

## 2. Indian history

### Colonial cities

1. With political and commercial realignments, **old towns went into decline** and new towns developed. The Mughal capitals, Delhi and **Agra**, lost their political authority. The growth of new regional powers was reflected in the increasing importance of **regional capitals** such as **Lucknow, Hyderabad, Tanjore**, etc.
2. **From the mid-eighteenth century**, previous **commercial centres** such as **Surat, Masulipatnam** and Dhaka **declined** and colonial port cities such as **Madras, Calcutta and Bombay** rapidly emerged as the new economic capitals. They also became centres of colonial administration and political power.
3. With the **introduction of railways in 1853** economic activity gradually shifted away from traditional towns which were located along **old routes and rivers**. Every railway station became a collection depot for raw materials and a distribution point for imported goods. Railway towns like **Jamalpur, Waltair and Bareilly** developed.
4. From the beginning there were **separate quarters for Europeans and Indians**, which came to be labelled in contemporary writings as the **White Town** and **Black Town** respectively. Once the British captured political power these **racial distinctions became sharper**.
5. The nature of the colonial city **changed further in the mid-nineteenth century**. After **the revolt of 1857** British attitudes in India were shaped by a constant fear of rebellion. They felt that towns needed to be **better defended**, and white people had to **live in more secure and segregated enclaves**, away from the threat of the natives.
6. **Pasturelands and agricultural fields** around the older towns **were cleared**, and new urban spaces called **Civil lines** were set up. White people began to live in the Civil Lines. **Cantonments** were also developed as safe enclaves. For the British, the **Black areas** came to symbolise not only **chaos** and anarchy, but also filth and **disease**.
7. From the 1860s and 1870s, **stringent administrative** measures regarding **sanitation** were implemented and building activity in the Indian towns was regulated. **Under-ground piped water supply** and **sewerage and drainage systems** were also put in place around this time. Sanitary

vigilance thus became another way of regulating Indian towns.

## 8. Hill stations

1. The hill stations became **strategic places for placing troops**, guarding frontiers and launching campaigns against enemy rulers. **Shimla** was founded during the course of the **Gurkha War** and Darjeeling was wrested from the rulers of Sikkim in 1835.
2. These hill stations were also developed as **sanitariums**, i.e., places where **soldiers could be sent for rest** and recovery from illnesses.
3. The **temperate and cool climate** of the Indian hills was seen as an advantage, particularly since the British associated hot weather with **epidemics**.
4. As the hill stations approximated the **cold climates of Europe**, they became an **attractive destination** for the new rulers. It became a practice for viceroys to move to hill stations during the **summer months**. The buildings in hill stations were deliberately built in the European style.
5. Hill stations were important for the **colonial economy**. With the setting up of **tea and coffee plantations** in the adjoining areas, an influx of **immigrant labour** from the plains began. This meant that hill stations no longer remained exclusive racial enclaves for Europeans in India.
6. The **introduction of the railways** made hill stations more **accessible** to a wide range of people including Indians. **Upper and middle class Indians** such as maharajas, lawyers and merchants were drawn to these stations because they afforded them a close proximity to the ruling British elite.
9. As **Bombay's economy** grew, from the mid-nineteenth century there was a need to expand railways and shipping and develop the administrative structure. Many new buildings were constructed at this time. These **buildings reflected the culture and confidence of the rulers**. The architectural style was usually European.

## 10. Features of this style

1. First, it expressed the **British desire to create a familiar landscape** in an alien country, and thus to feel at home in the colony.
2. Second, the British felt that European styles would **best symbolise their superiority, authority and power**.
3. Third, they thought that buildings that looked European would

mark out the difference and distance between the colonial masters and their Indian subjects.

4. Initially, these buildings were at odds with the traditional Indian buildings. Gradually, Indians too got used to European architecture and made it their own. The British in turn adapted some Indian styles to suit their needs.

### **Role of Press in Indian freedom struggle**

1. The invention of printing press has had everlasting impact on our freedom movement. Though the early newspapers were started in English, eventually the vernacular has helped penetrate the ideologies of the national leaders and the national movement.
2. Such was the impact of these newspapers that the reactionist viceroys like Lytton, Curzon and others have tried to obstruct the functioning of these newspapers through acts like the Vernacular press Act, etc.
3. **Specific examples**
  1. It was in 1857 itself that Payam-e-Azadi started publication in Hindi and Urdu, calling upon the people to fight against the British. The paper was soon confiscated and anyone found with a copy of the paper was prosecuted for sedition.
  2. Din Bandhu Mitra published Neel darpan in 1861, urging the people to stop cultivating the Indigo crop for the white traders. This started a huge movement.
  3. Tilak edited the kesari, a Marathi newspaper, which became one of the leading media to propagate the message of freedom movement. It also made the anti-partition movement of Bengal a national issue.
  4. Gandhiji had brought out publications like Young India, Harijan, etc., to fight various social ills.
  5. Subash Chandra Bose and CR Das were not journalists but they acquired the papers like Forward and Advance which later attained national status. Jawaharlal Nehru founded the National Herald.
  6. In case of the revolutionary movement, Yugantar, started by Barindra Kumar Ghosh, was leading daily.
  7. When the Ghadar party was organised in America, Lala Hardayal

started publication of the journal **Ghadar**.

8. In 1905, Shyamaji Krishna Verma started publication of a journal Indian **Sociologist** from London. It used to **publish reports of political activities** taking place at the India House in London.

#### 4. **Impact**

1. **Consolidating nationalism:** With the penetration of the Vernacular Press, nationalism has reached the most **remote areas of the country**, where those educated in the vernaculars have discussed it even with the uneducated.
2. **Exposing atrocities:** This was done by all the major news papers, for instance **Tilak** in Kesari has spoken up about the **Plague epidemic** and inaction of the British, for which he was eventually prosecuted. The **drain theory** propounded by moderate leaders such as **Dadabhai Naoroji**, etc
3. **Arousing self-confidence:** Several leaders have tried to arouse **self confidence** among Indians by informing about the **glorious past of India** and has thus aroused self confidence among Indians.
4. **Reforms in social sphere:** The vernacular press has also tried to reform various social issues such as caste **discrimination**, **women's rights and even religious reforms**. Newspapers like **Darpan**, **Satyarth Prakash** have worked for these reforms.
5. **Revolutionary terrorism:** Vernacular press has been at the roots of growth of the revolutionary nationalism movement. They propagated their ideas through news papers such as **Sandhya**, **Kal**, **Yugantar** etc.

#### **Treaty of Bassein**

1. The Treaty of Bassein was essentially a **subsidiary alliance** signed between the **Britishers and Peshwa, BajiRao II**. The system of subsidiary alliance was used by Wellesley to bring Indian states within the ambit of British political power as it disarmed and threw British protectorate over Indian States in the form of Resident being permanently stationed there.
2. **Marathas** (Peshwa, Scindias, Holkars) **were still a power to reckon with** in western and central India. This treaty effectively posed **no challenge to British authority**.

3. **British troops** at the expense of Peshwa were stationed at **Poona**, gave greater strategic importance to the Britishers as the Company now could **interfere in the Maratha affairs** directly and its rulers.
4. Under the provisions of treaty, **Peshwa's foreign policy was in the hands of the Company**. Also, **non-British Europeans were expelled** and were not allowed employment under Peshwa. This had political implications for the Britishers as it made them the **sole arbitrator in Maratha affairs**.
5. Peshwa also agreed to **cede** in perpetuity to the company, **territories in Gujarat including Surat**, territories yielding an income of 26 lakhs etc which was used for financing the campaigns of Britishers in India.
6. Thus, after signing of the Treaty of Bassein by the Peshwa, the **options for other Maratha chiefs were curtailed**, which later led to 2nd Anglo-Maratha war and paved way for British supremacy in the whole west and central India.

### **Establishment of powerful kingdom by Ranjit Singh**

1. The **power vacuum in Punjab province**, created with **the defeat of Marathas and Mughals** at the hands of British in late 18th century gave the Sikhs an opportunity to rise, which they ably utilised under the leadership of Ranjit Singh. This was further **facilitated by frequent invasions by Afghans** due to prolonged neglect of North West frontier. All this led to dislocation of Punjab administration.
2. It was in this context that the **local Sikh chiefs, organised themselves into 12 confederacies (misls)**, collaborated with each other to **ward off the attacks of Afghan rulers**. As a result, the whole of Punjab and Jammu were brought under their control.
3. However, **realising the vulnerability of the confederacy** to foreign attacks and the rising power of feudal chiefs and zamindars, **Ranjit Singh annexed the misls** and united **all of Punjab west of Sutlej into one Empire**. He was proclaimed Maharaja in 1801. Later, he **conquered Amritsar, Kashmir, Multan and Peshawar**. The old chiefs were transformed into big zamindars. Thus the Sikh province emerged into a powerful kingdom.
4. **Given the fair amount of stability**, Punjab under Ranjit Singh built up a **powerful army along European lines**. Punjab under him developed

friendly relations with British by engaging them diplomatically. This was evident in the Amritsar Treaty of 1809, between British and Ranjit Singh, which recognised Sutlej as the border of Punjab Empire. However, with the **death of Ranjit Singh in 1839**, Punjab once again fell victim to the British imperialist greed and was annexed into the British Empire in 1849.

### **1833 charter act**

1. **Centralisation of power:** The **Governor General of Bengal** was made the Governor General of British India and all financial and administrative powers were centralised in the hands of Governor General-in-Council. He could **repeal, amend or alter any laws** or regulations in any part of British territory in India.
2. **Concept of Acts:** The Act provided that **all laws made in India were to be laid before the parliament** and be known as acts.
3. **Establishment of Indian Law Commission:** To codifying the laws, the GG-in-Council was directed to **set up an Indian law commission** to inquire into the jurisdiction, powers and rules of the courts, judicial procedure, nature and operation of all kinds of laws.
4. **Indians in Administration:** The act provisioned to admit the **natives of India to share administration** in the **country**.
5. **Social Measures:** The **act directed the GG-in-Council** to give due consideration to personal laws and work towards mitigation of the state of slavery.
6. Thus, the **act changed a commercial body to administrative setup** and laid the initial foundation for introduction of colonial government in India.

### **Socio-religious movements**

1. **Two important intellectual criteria** which informed the reform movements were **rationalism** and **religious universalism**. A lot of it was based on Indian tradition, rather than western ideas.
2. **Genesis of awakening**
  1. **Hinduism had become a compound of magic, animism and**



**superstition.** Priestly class exercised an unhealthy influence on minds of people.

2. **Social conditions were equally depressing.** Child marriages, female infanticide, lack of women education, etc.
3. **Caste was another debilitating factor.** Untouchability and oppression went against dignity of the individual. The rules and regulations of caste fostered social division and sapped individual initiatives.
4. **Establishment of colonial rule** in India and an attempt to disseminate colonial culture in India.
5. Impact of modern western education and **rise of middle class** gave birth to a new awakening.
6. The **rising tide of nationalism** and ideological concepts like **rationalism, religious universalism and humanism.**

### 3. Contributions of socio-religious movements

1. Reformers asked people to **evaluate socio-religious practices with rationality.** For example, in the Brahma Samaj, it led to the repudiation of the **infallibility of the Vedas.**
2. These reform movements worked for the **welfare of the lower castes** and improving their status in the society. To purge untouchability, Dayanand Saraswati gave a **utopian explanation for chaturvarna.**
3. Reformers tried to ameliorate the **status of women in the society** through reforms like the eradication of Sati, education of women, widow re-marriage, etc.
4. The **soil for the growth of Indian nationalism and political awakening** was prepared by these reform movements. For example, **Brahmo Samaj**, Arya Samaj, Ram Krishan Mission and Theosophical Society.
5. **Spirit of self-reliance and determination.** Reformation started by Swami Dayanand, **Swami Vivekananda**, Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar and R.N.Tagore **gave a new life and a new spirit** to the people of India.
6. Reformers had done a lot of work in the field of **education** and opened many **colleges** and **schools** for Indian masses. For example, **Hindu College, Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College** etc.

7. **Religious knowledge** was disseminated through **translation of religious texts into vernacular languages**. Ordinary people also started interpreting scriptures, an acute departure from traditional religious dogmas.
8. Therefore, the **reform movements were revivalist in a sense**. If the reform movements had totally rejected tradition, Indian society may have undergone a process of westernization.

#### 4. **Limitations of Socio religious movements**

1. It **had a narrow social base**, namely the **educated and urban middle classes**, while the needs of vast masses of peasantry and the urban poor were ignored.
2. The tendency of reformers to **appeal to the greatness of the past, encouraged pseudo scientific thinking**. Many in the Muslim middle classes went to the extent of turning to the history of West Asia for their traditions and moments of pride.
3. **Did not question the traditional role of women**. They only wanted educated mothers and homemakers.
4. It also **alienated high caste Hindus** from low caste Hindus as glorifying **ancient period** was **not acceptable to the low caste** sections of society which had suffered under religiously sanctioned exploitation.
5. **Internal rivalries** lead to breakdown of many organisations. Ex: Brahma Samaj divided itself into three wings after Ram Mohan Roy. This lead to ineffective functioning.
6. An **overemphasis on religious and philosophical aspects** of the cultural heritage got somewhat magnified by an insufficient emphasis on other aspects of culture **art, architecture, literature, music, science and technology**.

#### 5. **Caste**



Summary...

● STRUGGLE AGAINST CASTE-BASED EXPLOITATION

Factors Undermining Caste Rigidities

- 1) Forces unleashed by colonial administration
- 2) Social reform movements
- 3) National movement
- 4) Gandhi's campaign against untouchability
- 5) Stirrings among lower castes due to better education and employment
- 6) Free India's Constitution

- modern education
- new jobs, trade & Commerce
- Transportation
- No caste panchayats
- equality before law
- free sale of land
- ↳ upset caste variations

6. Balancing modern and religion (mix of ideas from west and east)

1. **Rammohan** attacked the practice of **sati** on the basis of both appeals to **humanitarian** and natural rights doctrines as well as **Hindu shastras**.
2. **Ranade** used the writings of **European scholars** and also used the **Texts of the Hindu Law** to elaborate the shastric sanction for remarriage of widows.
3. **Sir Sayeed Ahmed Khan's** interpretation of Islam emphasised the validity of free enquiry and the alleged similarities between **Koranic revelations** and **the laws of nature** discovered by modern science.
4. Some reformers believed that in **pre-modern India, women were educated**. Others contested this on the grounds that this was so only of a privileged few. Thus attempts to justify female education were made by recourse to both modern and traditional ideas.
5. **Dayanand Saraswati** stood for **women's education** but sought for a **curriculum** that included instruction in **religious principles**, training in the arts of **housekeeping** and **handicrafts** and rearing of children.
6. **Kandukiri Viresalingam's** the sources of knowledge reflected his familiarity with **navya-nyaya** logic. At the same time he translated **Julius Huxley**.

1857 revolt

1. The revolt is a **product of character and policies of colonial rule**.
2. **Why did the Indian Soldiers in the 1857 mutiny rush to Delhi**
  1. **Mughals stood as a symbol of political unity** of India. So sepoys rushed to Delhi to make Bahadur shah the head of the revolt to make it appear as revolutionary war rather than as mere sepoy mutiny.
  2. **Soldiers particularly had no leadership qualities to lead revolts**. So they want to take experience of leaders to make it successful.
  3. **One of the biggest arsenal was inside the city walls of Delhi**. Outside 3 miles of Delhi, 3000 barrels of gun powder was present. So it was important for soldiers to get hold off them.
  4. **Delhi had a secular legacy**, so the Muslim soldiers were more comfortable.
  5. Delhi is **geographically located** somewhat in the center of Northern India, so easy to reach it. Transportation to Delhi was easily available from all places of North India. Delhi also had better infrastructure to lead a revolt.
3. **Reasons for 1857 revolt**
  1. **Political causes: Greedy policy of aggrandisement**, accompanied by **broken pledges and oaths** resulted in loss of prestige. Policies like '**Effective control**', '**Subsidiary alliance**', and '**Doctrine of lapse**' created suspicion in the minds of the people.
  2. **Administrative causes: Exclusion of Indians from administrative posts**. Rampant corruption in the company's administration.
  3. **Economic causes: Heavy taxation** under new revenue settlement, **summary evictions**, **discriminatory tariffs** against Indian products, **destruction of traditional handicrafts** industry and absence of **industrialisation**.
  4. **Socio-Religious Causes: Social legislations like Sati abolition act, 1829, Widow re-marriage act, 1856**, etc. Missionary activities.
  5. **Military Causes: The General Service Enlistment Act** decreed that future recruits to cross sea for providing their services. **Unhappy with emoluments compared to British counter parts**. He was a 'peasant in uniform'.
  6. **Immediate Causes: In 1856, the government decided to replace the old fashioned muskets by the Enfield rifles** In order to load the

Enfield rifle, the greased wrapping paper of the cartridge had to be bitten off by the soldier.

#### 4. Consequences of 1857 revolt

1. British government passed **Government of India Act 1858** and assumed **direct responsibility for the administration**.
2. The **era of annexations and expansions ended** and British promised to respect the dignity and rights of the native princes. Princes and Zamindars acted as '**break waters to storm**' during the revolt. Doctrine of Lapse was abolished.
3. The British assured the people that **religious and social practices would be respected** and not be interfered.
4. The Indian states were henceforth to recognise the **paramountcy of the British crown**.
5. The **Army was thoroughly re-organised** and military policy came to be dominated by idea of division and counterpoise. The proportion of Indian soldiers in the army was reduced and the number of European soldiers in the army was increased.
6. **Policies were made to protect landlords** and zamindars and give them security of rights over their lands.
7. **Muslims were considered to be responsible** for the rebellion in a big way. Hence their land and property was confiscated on large scale. **Policy of Divide and Rule began**.
8. **Racial hatred and suspicion** between Indians and English was aggravated.

#### 5. Centres of revolt

1. Delhi -- General Bakht Khan.
2. Kanpur -- Nana Saheb.
3. Lucknow -- Begum Hazrat Mahal.
4. Bihar -- Kunwar Singh
5. Jhansi -- Laxmibai

#### 6. Role of women in 1857 revolt

1. 1857 revolt was called as first war of independence was mainly seen as a struggle led by soldiers, but **women have their respective share in the revolt**.
2. **Rani Lakshmi Bhai, Moti Bhai** (to save Lakshmi bhai), Begum Hazrat Mahal, were some front runners who **rebelled for varied**

**reasons** stood as stiff resistance to British and had made the people to wage the struggle.

3. The essential **communication network** was also led by **common women** along with men to deliver the right message that can step up the **planned resistance**.
4. **A Bheel tribal women** called **Sursi**, **inspired his son to arm** against the British though the reason may be other than the soldiers cause. This type of inspirations by women can be seen in local rulers also.
5. **Women like Ashgari Begum**, Asha Devi, and Bhagavati Devi **resisted the British attempts to exploit** in their **local areas** for which they welcomed death.

## **Changes after 1857**

### **1. Administartion**

1. **Government of India act, 1858** transferred the power from EIC to British crown.
2. **Indian councils act, 1861** returned the legislative powers to provinces of Madras and Bombay, etc.
3. **Bifurcating central and provincial finances** by Lord Mayo in 1870.
4. Lord **Ripon resolution** in 1882.

### **2. Public services**

1. **Satyendranath Tagore** in 1861.
2. **Exam age brought down**. No transfer of effective power.

### **3. Princely states**

1. **Policy of annexation was abandoned**.
2. **Territorial integrity was guaranteed**.
3. **Subordination of princely states to British authority** as Queen adopted the title of Kaiseri-i-Hind in 1876.
4. Exercised the **right to interfere in the internal matters of the states**.

### **4. Policies**

1. **Divide and Rule to avoid united mass action**.
2. **Hostility to educated Indians**.
3. **Zamindars** and landlords were used as **counter-weights**.

4. **Reversal of policy of support to social reforms.**
  5. **Social services** ignored.
  6. **Half-hearted and inadequate labour legislations** introduced.
  7. **Restriction on freedom of press** wherever it is helping nationalist upsurge.
  8. **Racial arrogance.**
5. **Foreign policy**
1. Keep other European powers at an Arms length.
  2. Reach out to natural geographical frontiers for internal cohesion and defence.

### **British Army after 1857**

1. **The revolt of 1857** was **instigated by the Indian army** and it was the main force throughout the revolt. In fact, the army had always been **volatile with the mutinies** taking place at regular intervals since the time of its inception. Thus, to stop the recurrence of mutinies and strengthen its control over the Army, the British overhauled the British Indian Army post revolt.
2. **Changes made**
  1. **Proportion of Europeans to Indians** was changed to 1:2 in Bengal Army and 1:4 in Bombay and Madras Armies.
  2. Strict **European monopoly** over important **geographical locations**, higher positions, and **strategic departments** like artillery and armed corps.
  3. Indian soldiers were given **inferior quality** arms.
  4. The army was reorganised on the **basis of balance and counterpoise**. An **ideology of martial and non-martial races** was propagated and preference was given to Gurkhas, Sikhs and Pathans, who earlier assisted the revolution.
  5. **Caste and communal divisions** were introduced in each regiment. Regiments were **mixed with soldiers of different socio-ethnic** groups to balance each other. Communal, caste, tribal and regional consciousness was encouraged to check the growth of nationalist feelings.
  6. It was **cut off from the rest of population** by preventing the reach

of newspapers and journals to it.

### 3. How these changes strengthened the control of British

1. **Indian Army became a pure mercenary force**, which could fire on anyone on the order of its masters as evident from the Jallianwala Bagh massacre where **Gurkha Regiment** fired upon their countrymen. It became the army of occupation of British in India.
2. The **unity of the army was lost**. One regiment could act against other. This led to chances of a combined revolt to minimum. Even as late as 1946, the revolting Naval ratings were captured by the Maratha regiment.
3. As the **Indians were not in key positions** and were in possession of poor weaponry, **their capacity to revolt vanished**. As a result, barely any revolt of significance occurred in the army till the 2nd world war.
4. Due to its separation from mainstream and its divisive structure, it was **hardly affected by the nationalist sentiments**.
4. The feelings of nationalism gradually percolated the army as well and the troops in South-East Asia during **2nd World War revolted** and played an important role in the struggle for independence. Revolt in army also indicated an erosion of authority of the British over its premier colonial instrument.

## Organisations before INC

1. Prior to its formation, there were many political organisations. However, they were dominated by the educated middle class — the lawyers, journalists, doctors, teachers, etc., and they had a wider perspective and a larger agenda.
2. **Political organisations before INC**
  1. **The British Indian Association** demanded establishment of a **separate legislature of a popular character**, separation of executive from judicial functions etc.
  2. The **Indian Association of Calcutta** was founded in 1876 by **Surendranath Banerjee** and Ananda Mohan Bose, in **response to the conservative and pro-landlord policies** of the British Indian Association. It aimed to promote the **political, intellectual and material advancement of the people**.



3. **The East India Association** was organised by **Dadabhai Naoroji in 1866 in London** to discuss the questions of Indian interest and influence public men in England to promote Indian welfare.
  4. **The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha** was founded in 1867 by **M G Ranade** and others, with the objective of serving as a bridge between the government and the people.
  5. **The Bombay Presidency Association** was started by **Badruddin Tyabji**, Pherozshah Mehta and K.T. Telang in 1885.
  6. **The Madras Mahajan Sabha** was founded in 1884 by M. Viraraghavachari, B. **Subramaniya Aiyer** and P. **Anandacharlu**.
3. These associations campaigned for **Indianisation of civil services, freedom of speech and expression**, separation of judiciary from executive, **repeal of Arms Act among others**. Since, they had less success, a need was felt for a pan-India organisation to put more pressure on the British Government.

### **How British helped in growth of national movement**

1. **Economic exploitation:** Men like **Dadabhai Naoroji and RC Dutt** say that the poverty, **economic backwardness** and under-development of India were direct consequences of British colonialism. The British discouraged cottage industries of India and dumped the Indian market with goods manufactured in England.
2. **Unification:** By **civil services, unified judiciary, codified laws** throughout the length and breadth of country imposed a new dimension of political unity. **Railways** and **telegraph** brought masses very close to each other and strengthened the feeling of nationalism.
3. **Rise of middle class:** Expanding English educated class formed the middle class **intelligentsia** who constituted the nucleus of newly arising **political unrest**. This new class though was minority played a vital role in igniting the minds of majority.
4. **Press:** Unprecedented **growth of Indian owned English and vernacular newspapers**, helped the spread of modern idea of self government, democracy, civil rights and industrialization.
5. **India past:** **Scholars like Max Muller**, Roth and **RL Mitra** aroused nationals feelings and demolish **colonial myths** that Indian was inferior race and bound to servility.



6. **Misc factors:** **Ilbert bill**, **decrease of eligibility in ICS** from 21 to 19 years, and contribution of Christian Missionaries who spread lot of western ideas.

## Moderates

1. Moderate leaders were those leaders **who dominated INC during early phases** (1885-1905) and believed in methods of **Prayer, petition and protest (PPP)**.
2. **Achievements**
  1. **Economic critique of British imperialism**
    1. Early nationalists like **RC Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji**, put forward the **drain theory**.
    2. Moderates were able to create an **all-India public opinion** that British rule in India was the major cause of **India's poverty and economic backwardness**.
  2. **Constitutional reforms and propaganda in legislature**
    1. **Expansion and reform of council**. Their demands for **constitutional reforms were conceded in 1892** in the form of the **Indian Council Acts, 1892**.
    2. They gave their slogan '**No taxation without representation**'.
    3. They used the councils for **ventilating their grievances**.
    4. Gradually, the scope of constitutional demands was widened and **Dadabhai naoroji**, Gokhale demanded local self-government like **colonies of Canada and Australia**.
  3. **General administrative reforms**
    1. **Indianisation of government service**.
    2. **Separation of judicial from executive functions**.
    3. **Criticism of oppressive bureaucracy**.
    4. **Criticism of an aggressive foreign policy**.
    5. **Better treatment for Indian labour abroad**.
    6. Some moderates like Ranade and Gokhale favoured **social reforms**. They protested against **child marriage** and widowhood.
  4. **Defence of civil right**
    1. They popularised the ideas of **democracy, civil liberties** and

representative institutions.

2. Public outrage at the arrest of Tilak.

### 3. Reasons for failure of moderates

1. Moderates remained distant from masses hence their mass appeal remained ineffective.
  2. Pray, petition and protest type of politics were not effective and extremists criticised them of being incompetent of getting reforms.
  3. Bengal was divided against the will and wish of people.
  4. Vandemataram movement, irrespective of its intensity turned to be deaf ears. Youth element in vandemataram movement paves way for extremism.
  5. People like Savarkar brothers and Chapekar brothers started advocating extremism. Emergence of leaders like Tilak in congress led to new kind of environment that is more favourable to the extremists.
4. Even if the moderates moved away from mainstream politics, the flames that they had ignited by then, led to a new kind of environment that facilitated continuance of national movement.

## Militant nationalism

## ● WHY MILITANT NATIONALISM GREW

1. Realisation that the true nature of British rule was exploitative, and that the Government, instead of conceding more, was taking away even what existed.
  2. Growth of self-confidence and self-respect. → Tilak, Aurobindo
  3. Impact of growth of education—increase in awareness and unemployment.
  4. International influences and events which demolished the myth of white/European supremacy. These included
    - emergence of Japan—an Asian country—as an industrial power
    - Abyssinia's (Ethiopia) victory over Italy
    - Boer Wars (1899-1902) in which the British faced reverses.
    - ★ Japan's victory over Russia (1905).
    - nationalist movements worldwide.
  5. Reaction to increasing westernisation. → vive banganda, Bagananda
  6. Dissatisfaction with the achievements of Moderates.
  7. Reactionary policies of Curzon such as the Calcutta Corporation Act (1899), the Official Secrets Act (1904), the Indian Universities Act (1904) and partition of Bengal (1905).
  8. Existence of a militant school of thought. → Ashwini, Bhanu datta
  9. Emergence of a trained leadership. → (al bal pa), Aurobindo Ghosh
- ## ● THE EXTREMIST IDEOLOGY
- (i) Hatred for foreign rule ✓
  - (ii) Belief in the capacity of masses ✓
  - (iii) Swarajya as goal ✓
  - (iv) Advocacy of direct political action and self-sacrifice.

Moderates vs extremists



Moderates	Extremists
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Social base—<u>zamindars and upper middle classes</u> in towns.</li> <li>2. Ideological inspiration—<u>western liberal thought</u> and European history.</li> <li>3. Believed in England's providential mission in India.</li> <li>4. Believed <u>political connections with Britain</u> to be in India's social, political and cultural interests.</li> <li>5. <u>Professed loyalty</u> to the British Crown.</li> <li>6. Believed that the movement should be limited to middle class intelligentsia; <u>masses</u> not yet ready for participation in political work.</li> <li>7. Demanded <u>constitutional reforms</u> and share for Indians in services.</li> <li>8. Insisted on the use of <u>constitutional methods</u> only.</li> <li>9. <u>They were patriots and did not play the role of a comprador class.</u></li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Social base—<u>educated middle and lower middle classes</u> in towns.</li> <li>2. Ideological inspiration—<u>Indian history, cultural heritage</u> and Hindu traditional symbols.</li> <li>3. Rejected 'providential mission theory' as an illusion.</li> <li>4. Believed that political connections with Britain would perpetuate British exploitation of India.</li> <li>5. Believed that the British Crown was <u>unworthy</u> of claiming Indian loyalty.</li> <li>6. Had immense faith in the capacity of masses to participate and to make sacrifices.</li> <li>7. <u>Demanded swaraj</u> as the panacea for Indian ills.</li> <li>8. <u>Did not hesitate to use extra-constitutional methods like boycott</u> and passive resistance to achieve their objectives.</li> <li>9. They were patriots who made <u>sacrifices</u> for the sake of the country.</li> </ol>

Swadeshi movement

## ● **THE SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT MOVEMENT**

- \* **Began as a reaction to partition of Bengal** which became known in 1903, was formally announced in July 1905 and came into force in October 1905. The motive behind partition was to weaken Bengal which was the nerve centre of Indian nationalist activity; the official reason given for the partition was that Bengal had become too big to administer—which was true but only to some extent.
- \* **Moderate-led anti-partition movement (1903-05)** was under Surendranath Banerjea, K.K. Mitra, Prithwishchandra Ray.  
**Methods** included public meetings, petitions, memoranda, propaganda through newspapers and pamphlets.



Summary...

→ mass struggle

1905-1918

111

• The movement under Extremists (1905-08) was led by Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo Ghosh.

Methods included boycott of foreign cloth and other goods, public meetings and processions, forming corps of volunteers or samitis, use of traditional popular festivals and melas for propaganda, emphasis on self-reliance or atma shakti, launching programme of swadeshi or national education, swadeshi or indigenous enterprises, initiating new trends in Indian painting, songs poetry, pioneering research in science and later calling for boycott of schools, colleges, councils, government service, etc.

(read pg. 82)

→ Tilak's Ganapati festival

→ Tagore's Shantiniketan

→ Atma shakti songs

→ Abanindranath Tagore

Extremists took over because of the failure of the Moderates to achieve positive results, divisive tactics of Governments of both Bengals, severe government repression.

• Extent of mass participation—students, women, certain sections of zamindari, some lower middle and middle classes in towns and cities participated for the first time while the Muslims generally kept away.

→ picketing  
→ strikers by working class

• Annulment of Partition mainly to curb the 'menace' of revolutionary terrorism.

• Why Swadeshi Movement fizzled out by 1908?

Severe government repression.

Lack of effective organisation and a disciplined focus.

With arrest, deportation of all leaders the movement left leaderless.

Split in nationalist ranks

→ great split

Narrow social base

• Achievements

→ only zamindars to large extent  
"A leap forward" because hitherto untouched sections participated, major trends of later movement emerged; richness of the movement extended to culture, science and literature; people educated in bolder form of politics; colonial hegemony undermined.

→ Non-cooperation remained more ideas.  
→ mass-based movement limitations

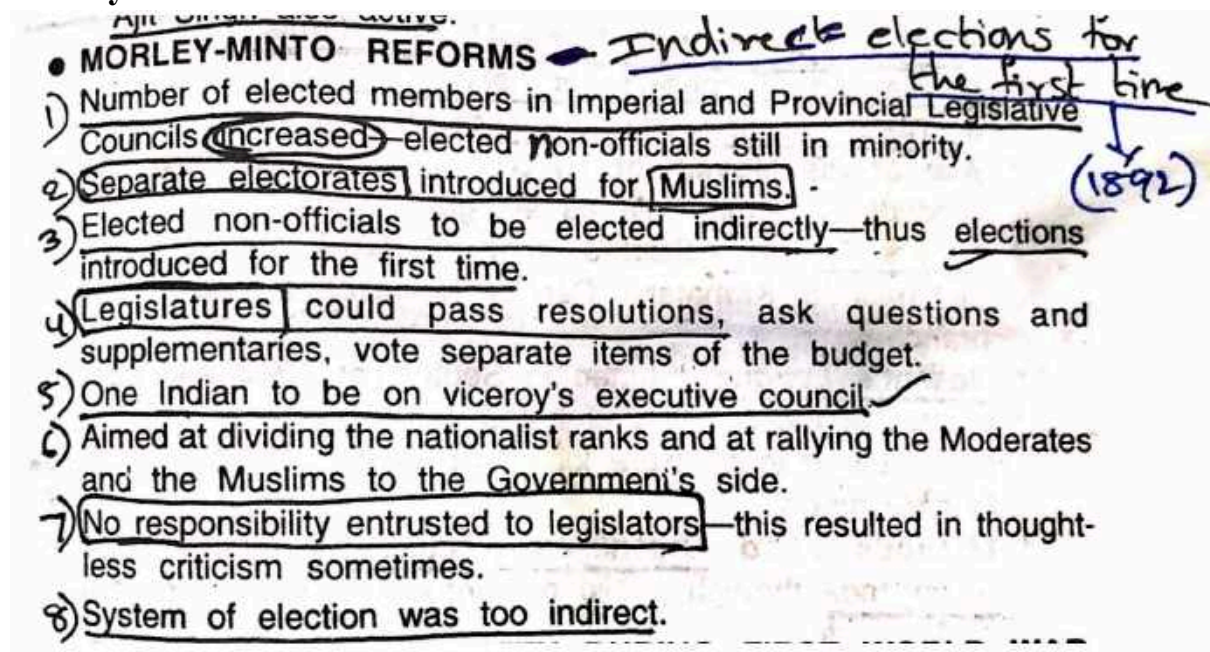
## Cultural contribution of Swadeshi movement

1. October 16, 1905 observed as **Raksha Bandhan** Day.
2. **Charkha** (spinning wheel) came to typify the popular concern for country's economic self-sufficiency.
3. All sections of protestors took **inspiration from songs written by Rabindranath Tagore**, Rajnikant Sen, Dwijendralal Ray, Mukunda Das,

Syed Abu Mohammad and others. Tagore's Amar Sonar Bangla written on this occasion was later to inspire the liberation struggle of Bangladesh.

4. **Revival and emergence of nationalist art** and education. It was during this movement that the concept of **Bharat Matha** was promoted. Painting of **Abanindranath Tagore** broke the domination of Victorian naturalism over Indian art and took inspiration from Mughal, Ajanta and Rajput paintings.
5. Movement added **untouched women** section into protests.
6. **Satyagraha** was first time used in this movement which became vital tool for future agitations.

### Morley-Minto Reforms



**MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS** → Indirect elections for the first time (1892)

- 1) Number of elected members in Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils increased—elected non-officials still in minority.
- 2) Separate electorates introduced for Muslims.
- 3) Elected non-officials to be elected indirectly—thus elections introduced for the first time.
- 4) Legislatures could pass resolutions, ask questions and supplementaries, vote separate items of the budget.
- 5) One Indian to be on viceroy's executive council.
- 6) Aimed at dividing the nationalist ranks and at rallying the Moderates and the Muslims to the Government's side.
- 7) No responsibility entrusted to legislators—this resulted in thoughtless criticism sometimes.
- 8) System of election was too indirect.

### Revolutionary terrorism

1. **Sudden withdrawal of non-cooperation** movement left large numbers of youth in dismay. They **did not find constructive work** and **council entry as attractive options**. Hence they resorted to revolutionary terrorism which can be broadly divided into Punjab, UP and Bihar group and Bengal group.
2. **Development**



Indian Press Act (1910)

## ● **REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISM**

### \* **Reasons for emergence**

Younger elements not ready to retreat after the decline of open phase.

Leadership's failure to tap revolutionary energies of the youth.

Government repression left no peaceful avenues open for protest.

### \* **Ideology**

Assassinate unpopular officials, thus strike terrc. in hearts of rulers and arouse people to expel the British physically; based on individual heroic actions on lines of Irish nationalists or Russian nihilists and not a mass-based countrywide struggle.

## ● **REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY BEFORE FIRST WORLD WAR**

### \* **Bengal**

1) 1902—First revolutionary groups in Midnapore and Calcutta (The Anushilan Samiti)

2) 1906—Yugantar, the revolutionary weekly started

→ By 1905-06—Several newspapers started advocating revolutionary terrorism.

→ 1907—Attempt on life of governor of East Bengal.

→ 1908—Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose attempt to murder Muzaffarpur Magistrate, Kingsford.

→ Alipore conspiracy case involving Aurobindo Ghosh, Barindra Kumar Ghosh and others.

1908—Barrack dacoity by Dacca Anushilan.

→ 1912—Bomb thrown at Viceroy Hardinge by Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal.

→ Sandhya, Yugantar—newspapers advocating revolutionary activity

### \* **Maharashtra**

1879—Ramosi Peasant Force by Vasudev Balwant Phadke.

1890s—Tilak's attempts to propagate militancy among the youth through Shivaji and Ganapati festivals, and his journals Kesari and Maharatta.



1897—Chapekar brothers kill Rand, the plague commissioner of Poona and Lt. Ayerst.

1899—Mitra Mela—a secret society organised by Savarkar and his brother.

1904—Mitra Mela merged with Abhinav Bharat.

1909—District Magistrate of Nasik—Jackson—killed.

#### \* Punjab

Revolutionary activity by Lala Lajpat Rai, Ajit Singh, Aga Haidar Syed Haidar Raza, Bhai Parmanand, Laichand 'Falak', Sufi Ambaprasad.

#### \* Abroad

1905—Shyamji Krishnavarma set up Indian Home Rule Society and India House and brought out journal The Sociologist in London.

1909—Madan Lal Dhingra murdered Curzon-Wyllie; Madame Bhikaji Cama operated from Paris and Geneva and brought out journal Bande Mataram.

Ajit Singh also active.

indirect elections for

### ● REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY DURING FIRST WORLD WAR

\* In North America, the Ghadr was organised by Lala Hardayal, Ramchandra, Bhawan Singh, Kartar Singh Saraba, Barkatullah, Bhai Parmanand.

#### The Ghadr Programme

- Assassinate officials ✓
- Publish revolutionary literature ✓
- Work among Indian troops abroad and raise funds.
- Bring about a simultaneous revolt in all colonies of Britain.

→ Attempt to bring about an armed revolt in India on February 21, 1915 amidst favourable conditions created by the outbreak of First World War and the Komagata Maru incident (September 1914). The plan was foiled due to treachery.

Defence of India Act, 1915 passed primarily to deal with the Ghadrates.

\* In Europe Berlin Committee for Indian Independence established by Virendranath Chattopadhyay and others.

Missions sent to Baghdad, Persia, Turkey, Kabul.

\* In India Bagha Jatin organised revolutionary activity in Bengal and died in an encounter (1915) in Balasore.

### 3. Contributions

1. They **inspired the masses with their heroics**. Their death defying heroism created a **fear** among the British establishment in India. Ex: **Killing of unpopular officers**.
2. Their **journals**, books had become constant **ideological inspiration** for the independence movement. Ex: **Yugantar, Kesari, Bharat mata etc.**
3. They raised the banner of Indian cause on **foreign soils** like Madan Lal Dhingra, Lala har Dayal's Ghadar, etc.
4. Revolutionary movement also contributed towards **socialistic ideas**. Ex: Bhagat Singh.
5. They **did not believe in violence as an end** but used it tactically to pursue the cause of independence. For example, surrender by **Bhagat Singh** and **BK Dutt** after **Meerut conspiracy** case.
6. Both Punjab and Bengal revolutionaries were **secular in their organisation** and working.
7. **Bengal revolutionaries** took **active help of women**, thus bringing them into freedom struggle fold.
8. The early Indian revolutionaries **drew inspiration from the Gita** and the writings of **Vivekananda** and from the early Russian revolutionaries, Irish nationalists, and Mazzini, the hero of **Italian liberation**.

### 4. Limitations

1. They could not reach to the **peasant** and **workers** as it was an urban phenomena. They failed to build either a nation-wide organisation or a mass base.
2. **Lack of leadership qualities** and communication left many times with failed attempts.
3. **British Government** came up with various acts to **repress** growing militarism.
4. Adherence to religion had kept **muslims away**.

### 5. Outside influence

1. **Defeat of Russia by Japan** and **Italy by the Ethiopians** busted the myth of European supremacy.
2. **Japan since attaining freedom** from the imperialist powers came long way, developed with the help of **industrial revolution** of its

own, proving that idea of western presence for necessary modernisation and development was a flawed one.

3. The **Boer wars** where British faced reverses, strengthened the resolve of nationalists back home.
4. **Participation of European powers** in world war led to a bitter campaign of maligning each other in a way showing their true **exploitative nature** to the entire world.

## 6. Revolutionary terrorism after 1920s

1. **HRA was formed in 1924** by **Bismil, JC Chatterjee and Sachin Sanyal** with an aim to organise an armed revolt to overthrow the colonial government.
2. **Kakori robbery in 1925**. Government cash was looted.
3. **HRA to HSRA in 1928**. Inspired by socialist events.
4. **Saunders murder** by Bhagat Singh, Azad and Rajguru.
5. **Bomb in central legislative assembly** against the passage of the public safety bill and Trade disputes bill aimed at curtailing civil liberties of citizens.
6. **Chittagong armoury** raid to seize and supply arms to the revolutionaries to destroy telephone and telegraph lines.

## 7. Revolutionary movements in Bengal and Punjab

### 1. Similarities

1. **Build the cadres by inspiring the youth** through their armed action against colonial government.
2. **Demoralise the colonial bureaucracy** and overthrow the colonial government by armed revolt.
3. **Vision of socialist state** in the independent India.
4. Both the trends showed **secular character**.

### 2. Differences

1. Revolutionary terrorists in Punjab, U.P and Bengal **resorted to individual heroic actions** while those in Bengal carried out their activities in **groups**. For example, bomb attack on central assembly in Punjab is by the heroic actions of Bhagat Singh while **Chittagong armoury raid was carried out** in group by Bengal wing under the leadership of Surya sen.
2. **Women participation** was more in Bengal region especially under the leadership of Surya Sen while the same cannot be



said about Punjab, UP and Bihar. Ex: **Pritilal waddedar**, **Kalpna Dutta**, **Sunita chowdary**, Shanti Ghosh and Bina Das.

## Home-rule leagues

**HOME RULE LEAGUE MOVEMENT**  
Manifestation of a trend of aggressive politics in national movement; was pioneered by Tilak and Annie Besant on lines of a similar movement in Ireland.

- Factors Favouring the Movement**
  1. Need being felt for popular pressure to attain concessions.
  2. Disillusionment with Morley-Minto Reforms.
  3. Wartime miseries—public ready to protest.
  4. Tilak, Besant ready to assume leadership.
- Aim of the Movement** To convey to the common man the concept of Home Rule as self-government.
- Tilak's League**—Started in April 1916 and operated in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Central Provinces and Berar; had six branches.
- Besant's League**—Started in September 1916 and operated in rest of India; had 200 branches.  
Later, the leagues were joined by others including Moderate Congressmen.
- Methods used** Organising discussions, reading rooms, propaganda through public meetings, newspapers, pamphlets, posters, etc.
- Positive Gains** Emphasis shifted to the masses permanently; organisational link established between town and country; prepared a generation of ardent nationalists, influenced Moderate-Extremist reunion at Lucknow (1916).

**LUCKNOW SESSION OF INC—1916**

Extremists readmitted to Congress  
League-Congress put up joint demands under Lucknow Pact.  
Congress accepted League's position on separate electorates.

*Montford reforms*  
*Grandian style*  
*Politically backward regions like Gujarat Sindh.*  
*awareness among people*

## Gandhi in South Africa

1. **Moderate phase of struggle:** During this phase, Gandhi relied on

sending petitions and memorials to authorities in South Africa. He setup **Natal Indian Congress** and started a paper **Indian Opinion**.

2. **Phase of passive resistance or Satyagraha:** **Passive resistance or civil dis-obedience**.
3. **Satyagraha against registration certificates:** A new legislation made it compulsory for Indians there to carry at all certificates of **registration with their finger prints**.
4. **Setting up Tolstoy farm:** Meant to house the families of the Satyagrahis and to give them a way to **sustain themselves**.
5. **Campaign against poll tax and invalidation of Indian Marriages.**

### **Was Khilafat movement a blunder**

1. The Khilafat movement was a **political campaign** launched by Indian Muslims to protect the Caliph. Gandhi saw in the Khilafat movement a **golden opportunity to unite Indian Hindus and Muslims** and present a joint front to the colonial government.
2. Despite its strong anti-imperialist tone, the movement was in essence a **pan-Islamic, fundamentalist movement** which had nothing to do with the question of Indian freedom. It failed to raise the religious political consciousness of Indian Muslims to the higher level of secular political consciousness.
3. The Khilafat movement was criticised for **mixing religion with politics**. The deployment of the Ulema led to the radicalisation of the movement and the **sidelining of moderate leaders** of the movement who supported Gandhi's creed of non-violence.
4. The **religious fervour** generated by the Khilafat movement saw the **outbreak of Moplah riots in Malabar** and riots also ensued in other parts of the country. There was also a **rise in militant Hindu radicalism** in response to the movement. The worsening communal situation and rising violence were instrumental in Gandhi's decision to withdraw the NCM in 1922.
5. The Khilafat movement set a **precedent for future mobilisation** of the Muslim masses by **invoking religious symbols and imagery** which was subsequently replicated during the Pakistan movement. Many advocates of Pakistan see the movement as a major step towards establishing a separate Muslim state. Hence, although the Khilafat movement began

as a movement to unify Hindus and Muslims, it ended up **radicalising the politico-religious environment**.

## **Imperial legislative councils till 1920**

1. The Imperial legislative council was an impotent body with **few representation for Indians** and that **too rich and wealthy** and having **no power** to make a significant effect. It was formed to vent out the political steam by British but nationalist were able to use these platform significantly.
2. **Ways of working in the councils**
  1. They used these council for **exposing the true nature of British Government** and their indifferent attitude towards Indians. Nationalist flayed government foreign policy which resulted in annexation of Burma and attack on Afghanistan and time-consuming judicial system.
  2. They made these councils a **platform for political discussions** and severely criticised the government policies. G.K Gokhale raised important questions regarding the budget in the council and severely reprimanded British government for their anti-Indian economic policies.
  3. The councils were used to **raise demands regarding discrimination of Indians** in civil services exam, to increase the social spending, to treat Indian bureaucrats on par with European etc.
  4. Nationalists were able to **create a wide national awakening** and a feeling of unity from these platforms. They used these councils to disseminate modern ideas and to mobilise the masses.
  5. **But restricted social base** and their **failure to achieve anything substantive** through these councils made the nationalist to raise the demand for swaraj. It was only through their incessant efforts inside the councils that several economic and political demands for the betterment of Indians could be raised.

## **Swarajists**



...to their wishes.

**Swarajist Activity in Councils** By 1924, the Swarajist position had weakened because of widespread communal riots, split among Swarajists themselves on communal and Responsivist-Non-responsivist lines, and the death of C.R. Das in 1925 weakened it further. The Responsivists among Swarajists—Lala Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya and N.C. Kelkar—advocated cooperation with the Government and holding of office wherever possible to protect the so-called Hindu interests. They accused the Non-responsivists like Motilal Nehru of being anti-Hindu and a beef-eater. Thus, the main leadership of the Swarajya Party reiterated faith in mass civil disobedience and withdrew from legislatures in March 1926, while another section of Swarajists went into the 1926 elections as a party in disarray, and did not fare well. In 1930, the Swarajists finally walked out as a result of the Lahore Congress resolution on purna swaraj and the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-34).

**Their Achievements** 1. With coalition partners, they out-voted the Government several times, even on matters relating to budgetary grants, and passed adjournment motions.

2. They agitated through powerful speeches on self-government, civil liberties and industrialisation.

3. Vithalbai Patel was elected speaker of Central Legislative Assembly in 1925.

4. A noteworthy achievement was the defeat of the Public Safety Bill in 1928 which was aimed at empowering the Government to deport undesirable and subversive foreigners (because the Government was alarmed by the spread of socialist and communist ideas and believed that a crucial role was being played by the British and other foreign activists being sent by the Comintern).

5. By their activities, they filled the political vacuum at a time when the national movement was recouping its strength.

6. They exposed the hollowness of the Montford scheme.

7. They demonstrated that the councils could be used creatively.

**Their Drawbacks** 1. The Swarajists lacked a policy to coordinate their militancy inside legislatures with the mass struggle outside. They relied totally on newspaper reporting to communicate with the public.

2. An obstructionist strategy had its limitations.

3. They could not carry on with their coalition partners very far because of conflicting ideas, which further limited their effectiveness.

4. They failed to resist the perks and privileges of power and office.

5. They failed to support the peasants' cause in Bengal and lost support among Muslim members who were pro-peasant.

## Communalism

1. **Communal consciousness** arose as a result of the transformation of Indian society **under colonialism** and the need to struggle against it.
2. **Some of the factors**
  1. Communalism was one of the by products of **colonial underdevelopment**. The economic stagnation under British rule

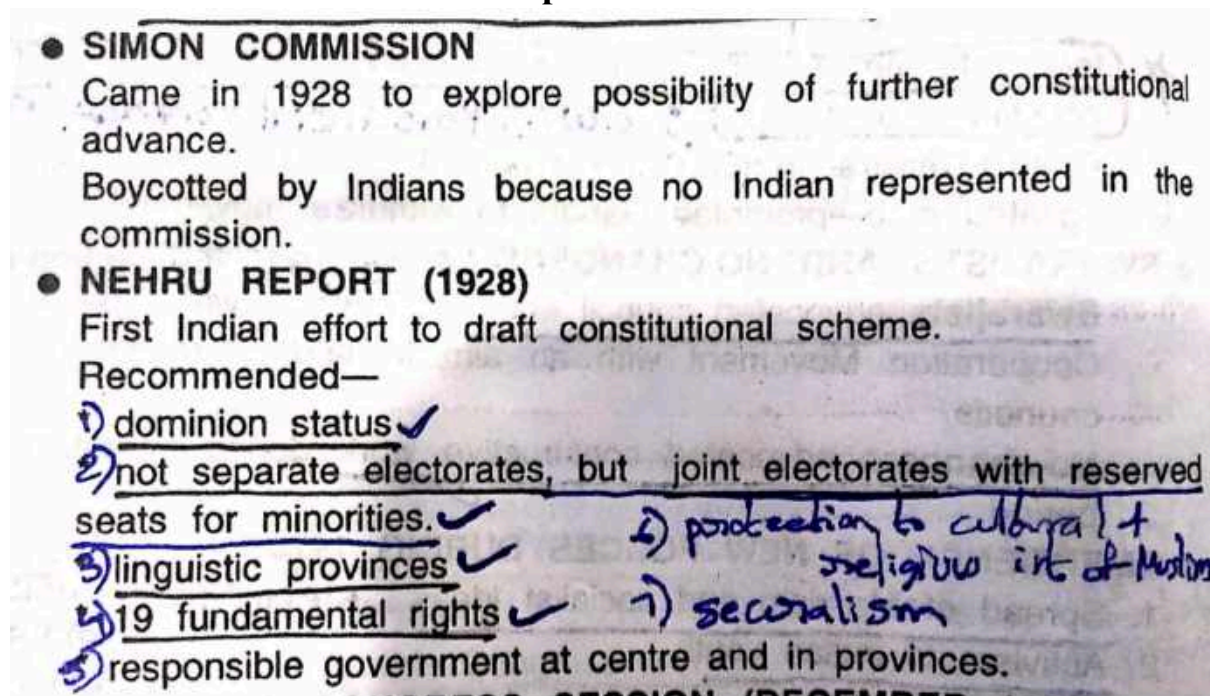


resulted in intense competition for government jobs. **Private jobs** were very limited. Communities tried to further their narrow interest by grouping and **demanding reservations** in government jobs. This took a communal colour.

2. Under their **policy of divide and rule**, British officially favoured and nurtured communalism. Examples are **Morley-Minto Act** which provided for separate electorates for Muslims.
  3. **Communalism in history writing**. Diving history into Hindu history, Muslim history, etc.
  4. **Side-effects of socio-religious movements**. Ex: **Wahabi movement** among Muslims, **Shudhi movement** among Hindus.
  5. There was also a **communal tinge visible in actions of extremists** which polarised the communities. Ex: **Tilak's Ganapathi festival, Shivaji festival** and **Durga Puja**.
  6. **A vague Hindu aura** was visible in the national movement too. **Gandhi slogans of Ramraj etc** were the most prominent examples.
  7. **Communal reaction by majority community** like **Hindu Mahasabha, RSS, etc.**
  8. **Congress acceptance of separate electorates** during Lucknow pact in order to put forward a joint demand before British.
  9. The **British also took little action** against even violent communal movements. The policy was of non-action.
3. **Events that entrenched communalism**
1. There was hardly any communalism in India till the last quarter of the 19th century. The **Hindu-Muslim unity was visible in the 1857 mutiny**. Thereafter, things got worse.
  2. **1909 Morley Minto act**: Separate electorates for Muslims.
  3. **Lucknow Pact 1916: INC accepted the demand of separate electorates for Muslims**. Implicitly, they also accepted that the interests of Hindus and Muslims were different. It was a communal ideology.
  4. **Montague-Chelmsford Act 1919: Extended the provision of separate electorates**.
  5. **Nehru report 1928: Reservations** for religious minorities with joint electorates. By **negotiating with communal leaders**, the congress legitimised their politics and made them respectable.

6. **1937 Provincial elections:** Congress won an overwhelming victory. It did not form a coalition with the Muslim league in some provinces. This left the league with a feeling that they will be left as a minority in India's democratic government. In other words, only the British could save their interests in the government.
4. Thus communalism in India is a product of British policies, unmindful writing and unintended consequences of socio-religious and freedom movement.

### Simon commission and Nehru report



### 1931 Karachi resolution

1. The **Karachi session** became memorable for its resolution on the **Fundamental rights** and National **economic programme**. It is for the first time that the congress defined what **Swaraj** would mean for the masses. Swaraj as conceived by the Congress should include real **economic freedom of the masses**.
2. **Fundamental rights**
  1. The resolution guaranteed basic civil rights of **free speech**, **free press**, **free assembly** and freedom of association.
  2. It granted **equality** before **law** irrespective of caste, creed or sex.

3. It also laid down **neutrality** of state in regard to all religions. Thus inlaid down India to be a **secular state**.
  4. It promised **elections** on basis of universal adult franchise.
  5. It promised free and **compulsory education**.
  6. It maintained that the **culture, language and script of the minorities** and of different linguistic areas shall be protected.
3. **National economic programme**
1. It **promised substantial reduction in rent** and revenue, exemption from rent in case of uneconomic holdings, and **relief of agricultural indebtedness** and control of usury.
  2. It also promised better conditions for workers including a **living wage**, limited hours of work and **protection of women workers**.
  3. It also conferred the right to **organise and form unions to workers** and peasants.
  4. **Nationalisation of key industries** and services, railways, etc.
4. The Karachi resolution by setting the parameters of the Swaraj was **reflecting the then dominant leftwing ting of the national movement**. The resolution was to remain in essence the basic political and economic programme of the Congress in later years.



New forces during 1920s.pdf

## Civil disobedience movement

1. To carry forward the mandate given by the Lahore congress, **Gandhi presented 11 demands to the Government** and gave an ultimatum.
2. **Various forms of civil disobedience**
  1. **Dandi March**.
  2. **Defiance of salt laws across country**. In Tamil Nadu, Rajagopalachari led **Vedaranyam March**. **Kelappan** led a march in **Malabar**.
  3. In **Assam**, satyagrahis walked from **sylhet to Noakhali to make salt**.
  4. Khan abdul Gaffar khan's '**Khudai Khidmatgars**' movement.
  5. In **Sholapur**, **textile workers went on a strike** and burnt liquor shops and other symbols of Government authority such as railway

stations, etc.

6. Sarojini Naidu lead a raid on **Dharsana salt** works.
7. A campaign was organised in **Bihar and Bengal against Chowkidara tax**.
8. In **Gujarat**, a determined **no-tax movement** was organised.
9. In **Maharashtra, Karnataka, central provinces** there was defiance against **forest laws**.
10. In **Assam**, a powerful agitation was organised against infamous **Cunningham circular** which forced students to furnish assurances of good behaviour.
11. **Rani Gaidinlu of Nagaland** raised a **banner of revolt against foreign rule**.

### 3. Mass participation

1. **Women picketing**.
2. **Students** played most prominent part in boycott of foreign cloth and liquor.
3. **Petty traders** active in Tamil Nadu and Punjab.
4. **Tribals** in central provinces, Maharashtra and Karnataka.
5. **Workers** participated in **Sholapur**.
6. **Peasants** were active in UP, Bihar and Gujarat.

### 4. Gandhi-Irwin Pact

1. The **pact can be considered as a strategic break** as was the withdrawal of the non-cooperation movement in 1922. **Mass movements are necessarily short-lived** as people's capacity to sacrifice is not endless.
2. There was **no guarantee that government would be willing to talk** even after all comrades got exhausted in the movement. Government could have crushed the movement any time ferociously.
3. The **lands of peasants were returned** after the Congress Ministry assumed office in Bombay in 1937.
4. **National confidence** increased as the mighty British Government and national leaders came on an **equal footing to sign a pact**. They saw this as recognition of their own strength, and as their victory over the Government.

### 5. Controversy



1. Gandhiji refused to make the Pact conditional on the **commutation of the death sentences of Bhagat Singh and his comrades**.
2. The Pact is also criticised due to the vacillating nature of the **Indian bourgeoisie and Gandhiji succumbing to bourgeois pressure**. It is alleged that Gandhiji was apprehensive of the mass movement taking a radical turn.
3. The **pact did not immediately restore confiscated land**. Land which is already sold to a third party, and several other conditionalities.
4. Therefore, **peasants were not happy** with the pact signed.

### **Government of India act, 1935**

1. The **Government of India Act 1935** is said to have been the longest serving British Act of Parliament ever enacted by that time.
2. **Federal level**
  1. Subjects to be administered were **divided into reserved and transferred subjects**.
  2. **Bicameral legislature**.
  3. **Council of states to be permanent body**.
  4. **Three lists for legislation**.
  5. **Religion based and class-based electorates** were **further extended**.
  6. GG had **residuary powers**.
3. **Provincial autonomy**
  1. **Provincial autonomy replaced dyarchy**.
  2. **Separate local level identity**.
  3. Independent **financial powers**. Could borrow money.
  4. **Governor was to be crown's nominee**.
  5. **Separate electorates**.
  6. **Direct elections to all the members**.
  7. **Ministers were made answerable**.
  8. **Women got right to vote**.
4. **Limitations**
  1. Numerous **safeguards and special responsibilities** of the **governor general** worked as brakes in proper functioning of the act. Also,

British authorities also retained a right to suspend responsible government.

2. In provinces, **Governor still had extensive powers** in the form of veto over legislations, refusing assent, etc.
3. Most part (80% at central level and 40% at provinces) of the **budget was still not votable**.
4. The act **enfranchised only 14% of Indian population**.
5. The **extension of communal electorates** to depressed classes acted to promoted separatist tendencies.
6. The act provided a **rigid constitution** with no possibility of internal growth.

### **Congress ministries in 1937**

1. The **Government of India act, 1935** provided for direct provincial elections. Congress has formed the popular government in 11 out of 17 provinces.
2. **Legislative record**
  1. **Emergency laws were repealed**. **Restrictions and ban on press**, certain books, newspapers, and illegal organisations was lifted.
  2. **Agrarian legislations, tenancy acts provided respite to the peasants** in respect of limitations on rent, tenancy rights and also other payments.
  3. **The Industrial disputes act** improved the **security of working labour**. But some provisions welcomed socialists wrath. **Introduction of Industrial committee** to assess the labour's wage demand.
  4. **Measures for welfare of Harijans** like **temple entry, education**, etc., were taken.
  5. Encouragement was given to **khadi and indigenous enterprises**.
  6. Attention was given to primary, technical and **higher education** and to **public health**.
3. **Administrative records**
  1. **Police was reformed by curbing their arbitrary powers** and using for good cause.
  2. **Prison reforms** were undertaken.

3. **Change in land revenue system**, though **not fully eliminated zamindari**, but restored the land rights to the peasant and not to land lords.
4. **Morale of ICS officers** being enhanced with congress ministries work. Ministries even firmly used ICS to deter **communal riots** effectively.
5. **In 1938, national planning committee** set up under congress president Subhash Chandra Bose.

#### 4. **Evaluation**

1. The contention that Indian **self government** was **necessary for radical social transformation** got confirmed.
2. Congress men demonstrated that **movement could use state power to further its ends** without being diverted in other works.
3. Administrative work by Indians **weakened the myth that Indians were not fit** to rule.
4. The ministries were able to control **communal riots**.
5. Council work helped to **neutralise many erstwhile hostile elements** like landlords, etc.
6. **Congress ministries failed in agrarian reforms** because of constraints like less powers, less financial resources, etc. but in other spheres they did very well.

#### 5. **Constraints before congress ministries**

1. The ministries did not have **adequate powers**.
2. There was **financial crunch** as lion share was appropriated by Government of India.
3. **Zamindars also had to be conciliated** as they have important role in further struggle. So, radical agrarian reforms were not possible.
4. There **was constraint of time** since the logic of formation of ministries was to confront and cooperate with colonialism. **War clouds started mongering** within an year of formation of ministries.
5. **The reactionary second chamber** consisting of princes, moneylenders, stood in the way of many legislation.
6. The **agrarian structure was too complicated and complex**.

## Individual satyagraha

1. **Even after several efforts** of the Congress to make British introduce more constitutional reforms, the **Britishers refused to budge** from their earlier position and kept issuing several ordinances, imposing restrictions on freedom of speech and press.
2. To **show that the silence of the Indians** was not due to their **weakness**, and simultaneously **not to hamper Britain's war efforts** against the Fascist powers, Gandhiji decided to launch satyagraha on an individual basis, by carefully choosing his trusted members as the Individual satyagrahis.
3. **Objectives**
  1. To show that nationalist **patience was not due to weakness**.
  2. To **express people's feeling** that they are not interested in the war and that they made no distinction between **Nazism and double autocracy** that ruled in India. It also propagated the freedom of speech.
  3. To give **another opportunity to the Government** to accept congress demands peacefully as **Gandhiji was still reluctant** to divert British's attention against the Nazi onslaught.
4. **Contribution**
  1. It was able to build a base for the initiation of **QIM later**.
  2. Movement was never meant to achieve any specific aim. **It was an expression of Indian antipathy** towards the British double standards and the War.
  3. In an effort to placate people, Linlithgow **increased Indian members in war advisory council**.
  4. It made **India's stand clear to international leaders**. It also helped us to put pressure on the British to yield ground. This led to **cripps mission**.
  5. The movement failed to create a lasting impact, as after being released from the jail, several members of the **CWC passed a resolution to abandon the movement, in return of the promise from Britain**, of full power transfer after the war. This was done to protect Indian territory from **Japanese attack**, by helping the allies actively.
5. **Congress demands before the war**



1. It would cooperate in the war if a) freedom was given after the war, b) some form of genuinely responsible government was immediately setup.
2. After war broke out, Congress response was a) No support to the war, b) resignation of congress ministries, c) No immediate mass struggle.

## **Cripps mission**

### **1. Why cripps mission was sent**

1. Because of **reverses suffered by Britain in South-East Asia**, Japanese threat to invade India seemed real now. So, Indian support became crucial.
2. **Pressure from allies like USA, China** to seek Indian cooperation. Chiang-Kai shek visited India to impress upon British Government.
3. **Indian nationalists** had agreed to support the Allied cause if effective power is transferred.
4. The **ever mounting pressure of Muslim league** on the British Government in the favour of Pakistan.
5. **National liberal foundation (NLF)** sent an appeal to Churchill, known as **Sapru proposal**. The liberals urged that India should be accorded equal status with other dominions.

### **2. Reasons for failure**

1. **Offer of dominion status** instead of complete independence.
2. **Right to provinces to secede** as this went against the principle of national unity.
3. **Absence of any plan for immediate transfer** of power. Governor General supremacy has been retained.
4. **Muslim league also did not support** the idea as the idea of single union was not acceptable to them.
5. The incapacity of the cripps to go beyond the draft declaration and **adoption of rigid attitude** added to the dead lock.
6. **Talks broke down on the question of veto**.

## **QIM agitation**

## 1. Why the agitation now

1. Failure of Cripps mission.
2. Public discontent against war time hardships.
3. A feeling of imminent British collapse.
4. Indian leadership desire to prepare masses for possible Japanese invasion.

## 2. Major activities

1. Public on rampage, attacks on symbols of authority.
2. Underground activity.
3. Parallel governments in Balia, Tamruk, Satara, etc.
4. Sections participating included youth, women, workers, peasants, etc.

## 3. Role played by under ground movements

1. The pattern of activity of the underground movement was generally that of organising the disruption of physical transport infrastructure and tele-communications.
2. There were also a few attacks on government and police officials and police informers.
3. Underground networks kept up popular morale by continuing to a line of command. Prominent members of the underground networks were Achyut Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Ram Manohar Lohia.
4. They also collected and distributed money as well as material like bombs, arms, and dynamite to underground groups all over the country.
5. Many national leaders went underground and continued their struggle by broadcasting messages over clandestine radio stations. For example, Usha Mehta organised Congress Radio, a secret station.
6. Parallel governments were established in the underground networks.
7. Students acted as couriers. Simple villagers helped by refusing information to the police. Government officials, including those in the police, passed on crucial information about impending arrests.
8. Thus, the underground network, even though did not create a large impact, but ensured the continuity of the movement and widened

the participation base for the QIM.

#### 4. **INA agitation was land mark**

1. INA agitation **internationalised the issue of Indian independence**. The popularity and intensity of the campaign for the **release of INA prisoners** was conducted was unprecedented. This was evident from the **press coverage** and other publicity it got.
2. **INA agitation had wide geographical reach** upto **Sindh, Balochistan**, etc. Municipal Committees, **Indians abroad** and **Gurdwara committees** subscribed liberally to INA funds.
3. It also saw participation of **diverse social groups and political parties**. INC, Muslim League, Sikh bodies, all supported leniency for INA.
4. Pro-INA sentiment even spread to those social groups such as **government employees, loyalist sections** and even men of the armed forces.
5. **No communal clashes occurred** during this period and as a matter of **symbolism**, British had inadvertently put one Hindu, one Muslim and one Sikh on trial first.
6. Soon **people began to perceive this issue as India versus British**. Students, youth, workers, etc., started to pledge revenge on British if any INA man was sentenced. **Instances of hartals, processions**, attacks of authorities, etc. began to increase. The matter went out of control for British when Calcutta hartals and **Royal Indian Navy strike** occurred.

#### 5. **Why congress accepted Partition**

1. **Accepting inevitable**.
2. **Immediate transfer of power**.
3. **Partition plan** ruled out independence for princely states.
4. It was only final act of process **step-by-step concessions**. Gandhi's acceptance of right of self determination of Muslim majority provinces during Gandhi-Jinnah talks.

#### 6. **Why British withdrawal seemed imminent**

1. Success of nationalist forces.
2. Demoralisation among bureaucracy and the loyalist sections.
3. Limitations of British strategy of conciliation and repression.
4. Demands of leniency for INA by army-men and RIN ratings

revolt.

5. All out repression seemed impossible. For good future of Indo-British relations.

## Cabinet mission

● CABINET MISSION → Federal Govt

\* Proposals

- 1) Rejection of Pakistan → compulsory grouping
- 2) Grouping of existing assemblies into three sections A, B, C
- 3) Three-tier executive and legislature at province, princely states and union level
- 4) Provincial assemblies to elect a constituent assembly •
- 5) Common centre for defence, communications, external affairs •
- 6) Provinces to have autonomy and residual powers.
- 7) Princely states free to have an arrangement with the successor government or the British Government •
- 8) In future, a province free to come out of the section or the union ✗

Meanwhile, an interim government to be formed from constituent assembly.

## Role of Mountbatten in post independent consolidation

### 1. Achievements

1. **Credited with achieving transfer of power** in a limited time and within limited resources through formulation of Mountbatten plan and its implementation.
2. He engaged in a **personal dialogue with reluctant princes**, such as the Nawab of Bhopal, who he asked through a confidential letter to sign the instrument of Accession making Bhopal part of India.
3. He **pointed out that the Indian subcontinent** was one **economic entity**, and that the states would suffer most if the link were broken and difficulties that princes would face maintaining law and order.

### 2. Criticism

1. He **appointed Radcliffe**, a person not so well about India, to draw a partition line.



2. Criticised for advising Nehru on Kashmir issue to UN which is still unresolved.
3. Lord Mountbatten has been criticised for hastening the independence process unduly and recklessly leading to vast disruption and loss of life.
4. The formula for freedom with partition was already accepted before Mountbatten took charge and the idea of immediate transfer of power on the basis of grant of dominion status was given by VP Menon.
5. Though the positive role of Mountbatten needs to be acknowledged, it must be remembered that Lord Mountbatten was an officer of British Government and was serving their interests.

### Why did the partitioning of India cause violence

1. Partitions are often brutal. West Germany and East Germany had tense relationships surrounding the Berlin Wall. North Korea and South Korea are constantly in a state of a shadow war. North Vietnam and South Vietnam were engaged in a brutal war. The fight among brothers and neighbours is nastier than fight among strangers.
2. Religious frenzy: Although there were areas of dominant religious groups, religious communities were diffused throughout the nation. To enable a religious partition, millions had to be moved. That resulted in anger and violence, that kept escalating.
3. Lack of law and order: There was complete collapse of institutions of governance. British officials were unwilling to take decisions. The top leadership of the Indian parties were involved in negotiations regarding independence while many Indian civil servants in the affected provinces feared for their own lives and property.
4. Ambiguous boundary: Drawing of border had many shortcomings. Lahore was surrounded by Hindu villages and should have gone to India, but gone to Pakistan due to its importance in Islamic culture. Amritsar was surrounded by Muslim villages, but went to India due to the Golden temple. Such controversial moves, left millions to be left on the wrong side of the border.
5. Territorial claims: Jinnah wanted more than 50% of land of India, but it was not agreed to by Indian leaders. When the borders were finally

drawn, Pakistan was not happy as they got less area than that was demanded and Indians too were unhappy as they felt Pakistan has taken away territory that was rightfully theirs. Thus, there was high tension on both sides on the eve of partition.

6. **Weather:** The 1947 monsoon was under par in Western India, while it was fairly okay in eastern India. This left a lot of western farmers in pain and anger. The partition gave them a chance to vent their anger and blame the pains on the opposition. This pent up anger kept escalating the violence.

## Nationalist foreign policy

### 1. 1880 to First World War

1. This phase was dominated by feelings of **Anti-imperialism**. After 1878, the British undertook a number of **expansionist expeditions** which were opposed by the nationalists. The expeditions of Britain include, second **Afghan war**, **Annexation of Burma in 1885**, **Invasion of Tibet under Curzon in 1903**, etc.
2. Nationalists showed **solidarity with other colonies** fighting for freedom, such as Russia, Ireland, Egypt, Turkey, Ethiopia, Sudan, Burma and Afghanistan.

### 2. World War I

1. The **nationalists supported the British** Indian Government in the belief that Britain would apply the same principles of democracy for which they were supposed to be fighting.
2. After the conclusion of the War, the **congress insisted on being represented at the Peace Conference**. In 1920, the Congress urged the people not to join the Army to fight in the West.

### 3. 1920s and 1930s (Socialists)

1. In 1925, **the congress condemned the dispatch of Indian Army to suppress the Chinese nationalist army under Sun-Yat-Sen**.
2. **Dadabhai Naoroji** attended the **Hague session of the International Socialist Congress**. Gandhi had close relations with Tolstoy and Rolland Romain.
3. The Congress also decided to open a **foreign department** to be in touch with the other peoples movements.
4. In 1927, **Nehru attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalists**

at **Brussels** on behalf of the Indian National Congress.

5. In 1927, **Nehru also visited the Soviet Union** and was very impressed by the achievements of the infant socialist state. He saw Russia as a bulwark against imperialism.
6. **Nehru came to understand the international character** of US imperialism during his European experience. Nehru was also nominated to the executive council of the League against Imperialism.

#### 4. **After 1936 (Anti-Fascism)**

1. The 1930s **saw the rise of Fascism in Europe** and the struggle against it. The nationalists saw imperialism and fascism as organs of capitalism. They lend **support to the struggle against fascism** in other parts of the world in Ethiopia, Spain, China, and Czechoslovakia.
2. In 1939, at the **Tripura session**, the **congress dissociated** itself from the British policy which supported fascism in Europe.
3. In 1939, **Japanese attack on China** was **condemned by the nationalists**. The Congress also sent a medical mission under Dr Atal to China.
4. **On the Palestine issue**, the Congress lent support to the Palestinians. It expressed sympathy with the Jews, but urged that the Palestinians not be displaced. It also **opposed the partition of Palestine**.

#### 5. **India's support for anti-colonialism during freedom struggle**

1. Indian National congress opened a **foreign department** to be in touch with the other peoples movements.
2. **Dadabhai Naoroji** attended the Hague session of **socialist international** (2nd international) and **outlined India's support against war** and imperialism. Lala
3. **Lajpat Rai** also made contacts with **American socialists** during his visit from 1914 to 1918. India was the **founding member of ILO in 1920s**.
4. In 1927, **Nehru** attended the **Congress of oppressed nationalists at Brussels**.
5. **During the 2nd world war**, **India** lent **support** to other parts of the world like Ethiopia, Spain, China, and Czechoslovakia in their struggle against fascism and imperialism.

6. In 1939, **the Japanese attack on China was condemned** and a medical team under was sent to China. India supported China in the anti-fascist war.
7. The **INM supported the Palestinians** on the Palestine issue. It sympathised with the Jews but was against partition of Palestine.
8. India also lent support to fight **against racial discrimination in South Africa**.

## 6. Contribution to the political trends

1. **Polity** based on **representative democracy** and full range of civil liberties and Popular sovereignty formed the basis of INM which later became the very essence of Indian political thinking.
2. **The practice of non-violence** helped in forming the **basic temper** with which Indian political system was to function in future i.e **discussion, debate and persuasion** backed by public opinion and tolerance towards political opponents.
3. NM **opposed** all kind of **inequalities** and **discrimination** based on **caste, colour, gender**, etc., including evils of untouchability and helped create an **egalitarian atmosphere** which not only helped in securing reservation for SC/STs in constituent assembly but their **overall upliftment**.
4. **Secularism** was a very basic tenet on which INM worked which later became the pillar of the Indian polity, society and culture.

## 7. Contribution in foreign policy

1. **Against colonialism:** India **expedited the independence of Indonesia** from the **Dutch**.
2. **Against racism:** India supported for the cause of **racial equality** in **south Africa**.
3. **Independence in foreign policy:** India stood independent even during cold war era. It took cooperation from other **NAM** countries. India took **independent stand** on international issues based upon its **discretion** but not upon compulsion (Korean war, Vietnam war and Egypt crisis).
4. **International peace:** NAM promoted peace in international arena and **Panchsheel** promoted **peace** with **neighbourhood**. India has been sending its peace keeping troops to **UN**. No first use is our **nuclear policy**.
5. **India for ethics in international setting:** Liberation of



**Bangladesh**, financial assistance to comparatively less developed nations.

### **Economic critique of British rule**

1. **Deindustrialisation led to ruin of artisans and handicraftsmen.** Charter Act 1813 allowed one-way trade for the British citizens. The **loss of traditional livelihood** was not accompanied by a process of industrialisation in India.
2. **Impoverishment of peasantry which led to ruralisation of India.** High rents, **summary evictions**, **transferability** of land caused great insecurity among tenants. Government did not invest in improvement of land.
3. **Emergence of New land relations, ruin of old zamindars.** By 1815, half the land of the Bengal had passed into new hands. Increase in **sub-infeudation**, **absentee landlordism**, etc.
4. **Stagnation and deterioration of agriculture.** No incentive to invest in agriculture. The New Zamindars had no roots in the villages.
5. **Commercialisation of Indian agriculture.** It was a forced process.
6. **Development of modern industry** in the second half of the 19th century. But most of them were **foreign owned**. Indian owned industries suffered from many handicaps like **credit problems**, **no tariff protection by government** and **unequal competition** from foreign companies and **stiff opposition from British capitalist interests**. The industrial development was characterised by a **lopsided pattern** -- **Core and heavy industries** and power generation were **neglected**. Some regions were favoured more than the others -- causing **regional disparities**.
7. **Rise of Indian bourgeoisie.** Indian traders, moneylenders and bankers had amassed some wealth as junior partners of English merchant capitalists in India.
8. **Economic drain.** A **portion of national product was not available for consumption** of its people, but was being drained away to Britain for political reasons. The major components were salaries and pensions of officials, interests on loan taken by Indian government from abroad, profits on foreign investments in India, etc.
9. **Recurrence of famines during British rule.**

## Education policy of British

1. The geographic spread of its rule rendered the continued import of Europeans to man the administration unsustainable and impractical. Further, the **Christian missionaries** propounded the theory of '**white man's burden**' and considered it their **divine duty to educate and liberate the masses** from orthodoxy. Hence, for the first time, the **Charter Act of 1813** sanctioned **one lakh/year for promoting education** in the country.
2. The introduction of modern education was aimed at creating a class of '**Indians in blood and color but English in taste, opinions, moral and intellect**'. It was also employed for producing Indians to **man the subordinate positions** in the administration and as a means to legitimize the British rule.
3. **Characteristics of British education policy**
  1. The **money sanctioned under Charter Act of 1813 and 1833** (one lakh and ten lakh respectively) was grossly inadequate for promoting education.
  2. **Macaulay's Minutes**, 1835 completely stopped support to any vernacular language.
  3. **Downward Infiltration** Theory was aimed at educating a handful of Indians, who would act as a link between the British and the masses. But this did not lead to mass education.
  4. Despite repeated demand from the nationalists, the **government shirked the responsibility of introducing free and compulsory education**.
  5. **Indian Universities Act, 1904** curbed the autonomy of universities, as they were perceived to be factories of revolutionaries.
4. However, the effort to **create a class of 'loyal working class'** ignited Indian minds; it aroused national consciousness — freedom fighters were inspired by Irish and Russian revolutions, and imbibed modern ideas of democracy, liberty, equality and fraternity. The educated Indians became an anchor of the freedom struggle, uncovered the exploitative economic policies, and lead the masses towards the goal of freedom.

## EVALUATION OF BRITISH POLICY ON EDUCATION

1. Even the inadequate measures the Government took for the expansion of modern education were guided by concerns other than philanthropic. The government measures for promotion of education were influenced by—

- \* agitation in favour of modern education by enlightened Indians, Christian missionaries and humanitarian officials;
- \* the need to ensure a cheap supply of educated Indians to man an increasing number of subordinate posts in administration and in British business concerns—thus there was an emphasis on English medium as the language of administration and of education;



\* the hope that educated Indians would help expand market for British manufactures in India;  
\* an expectation that western education would reconcile Indians to British rule, particularly as it glorified British conquerors and their administration.

The British thus wanted to use modern education to strengthen the foundations of their political authority in India.

2. Traditional system of Indian learning gradually declined for want of support, and specially after 1844 when it was declared that applicants for government employment should possess knowledge of English.

3. Mass education was neglected leading to widespread illiteracy (1911—84 per cent and in 1921—92 per cent) which created a wide linguistic and cultural gulf between the educated few and the masses.

4. Since education was to be paid for, it became a monopoly of upper and richer classes and city dwellers.

5. There was an almost total neglect of women's education because (i) the Government did not want to arouse wrath of orthodox sections; and (ii) it had no immediate utility for the colonial rule.

6. Scientific and technical education was by and large neglected. By 1857 there were only three medical colleges at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and only one good engineering college at Roorkee which was open only to Europeans and Eurasians.



## DEVELOPMENT OF VERNACULAR EDUCATION

During the early 19th century vernacular education was in a sorry state of affairs. It was mostly dependent on contributions from wealthy zamindars.

1835, 1836, 1838 : William Adam's reports on vernacular education in Bengal and Bihar pointed out defects in the system of vernacular education.

1843-53 : James Jonathan's experiments in North-West Provinces (UP), as the lieutenant-governor there, included opening one government school as model school in each tehsildari and a normal school for teachers' training for vernacular schools.

1853 : In a famous minute, Lord Dalhousie expressed strong opinion in favour of vernacular education.

1854 : Wood's Despatch made the following provisions for vernacular education:

1. Improvement of standards
2. Supervision by government agency
3. Normal schools to train teachers

These gave impetus to the cause of vernacular education

1854-71: The Government paid some attention to secondary and vernacular education. The number of vernacular schools increased by more than five-fold.

1882 : The Hunter Commission held that state should make special efforts for extension and improvement of vernacular education. Mass education was to be seen as instructing masses through vernaculars.

1904 : Education policy put special emphasis on vernacular education and increased grants for it.

1929 : Hartog Committee presented a gloomy picture of primary education.

1937 : These schools received encouragement from Congress ministries.

## Judiciary under British

### Positive Aspects of Judiciary under the British

- The rule of law was established. ★
- The codified laws replaced the religious and personal laws of the rulers. ★
- Even European subjects were brought under the jurisdiction, although in criminal cases, they could be tried by European judges only.
- Government servants were made answerable to the civil courts.

### The Negative Aspects

- ✓ ● The judicial system became more and more complicated and expensive. The rich could manipulate the system. ★
- ✓ ● There was ample scope for false evidence, deceit and chicanery.
- ✓ ● Dragged out litigation meant delayed justice.
- ✓ ● Courts became overburdened as litigation increased.
- ✓ ● Often, the European judges were not familiar with the Indian usage and traditions.

## Indian states

1. **Struggle for equality (1740 -1765):** East India Company captured Arcot in 1751 and asserted the political identity over India ending French hold over except for Pondicherry.
2. **Policy of Ring Fence (1765 -1813):** Used by Warren Hastings. Reflected in wars with Marathas and with Mysore for creating the buffer zone to defend company's frontiers.
3. **Policy of Subordinate Isolation (1813-1857):** Theory of paramountcy. Indian states surrendered all kind of sovereignty and their external administration, now they had control of only internal administration of their states.
4. **Policy of Subordinate union (1857-1935):** Policy of annexation



**ended.** The Act of 1858 transferred powers into the hands of the crown that is queen of Britain and known as **Kaiser-i-Hind**.

5. **Policy of Equal Federation (1935 to 1947):** The princely states were to be brought into a **direct constitutional relationship with British India** which was the part of the scheme.
6. **Integration and Merger:** **Junagadh**, Hyderabad and Kashmir.

## **Civil rebellions in British India**

1. Rebellions were not confined to the later period of the British Empire but were a constant feature of it from its very beginning, culminated in to the revolt of 1857. Erosion of the **traditional forms of authority** and increased **economic pressure** were two basic reasons for these uprisings.

### **2. Causes**

1. The major cause of all these civil rebellions taken as a whole was the **rapid changes the British introduced** in the **economy, administration and land revenue system**. These changes led to the **disruption of the agrarian society**, causing prolonged and widespread suffering among its constituents.
2. Above all, the colonial policy of **intensifying demands for land revenue** and **extracting as large an amount** as possible produced a veritable upheaval in Indian villages. This led to growing indebtedness or into selling their lands. The economic decline of the peasantry was reflected in **twelve major and numerous minor famines** from 1770 to 1857.
3. **Thousands of zamindars and poligars lost control over their land**. Thus they had personal scores to settle with the new rulers.
4. The **new courts and legal system** gave a further fillip to the dispossessors of land and **encouraged the rich to oppress** the poor. The ordinary people were also hard hit by the **prevalence of corruption at the lower levels**.
5. The **ruins of Indian handicraft industries**, as a result of the imposition of free trade in India and levy of discriminatory tariffs against Indian goods in Britain, pauperized millions of artisans.
6. The misery of the artisans was further compounded by the **disappearance of their traditional patrons and buyers**, the princes, chieftains and zamindars. The scholarly and priestly were also

active in inciting hatred and rebellion against foreign rule.

### 3. Political and religious Movements

1. These movements erupted in the **early phase of colonial expansion**. In this phase religion provided the framework to **locate and understand the colonial rule** and **articulate resistance**.
2. **Fakir Uprising, Sanyasi Uprising, Pagal Panthis, Wahabi Movement**, Faraizi Movement, Kuka Movement and Moplah Rebellions.

### 4. Movements by deposed rulers and Zamindars

1. This category of the rebellions was affected by the **aggressive policy of annexation** by the British and the **subsequent disturbances in the economy of the regions**. The problems were accentuated by the exacting **land revenues**. These uprisings are mainly known either by the name of the leader or the region where they occurred.
2. **Velu Thampi** and Polygar Rebellions are two main Uprisings in this category.
3. In 1808-09, **Velu Thampi, the Dewan of Travancore**, rose up in rebellion against the British attempt to remove him from the Dewanship and the heavy burden imposed on the state through the Subsidiary Alliance System.
4. The **Polygars were quite similar to the Rajputs of North India**, and were given land in exchange for military service when called upon. The conflict in this case, as in others, was on the question of the collection of taxes, rather on, who should collect it, the traditional classes or the Company Officials.
5. **Ramosi uprising**, protest against heavy assessment of land revenue and the harsh methods of its collection.

### Tribal movements

1. With the exception of the north east, **they had been reduced to a minority** with the influx of outsiders and exposed to rapid changes.
2. **Causes of Tribal movements**
  1. Imposition of land revenue settlement **eroded the joint ownership and increased the socio-economic differentiation** in the egalitarian structure of the tribal society.



2. **Introduction of the notion of private property** where land could be bought, sold, mortgaged which led to loss of land by the tribals.
  3. **Work of Christian Missionaries.**
  4. The **establishment of the Forest department in 1864**, Government Forest Act (1865) and Indian Forest Act in 1878 together established complete **government monopoly** over Indian forest land. **Shifting Agriculture was banned from 1864** onwards on the reserved forest. Restrictions were imposed on the previously sanctioned timber and grazing facilities.
  5. Extension of settled agriculture led to **influx of non tribals** in the tribal areas.
  6. Some of the tribal uprising took place in **reaction to the effect of the landlords to impose taxes** on the customary use of timber and grazing facilities, police exaction, etc.
3. **Santhal Rebellion:** First phase was against **economic exploitation**. Under Sindhu and Kanha, the movement was to **expel outsiders (Dikus) and Christian missionaries**.
  4. **Munda Uprising:** Munda rose up in rebellion seven times against the **landlords, dikus, money lenders and the British**, who instead of protecting them sided with the oppressors. The tribal chiefs rose up against the erosion of **Khuntkatti System or Joint tenures**.
  5. **Khasi Uprising.**
  6. **Ahom Revolt.**

## Peasant movements

1. The nature of peasant movements **kept on changing with the time** during our national movement.
2. **Common underlying factors to the peasant movements**
  1. Unreasonably **high rents** and protection to the landlords and moneylenders.
  2. **Arbitrary evictions and unpaid labour.**
  3. Exploitation of the already overburdened farmers by the **Zamindars** and **moneylenders**.
  4. Harsh systems of the British. Ex: **Forced cultivations of Indigo** crop, Sunset clause, seizure of cattle and crops due to non-

payment of loans etc.

5. **Transferability** of land which deprived the **traditional occupancy** rights.
6. Lack of **awareness** of clauses leading to sudden loss of land and work, leading to collective uprisings.

### 3. Peasant movements before 1857

1. The peasants during this phase organized themselves and **elected their own leader**.
2. They **collectively raised a huge army** equipping themselves with primitive weapons.
3. **Peasants attacked courts and looted stores**.
4. **Prominent places became the centres of mobilization**. Ex: **The Rangpur Rebellion (1783)**. **Santhal Rebellion (1855)**.

### 4. First Phase (1857-1920s)

1. This phase was characterised by the **sporadic growth** of peasant movements in the absence of proper leadership. **The tyranny of zamindars** along **with the exorbitant rates** of British land revenue led to a series of spontaneous peasant uprisings. The **periodic recurrence** of **famines** aggravated the situation.
2. Ex: The **Indigo revolt (1859-60)**, **Pabna agrarian leagues (1870s and 1880s)**, the **Deccan riots of 1875** against the **moneylenders** were few examples of this stage.
3. In **ryotwari areas**, the struggle took the form of entire **peasantry against policies of the British**. In zamindari areas, struggle took the form of various categories of tenants and a chain of sub tenants.
4. In the **tribal zones**, the struggle took various forms of **resistance**. They ranged from **struggle against forest laws**, exploitation of **money lenders**, incoming of **indentured labourers** brought by British for their plantations.
5. In the **north-eastern mountains** and other politically strategic terrains struggle often took the form of sharp military-politico confrontations.

### 5. Weaknesses of First phase

1. There was a lack of an **adequate understanding** of colonialism. They did not target colonialism but they they **targeted zamindars**,

- money lenders who were just pawns in the colonial rule.
- 2. They **did not possess a new ideology** and struggles occurred within the **framework of the old societal order** lacking a positive conception of an alternative society.
- 3. They grew out of narrow **regional grievances** and were mostly spontaneous without any **planning**.
- 4. They **also lacked an effective leader** who can organise them.
- 5. **Caste** played a significant role in the **mobilisation** of peasants and religious overtones were also prevalent.

#### 6. **Second Phase (1920s-1946)**

- 1. This phase was marked by the **emergence** of the **class conscious peasant organisations**. The first Kisan Congress held at Lucknow in **1935** led to the formation of the **All India kisan sabha**. The programme of the Sabha reflected the aspirations and needs of the peasantry.
- 2. **Civil disobedience** movement gave a great push to peasant movements, as it **blended peasants demands with national goals**. The movement gave birth to new generation of **political leaders** who sympathised with peasants. Formation of **congress ministries in 1937** heralded a new era in peasant movement.
- 3. **Political pressure** of the Kisan Sabha succeeded in the **Faizpur Congress** and paved the way for the formulation of the **Congress agrarian programme**. However, the congress could not, under the pressure of the native bourgeoisie **grant any radical concessions** to the peasant demands, at the cost of jeopardising the interests of zamindars.
- 4. Many important peasant movements which had significant impact on **national politics**. Ex: **Kisan Sabha** movement, **Eka movement**, **Mappila revolt**, **Bardoli satyagraha**, etc
- 5. **Local issues integrated with the national cause of Swaraj**. In **Andhra Pradesh**, an anti-settlement agitation against **zamindari zulum** in 1927. **Swami Sahajanand** led a heroic movement for the **abolition of zamindari in Bihar**. In **Punjab**, a **no revenue campaign** was accompanied by the emergence of **kisan sabhas** that demanded a reduction in land revenue. **Forest satyagrahas** by tribals in **Maharashtra**, Bihar and **central provinces**. In **UP**, **no-revenue** soon turned into **no-rent**. **Peasants in Gujarat** refused to

pay their taxes and went hijrat to neighbouring Baroda territory to escape government repression.

## 7. Post-independence Phase

1. The years since independence have seen agrarian struggles of enormous variety, ranging from the legendary **Telangana movement**, Tebhaga movement, and the **PEPSU tenant's** movement which continued from the pre-independence years, to the **Naxalite or Maoist movement** in the late sixties and the **New farmers movements of the eighties**.
2. A shift is visible from issues arising out of **colonialism** and **feudalism** to issues arising out of the **Green Revolution** and other processes of **agrarian change** including the aspirations aroused by the struggle for **land reforms**.

## 8. Telangana peasant struggle

1. The peasants in Telangana suffered **extreme feudal type oppression** at the hands of **Jagirdars** and **deshmukhs**, some of whom owned thousands of acres of land. The **communists organised the peasants** against the hated forced grain levy imposed by the government, and **forced labour extracted by landlords** and officials.
2. The **people of the state grew restless of Nizam** because of his delay in region's integration with India. So, they started a movement for integration under the leadership of the State Congress.
3. **Camps were set up on the borders** of Hyderabad with Maharashtra, coastal Andhra, etc., and **arms were also sent in to help the resisters** withstand the attacks of the Razakars, armed gangs of **Muslim militia** let loose on the predominantly Hindu population.
4. Finally with the help of the **Indian army**, razakars were defeated and land reforms carried out in Telangana.

## 9. New Farmers' Movements

1. The **New farmers** movements burst on to the national political stage in 1980 with the **road and rail roko agitation** in Nasik in Maharashtra led by the **Shetkari Sangathana**.
2. The **basic premise** on which the movement existed is that the **farmers are being exploited by Govt** in the form of **under**



payments for agricultural products and over pricing of consumer and industrial goods. As a result, farmers are exploited by urban interests, and are victims of internal colonialism.

3. New farmers movements have focused mainly on demanding remunerative prices for agricultural produce, and lowering of government dues such as canal water charges, electricity charges, interest rates and principal of loans, etc.
4. But many critics them for being vehicles for demands of rich or well to do agriculturists most of whom are beneficiaries of post independence agrarian development, including the green revolution, and have little or no room for the concerns of the rural poor.
5. The agrarian movements that emerged from the late 1970's are often referred to as new, the suggestion being that they are part of the worldwide trend of new non-class or supra-class movements which have emerged outside the formal political party structures, examples being the women's and environmental movements.
6. Most of these farmers organisations have not shown signs of really trying hard to become a social movement. Thus, they cannot be brought into the category of new social movements.
7. The new farmers movements are not all that new as similar demands were made by peasant organisations earlier as well.
8. While it is true that none of the organizations were started by political parties, it is also true that over time they have inexorably got linked to politics.

#### 10. Decreased relevance of agrarian struggles from 1990s

1. The single point of agitation of these movements was better returns for farmers in terms of price for the produce. From the 1990s onwards, agricultural pricing policies have ensured a healthy return to farmers for their produce. Accordingly, the upward price swings robbed these movements of their raison d'être.
2. A major weakness of these movements was their failure to create an identity for farmers. The excessive dependence of these movements on regional parties also lead to their demise. But parties have varied interests and are guided by their own political interests.

3. **Urbanisation** has resulted in mass **migration** of peasants living in rural areas to cities. Further, farmers are now leaving agriculture and allied activities for other sectors. These developments have **severely dented the cadre base** of these movements.
4. **Disparity** among **farmers** belonging to different regions has been on the rise due to green revolution. The **farmers of one region no longer identify** with the causes of the farmers from **other regions**. This has resulted in the splintering of the peasant movements along regional lines.
5. In today's globalised context, farmers issues are increasingly being taken up by a **vigilant media and civil society** organisations. This has to some extent shrunk the political space that was exclusively available to peasant movements, who were hitherto seen as the sole vanguards of peasant causes.

#### 11. **Bharatiya Kisan Union (BKU)**

1. **Farmers of Haryana, Punjab** and **western UP** had benefited in the late 1960s from **green revolution**. Sugar and wheat became the main cash crops in the region since then. The **cash crop market faced a crisis** in mid-eighties due to the beginning of the process of liberalisation of Indian economy.
2. The **BKU** demanded **higher government floor prices** for sugarcane and wheat, **abolition** of **restrictions** on the inter-state movement of farm produce, guaranteed supply of **electricity** at reasonable rates, waiving of **repayments** due on loans to farmers and the provision of a **government pension** for farmers.
3. Similar demands were made by other **farmers organisations in the country**. **Shetkari Sanghatana of Maharashtra** declared the farmers movement as a war of Bharat against forces of India.
4. Another novel aspect of these mobilisations was the **use of caste linkages of farmers**. Most of the BKU members belonged to a **single community**. The organisation **used traditional caste panchayats** of these communities in bringing them together over **economic issues**.
5. In spite of lack of any formal organisation, the **BKU could sustain itself** for a long time because it was based on **clan networks among its members**. Funds, resources and activities of BKU were mobilised through these networks.

6. The organisation, along with the other farmers' organisations across States, did manage to get **some of their economic demands accepted**. The farmers movement became one of the most successful social movements of the eighties in this respect.

## 12. Non-party movements

1. **In the 1970s and 1980s**, many sections of the society became **disillusioned** with the **functioning of political parties**. Failure of the Janata experiment and the resulting **political instability** were the **immediate causes**. In the **long run** the disillusionment was also about **economic policies of the state** and **increasing socio-economic inequalities**. **Politically active** groups **lost faith** in existing democratic institutions and **stepped outside of party politics** to engage in mass mobilisation.
2. **Students** were in the forefront in organising **Dalits** and Adivasis. Because of the **voluntary nature** of their social work, many of these organisations came to be known as voluntary organisations.
3. Similarly **farmers** complained of neglect of **agriculture sector** by forming organisations like **BKU**.
4. **Women movements** like **anti-arrack (liquor) movement**, **anti-dowry** movement got a new thrust during this period.
5. In 1990s, **MKSS organised public hearings**, where the administration was asked to explain its stand in public. The movement had a **small success** when they could force an **amendment** in the Rajasthan Panchayati Raj Act. Later on, the movement gave rise to RTI.
6. Yet the **real life impact of these movements** on the nature of public policies seems to be very limited. This is partly because most of the contemporary movements focus on a **single issue** and represent the interest of one section of society. Thus it becomes possible to ignore their reasonable demands. Democratic politics requires a broad alliance of various disadvantaged social groups.

## Labour movements

Labour movement and trade unionism has very slow and late growth in India as compared to more industrialized nations in the world. This was mainly because of the slow pace of industrialization as imperial powers did not want colonies to industrialize.

The labour movement in India can be traced through the following stages:

#### **Pre-1900 Phase**

- During this period, workers organised several agitations but these were unorganised based on immediate economic grievances.
- Many philanthropists like Sorabjee Shapoorji, Narayan Meghaji Lokhanday came forward to improve workers conditions. However, these efforts did not represent the organised working class movement.

- **Earlier nationalists were also indifferent to labour cause** because they believed that labour legislations would affect competitive edge enjoyed by Indian-owned industries.
- **They also did not want division in the national movement on the basis of classes.**

#### **1901–1930 Phase**

- During Swadeshi upsurge (1903-1908), the labour movements became more organised but with the decline of Swadeshi movement the labour movements too subsided.
- In 1920, a national-level organisation, AITUC, was created to defend the rights of worker class against the British and Indian enterprises. It also participated in mainstream nationalist politics, but later reversed to purely economic struggles.
- In the 1930's, the consolidation of various left ideologies led to a strong communist influence in the trade union movement. But due to government offensive and a shift of the communist wing of the movement, the movement suffered a huge setback.

- **Trade union act, 1926 -- Recognised trade unions as legal associations.** Laid down conditions for registration and regulation of trade union activities.
- **Trade disputes act, 1929 -- Ban on strikes in public utility services.** Forbade trade union activity.



### During 1931 – 1947

- The communist reversed their policy of working with the mainstream national movement. Due to which, the workers did not participate in the national movements between 1931 and 1936.
- The grant of provincial autonomy, formation of popular ministries and increased civil liberties during 1937-1939 led to a rise in the number of trade union organisations.
- In meantime, communist also abandoned their earlier stand and joined the mainstream of nationalist politics.
- In post-WW-II political upsurge, there was a tremendous resurgence in working class activity and the peaceful meetings and demonstrations developed into violent clashes.

### Factors behind the growth of Trade Unions

- Exploitation, low wages, long working hours and poor working conditions compelled workers to raise their voices against the employers.
- Further, the rise in the cost of living during war and draught situation has led industrial workers better organize than before.
- The support of Indian national leaders like Nehru and Bose and workers involvement in wider political activity via INC strengthened the worker's movement.
- The global forces of Communism and Socialism in favour of workers' rights also provided space for labour movements in India.

## Subash Chandra Bose

Indian National Movement was a confluence of great leaders with varying methods and approach but with a single goal – to achieve freedom. Subhas Bose's leadership was marked by a blend of realism, diplomacy and military skills as seen from the following instances:

### Realism and far-sightedness

- He realized soon after the failure of the Versailles Treaty that the war is imminent, and India should take advantage of this by receiving help from enemies of England.
- He formed a provisional government and declared war on Britain. To achieve political cohesiveness, he adopted tricolor flag of Congress and a new national anthem.
- In order to provide better organization, he established novel institutions like Azad Hind Dal, Rani of Jhansi Regiment, Indian Independence Leagues, BalakSena and National Bank of Azad Hind.
- He had a realistic view that the activities of Indian National Army will make Indian soldiers of British Army politically conscious.
- He had a vision for secular India, which is evident from the absence of religious differences in Indian National Army.

### Diplomacy and military skills

- He was impressed by Germany and its military victories. He knew that India could not be liberated unless a military campaign was launched from outside India.
- With his military and diplomatic acumen, he managed to get help from Japanese and organized Indian National Army from Indians living in East Asia. All the resources, training and command of Indian National Army was completely Indian.
- Netaji was a great orator and recruited men to build his INA by appealing to the nascent patriotism of the people.
- Bose formed his own party- the Forward Bloc, which technically remained in Congress and attempted to bring together the left and the right factions towards their common objective.

This year India has celebrated 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of INA formation by Subash chandra Bose

## BR Ambedkar

1. He led millions of oppressed to a life of self respect, dignity, and responsibility. He stressed the importance of better education, so that position of common people in society can be improved.
2. Babasaheb began the revival of Buddhism in India that has grown tremendously after his death, and continues to grow today among his countless followers. He was a veritable phenomenon of the 20th century.
3. He was the chairperson of the Constitution drafting committee. One of the greatest contributions of Dr. Ambedkar was in respect of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in the Constitution of India. He created the system of reservation by keeping in mind untouchable and their condition in that India.
4. He did a great job in removing social evils in India. Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha was the first organised attempt from his side to uplift the untouchables. He wanted to educate them for a better life. After this many public movements and marches had been initiated under his leadership that were meant to bring equality in the society.
5. He worked for the improvement of the status of women in India. He was the first law minister of independent India and he drafted Hindu civil code bill during his tenure. It got passed in 1956 and was key for Hindu Women's upliftment as it abolished polygamy, granted equal property rights, etc.
6. Not only this, but formation of the Reserve Bank of India in 1934 was also based on the ideas of Babasaheb that he had presented to the Hilton Young commission. Amartya Sen who is a Nobel Prize winner in economics had said that Ambedkar is his father in economics.

## Gopal krishna Gokhale

1. As a moderate, he contributed and desired to change British rule through reason. Served in Bombay legislative council and Imperial Legislative council. He also tried to make relationship harmonious among ranks of congress.
2. Supported the modern education, and in fact was first to ask for it.

3. Asked for **free press, social reforms**, committed to free speech and constructive criticism.
4. He **inspired Hindus and Muslims alike with his sharp aptitude** toward demand in constitutional way regarding economic, administration and political power sharing to Indians.
5. **Supported Gandhi during his stay in Africa**, which indirectly helped Gandhi to evolve strategy. Gave financial help to Gandhi to setup Sabarmati ashram.

## Savarkar

1. The name of VD Savarkar is synonymous with **Hindu nationalism** and **Hindu Mahasabha**. This perception blindfolds his essential sacrifice and contribution to India's freedom cause.
2. **Contributions**
  1. Association with **revolutionary activities via Abhinav Bharat** ushered vigour, **mobilised youth** and broke the infallible nature of Britishers.
  2. He wrote a book called **history of the war of Indian independence** and analysed the circumstances of **1857 uprising** by describing British rule as unjust and oppressive.
  3. Supported and **popularised Swadeshi and Boycott movements** during **educational days**. His campaign of burning foreign cloth resonated with women and youth to do the same.
  4. He **condemned the practice of religious rituals** and advocated yantra yug thus unifying people.
  5. He brought **unity and spirit of nationalism** by **focussing on Hinduism as way of life** and appealing to emotions of fatherland and holy land of India.
  6. **Propagated a democratic state** with equal rights to all and embracing of **modern-scientific** education. This approach assisted in society to move from irrational beliefs and rituals to singular cause of India.
3. **Criticism**
  1. He **believed in reconversion of Hindus** who were converted into Muslims and Christians by missionaries.
  2. Muslim league along with Hindu Mahasabha and other religious

institutions are blamed as **major contributors in partition**.

4. **Savarkar sacrifice during his jail time** and his constant devotion to India's nationalism is essential predecessor to India's successful freedom attainment.

## **Jayaprakash Narayana**

1. JP had an enormous influence in **shaping the Socialist movement** in India. He along with Ram Manohar Lohia set an example of opposition in democracy influencing constructively the ruling power. **He wanted the grass root to be at the centre of welfare.**
2. **Contributions to Pre-independent India**
  1. He **followed Gandhi in Quit India movement** and led the movement when other leaders were arrested.
  2. He established **Congress Socialist Party (CSP)** in 1934.
  3. As a follower of Marxism, he **accepted violent way of revolution** for freedom movement and established Azad Dasta which was a group of violent revolutionaries for freedom movement.
  4. **Involvement in the Kisan Sabha movement.**
3. **Contributions Post independent India**
  1. He started **SARVODYA movement** for **development of all across caste, religion, class and gender**. After independence he gave Sarvodaya Plan for economic upliftment of all classes.
  2. He also gave his **support to Vinoba Bhave** in his Bhoodan movement.
  3. JP's most enduring contribution to post independent India was his **call for 'Total Revolution'** against the misrule of the then Central Government.
  4. He found the People's Union for Civil Liberties (**PUCL**) in 1976 to uphold Civil liberties.
4. Though he had never been the part of government, his contribution in **constructive opposition** both inside and outside the parliament was great for the development of Indian naive democracy. He posthumously awarded with Bharat Ratna in 1999 for his contribution.

## **Swami Vivekananda**



1. He was the first **cultural ambassador to the west**. He showed that India has much to contribute to world culture. He also showed that science and religion are not contradictory but are complimentary.
2. He played a **major role in unification of Hinduism**. He gave a global unique face to the belief system and was in a way first to say that **Hinduism is not a religion but a way of life**.
3. First time in Indian Hinduism history **Swami Vivekananda allowed Sudra (the 4th varna) to join as monks** in ashram and worship in temple.
4. Earlier **women were not allowed to chant Vedas** and to join as a monk. They were considered impure due to menstrual cycle they incur. Swamiji removed these two rules and allowed women to chant Vedic mantra.
5. **Defending Hinduism** was one of the important work of his life. Missionaries of west and **pseudo-intellectuals** propagated their own understanding of Hinduism which were mostly negative in nature. **He raised his voice against this and clarified the concepts of Hinduism** thereby, giving self-pride to followers of Hinduism.
6. He founded **Ramakrishna Mission** to propagate the teachings of his Guru Sri Rama Krishna Paramhans and **interpreted many ancient Hindu scriptures** in context of the modern world.

### **Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya**

1. He is remembered in the world as the **founder of Asia's largest residential university** at **Varanasi**, the Banaras Hindu University (BHU). The University has students all across the fields such as the arts, sciences, engineering and technology.
2. He **worked for the education of women**, besides supporting widow remarriage and opposed child marriage.
3. He had also founded a highly influential **English newspaper**, **The Leader**, published from Allahabad in 1909.
4. India's modern history records Pandit Malaviya's contributions as a **bridge between the moderates and the extremists** during the freedom struggle. He became the Indian National Congress (INC) president four times in 1909, 1918, 1930 and 1932.
5. **Opposed Indian Industrial commission report** and pleaded that imperial council to abolish **indentured Labour**, saying it was just another form of

slavery.

6. He **protested against the Simon Commission in 1928**. He took part in the Salt Satyagraha, which was launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1930. He has popularised the **Satyameva Jayate** (Truth alone will triumph) slogan.

## **Gandhi**

### **1. SA ordeal**

1. **Gandhi explored the ideals of Civil disobedience, Non-cooperation and Satyagraha** for the first time in South Africa during his struggle against racist and arbitrary laws such as **transvaal act** and found these methods very effective. This was the basis in which he carried entire freedom struggle.
2. He **understood the irrational founding of discrimination** when **he was thrown out of train**. He then formed the idea of **inclusive India**.
3. He understood that leaders not only has to face ire from opponents but **must be prepared to face ire from its followers too**. This was great leadership lesson he learnt in South Africa.
4. Life in South Africa has gifted him opportunity to inhale the thoughts of great global leaders such as **Socrates, Plato, Tolstoy, Ruskin etc**. This wisdom of internalisation was **reflected in his leadership role** in India's national liberalisation.
5. He **understood that secularism** must be foundation of freedom struggle when muslim merchants in South Africa joined him in his fight.
6. He **understood the importance of constructive social work**, building a community of disciplined and selfless social servants, uniting Indians of all faiths, castes and linguistic communities in a common struggle for justice.

### **2. Gandhi vs British**

1. Gandhi was **never against the evil doer** but against the evil. So his tools of struggle was against the might (force) of britishers, at the same time not taking the advantage of their plight.
2. For example, **during the World Wars and Boer wars** Gandhiji supported Britishers **because he doesn't want to get independence**

on the misery of British Govt.

3. This **made Gandhi's image more refined among British parliamentarians** and helped the conservative and labour party realise the gravity of freedom struggle in India.
4. Also, Gandhi's decision of suggesting to make **Govt of India Act 1935 in sync of British Constitution** led the Britishers in dilemma that, Gandhi is not against them but against the their ill-treating of Indians and subjugating Indians as second class nations.

### 3. Gandhi's political thoughts

1. **Ahimsa:** His idea of Ahimsa encompassed not only **non-violence** in physical actions but **also in thoughts, speech etc.** He suggested incorporating this concept **not only in political sphere** but also **in social, economic and other spheres.** Gandhi's idea of Ahimsa was inspired by his understanding of religions like **Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity, Islam** etc.
2. **Swarajya:** In his book Hind Swarajya, Gandhi mentions that **Swarajya is not simply liberation from foreign rule** but ensuring a life of **dignity and equality of opportunity** for all individuals which is possible in **Ram Rajya.** Gandhian idea of Swarajya is influenced by **Upanishads, Ramcharitmanas** and also by ideas of Aurobindo Ghosh.
3. **Satyagraha:** Satyagraha **meant a fight for truth.** Since the fight is for truth the methodology employed must also be noble. It is inspired by the ideals of **Swami Vivekananda** who exhorted individuals to **rise up, awake and not stop until the goal is achieved.** The tools of Gandhian Satyagraha was Non Cooperation, Civil Disobedience which was inspired by **HD Thoreau's idea** of right of individuals to resist if the state does wrong.
4. **Views on state:** Gandhi was **anarchist** believing that **state is unnecessary evil,** incompatible with the idea of non-violence. Even medium state according to him needed some sort of coercion and policing. **State according to him is incompatible** with the idea of Swarajya.
5. **Sarvodaya:** This is **Gandhian alternative to Marxist Socialism.** Gandhi believed in the idea of class cooperation in place of class conflict. He gave the Trusteeship theory to ensure that fruits of

development are well dispersed. Gandhian idea of Sarvodaya is inspired by **John Ruskin's book Unto this Last**.

#### 4. **How Gandhi could unite people**

1. **He truly cared about people**. Not just Indians, but, everyone. When the Mahatma announced the call to boycott British clothes, **he took the time to visit the mills in Manchester** and apologise to the workers. The British weavers never let him apologise and actually cheered his boycott.
2. Most political leaders either stay off the religion or use religion for divisive ends. Gandhi did neither. He **actively used the religion to unite people**.
3. By the time Mahatma Gandhi entered the Indian politics in 1914, **he had already spent 21 years in the South African** civil rights movement. He had the academic credibility from London and the street credibility from South Africa. Then he spent years touring India and observed from a very perceptive lens.
4. **Mahatma adhered to truth** no matter what comes. Mahatma's truth and character inspired Businessmen, world leaders, judges, bankers, actors. He was an absolute novelty (for a lawyer turned politician).
5. **There is an immense power in simplicity**. Steve Jobs was greatly inspired by the Mahatma's simplicity. Mahatma kept the whole movement very simple and transparent. He connected with masses well because of such simplicity.
6. **Gandhi simplified revolution to a DIY** (Do it Yourself) sort of culture. He made people create salt in the coastal areas. He made people create their own clothes. He made people do very simple things as mark of protest. People were completely involved and enchanted. Other leaders talked, sermoned or threw stones. Gandhi redefined revolution.
7. From the Day 1, until the end, **Mahatma was at the grassroots**. He had little interest in parliaments, assemblies, roundtables and bills. He travelled through trains, met people and bonded with the common man.
8. He was a person who said what he thought, and did what he said. There **was a complete harmony** between thought, words and action. This completely **attracted people**. Gandhi did not celebrate



hard earned independence. While whole India was watching Delhi and the exit of British, Gandhi was 1000s of miles away. He was in a corner, saving people from crime and violence. While other leaders cheered from the safety of Delhi, Gandhi was saving people in the slums. His mission was not done yet.

## Gandhi and Gokhale

1. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was an outstanding intellectual. **Gandhiji was a devout nationalist**, a trained lawyer and a great humanitarian.
2. **Gokhale wanted to transform the Legislative council** into an open university for imparting political education to the people. Gandhi instead preferred social ground work and mass mobilisations to politically educate the people.
3. In 1899, **Gokhale was elected to Bombay Legislative Council**. Gandhi did not have a political career like this.
4. **Gokhale was primarily not concerned with independence**, but with Social reform. Gandhi, on the other hand, wanted both.
5. **Gokhale's budget speeches and his economic knowledge** kept British officials on their toes. Gandhiji's command in masses, his integrity, simplicity and commitment kept British officials on the toes.
6. **Gandhi did not support Gokhale's belief in western political institutions** despite considering as his political mentor. Hence, he did not become a member of Gokhale's famous Servants of India society.

## Sardar Vallabhai Patel

1. **Popularly known as Iron man of India**, his contribution is vital not only in struggle for independence but also after independence.
2. **Contributions**
  1. **Integration of country:** He travelled the breadth and length of country and **convinced princely** states to join union of India. He acted with determination, vision and statesmanship and made **India united** without any bloodshed.
  2. **Kashmir:** **Swift action** in **Kashmir** and **Lakshadweep** thereby forcing back the Pakistani forces from Kashmir and integrating Lakshadweep in India.

3. **Modern all India service:** He established the modern all India services and therefore, remembered as **patron saint of India's civil servants**. He also protected the privileges of Indian civil service officers who were deemed to be comprised on account of their previous service to the play.
4. **Minority rights:** He played crucial role in **constituent assembly** for supporting the fundamental rights to minorities.
5. **Cooperative:** He helped in establishing **Kheda milk cooperative society** and promoted liberalised **industrial policy** resolution of 1948 thus focusing on **economic self-reliance**.
6. **China:** He acted as a **balancing wheel** to Nehru's over emphasis on Sino-Indian relations as he foresaw the **dangers of Chinese occupation of Tibet**.

### 3. Criticism

1. Patel is sometimes criticised for **promoting the capitalist class** and opposing Nationalisation of industries. He had **close relationship** with industrialists like **Birla**, Sarabhai, etc.
2. Maulana Azad criticised Patel for **inciting partition**. According to him, Patel **harsh attitude** in dealing with muslims sow the seeds of partition.
3. **He did not desist from using force** or police action for **integration** of states into India. He believed in realpolitik and **retaliation** by force.
4. His **image** was a little tilted towards **communalism** and fringe groups although he banned some organisations after Gandhiji's assassination.

### 4. Patel vs Nehru

1. **Princely states conundrum:** Patel played a **pivotal role in ensuring that India did not get fragmented** post British departure. Nehru did not like satisfying the egos of Princes by measures like **Privy purses**, etc. Patel used both coercive and conciliatory to ensure integration of princely states.
2. **Foreign policy:** **Patel was a pragmatist** while **Nehru was an idealist**. Patel recognized that China always had expansionist tendencies and **advised Nehru to proceed with caution**. Nehru however felt that there was no fundamental conflict between the two nations and went ahead with the idea of 'Hindi Chini Bhai

Bhai', an idea shattered in 1962 war.

3. **Attitude towards civil services:** Patel was a wily administrator and is regarded as the Father of All India Services. While, Nehru had disregard and pessimistic attitude towards civil service.
4. **Secular credentials:** Nehru upheld the secular fabric of the country post independence realising that inter faith tolerance is very critical in the Idea of India. Although Sardar was also secular, but sometimes he was associated with some communal groups. But he banned communal groups post Gandhi's death.

## Panchsheel

1. Panchsheel principles are a set of principles to govern relations between states. These principles were born to ensure a world where nations can co-exist and prosper together in peace and harmony.
2. **Five principles**
  1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
  2. Mutual non-aggression.
  3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
  4. Equality and cooperation for mutual benefit.
  5. Peaceful coexistence.
3. An underlying assumption of the five principles was that newly independent states after decolonisation would be able to develop a new and more principled approach to international relations. The five principles of Panchsheel provide a basis for not only interstate relations but also the construction of a new international order.
4. One cardinal principle of Panchsheel has been equality and mutual benefit, which is opposed to one-upmanship. Ex: As China is now a bigger power, it is all the more appropriate that it displays sensitivity and reciprocity in multilateral institutions like the UNSC and the BRICS. It is high time that China goes beyond its stated position that it understands and appreciates India's aspiration to play greater role in the world, and comes out with clear proposal for UNSC reforms.
5. Similarly the two countries should work together in concert on issues such as climate change and fighting the menace of terrorism. The new

world equilibrium needs to emerge, recognising the global shift of power.

## Princely states

1. The government's **approach towards princely states** was guided by following considerations.
2. **They were**
  1. The **people** of most of the princely states clearly **wanted to become part** of the Indian Union. Government was prepared to be **flexible in giving autonomy** to some of these regions.
  2. In the back drop of partition, the integration and **consolidation of the territorial boundaries** of the nation had assumed supreme importance.
3. **How was it blood less**
  1. Patel's first step was to **appeal to the princes** to accede to the Indian Union in three subjects which affected the **common interests** of the country, namely, foreign relations, defence and communications.
  2. Next step of Patel was to **convince Mountbatten** to bat for India. Mountbatten, in a **speech** to chamber of princes, **finally persuaded the Princes**.
  3. **Privy purses**, upholding succession to throne, **flying of personal flags** were used as tools of persuasion.
  4. States not ready to accede to India where made to **sign instrument of accession through diplomacy**. Ex: Travancore, Jodhpur, Bhopal, Junagadh, etc. Ruler of **Kashmir** was **made to sign instrument of accession** before offering any military assistance.
  5. **Prolonged negotiations with French** led to **Pondicherry** becoming part of India.
4. **Not completely blood less**
  1. **People** organised a **popular movement** in **Junagadh**, forced the Nawab to flee and established a **provisional government**. Indian troops thereafter marched into the state. A **plebiscite was held in the state** which went overwhelmingly in favour of joining India.
  2. In case of Hyderabad, **Nizam of Hyderabad denied accession** to



India. A strong peasant struggle and satyagraha by state congress had developed in the Telangana region. In 1948, the Indian army moved into Hyderabad and freed it from Nizam control. The operation was called operation Polo.

3. Indian troops marched in Goa under operation Vijay and Portuguese surrendered without fight.
  4. After the formation of Union of India the major foreign enclaves were French and Portuguese. On gaining independence India opened negotiations with them for the transfer of territories.
5. **French enclaves**
1. Integration of French territories was done peacefully. After the formation of Union of India, the rising nationalism in the people and shift of French India socialist party to pro-merger, forced French government to sign a referendum with India.
  2. In 1954, the four enclaves Karaikal, Mahi, Yanam and Puducherry were transferred to the Indian Union and became the Union territory of Pondicherry.
6. **Portuguese enclaves**
1. **Dadra and Nagar Haveli:** Portugal resisted diplomatic solutions and refused to transfer power to Union of India. Volunteers of United Front of Goans and occupied Dadra and Nagar Haveli in 1954 and displaced Portuguese rule.
  2. **Goa, Daman and Diu:** Satyagraha and revolts by Indian nationalists were suppressed by Portuguese government. Indian government tried to raise the issue before the international community. But Portugal resisted all overtures from India. In 1961, in Operation Vijay the Indian Army liberated Goa, Daman and Diu by force.

## Linguistic states

1. Our national movement had promised the linguistic principle as the basis of formation of states. In fact after the Nagpur session of Congress in 1920 the principle was recognised as the basis of the reorganisation of the Indian National Congress party itself.
2. Things changed after Independence and Partition. Our leaders felt that carving out states on the basis of language might lead to disruption and

**disintegration**. It was also felt that this would **draw attention away from other social and economic challenges** that the country faced.

3. But whatever options anybody else might have been considering were put to rest by the **fast-unto-death of Potti Sreeramulu** for a separate province of the Telugu people, free from Madras state. **Sheer mismanagement** of the administration caused the death of Potti Sreeramulu, leading to **widespread protests** and finally the creation of Andhra Pradesh.
4. **Language** did not, however, remain the **sole basis** of organisation of states. In later years sub-regions raised demands for separate states on the basis of a separate regional culture or complaints of regional imbalance in development.
5. **Linguistic state creation served the following purposes**
  1. **Language gives a mathematical basis** for division. States will not fight over for the border territories.
  2. Led to **nurturing and promotion of the regional language and culture**, strengthening the country overall. Above all, the linguistic states underlined the acceptance of the principle of **diversity**.
  3. Led to **better interaction among people** of the states and with **their democratically elected governments**. A linguistically heterogeneous state would have difficulty in getting messages across to its people.
  4. Led to **better penetration of power to grass root level** and local governments and better consolidation of democracy. A non English or non Hindi speaking person can aspire to become a political leader, which was difficult earlier.
  5. Led to **consolidation of the federal structure**. People realised that it was easy and peaceful to be Hindi-speaking and Indian, Tamil-speaking and Indian, Gujarati-speaking and Indian, etc.
  6. Led to **growth of English as a medium** of inter-state and State-Centre communication, which would have been difficult had the states not been more or less linguistically homogenous.
6. But reorganisation **did not resolve all the problems** relating to linguistic conflicts. **Disputes** over boundaries between different states, **linguistic minorities** and economic issues such as **sharing of waters**, and power and surplus food still persist. **Linguistic chauvinism** also finds occasional expression. But the reorganisation has removed a major

factor affecting cohesion of the country.

## 7. Lessons from regional conflict

1. Even after **six 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.
2. First and the most elementary lesson is that **regional aspirations are very much a part of democratic politics**. Even in countries like **UK** and **Srilanka**, the regional autonomy demands exist. A large and diverse democracy like India must deal with regional aspirations on a regular basis. **Nation building is an ongoing process**.
3. The second lesson is that the best way to **respond to regional aspirations is through democratic negotiations** rather than through force. The example of **Mizoram** shows how **political settlement** can resolve the problem of separatism effectively.
4. The third lesson is about the significance of **power sharing**. It is **not sufficient to have a formal democratic structure**. Besides that, groups and parties from the region need to be given **share in power at the state level**. If regions are not given a share in the national level **decision making**, the **feeling of injustice** and alienation can spread.
5. The fourth lesson is that **regional imbalance in economic development** contributes to the feeling of regional discrimination. **If some states remain poor and others develop rapidly**, it leads to regional imbalances and inter-regional migrations.
6. Finally, these cases make us appreciate the **farsightedness of the makers** of our Constitution in dealing with questions of diversity. The **federal system** adopted by India is a **flexible arrangement**. While most of the states have equal powers, there are special provisions for some states like J&K and the states in the North-East.
8. What distinguishes India from many other countries that face similar challenges is that the **constitutional framework** in India is much **more flexible** and accommodative. Therefore, regional aspirations are not encouraged to espouse separatism. Thus, politics in India has succeeded

in accepting **regionalism** as part and parcel of democratic politics.

## **Community Development Programme (CDP)**

1. Programme was **designed for rural upliftment**. The basic aims were to increase in **agricultural production**, improvement in **communications**, rural **health**, hygiene and in village education and **uplift of backward sections**. The emphasis was on **self reliance** and self help by people, popular participation and responsibility.
2. 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 were appointed the workers called **Village Level Workers (VLW)** who were responsible to keep in touch with 10-12 villages. So, a **nationwide structure** was created.
3. The **programme achieved considerable results** in better **seeds**, **fertilisers**, and so on, resulting in agricultural development, greater **food production**, increased construction of **roads, tanks, schools and PHCs**, etc.
4. But it **failed in its major objective** of involving people as full participants of developmental activity. It did not simulate self help, instead it **increased expectations** from and reliance on the Government.
5. It gradually acquired an **official orientation**, became part of the **bureaucratic framework** and came to be administered from above as a routine activity with the **BDOs becoming replicas of the traditional sub-divisional officers** and the Village level workers becoming administrative underlings.
6. **Limitations of panchayat raj (1952)**
  1. The **state governments showed little enthusiasm** for it, devolved no real power on the panchayati samitis, curbed their powers and functions and starved them of funds.
  2. The **bureaucracy too did not slacken** its grip on rural administration at different levels. Panchayats were also politicized and used by politicians to gather factional support in the villages.

## **Privy purses**



1. The **Privy purse was a payment** made to the royal families of erstwhile **princely states** as part of their agreements to integrate with India whereby they **lost all ruling rights**. They are allowed to **retain certain private property**, and given a **grant in heredity or government allowance**, measured on the basis of the extent, revenue and potential of the merging state.
2. At the time of accession, **there was little criticism** of these privileges since integration and consolidation was the primary aim. Yet, **hereditary privileges** were not consonant with the principles of **equality** and **socio-economic justice** laid down in the Constitution of India.
3. **Nehru had expressed dissatisfaction** over the matter time and again. Following the 1967 elections, Indira Gandhi supported the demand that the government should abolish privy purses. **Morarji Desai** called the move morally wrong and **amounting** to a **breach of faith with the princes**.
4. In the 1971 election, the **Constitution was amended to remove legal obstacles** for abolition of privy purses.

## **Chipko movement**

1. The movement **practiced** the **Gandhian methods** of **satyagraha** and **non-violent resistance**, through the act of hugging trees to protect them from being felled.
2. It was started in the early 1970s in the **Garhwal Himalayas of Uttarakhand** and by the 1980s the movement had spread **throughout India** and led to the formulation of **people sensitive forest policies**, which put a **stop to the open felling of trees** in regions as far as the Vindhya and the Western Ghats.
3. One of Chipko's most salient features was the mass participation of **female villagers**. It is being seen increasingly as an **eco-feminism movement**. Women were not only its **backbone**, **but also its mainstay**, because they were the ones most affected by the **rampant deforestation**, which led to a lack of **firewood** and **fodder** as well as water for drinking and irrigation.
4. Women became **primary stakeholders** in a majority of the **afforestation**, they set up **cooperatives to guard local forests**, and organised **fodder production** at rates conducive to local environment. They followed **land**

rotation methods and helped replant degraded land and established and ran nurseries stocked with species they selected.

5. It occurred at a time when there was hardly any environmental movement in the developing world and it inspired many future environmentalists, environmental protests and movements by helping to slow down the rapid deforestation, expose vested interests, increase ecological awareness and demonstrate the viability of people power. It created precedent for non-violent protest.
6. Women held sustained agitations against the habit of alcoholism and broadened the agenda of the movement to cover other social issues.
7. The movement took up economic issues of landless forest workers and asked for guarantees of minimum wage. They demanded control over natural resources like land, water, and forests. They wanted the government to provide low cost materials to small scale industries and ensure development of the region without disturbing the ecological balance.
8. Chipko movement also expressed the resentment of hill villagers against a distant government headquartered in the plains that seemed indifferent and hostile to their concerns. So concerns about economy, ecology and political representation underlay the Chipko movement.

### Why didn't NATO react when India captured Goa

1. Nehru timed the aggression within months of JFK taking over. The new administration in USA was focused on Bay of Pigs operation in Cuba. And adding to that JFK sympathised with India unlike his predecessor
2. US didn't want NATO to be seen as siding imperial powers and lose political capital and credibility at a very critical time in Cuba and Vietnam.
3. Most of the world from newly liberated colonies in Africa, West Asia, East Asia to USSR and Soviet bloc countries to even China supported India. Even common wealth members stayed neutral.
4. USA was waging a war in Vietnam. So going against India was considered a great disaster to USA. For most, Goa was too unimportant compared to the action in other places.
5. Portugal and US tried to use the UN for an action. Thanks to USSR Veto, UN Security Council refused to vote against India.

6. Salazar (dictator of Portugal) was **not a likeable figure** and as an autocratic dictator he didn't have many friends in the liberal minded members of NATO.

## **Indo-China war**

1. **Chinese attack** on India is due to **India's unpreparedness** and overtly **aggressive China** coupled with compulsions of war.
2. **India's mistakes**
  1. **Nehru failed to settle the boundary disputes** in the **Himalayan borders** (NEFA and Aksai Chin) with China at reasonable concessions given by China due to public pressure.
  2. Nehru **pursued the Forward policy since 1959** which provoked Chinese to attack in self defence.
  3. Granting of **asylum to the Dalai Lama** provoked China and many border skirmishes happened then after.
  4. **Improper and inadequate diplomatic communication** with China in the run up to the 1962 war.
  5. **Indian armed forces were weak** and were not adequate enough to act as a deterrent for China.
3. **China's mistakes**
  1. **Unnecessary aggression** and violated the Panchsheel principles.
  2. Although, India helped China to get a permanent seat in the UN, **China were not sympathetic** to India.
  3. Asylum to **Dalai Lama** was on **humanitarian grounds** rather than on interfering into internal trouble to China.
  4. Nehru could see foresee **minor skirmishes** on the India-China border but **never anticipated** a full **blown war** by China with Soviet support.
  5. Therefore, he found it futile to spend on **military** at the cost of **social** and economic development in India.
4. **Consequences**
  1. The China war dented **India's image at abroad**. India had to approach the Americans and the British for **military assistance** to tide over the crisis.
  2. It induced a sense of **national humiliation** and at the same time

strengthened a spirit of nationalism.

3. **Weaknesses** in **Army** clearly came out. India's **defence spending** increased from the very next budget and efforts to strengthen the Army were taken.
4. **India and China relations** damaged and a sense of mutual suspicion started from then on.
5. The war with China **alerted Indian** leadership to the volatile situation in the **Northeast region**. The process of its reorganisation began soon after the China war. Nagaland was granted statehood, Manipur and Tripura, though Union Territories, were given the right to elect their own legislative assemblies.

## **Tashkent declaration**

1. **Three weeks of fighting in 1965** has done immense damage to economies of both countries. **Apart from loss of life** and costly **military equipment, resources** urgently needed for economic development were drained and **defence budgets mounted again**.
2. The **Tashkent Declaration** was a peace agreement between India and Pakistan after the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965. **Peace** had been achieved by the **intervention of the great powers** who pushed the two nations to a cease fire for fears the conflict could escalate and draw in other powers.
3. **Details**
  1. The Tashkent conference, under UN, **American and Soviet pressure**, compelled **India to give away the conquered region** in Pakistan and maintain the 1949 ceasefire line in Kashmir
  2. Both sides agreed to **withdraw from all occupied areas** and **return to their pre-war August positions**.
  3. In the case of India this meant, **removing troops from strategic Haji Pir pass**, from which Pakistani rangers could enter the Kashmir valley easily.
  4. This also meant India **giving up other strategic gains in Kashmir**.
  5. Shastri agreed to these **unfavourable terms** as other option was the **resumption of mutually disastrous war** and that would also have meant losing USSR support on Kashmir issue in UNSC and in supply of **defence equipment**, especially **MiG planes** and medium



and heavy tanks.

#### 4. Lessons learnt from 1965 war

1. The **Pakistan infiltrators** failed to generate support from Kashmiris. India's had passed its first major test of **secularism** as their **was no communal trouble** during the war. Indian Muslims gave wholehearted support to the war.
  2. In 1965 **Indian commanders were new** in **handling brigade and division sized forces in battles**. The war experience helped in consolidating organisation and leadership.
  3. Since 1965, there were **marked changes** in the way government **coordinated with the 3 service chiefs**.
  4. **Strengths and weaknesses of the three divisions** of military were understood and worked upon, which proved crucial during the 1971 war. The **imperative of joint warfare** in which the Army, the Navy and the Air Force **operated to a cohesive plan** towards common objectives became a key ingredient of war plans.
  5. **The role of technology** in the outcome of wars was **carefully observed** and built into military doctrines.
5. It also made the Indian **political leadership more mature** in dealing with major powers to safeguard India's interests diplomatically.

#### Bangladesh war of liberation

1. It happened in 1971. **Pakistan did not recognise** democratically elected Govt in east Pakistan. When people took to streets, **Pakistan army** launched massive attack, suppressing the revolt. As a result, Bengali military, **paramilitary** and civilians formed the **Mukti Bahini** (liberation army), which **engaged in guerrilla warfare against Pakistani** forces.
2. The Pakistan Army, in collusion with religious **extremist militias** (Razakars, Al-Badr and Al-Shams), engaged in the **systematic genocide** and **atrocities on Bengali nationalists, intellectuals, youth and religious minorities**.
3. **Why did war erupt**
  1. Although East Pakistan had a larger population, **West Pakistan** dominated the divided country **politically** and received **more money from the common budget**. Bengalis were under-

represented in the Pakistan military, **bureaucracy and technical posts**.

2. Moreover, despite huge **defence spending**, East Pakistan received none of the benefits, such as **contracts**, purchasing and military support jobs.
3. Pakistan **did not recognise democratically elected** Govt of **east Pakistan** and crushed the peaceful revolt.
4. In 1948, Jinnah declared that **Urdu would be the federal language of Pakistan**. But Urdu was prevalent only in **western region** of Pakistan while dominant language in east Pakistan was Bengali. So, it was viewed as an **attempt to suppress the culture of the eastern wing**.

#### 4. **Operation Searchlight**

1. A planned **military operation** carried out by the Pakistan Army to **curb the east-Bengali nationalist movement** by taking control of the major cities on and then eliminating all opposition.
2. Before the beginning of the operation, all **foreign journalists were deported from East Pakistan**.

#### 5. **Why did India join war**

1. The number of **refugees** from Bangladesh has reached nearly **10 million** which put huge **strain on the economic resources** of the country. It also led to political instability. So India understood that only way to **rehabilitate** them is to liberate Bangladesh.
2. There was a wave of **sympathy** among Indians about **brutality** of the Pakistan Army.
3. Liberation of Bangladesh will lead to **easing of tensions on the eastern border**. It would reduce our expenditure on army on the eastern front.
4. Indian Govt not only gave sanctuary to Bangladesh Govt in exile, but the Indian army **actively trained Mukti Bahini** and also gave aid in terms of men and material.
5. **Pakistan launched military attack** on India in the western front, which started India's active engagement in war with Pakistan.

### **Simla agreement**

1. **After the 1971 war of Bangladesh independence**, India signed **Simla agreement** with Pakistan to reduce tensions and put an end to the war.

## 2. **Reasons why Simla agreement was signed**

1. India realised that a mutually arrived at **Indo-Pak** settlement was **necessary for durable peace**. A hostile Pakistan would force India to maintain a high level of defence expenditure.
2. **Soviet Union already signed a pact** with India in supporting Bangladesh. US and UK sent their forces in aid of Pakistan. By continuing war, India would have to **confront a pack of superpowers** which was unaffordable.
3. **Pakistan** was pleading with the **world community** and gained **international sympathy**. India had to release the **90000 POW** to maintain its image and not to antagonise the world community.
4. **China vetoed UN resolutions** to recognise the sovereignty of Bangladesh citing the **Prisoners of War (PoW)**. India thus had to give in somewhat to get Bangladesh its due.
5. **Having too harsh conditions** on Pakistan would weaken the only democratic hope Pakistan had. From India's perspective it was much better to deal with their **civilian government** than to deal with their military.
6. The agreement was the result of resolve of both the countries to **put an end to the conflict and confrontation** that have hitherto marred their relations. It conceived the steps to be taken for further normalisation of mutual relations and it also laid down the principles that should govern their future relations.

## 3. **Terms of agreement**

1. **India agreed to return the Pakistan territory** it had occupied, except some strategic points in Kashmir.
2. **Pakistan agreed to respect the existing LoC** in Kashmir and undertook not to alter it unilaterally by force or threat of force.
3. The two countries also agreed to settle all their **disputes** through **bilateral** negotiations without any **outside mediation** by the UN or any other power. Also both countries accepted the **UN charter** to govern the 2 countries relationship.
4. India also agreed to return the **prisoners of war to Pakistan** but this was to be contingent upon a Bangladesh-Pakistan agreement.
5. The agreement **gave recognition** to an **independent Bangladesh**.

6. Steps to **promote trade and commerce**, science and technology and resumption of postal and telegraphic services.
4. **Why it was a lost opportunity**
  1. **Prisoners** of war were returned **unconditionally** to Pakistan.
  2. **India** pulled its **forces inside the cease fire line** of 1965.
  3. India **could not persuade Pakistan** to accept LoC as **international line**.
  4. No permanent resolution of **Kashmir issue**. There was no explicit mention of Kashmir issue.

### **Operation Meghdoot**

1. Operation Meghdoot was a **military operation** to **capture the Siachen Glacier** in the disputed Kashmir region, **precipitating the Siachen conflict**. This military operation was unique as the first assault launched in the world's highest battlefield.
2. The Siachen glacier became a bone of **contention** following a **vague demarcation** of territory as per the **Simla Agreement of 1972**, which did not exactly **specify who had the authority** over the Siachen Glacier area. As a result, both nations **claimed the barren heights** and the Siachen Glacier.
3. The operation and the continued cost of **maintaining logistics** to the area is a major drain on both militaries.
4. **Pakistan launched an all out assault in 1987** and again in 1989 to capture the ridge and passes held by India.

### **Kargil conflict**

1. Kargil conflict was an **armed clash** between **India and Pakistan backed militants** due to their intrusion in the Indian territory of Kargil district. The Kargil conflict drew **attention worldwide** for the reason that only one year prior to that, both India and Pakistan had attained **nuclear capability**. However, this conflict remained confined only to the Kargil region.
2. **Effects of the war**
  1. **IRNSS**: Since **India was denied support** of **foreign navigation**

systems during the conflict, a need for country's own navigation system was felt in which took the **form of Indian Regional Navigation** satellite system.

2. **Defence budget:** The very next budget after the war **increased the financial allocations** to the defence sector.
  3. **RAW:** The **RAW** was heavily **criticised for its inability** to predict any intrusion and no. of infiltrators.
  4. **Proxy war:** From then, **Pakistan has been avoiding direct conflicts** with India but increased proxy attacks.
3. **Effects on Indo-Pak relation**
1. Soon after the conflict, the government of **Pakistan was taken over by the Pakistan Army** led by the Army Chief, **General Parvez Musharraf**.
  2. **Trade**, commerce ties of the countries took a **backseat after the conflict**.
  3. **Kashmir issue** got a **new rejuvenation** after the Kargil conflict.
  4. Fear of **nuclear conflict** arose between both the countries.
4. **Reactions of international community**
1. **G8 nations supported India** and condemned the Pakistani action.
  2. **China** insisted on **moving into pre-conflict positions** and solve border disputes amicably.

## **Delhi declaration**

1. The Delhi Declaration, issued by Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Gorbachev, called for the **complete destruction of nuclear arsenals** before the end of the century, and asserted the importance of solving problems in a **non-violent** way.
2. **It was a landmark document**, not just in the context of its **advocacy** of complete nuclear disarmament but it also made history through the **Soviet** ideological **acceptance for the first time** of the concept of non-violence.
3. The Delhi Declaration **strengthened** the philosophical, political, moral, humanitarian and ethical aspects of the **principles of non-use of force** in interstate relations. In the **nuclear world**, it is essential to rebuild **interstate relations** in such a manner that confrontation gives way to



cooperation and conflict is resolved through peaceful political means alone, not by military means.

4. However, gradually people across the world started realising that the **document was a quantum jump** towards the philosophy of not merely co-existence but global existence. The Delhi Declaration appeals to the global community to accept non-violence and non-use of force as the cardinal principles of international behaviour.

### **Peace treaty with Soviet**

1. This treaty played a very **significant role** in safeguarding **India's sovereignty** and territorial integrity.
2. The relevance of the treaty can be judged only by the **geopolitical and strategic context** under which it was signed. There was a **growing China-USA-Pakistan axis**. If India were to wage a war on Pakistan, it may face all the three powers.
3. In this backdrop, India and USSR **moved closer** to ink the historic Indo-Soviet treaty of peace to **neutralise the effect of the emerging axis** and defend their vital geopolitical interests.
4. **Treaty had effectively restrained Pakistan** and her allies from embarking on a course of **military adventurism** in the subcontinent and would continue to act as a deterrent against the hegemonic goals.
5. **It also improved our relationship with Soviet** which played a great role in solving energy crisis of India to an extent.
6. It was also a **shift** from **non-alignment** in our foreign policy to **realistically protect our interests**.

### **Emergency**

1. **Normal democratic functioning resumed** within a short span of time after emergency. Thus one lesson of emergency is that it is **extremely difficult** to do away with democracy in India.
2. It brought out some **ambiguities regarding the emergency** provision in the Constitution that have been **rectified** now.
3. The emergency made everyone **more aware** of the value of **civil liberties**. The **Courts** too, have taken an **active role** after the emergency

in protecting the civil liberties of the individuals. This is a response to the inability of the judiciary to protect civil liberties effectively during the emergency. Many **civil liberty organisations came up** after this experience.

4. Many issues that emerged during emergency still remain. There is a tension between **routine functioning** of a democratic government and the continuous **political protests** by parties and groups.
5. The **actual implementation** of the emergency rule took place through the **police and the administration**. These institutions could not function independently. They were turned into **political instruments** of the ruling party.

## **Punjab**

1. Khalistan movement was a **separatist movement in Punjab** (1966 to 1985). Roots of Khalistan movement are found in the various developments in Punjab region since **1947 independence**.
2. **Causes**
  1. **Partition excesses:** The various **riots and the excesses** suffered by **Sikh community** during Partition of India, made them to **feel isolated**. Development of feeling of **communal fear** from the other religious communities.
  2. **Language Politics:** During 1950s **whole India** came under the demand for reorganisation of states on **linguistic basis**. On language, one group was demanding Punjabi other for Hindi. Even question of script became an issue.
  3. **Communal Politics:** **Communal politicians** from both communities made this religious issue, which further **enhanced hostility** between community. In the late 1970s, a series of **clashes erupted** among Sikhs, **Nirankaris** and **Hindus**. The injustice rallied the Sikhs behind **Bhindranwale** call for retribution and revenge spread.
  4. **Centralisation:** **Over centralisation of polity** has led to resentment among the state. This contributed towards challenging central authority and rising prestige of **Bhindranwale**.
  5. **Economic:** **Green revolution**, migration of **labourers**, lack of **industrialisation** in Punjab has all led to strengthening the

movement.

### 3. Green revolution and Punjab crisis

1. **Green Revolution** in India began in the 1960s, through the introduction of **high-yield crop varieties** and application of modern agricultural techniques, and led to an increase in **food production** in India. The impact of Green revolution was **most prominent in Punjab** which came to be known as the granary of India.
2. It **led to increased prosperity** in the countryside among farmers. At the same time, it contributed to increased **westernisation of Punjabi society**. Demand for status items such as **TVs, radios** and motorbikes increased among the newly rich. At the same time, social evils such as **alcoholism** and **drugs** consumption also increased in the wake of green revolution.
3. Thus, a fear arose among **orthodox sections** that Punjabi society, especially its youth, was losing its touch with religious values. To **counter the westernising tendency**, religious **revival movements** sprung up in Punjab. The movements aim was to rid Punjabi society of the **evils** brought about by increased westernisation and to instil **religious values** among the **youth**.
4. In the 1970s, Punjabi society **also faced an economic crisis** due to stagnating agricultural yields and **increased migration** by labourers from other states, **which led to conflict** between them and the **poorer sections of Punjabi society**. To this, the problem of **youth unemployment** can also be added. Due to its **strategic location** on the Pakistan border, the Indian government had consciously avoided setting up many **industries** in Punjab.
5. These movements now started advocating the **idea of an independent Sikh nation**, which could be **freed from outside religious** and cultural influences.

### 4. Operation blue star

1. Operation Blue Star was a **military operation** to remove **Sikh militants** who were **amassing weapons** in the **Golden temple complex** in **Amritsar**.
2. The **roots of operation Blue Star** can be traced from the **Khalistan Movement**. The Khalistan Movement was a political Sikh nationalist movement that wanted to create an **independent state**

for Sikh people, inside the current North-Western Republic of India.

3. The terrorists bullied the press and judiciary, they killed the police officials and those suspected of cooperating with the police and administration, they issued successful diktats to administrators to do their bidding, they collected parallel taxes, they silenced intellectuals and political workers, coerced peasants in giving them shelter.
4. This all were designed not only to facilitate their activities but also to convince the people of Punjab that they had the capacity to challenge the Indian state and that they were the rulers of tomorrow. These terrorists were eliminated through operation blue star.

## 5. Criticism

1. The use of artillery in the congested inner city of Amritsar proved deadly to many civilian bystanders living near Harmandir Sahib. The media blackout throughout the Punjab resulted in widespread doubt regarding the official stories and aided many rumour.
2. The choice of time of attack by Government, the heavy casualties, the loss of property, and allegations of human rights violations by army personnel. S. K. Sinha, the GOC of the Indian Army who was sacked just before the attack, had advised the government against the operation.
3. The timing of operation blue star coincided with a Sikh religious day. The Sikhs from all over the world visit the temple on this day. So, the casualties inflicted on Sikhs were maximum.
4. During the operation, a number of Sikh literature were destroyed and the temple itself bore the brunt of armed attacks. Innocent boys were allegedly rounded up all over the state with the ostensible reason of attacking terrorism.

## 6. Peace afterwards

1. In July 1985, Rajiv Gandhi reached an agreement with Harchand Singh Longowal, then the President of the Akali Dal. This agreement, known as the Rajiv Gandhi - Longowal Accord or the Punjab Accord, was a step towards bringing normalcy to Punjab.
2. It was agreed that Chandigarh would be transferred to Punjab, a separate commission would be appointed to resolve the border

**dispute** between Punjab and Haryana, and a **tribunal** would be set up to decide the **sharing of Ravi-Beas river water** among Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan.

3. The agreement also provided for **compensation** to and better treatment of those **affected by the militancy** in Punjab and the **withdrawal** of the application of **AFSPA act in Punjab**.
4. However, **peace did not come easily** or immediately. The **cycle of violence continued** nearly for a decade. Militancy and counter insurgency violence led to excesses by the police and violations of human rights.
5. The central government had to impose **President's rule** in the State and the normal electoral and political process was suspended. Militancy was eventually **eradicated** by the security forces.

## **Land reforms**

1. Land reforms **involve redistribution of land** i.e taking away land from **rich** and distributing it to **poor**. It also involves abolishing **intermediaries** such as Zamindar, Jagirdar etc., **land ceilings**, tenancy reforms, computerisation of **land records**, forest rights act, land consolidation, etc.
2. **Before British**
  1. **Private ownership of land did not exist**. Land belonged to the **village community**. Land was never treated as the property of the kings. Land matters and **civil disputes** were **adjudicated** by **Panchayat within** the village.
  2. Farmers usually grew various **food crops** wheat, maize, paddy, jowar, bajra and pulses.
3. **During British rule**
  1. **Introduced private ownership of land**. This divided village into Landlords, Tenants and Labourers. Because of this material transformation the agrarian society in India witnessed **profound social, economic, political, cultural** and psychological change.
  2. With **generations**, land kept **dividing** among sons. So, **land** got **fragmented** resulting in diseconomies of scale, lower production.
  3. Farmer had to approach **British courts** for matters related to



revenue, property attachment, debt-mortgage etc. So, **Panchayats** lost their power and **prestige**.

4. Since British demand **revenue** in **cash**, farmers resorted to growing **cash crops** such as **indigo, sugarcane, cotton, etc.** So, area under food crop cultivation declined.

#### 4. **Post independence land reforms**

1. To **enhance the productivity of land** by improving the economic conditions of farmers and tenants so that they may have the interest to invest in and improve agriculture.
2. To ensure **distributive justice** and to create an **egalitarian society** by eliminating all forms of exploitation.
3. To create a system of **peasant proprietorship** with the motto of land to the tiller. To transfer the incomes of the few to many so that the **demand for consumer goods** would be created.
4. **Abolition** of intermediaries, **tenancy reforms** to regulate **fair rent** and provide **security** to tenure and ceilings on holdings and **distribution of surplus land** among the landlords. Consolidation of holdings and prevention of their further fragmentation and development of cooperative farming were also objectives.

### **Bhoodan and Gramdan**

1. Bhoodan's objective was to **collect land as gift from zamindars** and rich farmers and redistribute that donated land among the landless farmers.
2. **Mechanism**
  1. **Vinoba headed Sarvodaya Samaj** was at top of the **hierarchy** which looked after the entire process. At the state level, there were Pradesh Bhoodan committees in each region. At **grass root** level, **local committees** and individual social workers.
  2. Bhoodan worker took help of **Gram Panchayat, Patwari** to survey the **beneficiaries** and **land fertility**. First preference given to landless agricultural labourers and then to **farmers with insufficient land**.
3. **Positives**
  1. In the **initial years** the movement achieved a considerable degree of **success**, especially in North India-UP, Bihar by **receiving over**

4 million acres of land as donation by 1956. The movement was popularised in the belief that land is a gift of nature and it belonged to all.

2. Movement helped to reduce the gap between haves and have-nots in rural areas.
3. This movement was un-official. The landlords were under no compulsion to donate their land, it was a voluntary movement. One of the very few attempts after independence to bring about land reform through a movement.
4. Promoted the Gandhian idea of trusteeship or that all land belonged to God.

#### 4. Obstacles

1. After 1956 movement lost its momentum. While nearly 4.5 million acres of Bhoodan land was available, barely 0.65 million acres was actually distributed among 200,000 families. In some cases the donors took back their land from the Bhoodan workers for certain reasons.
2. Allotting authorities demanded petty money from the poor for recommending their names for allotment. As a result, many underserving villagers also got land.
3. Big landlords donated those land which were unfit for cultivation.
4. In the later phase, Bhoodan workers got associated with one or another political parties. Some of them tried to use the Bhoodan organisation as a means to gain political clout and dividends at the time of election.
5. Mere allotment of land is insufficient. Because landless farmer also needed seeds, fertiliser, irrigation, which were not provided and land became useless for farmer which again mostly went back to landlord.
6. The average size of land given was 0.5 to 3 acres which has resulted in land fragmentation, diseconomies of scale and disguised unemployment without any noticeable rise in agro-production.

#### 5. Limitation of Gramdan

1. Gramdan was successful mainly in villages where class differentiation had not yet emerged and there was little if any disparity in ownership of land or other property. Ex: Tribal

villages.

2. But **didn't find cooperation from other villages** in the plains or villages near urban centres.

## Cooperative farming

1. **Cooperative farming is pooling of land** and practicing joint agriculture. Farmer remains the owner of his land. Cooperative farming is **not a new concept** in India. Since ancient times, **Indian farmers** have been giving **mutual aid** to each other in weeding, harvesting etc.
2. **Benefits**
  1. As the **size of farm increases**, the per **hectare cost** of using tubewell, tractor comes down.
  2. Solves the problem of sub-division and **fragmentation** of **holdings**.
  3. Cooperative farm has more **men and material resources** to increase **irrigation potential** and **land productivity**. Members would not have been able to do it individually on their small farm.
  4. **Case studies** generally point out that with cooperative farming, **per acre production increases**.
3. **Limitations of land cooperatives**
  1. Although village panchayat helped implementing cooperative farming, **initial response was lukewarm**.
  2. In big cooperatives, big farmers would **setup bogus cooperative farms** by showing agricultural labourers as bogus members. **This was done to evade land ceiling** and tenancy reform laws. These big farmers were also able to get **state subsidies** such as fertilisers, seed, etc.
  3. Even in genuine cooperative farming societies, **the rich farmers dominated the management positions**.
  4. Some **member farmers become lazy**, thinking why bother when we will get the same amount of profit in proportion of the land owned.
  5. In some state sponsored cooperatives, **Government would allot land to the landless, SC/ST, displaced persons etc**. But they **did not get adequate** support from government agencies for **irrigation, electricity, seeds, fertilizer, etc**.

#### 4. Limitations of service cooperatives

1. **Leadership** of the **cooperatives** consisted of **leading families** of the village which not only owned a great deal of land but also controlled trade and moneylending.
2. These well to do families, were thus able to **corner** for themselves scarce **agricultural inputs**, including credit. In fact **low interest agricultural credit** made available through cooperative rural banks was used by such families for non-agricultural **businesses**, consumption and even moneylending.
3. Cooperatives **refused direct loans to cultivators** and gave it to land owners. So this denied the land less from accessing credit. The cooperative credit societies, had faced **huge defaulters**, consequently, a very large percentage of over dues.
4. Yet, over time, the **service cooperatives**, particularly the credit cooperatives, performed a **critical role for Indian agriculture**. Primary Agricultural Credit Societies (PACS) advanced loans.

#### Green revolution

1. It was decided to put **more resources** into those areas which already had irrigation and those farmers who **were already well off**. The argument was that those who **already had the capacity** could help **increase production** rapidly in the short run. Thus the government offered high yielding variety **seeds, fertilisers, pesticides** and better irrigation at highly subsidised prices. The government also gave a guarantee to buy the produce of the farmers at a given price.
2. The **rich peasants and the large landholders** were the **major beneficiaries** of the **process**.
3. **Failures**
  1. For many farmers the **cost of machinery was too much** and they simply couldn't afford it. Many very poor farmers with **little money** to buy even the new seeds or fertiliser that was required.
  2. HYV seeds **require reliable water sources**. As well as being **expensive**, in some cases where inappropriate schemes were used **salinisation** became a problem. **Dam construction** in some areas also resulted in the flooding of some good farming land.

3. The large amounts of **fertilisers** and **pesticides** required by the HYVs also led to serious **environmental problems** as they entered water supplies.
4. In areas where there was an **increase in mechanisation**, there was an increase in **unemployment** with fewer people needed to do the jobs that were now done using tractors etc.
5. Many farmers who had tried to take on the new technologies **became heavily in debt**, leading to increase stress and in some instances **suicide**.
6. The Green revolution created wide **regional and interstate disparities**. **Only certain regions such as the Punjab**, western UP, coastal Andhra Pradesh, and parts of Tamil Nadu, received the first wave of the Green Revolution package.
7. The Green revolution also increased **income disparities**. The introduction of machinery led to the **displacement of the service caste** groups who used to carry out these agriculture related activities. This process of displacement also increased the pace of rural-urban migration.
8. **Landowners** began to take back land from their **tenants** and cultivate it directly because cultivation was becoming more profitable. This made the rich farmers better off and **worsened the condition of the landless** and marginal holders
9. Many **traditional varieties of seeds** that were developed over the centuries by farmers, is being lost as **hybrid, high-yielding**, and **genetically modified** varieties of **seeds** are being promoted as more productive and scientific.

#### 4. **Second Green revolution**

1. Second Green revolution should aim at promoting **sustainable livelihood**, enabling the **poor to come out of poverty** by generating gainful **self-employment**.
2. While the first Green revolution aimed at **undertaking mass agricultural production**, the **second** Green Revolution should be to promote **agricultural production by the masses**. This is the Gandhian approach to **equitable sharing of prosperity** by involving the poor in development.



## White revolution

1. Amul spurred India's milk revolution which made the country the world's largest producer of milk and milk products. In the process Amul became the largest food brand in India and has ventured into markets overseas. It started in Gujarat as a response to the exploitation of marginal milk producers by traders or agents. Agents paid very little to producers and made huge profits by selling the milk in Bombay city. Then a cooperative of milk producers was formed to collect, process and sell milk.

### 2. Approach

1. A crucial feature is democratic mode of functioning of the cooperatives, with a conscious effort being made to not over look the interest of land less and low caste.
2. Milk production drastically increased, so the union diversified its activities. It started manufacturing milk powder, butter, cheese and baby food. It became first brand in the entire world to manufacture these products on commercial scale.
3. Computer technology was utilised by the union to do cost-benefit analysis of prices of various inputs which go into cattle feed and provide cattle a optimum mix of nutritious food.
4. An efficient artificial insemination service through the village society workers was introduced so that producers could improve the quality of stock. Vaccines were manufactured for the cattle. High quality fodder, seed for producing green fodder were made available.
5. A regular news letter was published in an effort to educate the peasants about modern development in animal husbandry. Women who looked after the animals in households were educated.
6. Institute of Rural Management (IRMA) was founded in Anand for training professional managers for rural development projects using AMUL as a live laboratory.

### 3. Impact

1. The country's milk production and incomes of milk producers significantly raised. AMUL is available today in over 40 countries of the world. AMUL is exporting a wide variety of products which include whole and skimmed milk powder, cottage cheese,

Ghee and indigenous sweets.

2. The **chief beneficiaries were marginal or landless**. It saw dairying as a path to development, for **generating employment** and income for rural households and alleviating poverty.
3. A by-product of the industry has been **indigenous dairy equipment industry** and an impressive body of indigenous expertise that include **animal nutrition**, animal health, **artificial insemination**, management information systems, dairy engineering food technology, etc.
4. **Operation flood** in cooperation with women NGO, such as SEWA, established about 6000 **women cooperatives**. This gave women their **financial autonomy** to generate more income outside their homes.
5. Anand pattern **was not limited to milk alone**, cooperatives of fruits and vegetables, oilseed cultivators, etc were organised similarly by **NDDB**.

## Cow protection movement

1. For a **pastoral and agricultural economy** like India, cow protection has always been important. However, **it never took a communal turn** through the centuries including under the Mughal rule. It took a communal turn when it was used for **political mobilisation** through **Arya Samaj** and cow protection movements.
2. **The motivation for the same**
  1. **Religious reason: The Hindu revivalist movement** including cow protection was a response to the **proselytising activities of the Muslims and Christians**. Hindus traditionally lacked organisational integration and Hindu mobilization took place around the issue of cow.
  2. **Political reason:** At a time when **constitutional reforms were happening** and **British were pitting one community** against the other, each community was concerned with having a **bigger share in the pie**. Naturally community **mobilization** was important and **emotive issues** such as cow protection, **Hindi Urdu divide etc** were used as tools for community mobilisation.
  3. **Social reason:** Various social groups took an active part in

gaurakshini sabhas to achieve their social ambitions. Zamindars participated to ensure that their social status remains maintained. Peasant communities were socially mobile and participated to display their Hindu-ness and gain legitimacy in the eyes of Hindus.

4. Thus it becomes apparent that while cow protection in ancient and medieval times was more for protection of cow itself, from 19th century onwards the issue gained utilitarian significance.

## Nationalisation of banks

1. Post independent India was guided by the principles of democratic socialism. However, due to control of banks in private hands, economic democracy seemed unachievable. Therefore, a bold step of nationalising banks was taken up to democratise capital.

### 2. Objectives

1. **Social welfare:** It was the need of the hour to direct the funds for the needy and required sectors like agriculture, MSMEs were in need of funds for their expansion and further economic development.
2. **Private monopolies:** Prior to nationalisation many banks were controlled by private business houses and corporate families. It was necessary to check these monopolies in order to ensure a smooth supply of credit to socially desirable sections.
3. **Banking expansion:** It was necessary to spread banking across the country. It could be done through expanding banking network in the un-banked areas.
4. **Regional imbalance:** In a country like India where we have a urban-rural divide and it was necessary for banks to go in the rural areas where the banking facilities were not available. In order to reduce this regional imbalance nationalisation was justified.
5. **Banking habits:** In India more than 70% population used to stay in rural areas. It was necessary to develop the banking habit among such a large population.

### 3. It helped in following ways

1. Bank ownership shifted to Government and decision making powers were democratised. The credit decisions balanced

economic growth and

2. **More branches spread to rural** and suburban regions resulting into more financial inclusion. More **credit to common masses** and various welfare programme like insurance, health, housing, sanitation, infrastructure, road, rail etc.
3. **More loans and credit to vulnerable** and weaker section which led to reducing economic disparities.
4. More **loans for agriculture under green revolution** resulted in bumper production.
5. Various neglected sector like **education, health, SME** and manufacturing industries **got necessary capital and credit** under PSL.
4. The nationalisation gave mixed results of **both positives and negatives** and hence the 1991 reforms were imperative to bring transformations in the banking sector making it more competitive, transparent and efficient.

### **Bhopal gas tragedy**

1. **License given to company** for making of methyl isocyanate (MIC) based pesticide at their Bhopal facility **overridden opposition from officials in the Ministry of Industrial Development**.
2. UCC was **allowed to hold majority stakes in UCIL** departing from legislation meant to curb monopolistic growth.
3. The corporation was **licensed and permitted storage** and production of MIC in the **midst of populated communities** and worker's repeated demands for relocation of the factory and implementation of occupational safety laws were consciously ignored.
4. Officials were aware of the **obsolete, discarded technology** and **faulty machinery** being transferred to India but they never voiced against this and remained silent, if they would have taken stand against this, disaster could have not happened.
5. Bail given to **Anderson** on a amount of mere 25000 rupees and was **provided safe transit to Delhi** and then to US by the Government officials where he died in luxury while victims were in agony, shows the complicity between Government and Corporate.
6. **Flawed calculation** of number of victims and settlement amount based

on this, with UCC and US, which have given no relief in terms of money. Post-disaster investigations would show the **flouting and circumvention of several regulations** by the Indian government, including the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act and safety norms that had set the stage for the disaster.

## **Indian environmentalism vs Western environmentalism**

1. The **environmental movement** in India started in the **early 1970s**. Major environmental movements in independent India include **Chipko**, **Appiko** and the **Narmada Bachao Andolan**. Though having some basic similarities, western and Indian environmentalism are **qualitatively different**.
2. Both western and Indian environmentalism have raised issues such as protection of **forests** (Chipko/Appiko), **compensation for industrial pollution** and **disasters** (Bhopal Gas Tragedy) and **banning of nuclear energy** (Kudankulam). Also, both types of movements typically employ peaceful form of **protests** such as **picketing**, **marches**, **sit-ins** and various forms of civil disobedience.
3. However, the concern for nature is couched in **aesthetic terms in the west**. Nature is associated with a certain quality of life that all human beings deserve to enjoy. **In India**, the protection of nature is portrayed as **essential to the survival** of the communities involved. Ex: Right to fodder.
4. The **social base** of the environmental movements also varies. In the west, it is mostly led and constituted by the **middle class**, especially the new middle class of professionals. In India, **poor constitute a majority** of the protesters in the various environmental movements.
5. Many western environmental organisations have attained a **degree of formalisation and bureaucratisation** and they constitute a mature environmental sector. These organisations are staffed by **paid volunteers, experts, lawyers** and scientists. In India, the vast majority of environmental protests are **initiated by local people** generally in participation with local bodies and **NGOs**.
6. Finally, **Indian cultural and religious values**, especially the **animistic aspects** of Hindu and tribal religions, provide a spiritual basis to Indian environmentalism which is **not found in the materialistic values of**



**western religions.** Hence Indian environmentalism and western environmentalism vary in terms of social base, motives, values, etc.