala Sashtra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP) an NGO, and the poet-activist Sughathakumari played an important role in the Silent Valley protests. Dr. M.S. Swaminathan and Salim Ali, the famous ornithologist also played a vital role.
 - Aim: In order to protect the Silent Valley, the moist evergreen forest from being destroyed by a hydroelectric project.
 - Movement: In 1970 Kerala State Electricity Board (KSEB) proposed hydroelectric dam across the Kunthipuzha River that runs through Silent Valley, which would have submerged 8.3 sq km of untouched moist evergreen forest. In February 1973, the Planning Commission approves the project at a cost of about Rs 25 crores. The project could have damaged the habitat of endangered Lion Tailed Macaque. The issue was brought to public attention first of all by Romulus Whitaker, founder of the Madras Snake Park and the Madras Crocodile Bank. Thereafter, the Kerala Sashtra Sahithya Parishad (KSSP) effectively aroused public opinion on the requirement to save the Silent

Valley. They also published a techno-economic and socio-political assessment report on the Silent Valley hydroelectric project. Finally, the government bucked under the public pressure and in 1982, a multidisciplinary committee with Prof. M. G. K. Menon as chairman and Madhav Gadgil, Dilip K. Biswas and others as members, was created to decide if the hydroelectric project was feasible without any significant ecological damage. The committee submitted its report in early 1983 and after its careful consideration, the government of India canceled the proposed project. Ultimately a status of National Park was given to Silent Valley in 1984 to comprehensively protect the area and today it is one of the core areas of the Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve.

- Appiko Movement :

- Year: 1983
- Place: Uttara Kannada and Shimoga districts of Karnataka State
- Leaders: Pandurang Hegde who helped launch the movement in 1983.
- Aim: Against the felling and commercialization of natural forest deprivation of livelihood. Appiko means to hug and it was similar in nature with the Chipko Movement.
- Movement: In 1950, forests covered more than 81 percent of the geographical area in the Uttara Kannada (or North Kanara) district. But being declared as a 'backward' district, the area was selected for major industries—a pulp and paper mill, a plywood factory and a chain of hydroelectric dams constructed to harness the rivers. By 1980, forests in the district were believed to have shrunk to 25 percent. Locals, especially the poor, were displaced by dams. In order to stop further deterioration On Sep.8, 1983, Pandurang Hegde a local activist started the Appiko (to hug) movement. He derived inspiration from Sunderlal Bahuguna's Chipko movement in Uttar Pradesh, in which villagers used to hug trees to save them from being felled by the State. In the words of Pandurang Hegde, “This movement, started to protest against the felling of trees, monoculture, forest policy and deforestation, has succeeded in changing the forest policy. This first-ever people's green movement in south India to save our natural resources has become a model of sustainable development.” Sunderlal Bahuguna too regularly visited the area to guide the local population in their struggle to save the ecosystem of their area. The movement first focused on raising awareness about trees and thereafter on forestation of the denuded areas. Due to its mass approach, the movement became an instant success and has since inspired many southern parts of India.

- Narmada Bachao Andolan :

- Year: 1985
- Place: Narmada River, which flows through the states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra.
- Leaders: Medha Patkar, Baba Amte, Adivasis, farmers, environmentalists, and human rights activists.
- Aim: Against the government's decision to build numerous dams across river Narmada including a large dam named Sardar Sarovar.
- Movement: As per the award of the Narmada Water Dispute Tribunal in 1979, the government gave approval to the construction of 30 major, 135 medium, and 3000 small dams, including raising the height of the Sardar Sarovar dam. In 1985, Medha Patkar visited the site of construction and found that there was a non-fulfillment of basic environmental conditions and the lack of completion of crucial studies and plans relating to the construction of dams. The people who were going to be affected by the construction of the dam were given no information but the offer for rehabilitation. Villagers weren't consulted and weren't asked for feedback on the assessment that had taken place. In order to oppose this wrongdoing by the government, she started a 36-day solidarity march among

the neighboring states of the Narmada valley from Madhya Pradesh to the Sardar Sarovar dam site. It was just the beginning of numerous agitations she initiated on this topic. Another notable participant in the movement was Baba Amte who published a book named Cry O Beloved Narmada in 1989 to protest against the construction of the dams. Meanwhile, Patkar's actions forced World Bank to appoint Morse Commission and on the recommendation of this commission, World Bank withdrew from the project in 1993. Ultimately the Sardar Sarovar issue went to the Supreme Court which gave a final verdict in favour of the construction of the dams in 2000. Subsequent to the verdict, Press Information Bureau (PIB) featured an article:

"The Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) has rendered a yeoman's service to the country by creating a high-level of awareness about the environmental and rehabilitation and relief aspects of Sardar Sarovar and other projects on the Narmada. But, after the court verdict, it is incumbent on it to adopt a new role. Instead of 'damning the dam' any longer, it could assume the role of vigilant observer to see that the resettlement work is as humane and painless as possible and that the environmental aspects are taken due care of."

Sardar Sarovar dam's construction finally finished in 2006 and it was inaugurated by the Prime Minister of India in 2017. Medha Patkar and her associates continued their struggle for proper rehabilitation of the affected people by the government today.

- **Tehri Dam Conflict :**
 - Year: 1980's and 1990's
 - Place: Bhagirathi River near Tehri in Uttarakhand.
 - Leaders: Sundarlal Bahuguna
 - Aim: The protest was against the displacement of town inhabitants and the environmental consequence of the weak ecosystem.
 - Movement: The construction of the dam began in 1978 and soon various concerns arose regarding its feasibility. The primary concern was seismic activity in the area. Though the dam can withstand an earthquake of 8.5 magnitude, activists are arguing that earthquakes of more magnitude than that can occur in the area. Another concern is potential damage to serene Himalayan ecosystem due to dam construction activities. Safety and rights-based issues are also highlighted by various activities. The protest against the construction activities was led by Sundarlal Bahuguna himself. However, the movement failed to gather any significant local or international attention as the government had already taken due precautions in the construction of the dam. Today, the Tehri Dam withholds a reservoir for irrigation, municipal water supply and the generation of 1,000 megawatts (1,300,000 hp) of hydroelectricity. The dam's 1,000 MW variable-speed pumped-storage scheme is currently under construction with expected commissioning in May 2018.

Environmental movements in Indian framework :

- Ramchandra Guha lists the three events which occurred within the country in 1973, that expedited discussion on environmental issues in India:
 - First, in April, the government of India announced the launching of Project Tiger. It was a determined conservation programme aimed at protecting the country's national animal.
 - Second, the publication of an article in Economic and Political Weekly (March 31, 1973) entitled 'A Charter for the Land' authored by B. B. Vora, a high official in the Ministry of Agriculture, which drew attention to the extent of erosion, waterlogging and other forms of land degradation in the

country. Ultimately, the Department of Environment was set up in 1980 and a full-fledged Ministry of Environment and Forests was formed five years later.

- Third, on March 27, 1973, in Mandal, a remote Himalayan village, a group of peasants stopped a group of loggers from felling a stand of trees by hugging the trees. This event flashed many protests through the 1970s, jointly known as the "Chipko" movement. This movement raised basic questions relating to ecology, equity, and social justice and promoted lively debate and action throughout the country.
- Impact: In the Indian context, a huge number of environmental movements have emerged in India especially after the 1970s and 1980s. In this framework Geetanjoy Sahu an environmental scientist stated that: In India, the environmental movement has grown rapidly over the last three to four decades. It has played a key role in three areas such as,
 - In creating public awareness about the importance of bringing about a balance between environment and development.
 - In opposing developmental projects that are inimical to social and environmental concerns.
 - In organizing model projects that show the way forward towards non-bureaucratic and participative, community-based natural resource management systems.
- Major reasons for the emergence of environmental movements in India include:
 - Control over natural resources
 - False developmental policies of the government
 - Socioeconomic reasons
 - Environmental degradation/ destruction
 - Spread of environmental awareness and media.

Conclusion :

- Environment and its sustainable utilization have gained momentum in the 21st-century world due to the side effects of haphazard development. However, in India, the subject of nature was sacred for ages and hence damage to it always elicited public opposition. The Bishnoi Movement of 1700 is a prime example of it.
- This legacy of environmental conservation is carried forward by Independent India in the contemporary era. Be it Chipko Movement or Narmada Bachao Andolan, the environmental movements have shifted the paradigm of development initiatives in India on a wider scale.
- These movements have highlighted that for the sake of the development of modern civilization, the environment cannot be sacrificed at a disproportionate rate.
- It is only because of this movement the concept of sustainable development has gained popularity within India, not only in the general populace but also in policy parlance.

33. TRIBALS IN INDIA

Introduction :

- The Indian Tribals live in varied conditions in different parts of the country and have distinct languages and cultures than the rest of India.
- Their greatest concentration is in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, north-eastern India, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Rajasthan.
- Except in Northeast India, Tribals constitute minorities in their home states.
- In colonial India, they lived in relative isolation (in comparison with present times).
- Their traditions, habits, and cultures were markedly different from those of their non-tribal neighbours.

Pre-Independence Scenario: Erosion of Tribal Isolation During The Colonial Period :

- Colonialism brought radical transformation of the tribals as their **relative isolation was eroded** by:
 - The penetration of market forces in their self-sufficient social system.
 - They were integrated with the British and princely administrations.
 - Many moneylenders, traders, revenue farmers, other middlemen, and petty officers entered the tribal areas.
 - Tribals found themselves caught in a debt trap and were reduced to the position of agricultural labourers, sharecroppers, and rack-rented tenants.
 - Many were forced to retreat further into the hills due to encroachment by Britishers and non-tribal Indians.
 - Belated legislation to prevent alienation of land by the tribal people failed to halt the process.
 - They became poor and their art, culture was being destroyed slowly but steadily.
- Colonialism also transformed the tribe's **relationship with the forest**.
 - They depended on the forest for food, fuel and cattle feed and for raw materials for their handicrafts.
 - The hunger for land by the immigrant peasants from the plains led to the destruction of forests, depriving the tribal of their traditional means of livelihood.
 - To facilitate their commercial exploitation, the colonial authorities brought large tracts of forest lands under forest laws.

- Britishers forbade shifting cultivation that was profoundly practiced by the tribal communities.
- There were severe restrictions on the tribal's use of the forest and their access to forest products.

Tribal Uprisings in India: Pre-Independence Period :

- The advent of Britishers in India created numerous problems for Tribal in India like:
 - Loss of land.
 - Indebtedness.
 - Exploitation by middlemen.
 - Denial of access to forests and forest products.
 - Oppression and extortion by policemen, forest officials, and other government officials.
- Due to these issues, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw the rise of various tribal uprisings in India. Few of them are:
 - **Bhil Uprising of Maharashtra (1818-31)** due to British occupation of Khandesh region hill ranges, which was the activity area of the Bhil tribe.
 - **The Kol Uprising of Chota Nagpur region (1829-39)** was the tribal reaction against the unfair treatment of tribal region people by the British government and intrusion into the administration system by transfer tribal land to outsiders like merchants and moneylenders. This uprising spread over the areas of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Palamau, and Manbhum.
 - **The Santhal Rebellion** of the Rajmahal hills region (1855-56) as a reaction against the entry of outsiders, particularly landlords, police, and moneylenders that brought changes to their social and economic livelihood. British policy of introduction of the Permanent Land Settlement of 1793 also encroached upon their land right system.
 - **The Munda Uprising of Chotanagpur region (1899-1900)** under the leadership of Birsa Munda against the encroachment of outsiders on their tribal lands and other rights. These outsiders were termed as dikus (landlords, moneylenders, merchants). This revolt is also known as the **Ulgulan revolt** which means 'great commotion'.

Post-Independent Scenario: Problems Faced by Tribals in India :

- **Denial of justice:** often because of their unfamiliarity with the laws and the legal system.
- **Alienation of land:** and eviction of tribal due to various developmental projects.
- **Rapid extension of mines and industries:** has worsened their conditions in many areas.
- **Alienation of Traditional Rights:** While deforestation proceeds apace, the tribe's traditional right of access to the forest and its produce is continuously curtailed.
- **Loss of Livelihood:** Due to loss of land, deforestation, and restrictions on access to the forest, the tribal people have been facing growing unemployment and have been increasingly driven into more inaccessible stretches of hills and jungles.
- **Lack of Awareness:** The progress of education among the tribal people has been disappointingly slow. Forest laws and regulations are also used to harass and exploit the tribal people.
- **Division among Tribals:** Tribal society almost everywhere has also been gradually developing class differences and class structure. Further, the major gains of whatever development take place in the fields of education, employment in administration, economy and political patronage are reaped by the small segment of the tribal elites.
- **Issue of Insider Vs Outsider**
 - The growing tribal antagonism towards the non-tribal people or outsiders living in tribal areas has been another unfortunate development.

- The mass of the tribals and non-tribals are equally poor and have a common interest in economic and social development as well as social and economic justice.
- Besides, most of the middle-class non-tribals do perform useful economic functions in the tribal areas.
- Any undue antagonism and antipathy between the tribals and non-tribals would be inimical and even dangerous to both.
- It is no longer true that the only relationship that can exist between the two is an exploitative one.
- Tribals cannot expect to revert to isolation from their non-tribal neighbours or to prevent massive interaction with them.
- In fact, the two can protect and promote their interests only through mutual cooperation.

India's Tribal Policy :

- India's Tribal Policy saw a change of three different approaches over the time period:
 1. **Policy of Isolation:** The first approach was to leave the tribal people alone, uncontaminated by modern influences operating outside their world. This was the policy of isolation.
 2. **Policy of Assimilation:** The second approach was that of assimilating them completely and as quickly as possible into the Indian society all around them. The disappearance of the tribal way of life would represent their 'upliftment'.
 3. **Policy of Integration- preferred by PM Nehru:** Instead of these two approaches, Nehru favoured the policy of integrating the tribal people in Indian society, even while maintaining their distinct identity and culture.
- The two basic parameters of the Nehruvian approach were:
 - a. The tribal areas have to progress.
 - b. They have to progress in their own way.
- **The Problem of Policy of Integration**
 - The problem was how to combine the two seemingly contradictory basic parameters as envisioned in Nehru's approach.
 - Nehru stood for the economic and social development of the tribal people in multifarious ways, especially in the fields of communication, modern medical facilities, agriculture, and education.
 - In this regard, he laid down certain broad guidelines for government policy which was famously known as **Nehru's Tribal Panchsheel Policy**.
 - a. **No Imposition:** the tribal should develop along the lines of their own genius; there should be no imposition or compulsion from outside.
 - b. **Protection of Tribals:** tribal rights in land and forests should be respected and no outsider should be able to take possession of tribal lands.
 - c. **Support to Tribal Languages:** it was necessary to encourage the tribal languages which 'must be given all possible support and the conditions in which they can flourish must be safeguarded'.
 - d. **Involvement in Administration:** for administration, reliance should be placed on the tribal people themselves, and administrators should be recruited from amongst them and trained.
 - e. **Use of Existing Tribal Institutions:** the effort should be to administer and develop the tribal's through their own social and cultural institutions.

Tribal Movements of Post Independent India :

- **Northeast Region**
 - **Background**
 - a. The tribes of north-eastern India, consisting of over a hundred groups, speaking a wide variety of languages and living in the **hill tracts of Assam**, shared many of the features and problems of the tribal people in the rest of the country.
 - b. But their situation was different in several respects. For one, they constituted the overwhelming majority of the population in most of the areas they inhabited. Then, non-tribals had not penetrated these areas to any significant extent.
 - c. The tribal areas occupied by the British then formed part of the Assam province but were given a separate administrative status.
 - d. Their socio-political structure was not disturbed and a deliberate policy of excluding outsiders from the plains was followed.
 - e. No nontribal plainsmen were allowed to acquire land in the tribal areas because of which the tribals suffered little loss of land.
 - f. At the same time, the British government permitted and even encouraged the Christian missionaries to move in and establish schools, hospitals, and churches and to proselytize, thus introducing change and modern ideas among some of the tribal youth.
 - g. The missionaries, in turn, collaborated with the colonial authorities and helped keep the nationalist influence out of the tribal areas.
 - h. In fact, immediately after independence, some of the missionaries and other foreigners even promoted sentiment in favour of separate and independent states in north-eastern India.
 - i. The virtual absence of any political or cultural contact of the tribals in the Northeast with the political life of the rest of India was also a striking difference.
 - j. A powerful factor in the unification of the Indian people as a nation was the common bonds forged in the course of the anti-imperialist struggle.
 - k. But this struggle had little impact among the tribals of the Northeast.
 - **North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA)**
 - a. Nehru's and Verrier Elwin's policies were implemented best of all in the North-East Frontier Agency or NEFA, which was created in 1948 out of the border areas of Assam.
 - b. NEFA was established as a Union Territory outside the jurisdiction of Assam and placed under a special administration.
 - c. From the beginning, the administration was manned by a special cadre of officers who were asked to implement specially designed developmental policies without disturbing the social and cultural pattern of the life of the people.
 - d. NEFA was named Arunachal Pradesh and granted the status of a separate state in 1987.
 - **Tribal Issue of Assam**
 - a. The problems arose because the hill tribes of Assam had no cultural affinity with the Assamese and Bengali residents of the plains.
 - b. The tribals were afraid of losing their identities and being assimilated by what was, with some justification, seen to be a policy of Assamization.
 - c. Especially distasteful to them was the attitude of superiority and even contempt often adopted by non-tribals working among them as teachers, doctors, government officials, traders, etc.

- d. There was also a feeling among them that the Assamese government failed to understand them and tended to neglect their interests.
 - e. Soon, resentment against the Assam government began to mount and a demand for a **separate hill state** arose among some sections of the tribal people in the mid-1950s.
 - f. The demand gained greater strength when the Assamese leaders moved in 1960 towards making the Assamese the sole official language of the state.
 - g. In 1960, various political parties of the hill areas merged into the All-Party Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC) and again demanded a separate state within the Indian Union.
 - h. The passage of the **Assam Official Language Act of 1960**, making Assamese the official language of the state led to an immediate and strong reaction in the tribal districts.
 - i. In the 1962 elections, the overwhelming majority of the Assembly seats from the tribal areas were won by the advocates of a separate state, who decided to boycott the State Assembly.
 - j. Prolonged discussions and negotiations followed. Several commissions and committees examined the issue.
 - k. Finally, in 1969, through the **Twenty-second Amendment of the Constitution of India, Meghalaya was carved out of Assam as 'a state within a state'**.
 - l. After the passage of the **North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act of 1971**, Meghalaya became a separate state in 1972 incorporating the Garo, Khasi, and Jaintia tribes. The **Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura were also granted statehood**.
 - m. The transition to statehood in the case of Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, and Arunachal Pradesh was quite smooth.
 - n. Trouble arose in the case of Nagaland and Mizoram where secessionist and insurrectionary movements developed.
- **Demand for Separate Nagaland**
- a. The Nagas were the inhabitants of the Naga Hills along the Northeast frontier on the Assam-Burma border.
 - b. The British had isolated the Nagas from the rest of the country and left them more or less undisturbed through Christian missionary activity was permitted, which had led to the growth of a small educated stratum.
 - c. Immediately after independence, the Government of India followed a policy of integrating the Naga areas with the state of Assam and India as a whole.
 - d. A section of the Naga leadership, however, opposed such integration and rose in rebellion under the leadership of **A.Z. Phizo**, demanding separation from India and complete independence.
 - e. They were encouraged in this move by some of the British officials and missionaries.
 - f. In 1955, these separatist Nagas declared the formation of an independent government and launched a violent insurrection.
 - g. The Government of India responded with a **two-track policy**.
 - i. On one hand, the Government of India made it clear that it would firmly oppose the secessionist demand for the independence of Naga areas and would not tolerate recourse to violence.
 - ii. On the other hand, Nehru wanted Nagas to integrate with the rest of the country in 'mind and spirit'. He favoured their right to maintain their autonomy in

cultural and other matters. He was willing to go a long way to win over the Nagas by granting them a large degree of autonomy.

- h. Refusing to negotiate with Phizo or his supporters as long as they did not give up their demand for independence or the armed rebellion, he carried on prolonged negotiations with the more moderate, non-violent and non-secessionist Naga leaders.
 - i. Once the back of the armed rebellion was broken by the middle of 1957, the more moderate Naga leaders headed by **Dr. Imkongliba Ao** came to the fore.
 - j. They negotiated for the creation of the state of Nagaland within the Indian Union. The Government of India accepted their demand through a series of intermediate steps, and the state of Nagaland came into existence in 1963. A further step forward was taken in the integration of the Indian nation.
- **Demand for Separate Mizoram**
 - a. Unhappiness with the Assam government's relief measures during the famine of 1959 and the passage of the **Assam Official Language Act** of 1960, making Assamese the official language of the state, led to the formation of the Mizo National Front (MNF), with **Laldenga** as president.
 - b. The MNF created a military wing which received arms and ammunition and military training from East Pakistan and China.
 - c. In March 1966, the MNF declared independence from India, proclaimed a military uprising and attacked military and civilian targets.
 - d. The Government of India responded with immediate massive counter-insurgency measures by the army.
 - e. Within a few weeks, the insurrection was crushed and government control was restored, though stray guerrilla activity continued.
 - f. Most of the hard-core Mizo leaders escaped to East Pakistan (Today's Bangladesh).
 - g. After a long struggle, by 1973 the less extremist Mizo leaders had scaled down their demand to that of a separate state of Mizoram.
 - h. The Mizo district of Assam was separated from Assam and Mizoram was given the status of a Union Territory with passage of **North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971**.
 - i. Mizo insurgency gained some renewed strength in the late 1970s but was again effectively dealt with by the Indian armed forces.
 - j. Having decimated the ranks of the separatist insurgents, the Government of India, was now willing to show consideration, offer liberal terms of amnesty to the remnants of the rebel forces and conduct negotiations for peace.
 - k. A settlement was finally arrived at in 1986. Laldenga and the MNF agreed to abandon underground violent activities, surrender and re-enter the constitutional political stream.
 - l. The Government of India agreed to the grant of full statehood to Mizoram, guaranteeing full autonomy in regard to culture, tradition, land laws, etc.
 - m. As a part of the **Mizoram Peace Accord, 1986** signed between the Government of India and the Mizo National Front (MNF), the Indian government passed '**The Fifty-Third Amendment Act, 1986**' to give full statehood to Mizoram. Laldenga became the chief minister of the newly formed state of Mizoram in February 1987. Thereafter the condition in Mizoram has been at peace.

- **Jharkhand Issue**

- **Background**

- a. Jharkhand, the tribal area of Bihar consisting of the Chota Nagpur and the Santhal Parganas, has for decades spawned movements for state autonomy.
- b. In this area are concentrated several major tribes of India, namely, Santhal, Ho, Oraon and Munda.
- c. Unlike traditional tribes, nearly all of this practice settled plough agriculture on the basis of family farms.
- d. Economic differentiation has set in; there are a significant number of agricultural labourers and a growing number of mining and industrial workers.
- e. The landholding pattern among tribals is as unequal and skewed as among non-tribals.
- f. A large class of moneylenders has also developed among them. The tribal society in Jharkhand has increasingly become a class-divided society.
- g. Most of the tribals practice two formal religions—Hinduism and Christianity.
- h. The Jharkhand tribes, however, share some features with other Indian tribes.
- i. They have lost most of their land, generally to outsiders, and suffer from indebtedness, loss of employment and low agricultural productivity.
- j. Nearly two-thirds of Jharkhand's population in 1971 was non-tribal.
- k. The overwhelming majority of both tribals and non-tribals were equally exploiting poor peasants, agricultural labourers and mining and industrial workers.

- **Rise of Tribal Movement**

- a. The Jharkhand party was founded in 1950 under the leadership of the Oxford-educated Jaipal Singh.
- b. The party achieved remarkable success in the electoral politics of Bihar during the 1950s.
- c. The population composition of Jharkhand was such that even after getting a separate state the tribals would still constitute a minority in it.
- d. To overcome this problem the party tried to give its demand a regional character by opening its membership to the non-tribals.
- e. The States Reorganisation Commission of 1955, however, rejected the demand for a separate Jharkhand state on the ground that the region did not have a common language.
- f. In 1963, a major part of the leadership of the party, including Jaipal Singh, joined Congress.
- g. Several tribal parties and movements developed in Jharkhand after 1967, the most prominent being the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM), which was formed in late 1972.
- h. The JMM revived the demand for the Jharkhand state. The JMM concentrated on the economic issues and it was successful in acquiring the support of the non-tribal poor for its cause.
- i. The JMM turned to a radical programme and ideology. Joined by other groups, especially leftist groups such as the Marxist Coordination Centre, organized several militant agitations.
 - i. Shibu Soren emerged as the charismatic leader of the JMM during the early 1970s.
- j. Cooperation with the leftists did not, however, last long; nor did the tribal–non-tribal alliance.
- k. The movement for the Jharkhand state underwent constant ups and downs and splits over the years with new groups coming up every so often.
- l. Major differences among the Jharkhand leaders pertained to the question of cooperation or alliance with the main all-India parties.

- m. The movement also found it difficult to shift completely from tribal to class-based regional politics, since it was basically built around tribal identity and tribal demands.
- n. The policy of reservations for tribals contained the seeds of continuing differences between tribals and non-tribals.
- o. Tribal society was also not homogeneous; it contained landlords, rich peasants, traders, and moneylenders.
- p. However, for various reasons, Jharkhand finally came into existence as a state on 15 November 2000.

Government Policy Measures for Indian Tribes :

- The beginning was made in the **constitution** itself which directed under **Article 46** that the state should promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the tribal people and should protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation, through special legislation.
- The **Governors** of the states in which tribal areas were situated were given **special responsibility** under Schedule Six of the constitution to protect tribal interests, including the power to modify central and state laws in their application to tribal areas and to frame regulations for the protection of tribal rights to land and also their protection from moneylenders. The application of the Fundamental Rights was amended for this purpose.
- The constitution also extended **full political rights to the tribal people**.
- In addition, it provided for **reservation** of seats in the legislatures and positions in the administrative services for the Scheduled Tribes. **Scheduled Tribes (ST) are given a 7.5% quota in jobs/higher educational institutions.**
- This reservation has been continued since its inception by the government of India as the problem for which this provision was made i.e. class and a caste-based distinction is still not solved even in the modern period of this 21st century.
- **A Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes** was appointed by the President to investigate whether the safeguards provided for them were being observed.
- **Legislative as well as executive action was taken by the state governments** to prevent loss of tribal lands to non-tribal people and to prevent exploitation of the tribals by moneylenders.
- The central and state governments created special facilities and organized special programmes for the welfare and development of the tribal areas and the tribal people including the promotion of **cottage and village industries** and generation of employment among them.
- **Separate statehood for each state**
 - Keeping in mind the tribal demands, the Government of India provided separate statehood to tribal area regions:
 - a. Nagaland in 1963.
 - b. Manipur, Meghalaya, and Tripura in 1972.
 - c. Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram in 1987.
 - d. Chattisgarh and Jharkhand in 2000.

Other Developments for Tribal Welfare :

- **Special Provision for Tribal areas: Fifth Schedule of the Constitution**
 - The Fifth Schedule under Article 244(1) of the Constitution contains provisions regarding the administration of Scheduled Areas/ Tribal areas other than in Northeast India.

- The key objective of this provision is to protect the tribals living in the Scheduled Areas from alienation of their land and other natural resources to non-tribals people.
- It covers the notified districts or regions of the **10 Indian States** of Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Madhya Pradesh.
- The following criteria have been defined for declaring any area as a “Scheduled Area” under the Fifth Schedule is:
 - a. Preponderance of tribal population,
 - b. Compactness and reasonable size of the area,
 - c. A viable administrative entity such as a district, block or taluk, and
 - d. Economic backwardness of the area as compared to the neighbouring areas.
- Government has extended the provisions of Part IX of the constitution i.e. Panchayati Raj government/ local government to the fifth schedule areas by enacting The Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 or the **PESA Act of 1996**. The act provides self-rule for the bulk of the tribal population along with the evolution of a suitable administrative framework that is consistent with traditional tribal practices.
- **Tribal Advisory Council** has also been formed under the fifth schedule in the tribal areas for the active participation of tribal communities in their local administration. The Tribal Advisory Council advises the Governor on matters which pertain to the welfare and the advancement of the Tribals in the State.
- The Governor is empowered to make rules prescribing or regulating:
 - a. the number of members of the Council, mode of their appointment and the appointment of the Chairman of the Council and of the officers and servants thereof,
 - b. the conduct of its meetings and its procedure in general; and
 - c. all other incidental matters related to their tribal welfare.
- **Declaration of ‘Sixth Schedule Areas’ of the Constitution**
 - Constitution has made special provisions for the protection of rights and interests of tribal people living in the areas of 4 North-Eastern states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram under its Sixth Schedule.

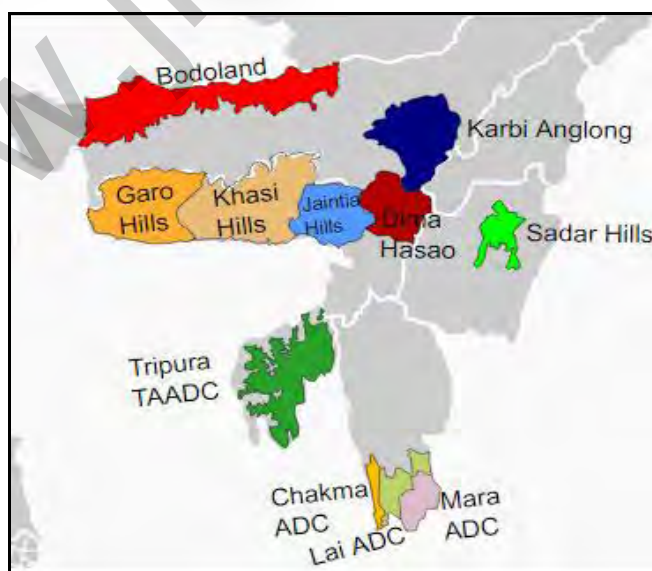


Figure: Autonomous District Councils of North Eastern states

- The sixth schedule to the Constitution includes 10 autonomous district councils in 4 states :
 - a. **Assam**
 - i. Bodoland Territorial Council.
 - ii. Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council.
 - iii. Dima Hasao Autonomous District Council.
 - b. **Meghalaya**
 - i. Garo Hills Autonomous District Council.
 - ii. Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council.
 - iii. Khasi Hills Autonomous District Council.
 - c. **Tripura**
 - i. Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council.
 - d. **Mizoram**
 - i. Chakma Autonomous District Council.
 - ii. Lai Autonomous District Council.
 - iii. Mara Autonomous District Council.
- Article 244 of the constitution deals with the administration of these tribal areas as follows:
 - a. Governor is empowered to organize and re-organize the autonomous districts.
 - b. The executive authority of these districts rests within the state concerned.
 - c. If there are different tribes in an autonomous district, the governor can
 - d. divide the district into several autonomous regions.
 - e. Each autonomous district has a district council consisting of 30 members, of whom four are nominated by the governor and the remaining 26 are elected for 5 years.
 - f. Each autonomous region also has a separate regional council.
 - g. The district and regional councils within their territorial jurisdictions can constitute village councils or courts for trial of suits and cases between the tribes.
 - h. The acts of Parliament or the state legislature do not apply to autonomous districts and autonomous regions or apply with specified modifications and exceptions.
 - i. The governor can appoint a commission to examine and report on any matter relating to the administration of the autonomous districts or regions. He may dissolve a district or regional council on the recommendation of the commission.
- *Recently Cabinet approved a constitutional amendment to increase the powers of the autonomous councils in the Sixth Schedule areas of the North East.*
 - a. *The Finance Commission will be mandated to recommend the devolution of financial resources to them.*
 - b. It provides for a transfer of additional 30 subjects to the Karbi Anglong Autonomous Territorial Council and Dima Hasao Autonomous Territorial Council in Assam.
 - c. Village councils will be empowered to prepare plans for economic development and social justice
 - d. At least one-third of the seats will be reserved for women in the village and municipal councils in the Sixth Schedule areas of Assam, Mizoram, and Tripura
 - e. There will also be an increase in seats in a few autonomous councils.
- The government to protect the rights of tribal people, set up **National Commissions for the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes** in 1990 via 65th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1990. The 89th Constitutional Amendment Act of 2003 bifurcated this combined commission to form two separate bodies namely, National Commission for Scheduled Castes and National Commission for Schedule Tribes.

- **Educational Measures**

- Various scholarships are provided to the students belonging to the Tribals to ensure that education is not denied due to the poor financial condition of their families.
 - a. **Eklavya Model Residential Schools** were started in the year 1997-98 to impart quality education to ST children in remote areas, in order to enable them to avail of opportunities in high and professional education courses and get employment in various sectors. The schools focus not only on academic education but on the all-round development of the students from Class VI to XII. Hitherto, grants were given for construction of schools and recurring expenses to the State Governments under Grants under Article 275 (1) of the Constitution. In order to give further impetus to EMRS, it has been decided that by the year 2022, every block with more than 50% ST population and at least 20,000 tribal persons, will have an EMRS. Eklavya schools will be on par with Navodaya Vidyalaya and will have special facilities for preserving local art and culture besides providing training in sports and skill development. Across the country, as per census 2011 figures, there are 564 such sub-districts out of which there is an EMRS in 102 sub-districts. Thus, 462 new schools have to be opened by the year 2022.
 - b. **National Overseas Scholarships for Scheduled Tribe Students** were started as a Central sector scheme to provide financial assistance to meritorious students for pursuing higher studies in a foreign university in specified fields of Master Level Courses, Ph.D. and Post-Doctoral research programmes, in the field of Engineering, Technology, and Science.

- **Economical Measures**

- Anti-poverty programmes have been started by Government of India like:
 - a. **Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY)**: It is the restructured and streamlined version of the erstwhile Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) that was launched in April 1999. It has been designed to improve the quality of life of the rural poor by providing them additional gainful employment.
 - b. **Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awaas Yojana**: it is restructured version of Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY) which aims to address gaps in the rural housing programs and achieve Government's commitment to providing "Housing for All" by the scheme 2022
 - c. Other schemes focusing on similar goals include the National Old Age Pension Scheme (NOAPS), National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS), National Maternity Benefit Scheme, Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP), etc.
- *Grants-in-aid under Article 275(1) of the Constitution is provided by the Government of India to States. It is charged to the Consolidated Fund of India (except grants for NE States, a voted item) and is an additive to State Plan funds and efforts for Tribal Development.*
- *Government also started the 'Standup India' scheme in 2016 to facilitate bank loans between Rs. 10 lakh to Rs. 1 crore to at least one Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe borrower and at least one-woman borrower per bank branch for setting up a greenfield enterprise. In the case of non-individual enterprises, at least 51% of the shareholding and controlling stake should be held by either an SC/ST or women entrepreneurs.*
- Government has also formed a **National Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Hub** as a part of the Startup India initiative, for building an entrepreneurship ecosystem among Dalits in the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise sector in partnership with industry associations. This Hub will provide professional support to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe entrepreneurs to fulfill the

obligations under the **Central Government Public Procurement Policy for Micro and Small Enterprises Order 2012**, adopt global best practices and leverage the Stand-Up India initiative. Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises, has made an initial allocation of Rs. 490 Crore for the period 2016-2020 for the National SC/ST Hub.

Analysis

- In spite of the various constitutional safeguards and the efforts of the central and state governments, the tribal's progress and welfare have been very slow, and even dismal.
- Except in the Northeast, most of the tribals in India continue to be poor, indebted, landless and often unemployed.
- The problem often lies in the weak execution of even well-intentioned measures.

Conclusion :

- The tribal policy of the Government of India, inspired by Jawaharlal Nehru has been rightful in its approach for protecting the cultural and ethnic identity of India tribes.
- Tribal needs, lifestyles are different from the rest of India and they should be promoted in their own way.
- Indian tribes represent the age-old tradition and cultures which are indigenous to the Indian subcontinent. There is a need to conserve their tribal identity to maintain India's diversity at its peak.
- There is a need to emphasis on providing better health care facilities along with better safeguards for the tribal rights to prevent their exploitation in this modern era. Efforts must be made to change the attitude of non-tribals towards the tribal people as they are equally the citizens of India.

Previous Year Question :

Q1. Why are tribals in India referred to as 'the Scheduled Tribes'? Indicate the Major Provisions enshrined in the constitution of India for their Upliftment. (12.5 marks) (2016)

Answer:

The term 'Scheduled Tribes' first appeared in the Constitution of India. Article 366 (25) defined scheduled tribes as "such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this constitution".

These communities were notified as Scheduled Tribes as per provisions of THE CONSTITUTION (SCHEDULED TRIBES) ORDER, 1950 passed by President compliant with Articles 342 of the Constitution.

- **Art. 15(4):** Special provisions for advancement of other backward classes (which includes STs);
- **Art. 46:** The State shall promote the educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.
- **Art. 244:** Clause (1) Provisions of Fifth Schedule shall apply to the administration & control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in any State other than the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Tripura which are covered under Sixth Schedule, under Clause (2) of this Article.
- **Art. 243:** Reservation of seats in Panchayats.
- **Art. 371:** Special provisions in respect of NE States and Sikkim.
- **Art. 330:** Reservation of seats for STs in Lok Sabha.
- Apart from these provisions, the **73rd Amendment Act 1992**, Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (**PESA**) have also been introduced in the constitution which have various provisions for the upliftment of tribal people.



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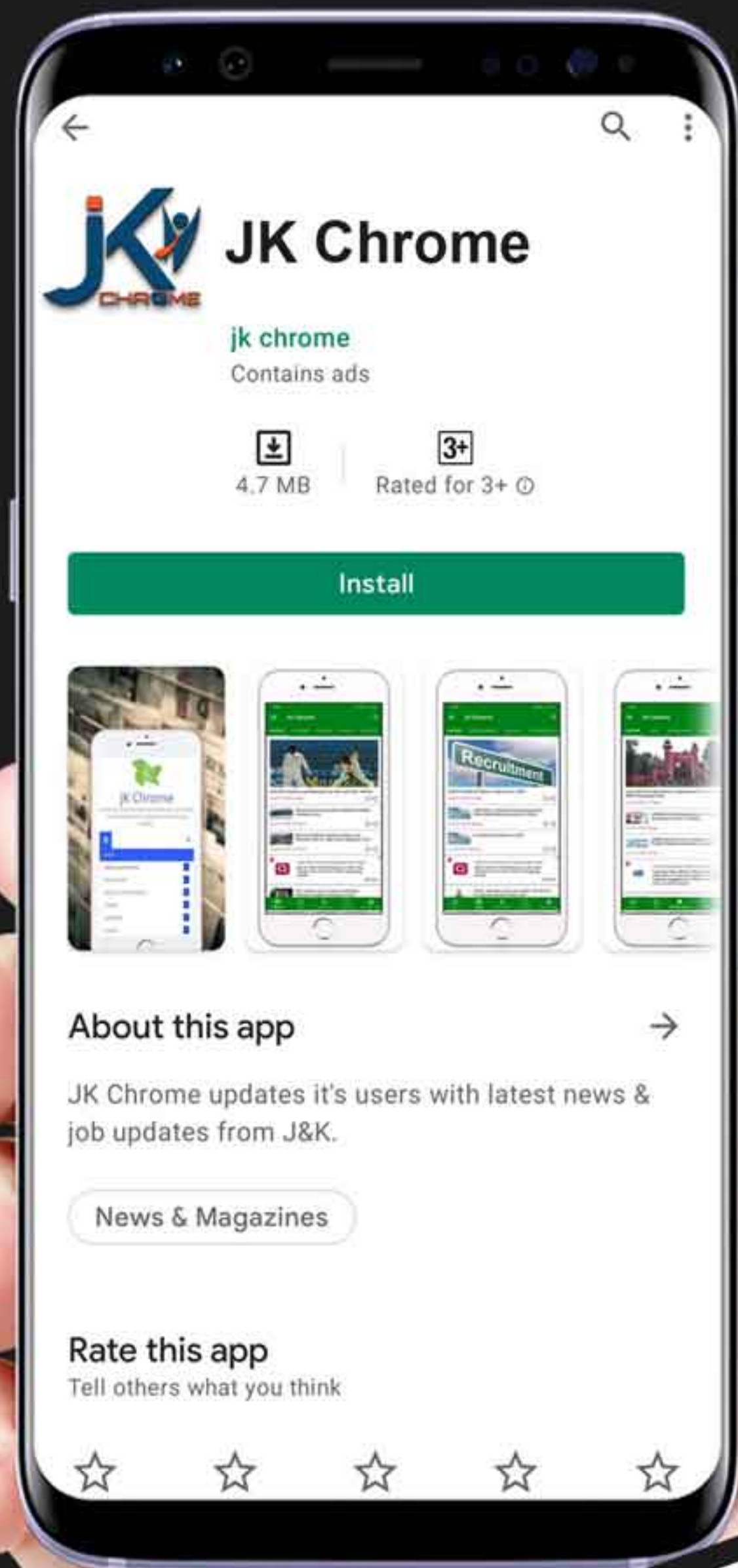
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