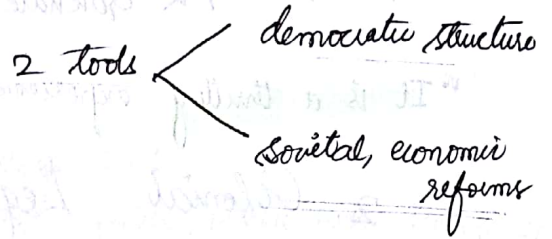
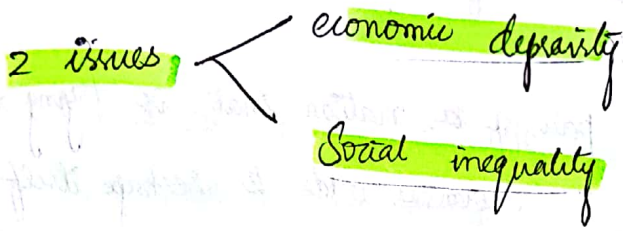


India Since Independence

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Intro

India on the eve of independence - needed Social, Political, Economic transformⁿ



25% males literate, 7.2% females literate

We rejected 'rice bowl theory' - that said we are interested in a bowl of rice r/t democracy

Selig Harrison (1966) - "The odds are almost wholly against the survival of freedom and the issue is whether any Indian state can survive at all"

Political leadership

Conservative Swatantra Party - C. Rajagopala Chari

dissident Congressman - J.B. Kiplani

Hindu Communalists - Syama Prasad Mukherjee

Latit rep - Ambedkar

(CSP) Socialists - Acharya Narendra Dev, J.P. Narayan

Communist - P.C. Joshi, Ajoy Ghosh.

Our strategy	
Social:	→ Const ⁿ , DPSP → Egalitarian Society as goal → Anti-poverty programme
Pol:	Democracy, civil liberties Secularism, C ⁿ , DPSP. Rights of minorities
Eco:	Agrarian, land reform Public Sector Planned development

Memorize for Essay:

Quote by Verrier Elwin — pg. 10, Bijan Chandra

" " G.K. Gokhale — " "

"It is a thrilling experience to be part of a nation that is trying against enormous odds to reshape itself"

— V. Elwin, Dozen of Tribal welfare (1963)

2. Colonial Legacy

Social Structure under Britain

- English education ✓
- Society divided sharply on caste and communal lines, Zamindari class
- Dimal education level and health, high IMR, MMR, ~~CDR~~, CDR (190/1000)
- Rural agrarian structure was shattered, famines of 1773 to 1943
- Tenancy, sharecroppers ↑, fragmentation of holdings

Economic

- industrialis confined to few areas, (foreign capital dominated)
- Commercialisation of agri + de-industrialisation (destruction of cottages, handicrafts)
- "investments" made from surpluses, — drain of wealth
- raw mat from India — finished goods import
- railways, ports, telegraph — invest in infra — a positive feature + Is steel
- indebtedness, ↑ taxes, permanent settlement system + Sugar
- banking, insurance — grossly underdeveloped. + Cement
- + Industry (Jamshedpur)

Political

- Rule of law, independent J (no separation b/w Admⁱⁿ & J)
- no adult franchise. Only 3% could vote in 1919 ✓
- 15% " " " 1935 ✓

Jagore in 1941 :

"When the stream of their centuries^{of} admⁿ runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth will they leave behind."

3. Legacy of Nat^l Mov^t

Tilak, Bhagat Singh

Political legacy

— leaders like Gokhale, Azad, Kripalani, Gandhi, Nehru, Bose, Rajaji, JP,

→ After 1919, it was built around the basic notion that people had to play an active role in politics. — Eg: Satyagraha (1920-22, CDM, 1942, QIM)

→ From the very beginning nat^lsts demanded universal adult franchise, democratic institutions based on popular vote, freedom of press

Eg: Congress ministries (1937) — extended civil liberties to peasants, workers movements, Communist party etc,

b) INC of 1885^{was} always based on democratic principles, policies were publicly discussed & voted upon. → 1920 NCM was taken on vote 1336-884 against Gandhi's resolution

before 1929 — CDM, a Gandhi's resolution that condemned attack on mercy by rev. terrorists was passed by narrow majority

c) dissent was part of Congress working style

d) Tilak proclaimed "liberty of press & liberty of speech"

f) Karachi Congress, 1931 — FR passed, Nat^l Eco. programme (public sector, Planning)

* Basic notions of sovereignty, civil liberties, democracy, ^{were not the} contribution of colonialism, but that of nat^l movt.

→ This was why, Pakistan failed in forging democracy (∵ M-League was opposed to civil liberties)

Economic Legacy

→ Poverty & Un-British rule in India (Narasimhaiah) } 'Doom of wealth'
Economic History of India - R.C. Dutt

→ Nat^l emphasized on modern agri, self-reliant industry on S&T, agrarian reforms, opposed unrestricted foreign capital entry

→ 1931, Resolution on FR & Economic Programme - stated -

"the State shall own & control key industries, services, minerals etc.;

→ 1938 - Nat^l Planning comt ; 1943 - Bombay plan.

→ Nehru, Bose, Communists, Socialists → emphasized on socialist setup

Social Legacy

Sapru Report, Nehru Report

↓
DPSP ⇒ FR (non-j & justiciable categorisation)

→ Nat^l movt brought women onto national stage.

→ Gandhiji's Harijan programme in 1930s, various caste movts

brought under-privileged sections onto mainstream

→ SC, ST reservation in Constitution

Secularism

Objective Resⁿ - Preamble

Instrument of Instructions - DPSP:

Karachi resolution, 1931 - "every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience profess & practise his religion" & all citizens equal before the law (A+14)

(1928) Nehru Report rejected communal electorate. → FR (15)

Foreign Policy

- oppⁿ to colonialism, support for people fighting for independence which is why anti-fascist stand of 1930s, '40s
- NAM, our support to Congo in 1960s, 70s - derived from nationalist ideology

Essay Quote: Gandhiji's quote in 1922: Pg 40

Essay Quote: pg. 79 by Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, draft const. members Cal expert.

"India would do as she had done for centuries. take what she desired from other cultures and bend it to her needs" - Granville Austin

Ambit of Art-21 expanded to include Right to Livelihood in the judgement - 'Paramest Dwellers Case' (Olga Tellis vs. Bombay Mun. Corp)

- Freedom most ↔ Constⁿ:
- ✓ Nehru Report (Preamble, govts Linguistic states, Adult Franchise)
 - ✓ Karachi Resⁿ (FR + Eco prog)
 - ✓ N Planning Comt - 1938
 - ✓ Bombay plan - 1944
 - ✓ Objectives Resⁿ - Preamble ✓
 - ✓ Instn of Instn - DPSP ✓
 - ✓ SPW Report - FR | DPSP ←
 - ✓ Congressminims - Civil Liberties
 - ↓ Gandhiji - Harizan, Art 40,

To quote Nehru on Secularism,

"It doesnot obviously mean a society where religion itself is discouraged."

✓ It means freedom of religion, conscience + freedom to have

* no religious test.

4. The Initial Years

- Unifying post-partition India & princely states under one admⁿ was perhaps the most imp task facing the leadership.
- 40% territory — princely states ✓
- Many of larger p. states began dreaming of independence. They were emboldened by Atlee's statement of 20 Feb, 1947 — "Her Majesty's govt do not intend to hand over their power & obligations under paramountcy to any govt of British India."
- M.A. Jinnah said — "States would be independent sovereign states on the termination of paramountcy"
- Patel — Skill & masterful diplomacy could integrate them.
- ★ Travancore, Bhopal, Hyd publicly announced their desire to claim an independent status.
- Patel assumes charge of States' Dept in 1947, V.P. Menon as Secy. His 1st step — appealed to princes whose territories fell well within India to accede on 3 subjects — defence, Commⁿ, foreign affairs.
- Fearful of rising tide of people's moats all but 3 states — Hyd, Junagadh, J&K acceded to India by 15 Aug, 1947

Junagadh — [Stage I]

- Small state on coast of Saurashtra falling well within Indian territory
- Yet, its **Nawab** announced accession to Pak on 15 Aug, 1947, yet people (majority Hindu) desired to join India.
- Nat^{sts} were of the view that a plebiscite must be held to decide the fate.
- As Pak accepted its accession, people revolted, forced Nawab to flee and estd provisional govt. **Dewan of Junagadh**, **Shah Nawaz Bhutto** invited GoI to intervene. Indian troops enter, plebiscite held, Junagadh joins India.

Kashmir 75% Muslim, ruler Hari Singh - Hindu (feared democracy of India / Communalism of Pak)

- Nat^l Conf under **S. Abdullah** wanted to join India. Nat^{sts} concurred with Gandhi who said Kashmir was free to join either India or Pak in accordance with people's will. [Pak refused for plebiscite]
- Pathan tribesmen invade, Maharaja appealed for India's help, India insisted on accession & thus **S. Abdullah** was installed as head of the state.
- Even then, India announced it'd hold referendum once law & order is restored. Indian ~~troop~~ fearful of war, India refused Kashmir problem to UNSC — that betrayed India and sided with Pak. US, UK played a dirty role. 1948 - LOC, ceasefire line estd.
- **1951**, UN resolution provided for referendum under UN supervision after Pak withdraws its troops. Pak refused to withdraw from Azad Kashmir.

Hyderabad

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- Nizam refused to accede to India. He bought time and started expanding militarily. Britain refused to grant it dominion status.
- Nov, 1947: GOI signs a stand still agreement hoping accession will be smooth & easy
- Nizam engaged British lawyer Walter Monckton to negotiate with GOI on his behalf. Meanwhile, he built up his military strength.
- Militant communal org^s - Ittihad ul Muslimin and its front wing Razakars grew rapidly.
- Hyd State Congress launched Satyagraha to force democratisation of Nizam. Thousands jailed, Razakars ran riot, + Communist led peasant struggle led in Telangana during latter half of 1946.
(dalam'-squad)
- ↳ they organised defence against Razakars and distributed lands
- Finally as situation was going out of control, Indian army moved to Hyd in Sep, 1948 - Nizam surrendered & retained as Rajpramukh
₹ 5 million prize purse

Accession of Kashmir, Hyd - marked triumph of Indian secularism

[Stage - II]

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- Another difficult stage began in Dec, 1947
- Smaller states were merged with neighbouring states
 made as Centrally admin'd territories
- 5 new unions were formed -
 - ✓ Madhya Bharat
 - ✓ RJ
 - ✓ Patiala & East Punjab States Union (PEPSU)
 - ✓ Saurashtra, Travancore - Cochin
- ✓ Mysore, J&K, Hyd retained original form as separate states of the Union.

[Tactful diplomacy]

→ In return for accession, rulers were given princely purses free of all taxes.

retained privileges - titles, personal flags gun salutes etc.,

French & Portuguese owned territories

↓
Pondicherry
(1954)

↓
Goa
(1961)

→ French were more reasonable & after prolonged negotiations, handed over

Pondicherry to India in 1954.
+ others

Portuguese were rather defiant (help received from NATO allies - US UK)

→ GoI was committed to peaceful means. people started non-violent movt. which was brutally suppressed. after waiting for Int'l co-op'n

Indian troops marched into Goa in Dec, 1961. They surrendered w/o a fight, full integration was complete by 1961 (14 yrs after independence)

Consolidation of India as a Nation - I

Unity in diversity + Factors that forged Nat^l Integration

- Indian nation is the product of a historical process - for 5 Centuries.

Despite its immense cultural diversity, India had acquired elements of common existence & consciousness - struggle for freedom acted as a unifying factor

- Pol + adm^{ve} + economic unity → under Mughal admⁿ. Bharat Varsha
"Hindustan" terms gained currency - Colonisation, in a way,
strengthened India's unity as we were united in our oppⁿ to Britain.

- Leaders of India after 1947 saw the preservation and consolidation of India's unity as their biggest challenge

Diversity - ^{+ve} linguistic, cultural, geographic - economic, religious, CSE 2017, classes etc.,

Hence, owing to such diversity, consolidation was to occur around the concept of 'unity in diversity.' Thus differences, diversity were not to be seen as hindrances but as sources of strength.

pol, Soc, Eco, Hist, Geog, C'at, Adm've

* - The broad strategy of nat'l consolidation after 1947 involved *

- Geo** - **Historical**
a) territorial integration - accession of princely states
- Pol** b) mobilisation of pol & institutional processes - democracy, rule of law, franchise, J etc.,
- Eco** c) economic dev't - IPR, 1948, 1956; PC; Land reforms; S & T
- Soc** d) Social justice, removal of inequality - DPSP, Licensing, promoting Small-Scale industries.
- Con** e) Constitution
- FR, DPSP, Preamble, SoP., Ninth Sch., 1st Amend^t etc., 8th Schedule, 5th, 6th Sch.
- Adm'** f) AIS - Secularism

Factors that helped in Nat'l Integration

- Eco. policies
- FP
- AIS, Army
- Leadership
- Con
- Pol parties

a) **Constitution** - fed'sm, accomodative nature, strikes golden mean b/w unity & decentralisation, P'ment, elections, Secularism

b) **Pol. parties** - INC, Socialist, Communist party, Jan Sangh, Swatantra party.

* They stood for unity of the country. Kisan Sabhas + FICCI helped + AITUC

give voice to various sections of society

- c) **Leadership** : Towering in nature - (comprising wide spectrum of ideologies - Ambbedkar etc., CSP, RSS, Congress)
- d) **Accomodative nature of INC** : 5 non-congress Cab ministers (Eg. Syama Prasad Mukherjee) in Nehru's Cabinet

e) **Indian Army & AIS**

recⁿ on merit basis w/t caste

f) **Indian economy & policies**

PC, Land reforms, Cⁿ, Socialist setup,
IPR, 1948; IPR, 1956, Commⁿ

g) **Foreign policy**

NAM, anti-imperialism

not nat^l language

Language Problem

- A) dispute over official language of union
- B) linguistic reorgⁿ of States

A) The dispute was not over question of a nat^l language, that is one language which all Indians would adopt. The demand was replacement of English with mother tongue as the medium of higher edu, admⁿ & courts in each linguistic area. As Country's official work could not be carried out in so many languages, needed a lingua franca. 2 candidates were available

- English
- Hindi

→ **Nehru report, 1928** — endorsed Hindi as nat^l language INC used to carryout work in Hindi. Prov. Cong cmts used respective provincial languages

Question was: Would Hindi replace English? In what time frame?

— With partition, votaries of Hindi demanded Hindi with Devnagri script as nat^l lang as they saw Urdu as symbol of Secession

Stage I

B/w Hindi & Hindustani voters. By 78 to 77 votes, Congress League party accepted Hindi as "official lang".

Stage II

b/w Hindi & non-Hindi areas on issue of time-frame for replacement of English
↓
wanted retention for a long if not an indefinite period
↓
wanted immediate switchovers.

Hindi

Proponents point

language of largest number, understood even in Bengal, pb, 45.

critics: Hindi, a less dev'd language as a lang of Sci, politics, literature

S. Indians esp feared that imposition might put them at a disadvantage in edu & economic spheres.

Qⁿ - said English was to continue until 1965, when it'd be replaced by Hindi in a phased manner. However govt would have power to provide for use of English for a specified purposes even after 1965. Meanwhile it said govt must try & spread Hindi in the country.

- Hindi protagonists' over enthusiasm defeated their purpose.

1953, 1963 Comm'n Act
1956 (1956) Official Language Comm'n - recommended gradual replacement of

Eng, with effecting chg by 1965

- Govt in order to implement the reco, took a series of steps that created suspicion in the minds of non-Hindi areas.

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1959: Nehru assured that "I'd have English as long as people require it."

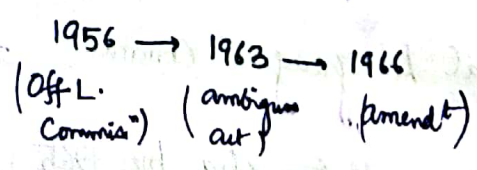
1963: Pursuant to Nehru's assurance - Official Languages Act, 1963 was passed. But the act was ambiguous in wording and which was opposed by Non-Hindi groups (may/shall be used) (1963)

Shastri, after, Nehru announced Hindi as alternate medium in public service exams. Now non-Hindi groups wanted no deadline for imposition of Hindi. DMK, Rajaji - non Hindi movt in TN, 1965.

Slogan: 'Hindi never, English ever.' Riots broke out. Only leader sympathetic to the movt was I & B minister - Indira Gandhi

1966: I. Gandhi becomes PM. A bill to amend 1963 Languages Act was passed. It gave unambiguous fortif to Nehru's assurances, provided for Eng as associate language in add to Hindi for Union govt work + U-State Comm purpose

→ Virtual, indefinite bilingualism was adopted. PSC exams in Eng + Hindi + all reg languages with provis that candidates should have additional knowledge of Hindi/eng.



The problem withered away since 1967 — power of democracy

Linguistic Reorgⁿ of States - II

→ Boundaries of provinces in pre-1947 were drawn in a haphazard manner.

→ Case for linguistic states as administrative units was very strong. Language is a vital factor for the massive spread of education. Democracy flourishes if politics & admⁿ are conducted through the language people understand.

* 1921 - Congress C^o amend^t - provincial Congress Cmts formed on ling. basis

Gandhiji - "the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if prov. languages were to grow to their full height"

→ But nat^l leadership, in view of the partition wanted to put linguistic provinces proposal in the backburner. More imp was to consolidate & integrate the nation

* 1948 → JVP ^{Dhar Cmt}

[1948]: Constituent Assembly appointed "Linguistic Prov. Commission" (I) headed by S.K. Dhar to enquire to desirability of ling provinces. Commisⁿ advised against it.

[1948]: JVP Cmt - Nehru, Patel, Pattabi Sitaramayya. advised - against ling. states for the time being.

Rem 1948 - Dhar Commisⁿ ✓
1948 - JVP Cmt ✓

1952 - Srisamulu fast → death
1953 - Andhra state formed under wide spread protests → TN created

As other groups started agitation, SRC-1 was formed.

SRC - Fazl Ali
K.M. Panikkar
Hridaynath Kunzru - Submits report in 1955

→ It recommended linguistic state creation but opposed splitting

Bombay and Punjab SRC Act - passed in 1956

SRC rejected:
One language - one state form

- SRC-1 gave 4 criteria:
- 1) Preservation & strengthening of unity & security of India
 - 2) Linguistic & cultural homogeneity
 - 3) Fin, Eco, Admin consideration
 - 4) Planning & promotion of welfare of nation as a whole

↓
14 States + 6 UT

AP: Telangana area of Hyd State merged with Andhra → A.P formed

Kerala: Malabar from Madras Presidency merged with Travancore Cochin

KTK: Kannada areas of Hyd, Coorg, Bombay, Madras merged with Mysore State → KTK state

Bombay state: Enlarged by merging Bombay presidency with Kutch, Saurashtra and Marathi areas of Hyd

Reaction - from MH after SRC's report was made public. MH - opposed the proposed unif

In MH riots broke out. People organised protest movt.

Under pressure, govt in 1956 - divides Bombay State [Opposed by MH] into MH + GJ + Bombay City as centrally admin

MH objected. Now again govt reverted back to greater Bombay state [Opposed by both MH, GJ]

GS felt they'd be in minority in a united state. Hence from both groups - MH joined with Bombay as capital; GS with Ah'da in Nov, 1960 - i.e. stuck to its united stand as per SRC report.

Punjab & Pepsu 3 languages - Punjabi, Hindi, Pahari (ie, did not split Bombay)

1956 - Pepsu merged with Pb as per SRC

demands for Punjabi Suba (Punjabi speaking state) - (Akali Dal) opposed by Hindi Communalists like Jan Sangh. Nehru rejected Pb creation

∴ it was on Communal lines. SRC also rejected for this very reason

1966 - Pb divided into (Punjabi) Pb + (Hindi) Haryana with Pahari speaking Kangra & part of Hoshiarpur merged with Hp. Cdgarh - made UT.

Thus 10 yrs after SRC, linguistic reorgn was complete. (1966)

Conclusion

By reorganising states on linguistic lines, nat'l leadership removed a major source of discord. It even strengthened one nat'l unity. - [R. Guha]

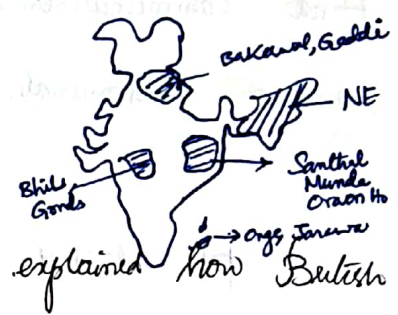
Rajni Kothari (pol. scientist) observed: "With the benefit of hindsight, it can be said that language r/t being a divisive force, has proved a cementing and integrating influence"

→ States reorgn did not remove all problems. Disputes over water, food, migration linguistic minority issue still persist.

→ To protect linguistic minorities ^{formed} in new States - Cⁿ lays down the following - Art 29, Art 30, Commission for Linguistic minorities, Dpsp - instruction in mother tongue in primary, secondary levels [350A]

→ Still discrimination persist in many states. They face discrimination in technical, medical institutions, emp^t etc in State public services. Lack of proficiency in official language of the state.

Integration of Tribals



- Verrier Elwin, champion of tribals cause explained how British colonisation shattered the ppl, eco, social fabric of tribal areas. Moneylenders, merchants wreaked havoc in the traditional life of tribals. British GoI forbade shifting cultivⁿ and restricted use of timber which severely affected tribals.

Progress + progress in their own way.

- J. Nehru architect of tribal policy. He said the way is to progress but progress in their own way. Laid down 5 principles.

- 1) development on their own genius
- 2) Tribal & forest rights to be respected
- 3) Encouraging tribal languages by having safeguards
- 4) adm^s should be recruited from amongst them. As far as possible outsiders should be administered
- 5) No over-admⁿ of tribals

Tribals & Cⁿ

→ Art 46 - ✓

→ Gov^s of States with tribal areas were given spcl responsibilities including power to modify central & state laws

Art 338, 338A (5th)

Art 335

Art 244 (1) & (2)

→ V, VI Sch., reservation in admive services

→ Tribal Advisory Council, Nat^l Commⁿ,
Sch & Tribal Areas Art 244 (Part II)

~~pg. 121, 122, 123, 144, 145, 146~~

pg : 141-150

Refer from the book -

Consolidation : Regionalism & Regional Inequality

→ Local patriotism to a region, state, culture etc., do not constitute regionalism, nor are they disruptive of the nation. i.e. to have pride in one's region is not reg'sm.

→ Aspiring to or making special efforts to develop one's state or region is not reg'sm. Inter-regional rivalry on achievement of +ve goals is quite healthy. Defending federal features of Cⁿ is also not reg'sm.

Defⁿ, If the interests of one region or state are asserted against the country as a whole or against another region or state in a hostile manner and a conflict promoted on basis of such interests ~~is~~ can be dubbed as reg'sm.

Eg: of Reg'sm:

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("Dravid Nad" - secession)

→ DMK politics in early 1980s & 1950s

→ Punjab crisis of 1980s - was Communalism not reg'sm

→ Accommodativeness of C^o - promoted cultural autonomy + linguistic

reorgⁿ have eliminated a potent cause for reg'sm.

Entry 56 List I - River Boards

Potential disputes that can fan hostility : a) River water disputes (T₁, Kerala, K₁, P₁, H₁, R₁)
b) Boundary disputes - over Belgaum, Chandigarh

But they were within acceptable limits.

Sources of Reg'sm:

Economic Imbalances: & Reg'sm

Govt. initiatives to ↓ reg inequality

→ IPR, 1956 aimed at bridging regional inequality

→ 1961: Nat^l Integration Council

Act 263: ISC

↳ said a rapid devt of backward regions

should be given priority

→ FC, PC formulae of transfer of resources also take into account this regional backwardness.

→ Public invst in industries, infra - for ↓ of reg. inequality

- Banking - nat^l (1969), incentives to pvt sector, BRGF, IRDP etc.,
- One sector that lost out was irrigation, agri dev - led to G. Revⁿ disparities.
- Outmigration from backward regions of unskilled & immigration of skilled can lessen regional disparity.

Effectiveness:

~~also to eminent historian Bipan Chandra~~

- ↓ interstate industrial disparity esp in organised manuf. sector
- Reasons for reg inequality - causes for demand for statehood as well
- Major reason at all-India level for continuing regional disparity was low-hindu rate of growth. (~3.5% till 1970s, ~5% in 1980s)
- also socio-economic factors caused for this regional disparity
- Eg: agrarian structure of Bihar, UP still quite regressive & no land reforms
- low infra in backward states accentuates backwardness. vicious cycle.
- low eco devt → no resources → low exp on infra → low growth.
- Corruption, maladmⁿ, BPO problems - all this turns away pvt sector.
- * disparities exist within each state → a source of tension, demands for statehood.

Eg: Telangana - AP
Vidharbha - MH

Saurashtra - GJ

Goahaland - WB

Bundelkhand - UP

Bodoland - Assam

Sons of Soil doctrine - since 1950s, based on linguistic grounds

- a view that a state is specifically for its native language speakers and all others are outsiders. More prevalent in cities.
- Unequal dist of economic opportunities in various parts \Rightarrow preference for 'sons of the soil' - was the outcome. In this ugly kind of reg'ism, recourse was often taken to nepotism, Casteism, Communism.
- problem accentuated by low numbers of 'natives' in cities
- Eg: Mumbai - (1961) - Marathi speakers 48%
- B'lore - Kannada " 25%

Reasons

- 1) S.g. soil doctrine & riots mainly have arisen when there is actual or potential competition for industrial, middle class jobs b/w migrants and the local, educated, middle-class youth. friction was more intense where 'outsiders' had greater access to higher education, affluent.
- 2) Economy's failure to create jobs, jobless growth of 60s, 70s caused such riots.
- 3) "Outsiders" are far more numerous in rural areas but no such riots as no middle class jobs are present. \therefore little conflict due to migⁿ from UP, Bi to Pb, Hy.

4) Another factor has been the existence/non-existence of tradition of migration. When people of a state themselves emigrated, they did not resent immigration. Eg: WB, Kerala, Pb. whereas in Telangana & AP, MH that were not used to migration, such mvt's flourished.

5) Constⁿ ambiguous on this. ∴ Though A-15 prevents discrimⁿ on residence, P^rment was empowered to make a law and as such many states have

taken adv. of this ambiguity. Reservation on grounds of residence approved by courts.

Movt Eg: 1966: Shiv Sena - 'MH for Maharashtrians' - movt against 'Tamils'
 Assam: Bodos, Telangana ✓
 1967: DMK regional movts ✓

- KTK - TN over Canvey water
 - KTK protests over Hindi sign boards in Metro
 - Regional flag for Karnataka
Selby Harrison

Conclusion

In hindsight, linguistic reorgⁿ, tribal integration & regional inequality reg'sm, it is to be observed that prophets of gloom & doom have failed sparta - calaly.

→ Linguistic states strengthened, not weakened India's unity. Further social, economic devt, spread of edu could create new sources of tension yet role

legacy of freedom struggle, quality & vision of our leadership, democracy, fed'sm, con - all have promoted our unity.

1951-1964 : Achievements of India (7)

- ✓ → Consolidation of nation (Regional Councils, Tribal, Territorial) → adm're structure (AIS) [Steel frame]
 - ✓ → Planned econ devt → S & T
 - ✓ → rooting of democracy & institutions → beginnings of welfare state
 - ✓ → independent foreign policy →
 - P (ment), democracy, J, RoL
 - 1957: Kerala - World's 1st Communist gov't that is democratically elected
- S & T under Nehru

1938 - Indian Sci Congress - Nehru → "It is ^{is} ~~is~~ Sci alone that can solve problems of hunger & poverty."

* 1958 - Scientific Policy Resⁿ - acknowledging role of Sci in economic, social & cultural advancement

- Nat'l phy. Lab + other national labs set up
- Nehru - chairman of CSIR
- IIT Kgp setup in 1952 + Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Kanpur

→ Nuke energy : AEC under Homi J. Bhabha
Nuke reactor @ Trombay.

→ Space : INCO SPAR set up (1962)
[Int. Cent for space research]

→ Steps to promote defense prodⁿ.

→ We changed over to a metric system of weights & measures

welfare state + Social chg

- A. 36 - State shall promote welfare of people by securing social, eco & pol justice. IPR, 1948 - estd Socialist pattern
- Land reforms, pub sector, labour legislation, right to form trade unions etc.
- Anti-untouchability law - 1955, Reservation for SC, ST, Commisⁿ for SC, ST
- Hindu Code bill, 1951 - 4 provisions:
 - monogamy
 - R. to divorce for men & women
 - " " maintenance
 - ↑ ~~consent~~ age of consent for marriage
- Education was promoted. invest in infra, teachers, univ was undertaken but decline in edu stds over the years was a major weakness.

Community Devt Prog (1952-59)

- foundations of welfare state in rural villages. Emphasis was on self-reliance, self help & popular participation.
- Prog achieved success in agri extn work: food prodⁿ, seeds, fertilisers etc.,
- Failure Did not stimulate self help, became too bureaucratic, BDOs became replicas of traditional sub-div officers.
- "prog, while trying to bring peasants out of the rut, fell itself into the rut"
- ⇒ Balwantrao Mehta Comt strongly criticised the bureaucratisation - advocated P'yati Raj but it also remained merely on paper because of states govt reluctance.

Foreign Policy

→ Nehru realised that newly independent colonies will end up being used as pawns by Superpowers. Their needs were to fight poverty, illiteracy, disease, he reasoned

→ India hence did not join **SEATO, CENTO, Baghdad pact, Manila pact**

→ NAM symbolises oppⁿ to imperialism. An objective of supporting newly-formed colonies was served by **NAM**. NAM democratised UN working.

Nehru emphasized on peaceful co-existence as exemplified by

Panchsheel — **mutual respect, no interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, for territorial integrity**

, mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence.

→

Under Nehru's leadership

• **Asian Relations Conference, 1947** — tone was to assert Asian independence
(ARC) (Delhi)

• **Another conf that condemned Dutch attempts to reconquer Indonesia.**

→ Bandung Conf, 1955

Belgrade Conf 1961

↳ **passed Resⁿ on dangers of nukes.**
Called for peace

✓ 1961: Real NAM started here Nehru, Nasser, Tito

By not aligning with any bloc, India benefited from both blocs

↳	↳
↳ G.R. technology	↳ defence
↳ Capital	↳ pub sector
↳ tech'gy	↳ Soviet
↳ PL480 machines	↳ Bhilai steel plant

- India maintained membership of IMF, WB, Commonwealth 13/

Our int'l role

Korean War ('50-'53)

We supported US in UNSC, condemning N. Korea as aggressor, but we abstained from resⁿ that provided for intervention. (Opposed US though we were dependent on PL48)

India, under Nehru insisted on 38th parallel, which was vindicated (after war broke out) finally.

Suez Canal ^{crisis} (1956)

India urged both groups to observe restraint, tried to forge an agreement by peaceful means — control by Egypt, advisory role by users etc. This was approved by Egypt.

Hungary ¹⁹⁵⁶

India criticized Soviet when in Oct 1956 it crushed a rebellion in Hungary. We stuck to NAM principles.

Congo

Our role in maintaining independence of Congo & thwarting Belgian attempts to recolonise it. Indian troops brought civil war to an end.

This marked high noon of NAM policy.

IPKF - contributor to peace missions of UN.

Supported Nkrumah - Ghana ✓
Indonesia - Sukarno ✓

Subsists - later

Relation with USA

We needed Capital, tech'gy, machines etc from US. But US was

(G.P.) hostile to us in UNSC on Kashmir

- US didnot appreciate our recognition of Comm. China in 1950

- Our initial posⁿ on Korea welcomed, later resented.
- US was critical to us on Goa while evicting Portugal
- US also thought India would disintegrate because of its diversity. Thus it thought we'd not be bulwarks against Communism, thus even if we wanted to we could not have joined Wⁿ alliance.

Relationship with Soviet

Began on cool note, but ended up acquiring great warmth ✓

- Nehru admired Soviet union, PC, Socialist set up etc?
- After Pak joined CEN TO, SEATO and Soviets promised military aid to us.

1955

Nehru landmark visit to USSR. Since then USSR

supported us on Kashmir in UNSC

- ✓ Bhilai plant - Russia (USSR)
- ✓ Bokaro " - USSR
- MiG aircraft - 1962 deal
radars, tanks, missiles etc

- USSR did not side with China after 1959 but remained neutral.

- 1962 war: USSR maintained neutrality ✓
(Tibetan uprising)

Pakistan

Partition, Kashmir issue, UN ...

- ✓ 1951 - agree to hold plebiscite but Pak refused to demilitarize
- India agreed to ~~photo~~ plebiscite **in 1953** but last chance was compromised
- on plebiscite adm^r issue

* China

- A policy of friendship, sympathy to China's struggle for freedom.
- India - 1st to recognise PRC in 1949-50, Nehru pressed for a seat in UNSC for Communist China. (lol)
- 1950 - China annexes Tibet. Though disappointed, we did not oppose (lol again)
- 1954 - We recognised China's rights over Tibet, Panchsheel [✓✓✓✓]

1959 - Dalai Lama flees China, sets up govt - in-exile in Dharmasala. India provided asylum but not allowed him to carry out pol. activities.
from our side.

1962 Chinese attack

Sep, 1962: Chinese troops attack Thagla ridge but was taken as a minor incident. A week later massive attack in NEFA (Ar. D) [Eⁿ sector]

Wⁿ sector: Galwan valley was overrun. Nehru asked Kennedy for help. 24 hrs later Chinese declared a unilateral withdrawal.

Whose fault

↙ mega lol

with Pak already hostile, India didn't need another neighbour as enemy. Preparing for war on 2 fronts ⇒ end to devt. Conflict must be delayed by adopting a friendly approach which is what Nehru did (eg: support for China in UNSC)

- He erred in not anticipating ¹²⁴ nature of the attack. A further mistake was made in appealing to US as next day the Chinese withdrew. Nehru asked for US air cover, w/o even asking on own air force.

→ Now it is agreed that India's defeat was not the result of Nehru's naive faith in Chinese friendship & negligence of defence. 1965 war was fought with same equipments yet we won. The reason indeed was lack of proper

system of defence command & mgt, flawed planning. Chiefs of Staff,

not integrated into civilian policy making structure. It was failure of logistics & intelligence.

→ Nehru should've settled NEFA borders as quid-pro-quo for Tibet. When Chinese annexed it in 1950 ←

→ US role of cornering China relating to Taiwan, UNSC - frustrated China that led to extreme left elements to come to fore in China. + Korea.

→ Chinese were also upset at India's line of seeking friendship & assistance from both US, USSR + our ↑ influence in Afro-Asian colonies

→ Sino-Soviet differences also made Chinese apprehensive, Soviets did not support nuclear effort in China.

Chinese attack - a reaction to a feeling of (isolation, abandonment)

frustration. Chinese by attacking us wanted to push us to

US Camp so that USSR firmly stands by China.

Conclusion: on NAM

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— Instead of imposing any rigidity, NAM let our F-policy evolve to meet the changing needs. It did not come in way of close f'ship with USSR since 1954, nor it stopped us from joining Commonwealth. **Nor was Nehru a pacifist who refused to use force when reqd (Junagadh, Hydr)**

— Visionary nature of Nehru's: rest of the world slowly began adopting his ideals of
 * → nuke disarmament
 * → US-Chinese (1972) Shanghai Communiqué ✓
 [Nehru's everlasting legacy] ~ based on Panchsheel +

Nehru's Contribution

- Consolidation of Indian independence
- Forging & welding Nat'l Unity
- Nurturing Democracy & P'mentary govt, Institution builder
- Socialism, planned Eco dev, Land reforms
- Opposing Communalism
- Foreign Policy

- Failures
- failed to mobilize masses ~~at~~ ^{unlike} Gandhiji
 - did not nip Communalism in the bud
 - Congress generally weakened
 - did not attack Casteism.
 - tardy implementⁿ of L.R.
 - Skilful in formulation but ^{OPP} fail^d lacking in policy implementⁿ

Shastri years

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→ Pak attacked thinking India was unprepared after 1962 war.
1965 war - India emerged stronger and gained the lost self-confidence after 1965 war. Secularism triumphed, Indian muslims fully supported Indian army and there was no communal trouble.

Tashkent declaration

under

Good offices of Soviet: Shastri - Ayub Khan
(Pres of Pak)

Agreed to withdraw troops to pre-war positions. Shastri dies in Tashkent

I. Gandhi

- I. Gandhi, at the behest of Syndicate (Kamraj) assumes throne.

She dealt effectively with Punjabi, ✓ Suba, ✓ Naga, ✓ Mizo insurgency, Mid 1960s

gave economic problems by devaluing the rupee by 35% at the insistence of WB, IMF.

- Later, she tried to build bridges but over the question of India's stand on Vietnam war, Lyndon Johnson refused help. India then pursued the path of G.R. She felt humiliated by Suba US approach as actual dispatches & aid were in installments. Her frustration made her ally with Soviet. She signed a joint statement with Soviet condemning US bombing in Vietnam as 'imperialist aggression'

1960s - Naxalite movement grips WB - increasing violence (inspired by Cultural Revⁿ of China)

II. Gandhi Years

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Congress received a drubbing in state elections of 1967. Reaction was many Congressmen including Indira turned towards left.

→ Nat's'n, [10-pt programme] radical

↳ ✓ nat's'n of insurance, exim trade

✓ ceilings on urban property, income

✓ curb on business monopolies (MRTP)

✓ FERA, MRTP, land reforms, pds etc,

Abolition of Privy purses, 14 banks nat's'd via Pres Ordinance

44th
38th A.A.
39th A.A.

All the above made her popularity soar. 1971 elections: 'Garibi Hatao' - her slogan

1971 war

Yajna Khan - dictator of Pak held free elections in E. Pakistan in which

Mujibur Rahman's Awami Party won 99% of seats in E. Bengal but army

refused to let the govt form. CDM move started, a major crackdown ensued.

- Awami leaders formed Mukti Bahini, Govt of B'desh in exile in Calcutta

- I. Gandhi waited patiently for strategic reasons (monsoon & glaciers in winter - china)

- Next 8 months - gave logistic military support to B'desh govt in exile

- US supported aid to Pak; ~~Wⁿ nations~~

U.S.S Enterprise

★ To save from US-china intervention → 20 year "Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, F'ship & Coopⁿ was signed" (1971)

- Pak air force launched surprise attack in Wⁿ Sector. Strong reply. Under **Gen. Aurora**, India overran Pak in Eⁿ sector.
- War demonstrated strength of secularism. Two-nation theory # epic fail

1972: Simla Agreement with **Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto**.

- India agreed to return Pak territory it occupied except some strategic locations
- Pak agreed to respect LOC
- agreed to settle disputes "bilaterally" w/o UN
- we returned Pak POW

Emergency

Pre-Emergency crises & Causes:

- a) **Economic crisis & discontent:**
- a) **Refugees from B'desh** - burden ←
 - b) **inflation, economic slump, unemployment**, ←
 - c) **Worker strikes all over [TUism]** ←
 - d) **drought during 1972-73**, L&O deterioration ←

b) **Major GJ & Bihar unrest:** **GJ** a popular anger over **prices of food, oil** etc, looting, rioting. **[I Gandhi dissolved GJ assembly]**.

Bihar - JP gave a call for **'Total Rev'** against corruption aimed at Congress. **Ghanso, CDM, got paralysed**. JP toured entire country now. - **Delhi etc.**

c) Trigger: Allahabad Court convicted Mrs. Gandhi on mal-practice and which meant, she could not seek election to p^rment nor hold any office for 6 years. As she appealed to SC, SC said she could stay in office until

judgement is given. (Raj Narain vs. State of UP)

- JP & Oppⁿ, now strengthened, even called for army, police, ^{B'y} not to obey orders ⇒ I. Gandhi's lightning response: Emergency: 26 June, 1975

What should've been done - (democratic options). 26 June, 1975.

✓ → wait for SC judgement & if it went against her ⇒ demand for "implement" else peaceful protest - [by JP Section]

✓ → to wait for Gen electⁿ to LS that are due in early 1976

✓ → I. Gandhi could've dissolved and fresh elections should've been held in

1975 OCT-NOV

Effect

→ 42nd Amend^t Act, F.R. made subordinate to DPSP. ✓

→ Though people welcomed emergency ~~so~~ initially, later with emergence of

Youth Congress under 'Sanjay Gandhi' - Reunited by people.

→ Shah Commission app^{nt} to investigate atrocities during Emergency. - [bent - crawled]

1977 elections:

Janata formed by coalitions - flops soon.

I. Gandhi evaluation

pg: 340 Refer

I.

Rajiv Years

→ Bhopal gas leak within 2 weeks of his assuming office.

- 6 technology missions —
 - ✓ drinking water
 - ✓ literacy
 - ✓ immunisation of preg. women, children
 - ✓ white revⁿ
 - ✓ Edible oil prodⁿ
 - ✓ telephone to every village.

Sam-Pitroda was the architect, Computerization was undertaken. Commⁿ Revⁿ
+ Jawahar Rozgar Yojana

Foreign Policy

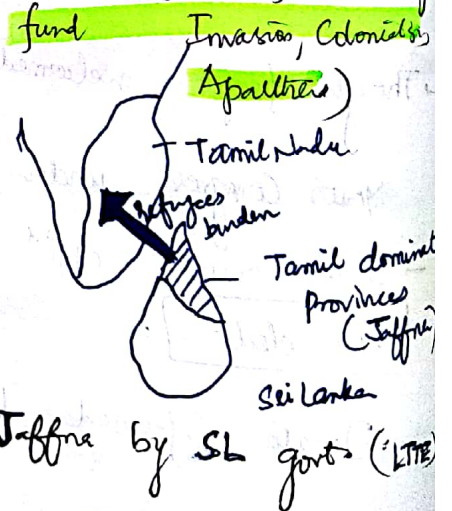
→ 1986: Gorbachev visit Delhi declaration — a plan for nuke disarmament
UN GA speech in 1988 — called for disarmament by 2010.

→ Supported S. Africa in fighting apartheid.

was set up at NAM Summit.

AFRICA (Action for Resisting
fund Invasion, Colonisation
Apartheid)

→ visits China, 1988 after Nehru



SL

1983 - Tamil refugees to India ∴ repression in Jaffna by SL govt. (LTTE)

1987 accord — Jayawardene — Rajiv

↳ provisions: devolution, merger of N, E provinces, LTTE dissolution

As LTTE was rigid, IPKF was sent.

→ Both SL, LTTE resented our presence.

Withdrew

→ He played vital role in Vietnam withdrawal of Cambodia

→ Popularised G-15, G-77 ✓

Bofors Scam happens. - 1987 (Role of V.P. Singh's honesty. Rajiv's image etc.)

Contract was in 1981, when I Gandhi was def-min. he ordered probe in 1987

no contacting Rajiv ⇒ ^{anger} Rajiv → V.P. Singh shifted → Rajiv image dented

For. Policy in 1990s

→ Demise of Soviet → end of cold war in 1991 LPS unrivaled

→ Maintained good relations with Arab states ∴ we supported Palestine Cause

→ ASEAN, SAARC
↳ dialogue partner
India looked eastward towards Japan, Asian tigers.
(HK, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand)
Continuation of NAM.

→ Pokhran-II in 1998 → angered wⁿ powers but asserted India's
nuke power status ∴ premonition of China-Pak nuclear axis. Fr, Germany, Russia
did not impose sanctions. [Aus, US, UK, Canada, Japan did]

→ Kargil, Kandahar - 1999

→ Agra Summit - 2001 ✓

→ Indo-US Nuke agreement - 2008

Punjab problems solved by Po. award 1956.
Kashmir problem - pg. 415. refer from book.

Land Reforms

in contemporary times.
"Land Reforms - unfinished task"
(Refer end)

Colonial impact

→ Commercialisation of agriculture - extra surplus that was transferred from India to Britain (drain). This did not give rise to Capitalist class because of permanent settlement system.

Features of agrarian structure

A) → high tax demand - Zamindari system, Ryotwari system
tax ~ 75% in many areas

B) → Growth of absentee landlordism, subinfeudation

Fact: On the eve of independence ~60-70% of total land was

C) owned by landlords.

→ Fragmented land-holdings → low productivity

D) → Destruction of handicrafts ⇒ high pressure on agri (∴ de-industrial)

land-man ratio = 0.92 ~~had~~ acre/man. 60% rural households

owned no land or were sharecroppers/labours. 75% were landless.

Why Capitalist class did not emerge

Given the above scenario, economically, landowners found it profitable to give out their lands on tenancy extracting high rents, illegal dues.

They saw no real purpose in inst & upgradation.

E) Extreme Indebtedness : Bonded labour, debt bondage was rampant

RBI report (1957) said that credit needs of agriculturists supplied by
Govt - 3% but moneylenders - 97%.

Indian agriculture, thus was suffering from stagnation, over-dependence etc.,

low modernisation - wooden ploughs, sickles .. Famines were a

Commonplace phenomenon.

Natl movt and land reforms

- INC always demanded lowering of land tax.
- Peasant movts during NCM, Bardoli Satyagraha (1928), Champaran:
- During CDM - no tax no-rent Campaigns in many parts - UP, AP.

Gandhiji himself asked UP Kisans to pay only 50% rent

- Karachi Session 1931 - FR & Economic programme. - Called for

a) redⁿ of rent

d) R. to form unions

b) relief from indebtedness

c) No Serfdom

- 1936 - All India Kisan Congress

- Fazipur Session (1936) - manifesto of Congress was basically Kisan manifesto

Fazipur agrarian prog.

- 1937 Congress manifesto talked about land reforms

After Congress formed ministries, within their limited powers, they passed PANUDEEP PURISHETTY AIR 1, CSE 2017

Bihar tenancy legislations in 1937, 38 that abolished ↑ in rents.

- Mahatma - "land to the tiller" during 30s, 40s.
- Peasant movements: Telangana (1945), Tebhaga (Bengal) - after WW-II
Naxalite movement.

Conclusion

In the immediate years preceding independence, reflecting the long history of the nat^l and peasant movements, a consensus on the agrarian question seemed to have emerged among a broad spectrum.

- Eg: Nehru Planning Comt (1938) ✓
- Bombay plan (1944-45) ✓

Imp

Immediately after independence, AICC appointed Economic Prog Comt that came up with 20-pt recommendⁿ of agriculture - blueprint for land reforms, (Co-operatives) its recommendations included

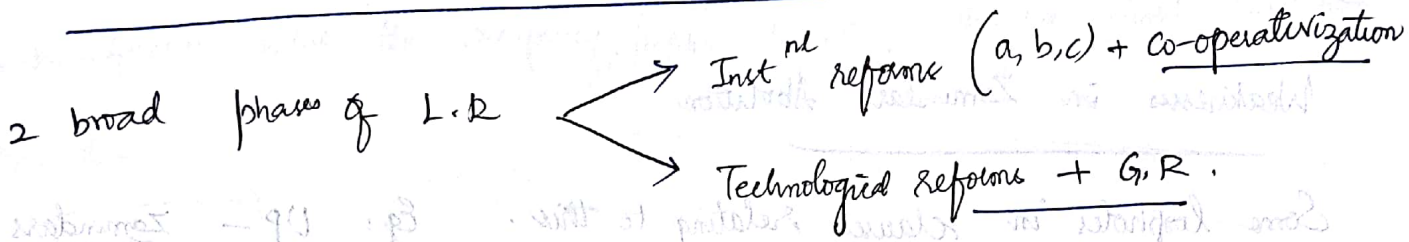
- ✓ Co-operatives in agri
- ✓ progressive taxation
- ✓ good prices for agri produce
- ✓ Consolidation of land holdings
- ✓ Statutory Village Panchayats for self gov^{ce}.

→ Kumarappa comt (1949) - Congress Agrarian Reforms Comt - whose recommendations were not wholly accepted by States.

Land Reforms (II) — Zamindari abolition — a

Tenancy Reforms — b

Land Ceiling — c



Zamindari Abolition

Within a year/two after independence, many states introduced bills!

— V.P. Zamindari abolition bill (by G.B. Pant) — acting as model for other

— zamindaris stymied the process by litigation in courts. Govt brought

out 1st Amend^t (1951), 4th Amend^t (1955) } 9th Sch — non justiciable.

— A major difficulty in implementing Zamindari abolition acts was

absence of land records. By end of 1950s, within democratic fw,

abolition of intermediaries was achieved: 20 million erstwhile tenants became

landowners

— Tenancy ↓ from 42% to 20% in 1960s. This was because of
in 1950s

2 reasons

- tenants became land owners (+ve) ✓
- landlords evicted tenants (-ve) ✓

Compensation was also low & ¹⁴⁶ even when paid was ^{delayed} AIR 1, CSE 2017

land rev. $\leq 25 \Rightarrow 20$ times net annual income as compensation
 $\rightarrow 2000 - 10,000 - 2 - 4$ times.

Weaknesses in Zamindari Abolition

Some loopholes in clauses relating to this. Eg: UP - Zamindars were

a) permitted to retain lands under their "personal cultv"

\rightarrow What constituted p. cultv was loosely defined is it is possible for those who tilled the soil and also for those who supervised or did so through relatives, provided capital/credit to land unlike in Kerala where "personal labour" clause was mandatory - no 'family holding' but 'personal holding'

b) No. limit on size that could be retained under 'p. cultv'

Kumarappa comt - though recommended 'only those who put min amt of phy. labour & participate in agri operations - could be 'p. cultv''

✓ Result was eviction of tenants. This was further followed when tenancy reforms, land ceilings came later.

c) One +ve effect was some retained for genuine cultv which led to progressive Capitalist farming ✓

d) Stifling through L, E, J routes

L: draft bills subjected to prolonged debates, repeated amend^{ts}. Many states took years for them to pass as acts.

[J]: Litigation in SC, Courts, repeated appeals 14)

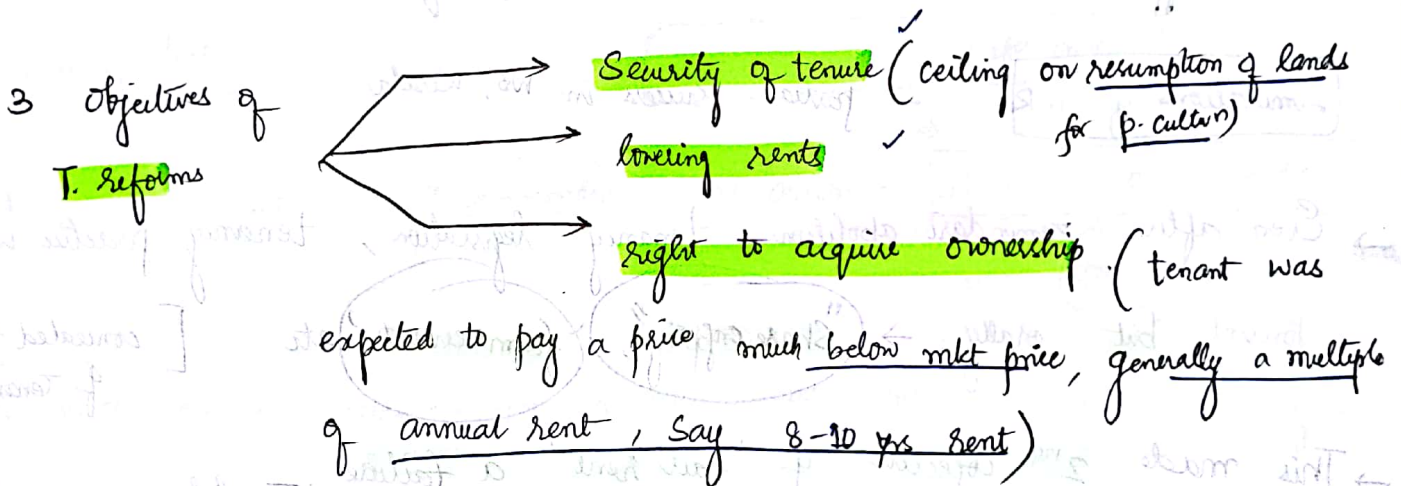
[E]: Collusion b/w landlords and lower level revenue officials

Main beneficiaries were the occupancy / upper tenants who had direct leases from Zamindar

Tenancy Reforms

Even after Zamindari abolition, tenancy existed orally and unrecorded.

Such tenancy existed under landlords who said lands were under 'personal cultivation'



Tenancy legⁿ — balance b/w interest of landowner & tenant — Concept of

'floors' and 'ceilings'

Security of tenure

- Right of resumption by landowner was limited in each state ~ 3 times family holding
- while resuming land, landowner could not deprive tenant of his entire lands at least half his holding must be left. Conversely tenant while acquiring cannot deprive landlord completely nor can the acquisition get him land
- > ceiling limit. ✓

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-ves : Led to 'voluntary surrender' which was 'illegal eviction'.

+ves : Many tenants benefitted too. They no longer suffered from insecurity.

Tenancy reforms pushed tenancy underground, in concealed form. Tenants were converted to 'farm servants', 'sharecroppers'. Major impediment in tenancy reforms was lack of proper records.

WB - Operation Barga was famous & successful - timebound regⁿ of sharecroppers : land records were absent : (Leftist govt)

Limitations of T.R - partial success in WB, Kerala

→ Even after zamindari abolition, tenancy legislation, tenancy practice was present but orally → "Sharecropping", "farm servants" etc [concealed form of Tenancy]

→ This made 2nd objective of 'fair rent' a failure. - Adverse man-land ratio ⇒ high rents : Fair rents can be enforced only if tenants had proper occupancy rights which wasn't the case.

→ Though max rent was fixed, market rents were charged in cases of informal tenancy.

→ G.R further ↑ input costs → ↑ rents → poor tenants suffered.

→ 3rd objective failed because of illegal eviction, 'voluntary surrender', 'oral tenancy'.

Conclusion

David Thomas, a noted economist observed:

"despite all evasions, leakages, loopholes, many millions of cultivators who had previously been weak tenants ~~or~~ were enabled to become superior tenants or land owners"

Stats

- ~ 20 million tenants → Land owners ✓
- ~ 50% land genuinely taken for p. cultiv. → Capitalist class (G.R) ✓
- ~ 5 million got surplus lands under Ceiling act ✓

Ceiling Act

Bhoodan movt — Refer from Book

Kumarappa comt — recommended land ceiling ~ 3 times economic holding
(good enough for reasonable st of living)

Because of lack of consensus → no ceiling act until 2-3 years. 1959 Congress

officially endorsed land ceiling in 1959 @ Nagpur session

Weakness

- Ceiling fixed was very high. ~ 70% of land holdings ^{were} < 5 acres where is the utility of fixing high ceilings there.
Ap : 27 - 312 acres ✓
Kerala - 15 - 37.5 acres ✓
Pb - 30 - 60 acres ✓
- Ceilings were on individuals not on family holdings ⇒ benami holdings
- Ceilings could be raised in many states if no. of family mem exceeded 5.
- Large exemptions in legislation — tea, dairying, rubber plant, Clause of 'efficiently managed' — which was abused by landowners.

They simply declared themselves efficient. ✓ 150

e) long delay → landowners had time to sell excess lands in the name of relatives, benami transfers, malafide transfers.

Eg: Despite ceiling acts of 1962, until 1970 → not a single acre was declared surplus in large states. J&K was a success story.
WB
Kerala

→ Many agrarian movements of 1960s, Naxalite movement brought land reforms to forefront.
Indira's turn towards left helps L.R. policy.

★ 1971 - CLRC - Central Land Reforms Committee } Govt
★
adopted new guidelines in 1972. Following this, most states
passed revised limits. + 34th Amendment (Ninth Sch) to prevent litigation

Impact

- Killed the land market and prevented consolidation of landholdings ✓
- High popⁿ growth over next few decades ⇒ Subdivision of large holdings over several generations. ✓
- Further redistribⁿ not feasible as these holdings may become further small, uneconomic. ✓

→ Unlike anywhere else, LR was democratic in letter & spirit. No forced collectivisation as in Soviet, China

→ Changes enabled introduction of modern capitalist farming → G. Revⁿ later.

→ incentive for agrⁱ improvement was now present - ∴ no absentee landlordism, no tenants. Large zamindars, jagirdars took to modern capitalist farming + Tenants, sharecroppers who got ownership were now prepared to make for greater invest. ∴ Therefore productivity increased. > 3.5%

→ Govt, unlike colonial era, made invest & improvements ✓

Eg, credit, BDO, CDP, Village Level Workers, Seeds, fertilisers.

Daniel Thorner, economist on Indian agrⁱ - Comment - "India's First 21 yrs of independence has brought more chg than prev. 200 yrs"

Result: ~ 3% growth during 1st 3 plans. (7.5 times higher than during colonial era)

→ productivity ↑

→ 97% (< 25 acres). Very few estates (> 100 acres) ∴

Egalitarian nature.

Critical Analysis: ★

0.2 ha boy

→ problem of landless or near landless, constituting nearly 50% of agrⁱ popⁿ persisted, despite LR and accentuated by Caste system

→ high popⁿ growth, yet inability of industrⁿ to absorb agrⁱ popⁿ ⇒

pressure on agri land.

→ Efforts at ↑ working cond^{ns} of landless and providing them with non-farm emp^t in rural areas - had uneven results and left much to be desired.

→ Effort at co-operative joint farming didnot take roots. Indian agri didnot move in the direction of Socialism, which was good ∴ China - (G.L. Forward disaster); Soviet - disaster but our Cap-nation made us amenable to G.R.

→ Frequent droughts, famines, a blot on LR still. ✓

D.D. Bhanu quote - " > U.S.A secularism".

Chapters : 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40. - Refer from book

* [For Secularism Refer Fadia-II, pg 86]

S.R. Bommai case, SC said Secularism: basic structure

* Communalism - Revival & Growth
{ 658 riots in 2010, 111 killed }

(Ncert: Communalism refers to a political ideology that seeks to unify one community around a religious idea in hostile oppⁿ to another community)

Secularism - means separation of religion from state and politics and its being treated as pt, personal affair. i.e. no discrimination on grounds of religion

Agrarian Struggle : Tg movt under Nizam PEPSU Tenants movt Shetkari Sangathan MH - NEW Farmer's movt + Warli struggle + Naxalbari	Bhils movt + Warli struggle	Challenges to Secularism SC in Bommai case 1) C ^o p ^{ro} m, Act 44, ban on slaughter 2) Pol-parties: Shah Bano 3) Rists, f ^o m ↑ 4) Polygamy allowed. 5) Text book Content
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Communalism:

- an ideology based on the belief that

religious communities, whose pol, eig, soci interests diverge and are even hostile to each other because of their religious differences. It is akin to anti-Semitism, racism, Fascism.

Communalism became active in 1960s, Communal parties had poor showing in '52, '57, '62 elections & remained a marginal force.

- Jabalpur riots in 1961 - Nehru reacted by forming **NIC**.
- Jan Sangh ↑ strength from '62 to '67. participated in coalition govt but B'desh war of 1971 dealt a major blow to Communal forces.
- Communalism widespread geographically - Kerala, TN, AP etc, During Janata govt (1977) Jansangh, RSS have formed coalitions with govt and ↑ their clout. Communalism was strong since then.

Reasons & Characteristics

Economic
Social
Political
Admin

Economic

- A product of overall socio-economic & political cond's. Problems like poverty, unemp^t, inequality have only been partially tackled esp in context of popⁿ explosion ⇒ breed frustration, personal, social anxiety & unhealthy competⁿ. Access inequality breeds Comm'ism.

Above competⁿ particularly affects the bourgeoisie middle classes. Growth of middle class outpaced economic growth.

- Spread of edu, aspirations, social chg ⇒ millions of ¹⁵⁴ people class are now looking for jobs. This explains why Comm'sm was absent until 1960s. ∴ public sector, planned dev, L.R. etc, created jobs but these have stagnated by 1960s → source for Comm'sm

- Chg in agrarian structure also created rich class - farmers who provided ground for communal, casteist ideologies.

Social ✓

old traditional social inst's, support systems → Caste, joint family, village are breaking down. Inst's s/as Kisan Sabhas, Social clubs etc are declining.

→ In this situation, many turn to communal orgns as an alternative.
→ Large scale migration to urban areas → lack of resources, jobs, menial cond^{ns} breeds frustration & they are vulnerable.

Political ✓

→ Exhaustion of pol-idealism granted by nat^l movt. People needed a new unifying goal after 1947 - sadly that was lacking after 1970s.

→ Political parties appealing to communal vote banks etc.,

→ Political opportunism allowed religion to intrude into politics

Eg: a) Congress allied with Muslim League in Kerala - 1960s

b) Akali Dal with Comm parties in Pb.

c) 1974-75: JP permitted RSS, Jan Sangh, Jamaat-i-Islami to

d) become part of Total Revⁿ. 1977: Jan Sangh part of JP govt.

✓ e) Shah Bano - Rajiv Gandhi

✓ f) V.P. Singh declared Prophets' b'day holiday on Independence Day in 1990

→ No diff b/w minority Comm'sm & majority Comm'sm
can end up in separatism (Eg: PD) - majority Comm'sm → Fascism.

Adm've Cause - Lack of sensitivity in dealing with Communalism firmly is a major reason.
Hindu Communalism (Eg: Muzaffar Nagar) + Adm Social Media - recent example.

Hindu Communalists found that w/o strong emotional appeal to religion or a religious issue, progress of their communal politics was tardy. Thus they weaved their politics around Ram-Jannabhoomi (1980s) - which could inflame Hindus. VHP, Bajrang Dal, RSS - fanning this ideology

1983 campaign of 'liberation' of Ram Jannabhoomi

- 1961 - Jabalpur riots
- 1992 - Dec 6 - Babri Masjid demolition → Riots brokeout in Bombay, Calcutta, Bhopal.
- 1984 - Sikh riots
- 2002 - Godhra riots
- 2013 - Muzaffarnagar riots

Major riots (Communal)	
1961 -	Jabalpur
1984 -	Sikh riots, Delhi
1992 -	Babri masjid - Bombay, Calcutta
2002 -	Godhra riots, Gij

Gandhiji Quote: "Religion is a personal matter which should have no place in politics!"
IMP
Harjan

Cause of Comm'sm

- Economic - jobs, fruits, middle class, new farms
- Social - breakdown of trad. instts, (migration), inequality
- Pol - pol opportunism, to gain pol. mileage (Shah Bano sp)
- Adm'ge + (rel'gy)
- Unity Social media

Indian Women Since Independence 156

Background:

- Rammohan Roy - Early 20th century. Brahma Samaj store for rooting out social evils prevalent
- National movt after emergence of Mahatma Gandhi - NCM, CDM, GJM (Anura Asaf, Usha Mehta)
- Women played pivotal role. Opened new vistas for them.
- ↓
[in Gandhian to Communist to rev. terrorist] movts

1926 - All India Women's Conf (AIWC) ✓

Cⁿ promised equality to women: FR, DPSP, preamble; Women got the vote (legal & cⁿ rights) (Cⁿal)

1950s - Hindu Code bill - opposed; later, 4 acts were passed (Legal) / introduced by Ambedkar

- Hindu Marriage Act
- Hindu Succession Act
- Hindu Minority & Guardianship Act
- Hindu Adoption & Maintenance Act

1985 - Shah Bano case

Women's Movts - Post 1947

- 1954: Communist women left AIWC to form Nat^l Fedⁿ of Indian Women (AIDWA)
- There was not much evidence of women's movts in 1950s and 60s.
- Women's movts came to the fore in 1970s ✓ (1970s)

→ Women played an imp role in peasant, tribal, farmers and trade union and envt mvt. 157
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Eg. In Tebhaga peasant mvt in 1946-47; women organised themselves as **Nari Bahini** ✓

b) Communist women mobilised rural women on **Mahila Atma Raksha Samitis** (women's self defence coms) - took up issue of domestic violence

c) Women's pptⁿ in **Telangana mvt** was also quite significant. ✓

d) 1967 - **Naxalite mvt** ✓

e) 1970s - Jp mvt, **Chipko mvt** and **anti-price rise mvt** ✓

f) 1960s - **Sarla Behn, Mia Behn** - 1974 UKhard - **anti-liquor mvt** by picketing shops.

→ Another major milestone was formation of **SEWA** (Self-Employed Women's Assocⁿ)

It took up women issues in unorganised sector who worked as vendors, hawkers and organised them into a union - provided collective bargaining, training & credit. **Ela Bhatt**

SEWA spread to Indore, Bhopal, Delhi & Lucknow under the aegis of **Ela Bhatt**. (SHG mvt)

Other such mvt examples.

→ **Chattisgarh's Mahila Mukti Morcha** - **against mining in tribal belts**

→ **Chhatra Yuv Sangharsh** - inspired by Jp ideas, led struggle for agri labourers against temple priests in Bodhgaya

→ **Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathan** - effort to secure justice to victims of gas tragedy.

After Emergency of 1977,

a **women's group**

in **Delhi**

turned out to be one of the most enduring institutions of women's movt.

"Manushi"

- a journal which has documented and analysed the women's movt, told its history, presented literature by women and continuing till

this day under the able leadership of **Madhu Kishwar** ✓

- Women NGOs:
- 1) CARE
 - 2) Azad Foundation (Skill dev)
 - 3) SEWA
 - 4) ICW (1st Century Research on Women)
 - 5) Adbhaya Center
 - 6) Anusara (mental health)

- **Stree Sangharsh** :

campaign against dowry

- All India Democratic Women's Assocⁿ (AIDWA) - 1981 : fought for

Dowry Prohibition Act (1961) ✓ * AIDWA

- **Anti-dowry, anti-rape agitations** - during **Shah Bano case** ✓

- In Hyd, **Anveshi** was set up as a platform for theoretical studies of women's issues. + in Delhi - **"Journal for Gender Studies"**

Nishchaya Mat - 2012

Delhi

Govt initiatives

→ National Perspective Plan for Women, 1988

→ 73rd, 74th Amend^t - 33% reservation for women ✓

→ DWACRA (Dept of Women & Children in Rural Areas) ✓

→ **Rashtriya Mahila Kosh** - to extend credit to women SHGs to ↑ Skills & Standards of living

→ **Women's Reservation Bill** - still in the works ✓

- **Nat Mission for Emp^t of Women** ✓

Health & Edu ;

→ PCPNDT Act 159

→ NRHM — Janani Suraksha Yojana, ASHA, PHC

- Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao

+ NUHM

Ig, Matritva Sahyog Yojana

Bal Shishu Suraksha Karyakram

ICDS, immunisation programmes

Issues still remain

— Quote & note down Statistics

- IMR, MMR still high ; Anaemia during pregnancy
- Rapes & Dowry deaths
- high illiteracy among women esp rural women.
- Skewed Sex ratio, Female foeticide.
- no infra such as toilets dissuades girl children from going to school.

* India After Gandhi: Achievement & Problems

→ Current weaknesses should not cloud our vision. There is not enough reason to allow ourselves to be stifled in a fall of gloom, to be drowned in a sea of depression. Our achievements in the last 65 years are considerable by any historical standards. Given the painful situation post-independence, our achievements are impressive.

Achievements

National Unity :

Selig Harrison quote — prophet of doom

Eg: Solⁿs of divisive issues :

official lang. issue (1950-60s)

reorgⁿ of linguistic states (1956)

sympathetic handling of tribal problems (Panchsheel)

→ firm treatment of separatist movts. (Pb, NE) ✓

→ efforts @ ↓ regional inequality ✓

Above steps have all forged unity & welded us into a nation ✓

- Disparities remain, yet they do not threaten our unity.

- Emergence of regional parties also contributed to national unity

Threat to our unity: Communalism

Democracy

Our great success story has been its secular, federal, multi-party pol. system. We overcame crisis of 1967-69, 1975-77 with remarkable resilience.

I. Gandhi (1972): (famine)

"Our greatest achievement is to have survived as a free and democratic nation"

- Though Communists challenged democratic system earlier, they too fell in line later

Eg: JP questioned multi-party system in 1960s, yet in the end he too had accepted it after lifting of Emergency, 1977.

✓ W.H. Morris-Jones Quote - "The combination of pol stability with est^t of a free, democratic polity is the Indian political miracle" — 1966

Entrenchment of Democracy

civil liberties — press, speech, media, independent J.

Elections — free, fair

Eg: Election verdict after Emergency, Natⁿ of banks, Land reforms, Amend^t with 30% reservation for women, unopposed working of p^rment reservation for SC, ST → shown that democracy is not an obstacle to social transformation.

- A prominent dev^t has been steadily growing for awareness among people. disadv sections - women, poor are asserting their rights. People have come to realise power of vote (Eg: after Emergency verdict 1977)

Negatives Role of Caste, communalisation of politics recently

Yet everyone ^{was} united irrespective of caste - Eg: Garibi hatao election - 1971
JP movt. = '74 - 77
Anti-Emergency election - 1977
1984 election after assassⁿ of I.G.

Popular p^{ar}tⁿ in pol-process - Various sections ~~exercising~~ exercising their R^ts to vote
- PILs on pol issues, RTI etc.,
↳ good example.

Economic Growth ✓ - ↓ in poverty, IT hub, NEP, 1991, planned dev^t
↳ -ve aspect: inequality, social exclusion, MSME, illiteracy etc

Areas of Darkness

Poverty, Illiteracy, Health < IMR, MMR, Unemp^t, Gender injustice

Corruption

Prospects & Promises to Keep

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- We still face challenges of poverty, disease, inequality - But there is no ground for pessimism. Despite many maladies, we made significant progress toward Social justice. Nehru's dilemma of how to combine devt with equity has also disappeared for we can now achieve this.
- The major reason for optimism must lie in our belief that democracy can find a solⁿ to these problems.

Evolution of States & UTs — brief Summary ('54, '61, '72, '87, '2000)

Indian Independence Act (1947) — had 552 princely state provinces

549 joined India; 3 refused to join... later, Hyd — police action
J'garh — referendum
Kashmir — Instru. of Accession.

1950 — had 4-fold classifⁿ —

Part A — 9 erstwhile Gov's provinces of British India

Part B — 9 erstwhile princely states with legislatures

Part C — (10) Chief Commissioners provinces + princely states - They were centrally administered (much like UTs).

Part D — A & N — solitary state.

1948 — Dhar Commisⁿ - Linguistic Prov. Commisⁿ set in view of demands from S. Indian states
↓
said no to linguistic states. (adm'ive factors was put forth as criteria)

1948 — JVP comt — also rejected language as a basis,

1953 - GoI forced to make Andhra State 163

1956 - SRC-1 : Fazal Ali, KM Panikkar, H.M. Kunzru.

↳ Broadly accepted language as basis, but rejected one-language-one-state.

4 factors were identified by SRC-1 : → Strengthening of unity of India
→ Ling & cultural homogeneity
→ Fin, adm've, eco, considerations
→ Planning & promotion of welfare.

It recommended abolition of 4-fold classifⁿ

7th C.A.A - Nov 1, 1956 → 14 States, 6 UTs created.

Pre-1956 : Kerala, Ktk, A.P, (PB+PEPSU)

Post-1956 reorgⁿ & Consolidation

MH & GJ - 1960 : Bilingual State of Bombay divided into MH and GJ on the basis of language

Puducherry - French, 1954, 1962
Puducherry, Karaikal, Yanam, Mahe - Controlled by French

Handed over to India - 1954 as 'acquired territory'

1962 - made into a UT via 14th C.A.A

Goa, Daman & Diu - Portuguese : [1961, 1987]

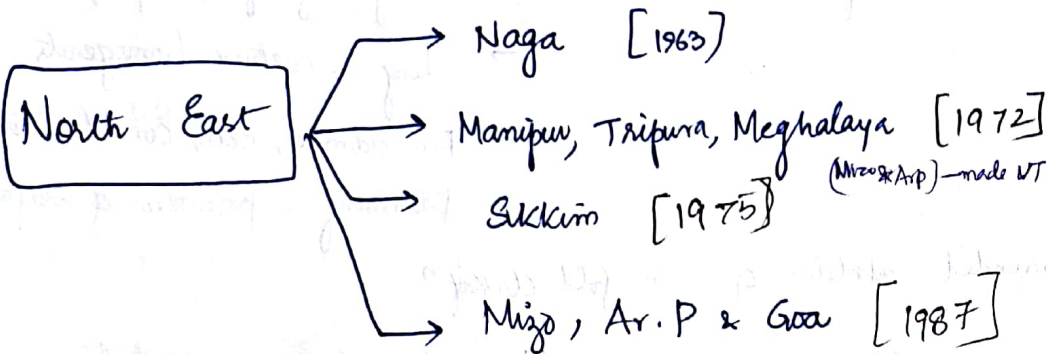
Acquired from Portuguese by Police action in 1961.

Both made as ^{one} UTs in 1962 (12th CAA)

Goa got statehood in 1987 & Daman & Diu constituted as separate UT.

Dadra Nagar Haveli - Portuguese [1954, 1961]

Liberated from Portuguese in 1954. Carried on admⁿ until 1961 by an adm^r chosen by people. made UT in **1961**



Rem: Mizo. Bigger chicken leg came later into being as a separate state (along with Goa & Arp)

Naga - 1963

To satisfy hostile Nagas, Naga hills & Tuensang area of Assam was taken out and formed a separate Nagaland.

Mani, Trip, Megh - ~~1969~~ **1972** - Pöngm shift - 1972 NE

Arp & Bigger chik leg - UT state

1972, pol map of NE underwent major change

Mani, Tri, Sub-state of Meghalaya → got statehood 1972

Mizo, Ar. P (NEFA) as UTs were created in 1972 out of Assam territory.

Sikkim - was a princely state until 1947 - ruled by Chogyal. Became a protectorate in 1947. with GoI responsible for ~~Sikkim~~ defence, Commⁿ, ext. affairs

1974 - On the wishes of Sikkim people, was conferred 'associate state' [2A 10th sch]

1975 - Referendum - abolished Chogyal instiⁿ, full-fledged state [Art. 2A 10th sch repealed]

Mizo, Ar.P, Goa - 1987

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UT of Mizo - granted Statehood - (after 1986, Peace accord b/w Mizo & Govt of India)

Ar.P - Statehood from UT

Goa - Statehood " "

Daman & Diu - Carved as separate UT

Chattisgarh, UK, Jhkd - 2000 [Carved out of MP, UP, Bihar]

28 states, 7 uts.

Haryana, Chandigarh, Hp - [1966, 1971]

1966 - pb bifurcated into Pb & Hy and Chandigarh as UT was created

hill areas of pb were merged with UT of HP.
(Kangra)

1971 : HP granted Statehood

Note : Make notes from Chapter 7 & 8 of Politics in India
Since Independence, NCERT XII

2014

Telangana

Yay!!!

Land Reforms - Unfinished Task

Currently, >85% in rural areas with major source of livelihood - land
∴ landlessness ⇒ poverty. } ✓

- Food insecurity, vulnerability to exploitation, are a common feature.
In the absence of legal title, it is difficult to obtain insurance for their crops, loans from banks, avail benefits from govt schemes.
[major problem]

→ Vulnerable groups - SC, ST, Women - feel this adversely
∴ w/o land they become susceptible to exploitation
esp women folk, who lose bargaining power.

→ 2008 - Nat'l Council for Land Reforms formed to look into unfinished task of LR
↓
Council: PM (Chairman) + 6 union min (MoRD, Agric, PRI, Tribal Social Justice, MoEF)
+ Dy chairman PC + 8 Land Experts + 10 CMS (AP, Ktk, MH, etc)

Record so far

only 1.5% of arable land - redistributed so far [WB - 20% of this]

Land Reform - agenda & Appraisal

- Story so far

16)

- Redistribⁿ of Surplus ✓
- Tenancy reforms ✓
- Zamindari / intermediary abolition] → no longer a pressing concern as the above 2 are. ✓

Obstacles: Subterfuges such as **benami / distⁿ b/w family members**
→ a hindrance to Land Ceiling Act

- Also, **women issues - totally ignored in LR policy. Nepal, on the contrary**
Pays special attention to Women issues. We should encourage

Collective farming through SHGs, Credit schemes, extⁿ services.

Solⁿs

LMP

- ✓ **Progressive Land tax** based on **Size** can be a viable solⁿ to create **disincentive for land holders** to cede land

- **Philippines - much to learn from: 63% of total land distributed: pol will**
along with redistribⁿ + credit, mkt access, infra - irrigⁿ, Seeds are provided.

- ✓ Ktk - **Bhoomi** prog. → **Land Record Computerisation**: Must be replicated elsewhere

- **Bottom-up approach is necessary.** Farmer pptⁿ in drawing boundaries, claims,
Complaints - reqd. [this approach was followed in Kerala]

Recommendations for future course of action

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- Awareness Creation ✓ [FRA, PESA exp]
- Plugging loopholes in current fw [Eg: Ceiling act → benami]
- A comprehensive reform package [credit, infra, cooperatives, LR → all as one]
- Drafting a model Central act for states to follow
- Special protection to women
- Effective implementⁿ of FRA, PESA, Emp^t of Panchayat (Gram Sabhas)
- Computerisation of land records on the lines of "Bhoomi" (Ktk) ✓
- Fast track courts on land disputes ✓
- Strengthening Nat. Land Reform Council (Council lacks mandatory powers - 'land' - state subject
Cⁿ can be amended to give this Council teeth)

Gist:

- In sum, unfinished tasks^{are} related to:
- plugging loopholes
 - Emp^t of G. Sabha
 - Effective implementⁿ of FRA, PESA
 - A uniform, comprehensive package
 - Women
 - Computerisⁿ
 - Strengthening N.L.R. Council; Land Use Board
 - Tenancy issues need a re look
 - LAAR (most imp in current Scenario)

LAAR
PESA
Computerisⁿ
Women
FRA
N.L.R.C