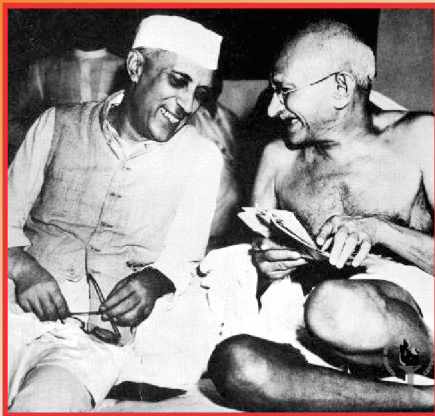


Class
11

Glorious India : During Freedom Movement and After Independence

PART - I



Glorious India : During Freedom Movement and After Independence

(PART - I)

CLASS 11



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(PART - I)

CLASS 11

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Glorious India : During Freedom Movement and After Independence

PART - I

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Syllabus

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Chapter 1 : Colonial India-Era of Persistent Exploitation

11

Wealth drain, Patterns of wealth drain according to Naoroji, Economic impact of wealth drain, Decline of traditional Indian industry during British period, Different types of industry in India before the British period, Impact on agriculture during the British period, Decline of Handicrafts during the British period

Chapter 2 : Independence Movement of India

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National movement- Rise and factors responsible for development, Rise of political institutions before the formation of the Indian National Congress, Phases of national movement-1. Liberal era of national movement- Initial objectives of the Congress, British Government and the Congress, Success of the Liberals. 2. Extremist era of the national movement- First phase of the revolutionary movement, second phase of the revolutionary movement. 3. Gandhian era of the national movement- ongoing events of the national movement, Quit India Movement, Reasons for the Quit India Movement, Indian National Army, Naval Ratings Uprising, Thought of Mahatma Gandhi

Chapter 3 : Process of Constitutional Development in India

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Chapter 4 : Intellectual Legacy of Nehru and Scientific Temper

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Scientific temper, Atomic Energy Program, Space research, Views about democracy, Economic vision of Nehru: Democratic Socialism, Views about Secularism, Views about Nationalism, Internationalism of Nehru, Nonalignment, Panchsheel.

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PREFACE

The 20th Century was marked by the great freedom movement of India. Illustrious sons of Mother India like Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabh bhai Patel, Baba Saheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and vibrant patriotic revolutionaries like Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and Bhagat Singh gave their sterling contribution to secure freedom for the country. Mahatma Gandhi transformed the national movement into a people's movement and provided it a widespread base. The movement received strength from the powerful principles of truth, non-violence, sarvodaya and moral force. Without any bloodshed, Gandhiji shook the roots of the British rule by non-violent movements like 'non-cooperation', 'civil disobedience', and 'quit India' and played a pivotal role in securing freedom for India on the basis of 'truth and non-violence'. By making use of these weapons of Gandhiji, many countries of the world achieved independence from foreign rulers. A major characteristic of the Indian freedom movement was that in our country freedom movement and constitutional development process progressed simultaneously. It was during the freedom movement that the foundation of democracy was launched in consonance with our cultural values, ideals and principles. The flower of democracy planted by great thinkers and revolutionaries has today taken the shape of a huge banyan tree.

By assimilating the understanding of great leaders and the principle of oneness of all religions, such a Constitution was framed in the country which has become the major foundation pillar of unity and integrity of the country for the last seven decades despite many hurricanes. This is why after Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi promoted democratic values and principles and even sacrificed their lives to put the country on the path of progress.

Jawahar Lal Nehru was the builder of modern India. He was a great democrat. His views about democracy were very dynamic and broad. He regarded democracy as developing and dynamic. Pt. Nehru had deep faith in parliamentary democracy. For him democracy was a way of life and pattern of thinking. The democratic values propounded by Nehru can be seen in the Preamble to the Constitution of India. In effect, democracy is a cumulus of a few values, principles and moral yardsticks. Secularism is the spinal cord of democracy.

As the builder of modern India, Nehru laid a strong foundation of rapid industrial, scientific and technological development. He described industries and dams established in India as the major shrines of the nation. He was a strong votary of the empowerment of women, children, the dalits, exploited, deprived, minorities, poor and weaker sections.

During his tenure as the prime minister of India from 1947 to 1964, Nehru heralded an unprecedented age by establishing democratic institutions. By weaving a web of scientific institutions such as the IITs, IIMs, AIIMS and initiating the election process, independent judiciary and planned economic development, he persevered to take the country to the zenith of new progress and all round development. The scientific laboratories gave birth to green and white revolution and the formation of ISRO and Atomic Energy Centre started a glorious chapter.

The key foundational principles of the Indian nationalist movement which received recognition as the basic pillars of constitutional democracy of Independent India under the stewardship of Nehru are nationalism, decentralization, socialism and secularism. Without these the concept of democracy is incomplete. Democratic socialism is the principle feature of his philosophy. Public welfare state, community development, Panchayati Raj, decentralisation, nationalization, planned development and mixed economy with equal participation of the public and the private sector can be regarded as the instruments of his economic democracy.

For Nehru nationalism was not just the independence of India but also service of the humanity. He was a liberal nationalist and an ardent advocate of the political and economic freedom of the Asian and African people. As such along with a great nationalist, Nehru was a great internationalist also. He was also the principal architect of the foreign policy of India. Nonalignment and Panchsheel were the basic features of his foreign policy.

In this way, this book presents a brief, precise, and comprehensible journey of the constitutional development along with the freedom movement so that the student can easily understand these issues. The book also covers the contribution of Mahatma Gandhi and Pt Nehru in the national movement and by outlining Nehru's commitment to scientific perspective and planned development and his intellectual legacy, his contribution to the building of a powerful India has also been discussed. It is hoped that this book will go a long way in making the student logically understand the role of Nehru in freedom movement, constitutional development and nation building.

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Chapter - 1

Colonial India- Era of Persistent Exploitation

Before the advent of the British there were many external aggressions on India which resulted in political changes but there was no significant impact upon the economic structure of India because of these attacks. Since many centuries self-reliant Indian villages, rural industry and mutually inter-dependent rural economy were in existence in the country. Charles Metcalf has thus described the nature of self-reliant social system of India, “The social system comprises of small republics. They have all the things they need at their level and they are free from foreign relations. Where there is nothing which can be described as permanent, these villages individually appear as immortal. Empires got vanquished, revolutions kept on taking place, Hindus, Pathans, Mughals, Marathas, Sikh respectively became rulers, but the village-society remained as before.”

The British victory over India was different from the earlier aggressions. This victory was achieved by that nation which had dissolved the feudal system and developed a modern middle class society. By the development and expansion of a capitalist system, Britain had organised itself as a modern nation. But without destroying the age old economic foundation of the Indian society and substituting it by the establishment of a capitalist system, Britain could not have fully used colonial India to fulfil its capitalist economic needs. Each step by the British rulers to establish their political dominance was marked by the dissolution of the old economic system and the next step towards the establishment of the new economic system. All these steps were designed not for the benefit of the Indians but for the benefit of the British.

In fact, India had abundance of wealth, prosperity and grandeur in the 16th century. Attracted by this prosperity of India many countries of Europe wanted to do trade with India. In the year 1600 AD, British Queen Elizabeth First gave the East India Company of British traders the rights to trade with India. In 1600 AD the Dutch East India Company came to India. In 1664 AD the French Emperor established the

French East India Company to trade with India. In this way, the Portuguese, Dutch, British and the French Companies started to expand their trade with Eastern countries and especially with India. For some time the objective of these Companies was only to do trade with India but taking advantage of the political division and instability in India they started to increase their political influence. The British victory in the Battle of Plassey in 1757 cleared the way for the establishment of British Empire in India. After winning the Battle of Buxar in 1764 and defeating the combined armies of Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, Nawab of Bengal Mir Qasim and Awadh Nawab Shujaudollah, the East India Company established its political power in India. By the time Governor General Dalhousie came to office, the company had established its domination all over India and the writ of the Mughal Emperor was there only for name sake. In subsequent years, the British expanded their Empire in India.

By the beginning of the 19th century, the British had taken over the trade of India in their hands. During this period they used to take material out of India and sold it in other countries. The officials of the British East India Company used to take the products of the farmers and the traders forcibly. They used to give only one-fourth of the cost of production but sold the products at many times of this cost. In a discretionary way, the British used to decide as to which artisan will make which type of product and at what price they will sell it. If the artisan refused to make the product at less prices, he was tied up and flogged. This was the age of trade capital.

Due to Industrial Revolution in England, India was converted into a supplier of raw material to British companies and the finished goods from the industries there used to be sold in the Indian markets. In the age of industrial capital, excessive duties were levied on Indian products in the British markets and conversely no duty was levied on the British products which used to come to India. Consequently, the Indian trade and industry was destroyed in an organised manner. Now India became dependent upon British products. Indigenous iron melting industries were destroyed and in their place cheap imported iron and steel started coming to the market. India was made a colony of the British.

The extent of economic exploitation of India which happened during the British rule had never happened during the medieval times. From the economic point of view there were few differences between the two periods. Most of the medieval rulers were born in India and they were inhabitants of this land but the British were foreigners and they remained as foreigners. The wealth generated by the medieval rulers used to be invested within the country but the wealth generated by the British was invested in Britain. In his book 'Economic History of India' R C Dutt has mentioned about the drain of wealth that bigger collection of tax from the ruled by

the King was like the Sun drawing water from the earth and giving it back in the shape of rains. But here the sun was collecting water from India and showering rains only in England. India which was a prosperous country during the middle ages was now converted into a poor nation during the British era. It is true that during the middle ages a few foreign aggressors like Mahmud Gajani, Taimur and Nadir Shah robbed India of its wealth but by hard work and dedication the people had once again resurrected the economic condition of the country. But the British adopted such economic policies which shattered the Indian economy day by day.

To fulfil the needs of its industrial development, the British robbed a natural resource rich India in every possible manner. Before securing the trading rights in Bengal, the trade of East India Company was unidirectional. England had nothing to sell to India but it needed Indian goods whose trade was very profitable for the Company. England had a highly developed woollen industry but there was no demand for woollen clothes in India. As such to supply Indian goods the Company had to bring costly metal items such as gold and silver from England. Earlier these metals used to constitute a sizable bulk of British export but after 1757 this started lessening considerably because the Company had come to control the revenue in Bengal. The plunder of India started from here which continued without break till 1947.

Drain of wealth – Drain of wealth from India started after the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Drain of wealth implies such wealth which was sent to Britain in the shape of British income from salary, allowances, pension, interest on loan and no economic or trade return came to India. Such wealth was described by the Indian national leaders as drain of wealth. According to mercantilism ideology wealth drain takes place when due to adverse trade balance of some country gold and silver goes to some other country. After the Battle of Plassey India faced such a situation. England attained monopoly over Indian economy and Indian capital started to continuously flow towards England.

First of all, Dadabhai Naoroji in his book *Poverty and un British Rule in India* propounded the theory of Drain of Wealth. Dadabhai Naoroji explained that the major cause of Indian poverty then was drain of wealth because the surplus was sent to England. It was not invested in India. New employment is created by the additional part of income which is invested for more production. But due to drain of the additional income new employment is not being created in India. He said that a major portion of Indian capital and wealth is either sent outside the country or it is unilaterally exported out of India as interest on loans, income on the British capital invested in India and as salaries and pension to soldiers or civil servants working in India.

In those days it was claimed that the British rule in India gave the benefit of security of life and property. Contesting this claim, Dadabhai Naoroji wrote –

“The imagination is this that there is security of life and property in India but the reality is that there is nothing like this. In a way it can be said that there is security of life and property for people from each other or from the violence by the native rulers, but the clutches of the British is such that there is no security of property and therefore no security of life as well. Property of India is not secure. Its property at present rates is being swindled to the tune of 3-4 crore Pounds annually. Therefore with humility I can dare to say that India is not enjoying the security of life and property. For lakhs of people in India the meaning of life is inadequate food, hunger, famine and disease.”

It was this theory that later on became the cause for people’s awareness in national movement. According to Naoroji during 1867-68 the per capita income in India was Rs 20 whereas the minimum requirement for living was Rs 34 annually. The surprising fact is that in 1867-68 the money spent on prisoners was from Rs 21 to Rs 53. From this it becomes clear that the life of an average Indian during the British rule was pitiable.

According to Naoroji, the patterns of drain of wealth were the following :

1. Home expenditure - Those expenses were included in home expenditure which were related to the Secretary of India. This included profits of the partners of East India Company, public loans taken in foreign countries, military and non-military expenditure and buying of store houses in England. This expenditure had increased significantly after 1857. Between 1897-1901, it had increased to 24 per cent and during 1920-21 it further increased to 40 per cent of the entire revenue of the Central government.

2. Interest on the investment of foreign capital - This was the second important drain from the Indian national income. Under this interest and profit was charged on individual foreign capital investment. After 1900, British businessmen had invested a lot of money in the private sector in India. They received interest and profit on this capital. This was the second important source of wealth drain.

3. Foreign Bank, insurance and shipping companies - Foreign Bank, insurance and shipping companies earned a lot of money from India. These companies did not permit native Indian companies to grow and instead of investing their profits in India invested this money in England. This was the third important source of wealth drain.

Economic Drain From India

Year	Annual Average (In lakh pounds)
1835-39	53.47
1840-44	59.30
1845-49	77.60
1850-54	74.58
1855-59	77.30
1860-64	173.00
1865-69	246.00
1870-72	274.00

“Our system works like such a sponge which draws every good produce from the banks of the Ganges and squeezes on the banks of the Thames.”- John Sullivan

Economic impact of wealth drain- Naoroji had described drain of wealth as ‘the evil of evils’ and regarded it as the major cause of poverty of India. He said that due to this wealth drain capital is not being organised in India which had badly slowed down industrial development of the country. On the other hand, the flight of Indian capital to Britain had increased the resources and speed of industrial development in England. The second sordid side of this was that the same wealth was reinvested in India as capital and in this way the exploitation of India kept on increasing. Naoroji had once said that the wealth of India goes out and the same wealth comes back to India as loan and on this loan high rate of interest is given. This loan had thus become a vicious cycle. This vicious cycle was the cause of Indian poverty. This wealth drain had extremely adverse impact upon the possibility of employment and income.

Decline of traditional Indian industries during the British period- Before the advent of the British rule in India, the work of handicrafts was done in a very skilful and creative manner. Culverton wrote, “During the ancient time when Indian clothes, wall carpets, enamel, mosaic, diamonds and jewellery were used in the private and public buildings of Rome, from that time till the Industrial Revolution the entire world had been longing for the attractive and beautiful goods from India.” Till 1800, Indian industries were the most developed in the world because till then industries were only cottage industry and the Indian clothes were famous for their beauty and fineness. The batiste of Dacca was in great demand throughout the world. During the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many works like metal work, sculpture, indigo, paper, dyeing, making of glass goods, beads, artistry done on precious stones, gold work and embroidery were on the peak of their development. But after 1800 there was a

surprising change. Due to Industrial Revolution, production started to increase substantially in the modern industries abroad. As a result of the Industrial Revolution in England, there was a flood of products manufactured in the British industry in India which not only resulted in the decline of native cottage industry but also a fall in their domestic and foreign market. This event is known as deindustrialization in history which caused the decline of traditional Indian industry and led to the tight control of Indian economy by England.

Different types of industries in India before the British period- During this time businesses were flourishing viz. Village industry, agro-based industry, artistic village industry and urban cottage industry etc. The sole objective of the British East India Company was to export raw material from India to England and sell finished goods produced by British industries in India to earn maximum profits. When the Company came to India the sale of Indian clothes and other products in England resulted in a decline of the sale of cloth manufactured in England. As a result, the British industries protested against the sale of Indian cloth in England. Therefore in 1700, a law was made to stop the sale of foreign made clothes in England which badly affected export from India. The balance of trade became in favour of England. The Indian industries suffered losses due to this. By different discriminatory laws and policies the British government created such a system by which Indian raw material could be exported to England at cheap rates and goods manufactured in British industry could be imported in Indian market at higher prices. An example of this was cotton which the weavers used to procure from Surat and Bombay. To gain control over this raw material the employees of the Company opened a company and purchased cotton worth Rs 25 lakhs from Surat. As a result, the price of cotton increased from Rs 16-17 per maund (40 kgs) to Rs 20-30 per maund. This proved ghastly for the weavers who now were not free to sell their products as per their wishes and on the other hand the high price of the raw material broke their backs. This exploitative process led to the end of traditional Indian industry and pushed the unemployed Indian people towards poverty and this deindustrialization resulted in the increasing dependence of Indian people on agriculture.

Impact on agriculture during the British period- The history of agriculture during the British period is the history of the persistent poverty of the farmers. It is the history of the vicious cycle of debts taken by the farmers. During the British period due to the decline of traditional Indian industry, the dependence of Indian people on agricultural land increased which led to the reduction of the size of farmland and agriculture did not remain a profitable enterprise. For regular collection of land revenue by the East India Company new land revenue systems were implemented. When the Company received the Diwani rights of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1764, a new structure had to be created to extract land revenue for its benefit. More money was

needed to expand the empire. As such, first of all land rent was increased in Bengal. Regarding this as inadequate to adapt Indian agriculture according to capitalist system, new systems were developed different from traditional Indian structures.

From the days of the first Governor General of Bengal Warren Hastings many questions relating to levying of land rent arose, viz.

1. Who is to be regarded as the land owner in India?
2. Who is responsible for paying the land rent?
3. What should be the share of the government in the produce?

Warren Hastings believed that the land belongs to the king and only the agent of the Company can collect the land rent. Meaning thereby that anybody who is a higher bidder can collect land rent. This system gave rise to 'absentee landlords'. Due to this the old landlord families were destroyed and the traditional emotional relationship between them and the cultivators came to an end. This had an adverse impact on Indian Agriculture.

After Warren Hastings in order to raise the revenue during the British rule three new types of land revenue system were implemented -

1. Permanent settlement and Zamindari System – Lord Cornwallis implemented this revenue system. This system was implemented in Bangal, Bihar, Orisa, Banaras block and North Karnataka. In the Permanent Settlement the landlord was accepted as the owner of the land. He could sell the land or give it in charity and only the landlord was responsible for giving the land rent. If he failed to pay the rent his land was seized. In this system the land revenue was permanently determined which was to be recovered from the landlord. For this reason this system is called as the permanent Zamindari System. This system was implemented in Nineteen Percent part of British India. Eleven Percent of the share of land revenue belonged to the landlord and eighty nine percent to the company. In the initial years due to such high demand of revenue one third of the landlords were thrownout but in later years due to many factors the conditions became favourable to the landlord. The most negative part of this system was that the demand of the government got fixed but the landlord use to collect more land revenue from the farmers and if the farmer did not pay the land revenue he was thrownout from the land.

2. Mahalwari System - This land revenue system was applied in thirty percent of the land mass of British India. In this land revenue system the farm of the cultivator was not the unit of land rent but village or Mahal regarded as the unit. In this system land was collectively owned by the entire Village assembly who were called as the group of share holders. These people were collectively responsible for paying the land revenue. If any person uses to leave the land the village assembly use to maintain such land. This land

revenue system was implemented in Avadh (UP), Central Province and Punjab (After some changes).

In the land revenue system in place of the actual rate of land revenue rent was been collected on estimated rate because of which the condition of farmers got worse and it is because of this that the people of this area took part in the 1857 revolt.

3 Raiyatwari Land Revenue System – This land revenue system prevailed in fifty one percent part of British India. In this system the Raiyat of the farmer was accepted as the owner of the land. The farmer was responsible for giving the land rent to the state government and he could sell his land or give it on lease. He could not have been deprived of his land till he was paying the land tax.

This system was implemented in the Baramahal district of Madras Presidency in 1792 by Captain Reed with the help of Thomas Munro. In Bombay after a rent survey this system was implemented by E. Goldsmith, Captain Davidson and Captain Wignot. In the Raiyatwari System the high land rent and its uncertainty was the main problem because of which the farmers got entrapped by the Moneylender. It is because of this that the farmer's rebellion took place in the Deccan in 1875.

Due to these land revenue systems the following bad effects were seen –

1. Commercialization of Agriculture - After 1900 AD another change took place in Indian agriculture and it was commercialization of agriculture. Till this time agriculture was a means of livelihood not for trade objective. But now commercial influence started to come on agriculture. Few special crops were produce not for the consumption of the villagers and the common man but for national and International markets. Commercial crops like Tea, Rubber, Cotton, Jute, Groundnut, and Sugarcane Tobacco were now proving to be more beneficial than food grain. Due to very high land rent in commercial agriculture mostly the farmers were not able to pay the rent and they had to take the help of moneylenders. For this they had to pay very high interest. As such commercialization of agriculture became vicious cycle of debt for the Indian farmer. Due to this system many middle man prospered and the farmer got further pauperized.

2. Increase in Poverty – Due to regular increase in land rent and inadequate payment of the cost of the crop the economic conditions of the Indian farmer got worsened during the British Period. At the same time due to famine, flood, earthquake and other natural calamities the economic condition of farmers further deteriorated.

3. Increase in Rural Debt Burden – Most of the farmers use to take debt from the businessman and moneylenders due to excessive land rent and due to this use to get trapped in the debt cycle. During the British time the debt of the moneylenders became a big problem for the Indian farmers. McLagan estimated this debt to be approximately Rs. 300 Crores.

4. In all the three land revenue systems the farmer was actually not regarded as the owner of the land. In the Raiyatwari system although the farmer was regarded as the owner of the land but due to excessive land rent his land started getting transferred to non-cultivators and due to this during the British period the ownership right of land got transferred from farmers to non-farmers.

5. The rent of the land was fixed on constant prices and it was decided that even if cultivation does not take place the farmer will have to pay the land rent which was determined. In India where maximum agriculture area was depended on the monsoon agriculture production was not definite. As such the mandatory nature of the rent entrapped the Indian farmers in a web of poverty and debt.

6. Due to exploited policies of the British government the outbreak of famine had increased between 1765 A. D. to 1855 A. D. there were twelve famines in India. Unfortunately shortage of food grain was not an outcome of nature calamity alone but it was more because of the faulty policies of distribution and marketing of the British rulers. Rajni Pam Dutt has given evidences that even during the days of famine food grain were being exported. Recurrence of famines had increased the human mortality rate and the livestock also faced considerable damage due to shortage of fodder. In this way famine had a very adverse impact upon human resources and livestock.

Decline of Handicrafts during British Period

During the 19th century Indian handicrafts and artisan industry suffered rapid decline. The main cause responsible for this was starting free British trade in India due to this the import of cheap industrial products of Britain increased in India. At the same time heavy import duties were levied upon goods manufactured in India which made Indian goods costly in England and could not face the competition with goods manufactured in Britain. In India artisans and craftsmen were given protection by the native kings, land owners and feudal lords because the goods manufactured by the artisans were used by these classes. As the British rule expanded in India this class started to decline and the protection given to the artisans and the market of their goods started to end. In such a situation the artisans, the weavers and other handicraft workers had no options besides doing agriculture. The balance that existed between agriculture and industry in India got disrupted between 1892 to 1921, the percentage of the population which depended on agriculture increased from sixty one to seventy three percent. In this way the Indian handicraft group took the shape of modern working class and because of this land labour class, industrial workers, renter and farmer class developed the feeling of alienation. All of them suffered from the similar problems. Such a situation never prevailed before the British period.

Towards the latter half of the 19th century some modern industries started to develop in India but compared to developed countries from the point of view of

employment or production this was negligible. During the 19th century industrial development in India was limited to cotton, Jute industry and Tea gardens. Later on during 1930 this reached up to Sugar, Cement and Paper industry. In 1907 Jamshedji Tata started the Iron and Steel industry.

In this way during the colonial period the British government exploited the Indian economy for its advantage and ignored welfare activities for the common people. For its benefits colonialism linked Indian economy to world economy. This relationship was basically founded on theory of inequality. From the last decades of the 18th century the British government by implementing many discriminatory policies had brought the Indian economy totally under the control of the British economy. Due to this India became an exporter of raw material and importer of manufactured products.

When India became independent after 200 years of colonial rule, it must have become very challenging for the Indian political leaders, administrators and policy makers to overcome these challenges. It can be imagined that among these challenges elected democratic government prepared such plans for the infrastructural development of almost each area which made the development of modern India possible.

Exercises

1. Who gave the Drain of the wealth theory ?
(A) Dada Bhai Naoroji (B) Bal Gangadhar Tilak
(C) R C Dutt (D) Gopal Krishan Gokhale
2. In which land revenue system the Zamindar has been accepted as the owner of the land ?
(A) Permanent Settlement (B) Mahalwari System
(C) Raiyatwari system (D) None of the above
3. Who implemented the Raiyatwari land revenue system ?
(A) Cornwallis and John Shore (B) Reed and Monre
(C) Martin Bird (D) Canning
4. Who wrote the book Poverty and Un-British rule in India ?
(A) Dada Bhai Naoroji (B) Bal Gangadhar Tilak
(C) R C Dutt (D) Gopal Krishan Gokhale
5. What do you understand by Drain of Wealth?
6. What was the impact of land revenue system on the agriculture and economy of India?

Chapter - 2

Independence Movement of India

With the advent of the European powers in India, the Indian independence movement began in 19th century. Different European powers started competing with each other to do trade with India which was full of abundant resources. Companies which came to India to do trade also got involved in competition for expansion of empire. In this East India Company of England marched ahead. After the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the War of Buxar in October 1764 and the Allahabad Treaty 1765 the foundation of British Empire was laid in India. The regular expansion of the Company deeply hurt the Indian states and Principalities.

Due to the Subsidiary Alliance of Lord Wellesley, Indian states got absorbed in the British Empire. The administrative and judicial changes implemented during the time of Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis consolidated the Company empire in India. Along with administration and judicial system, the officials of the company regulated the economic affairs in such a way that the company gets profits regularly. In this way, by destroying the political administrative and judicial structure the Company started introducing different changes for its advantages.

Company received revenue regularly from various land revenue policies, but due to bad effects of these revenue policies the Indian village economy system collapsed. Thus Company Administration started its intervention in Indian social and religious life along with political, administrative, judicial and economic structure. With the introduction of various acts, the Company rule tried to ban different evil practices in the Indian society, but the Indian landmass which could not adjust itself to different changes got further dissatisfied by the interference of British administration in social and religious affairs. When Lord Dalhousie banned the policy of adoption to usurp native states the Indian dissatisfaction was further intensified. Along with all these changes the policy of racialism deepened the wedge between the British and the Indian society.

The character of British rule in India remained foreign and that is the reason why for the first time an organised people's movement arose in India to throw out a foreign power. Before the British, many external aggressions took place in India by the Greeks, Shaks, Mongols, Kushans, Turks, Mughuls or Afghans but none of these foreign powers inflicted as much damage on the Indian political, economic, social and religious structure as was done by the British rule. Due to this during the 19th century there were different military rebellions and the biggest culmination of this discontent was in the shape of the revolt of 1857. After this revolution, the Company rule ended in India and the Viceroy as a representative of the British Crown became the ruler of British government in India.

In the second half of the 19th century the reactionary policies of Lord Lytton like Arms Act, Vernacular Press Act and holding of Delhi Darbar resulted in increase in Indian dissatisfaction. Due to the evil effects of British economic policies regular famines started taking place in India and an organised sentiment of protest against the British rule started to take birth. It is because of this that the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 which started an organised protest.

The Indian national movement was one of the biggest peoples' movements in world history. This movement succeeded in including and mobilising a big part of Indian population in political activities and succeeded in giving them political education.

There were many phases in the development of Indian nationalism. As one phase started moving towards next phase, the social basis became broader, the objectives more courageous and clearly defined and these were expressed in different ways. Due to the development of different forces in India and the entire world many Indians adopted national consciousness and vision. This national awareness got reflected in the social, political, cultural and every part of national life.

In the latter half of the 19th century, the nationalist movement began in an organised manner. The following factors were responsible for its rise and development-

1. Political Integration of India – Due to British imperialism the country was united politically and the people started thinking in terms of one nation. Before the arrival of the British for some time the people of south were away from the rest of the country. The British brought the entire country under a central rule which resulted in the rise of political unity that was different from the ancient and medieval period. The outcome of this political unity was the thought of independent Indian nation and sovereignty of Indians.

2. Impact of Western Education – The western education provided power to Indian consciousness in two ways. One was that English language became the link language between east and west. The educated youth of India started going to Europe. They got inspired by the democratic, freedom loving and nationalist thought of Mill, Milton and Rousseau and they became interested in establishing government system based on equality and liberty in India. The second was that we received English as a link language which provided opportunity for mutual dialogue to people living in different areas to consolidate nationalism.

3. The Role of Press – The press played an important role in the development of the political, social, cultural and economic shape of Indian Nationalism. Due to the propaganda dissemination and political education done by the press, the political nature of the nationalist movement became prominent. The press enabled the Indian nationalist to criticise the government on a daily basis and make the people aware about political problems. With the help of the press the nationalist could disseminate the views relating to democratic problems, representative government, subject matter of dominion status.

The first news paper of India was a weekly entitled ‘Bengal Gazette’. Raja Ram Mohan Roy laid the foundation of the nationalist press. The news paper published by Raja Ram Mohan Rai in Bengali known as ‘Sambad Kaumudi’ and the Persian language news paper ‘Mirat-Ul-Akhbar’ led to political awakening in the country.

4. Development of Nationalist literature – By 1878 the signs of renaissance in India was visible in different languages. Nationalist literature took birth in these which was a mirror of the growing movement of the Indians and, on the other, was an attempt to increase it. Father of Modern Hindi, Bhartendu Harishchandra, was not only a litterateur but he was a famous reformer and frontrunner of Swadeshi Movement. In 1876 he wrote the play ‘Bharat Durdasha’ in which he captured the image of the Indian plight during the British rule. The picture of patriotism was also seen in the writings of Badri Narayan Choudhary, Pratap Narayan Mishra, Bal Krishan Bhatt and others.

5. Development of the Means of Transportation and Communication- Due to reform and development in the means of transportation and communication nationalist movement got further accelerated. The Railways and the new Postal system helped in unifying the country with one thread. The Indian leaders experienced this condition that they can take the nationalist movement to every corner of the country.

The British had established these means to fulfil their trade, economic, political

and military interest. Without these they could not have peacefully governed a massive country like India. But the development of Indian nationalism also benefited from these developed means. These means brought all the regions of India nearer to each other because of which geographical borders were converted into political borders. Without this the nationalist movement could not have even been imagined.

6. Policy of Racial Discrimination - One of the important factors for the discontent of Indians towards the British rule was its policy of racial discrimination. From the intellectual, physical and character point of view, the Indians were regarded as inferior and because of this they were not appointed in public services, military, councils and other important positions. The entry of Indians was prohibited in many public places. Dadabhai Naoroji demanded in the East India Association of London to stop abusing and insulting the Indians. From these incidents, the Indians understood clearly that to change this slavery type condition, they will have to fight against the British rulers. The height of racial arrogance could be seen in the controversy generated by the Elbert Bill in 1883. In place of a common sentiment of love the sentiment of hatred had given the inspiration to the Indian landmass to be one and united.

7. Indians were insulted by the British reaction to the revolt of 1857 - Before the revolt of 1857 there were many Britishers who honestly used to work for the welfare of the Indians but during the days of the revolt much bloodshed took place on both the sides. After the revolt, the Europeans also took revenge against helpless and innocent Indians and adopted a cohesive policy. The Indian were deprived from important position in administration and legislative assembly in the country.

As the result of this insult and atrocity, nationalism and the tendency of national unity got strengthened among the Indians.

8. Social and Religious Reforms Movement – Many shortcoming and evil practices of the Hindu society and the openness of Christian religion were before each other. The doling out of greed and benefits to the believers by the British attracted educated Indians towards Christian religion and they started adopting Christianity. Due to this the attention of Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Vivekanand, Dayanand Saraswati, Annie Besant got focused on the prevailing evil practices and short comings of Hindu religion. The initial religious reformers popularised the theory of freedom of individual in the sphere of religion. In effect Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Arya Samaj and other organisations were persevering to adapt the old religion according to the need of new society. The initial

religious reforms movements in India tried to develop such a religious perspective which could have established unity among Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Sikh communities. The nature of India's first nationalist awareness was initially religious but gradually the spirit of nationalism grew deeper. Its nature became secular.

9. Open Trade Policy of the British Government – The open trade policy of the British government was an obstacle in the development of the country.

The economic conditions of the Indians had deteriorated during the British rule. fourth Crore Indians had to be content by eating only square meal a day. The only reason for this was that England use to extort tax from hungry farmers. It used to earn by sending its products to India. In this way, there was further increase in the non comparable prosperity of Britain while India got trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty.

10. Elbert Bill Controversy – In accordance with the prevailing judicial system, leaving out Presidency, anywhere else only British judge could have heard cases against the British. No Indian judge could have done this. To establish equality in the judicial system Lord Ripon asked C. P. Elbert, the law member of his Council, to introduce a legislation in this connection. As such, Elbert presented a Bill in which there was provision for Indian judges to hear cases against the Europeans. This raised a lot of protest among the Europeans. The British described this as black law. Most of the non-government British in India joined this protest. This organised protest by the Europeans opened the eyes of Indians. They realised that for their political progress it is essential to be united. Getting inspiration from this movement, the Indians started to form institutions.

Rise of Political Institutions before the formation of Indian National Congress

Before the formation of the Indian National Congress, many political institutions had been formed in different parts of country which contributed to the rise of nationalism though they may have had their vested interest in it. It was a new thought for the Indians that the people could form any political organisation. In 1838, the landlords of Bengal had formed the Landholders Society which opposed the occupation of tax free land and to some extent it gained success also. Subsequently many institutions were formed who gave petitions to the government for securing political rights. In 1851, the landlords of Calcutta formed the organisation named British India Association for political objectives. Big traders and landlords came together to ask for administrative reforms from the government. These organisations participated in the political activities of their respective provinces.

In the decades after 1857, there was an expansion of higher education so the intellectuals felt that apart from the organisation of the landlords they should also present their views separately. Dadabhai Naoroji established the East India Association in London and formed its branches in major cities of India. In 1870, Mahadeo Govind Ranade constituted the Puna Sarvajanik Sabha which played an active role in the political field of Maharashtra. Surendra Nath Banerjee formed the Indian Association in 1876. This organisation had worked to express the voice of Indians on major issues for a long duration. The leaders of this organisation tried their very best to give an all India shape to their organisation but they could not succeed due to various reasons. Primarily it remained as an organisation of Bengal. In December 1883, due to the efforts of the Indian Association the first Indian National Conference was held in Calcutta. People from different regions took part in it. In the first resolution it was demanded that the civil service exam should take place in India at the same time when it is held in England and the age of eligibility should be raised to 22 years. In the second resolution the importance of collection of national fund was emphasised. In the third resolution there was a demand for representative assemblies in India. In the fourth resolution a demand was made to scrap the Arms Act and in the fifth resolution the compromise on Elbert bill was deplored. Even though the Conference was not fully successful, it had its own importance. It was the first step in bringing all national leaders on a single platform and towards the formation of a united all India nationalist association. The second Indian national conference was held in Calcutta in 1885. In this series on 28 December 1885 the Indian National Congress was formed under the chairmanship of Womesh Chandra Banerjee. In this, 72 representatives were present from all over the country. A. O. Hume was its Secretary. National movement for the independence of the country was led by the Indian National Congress.

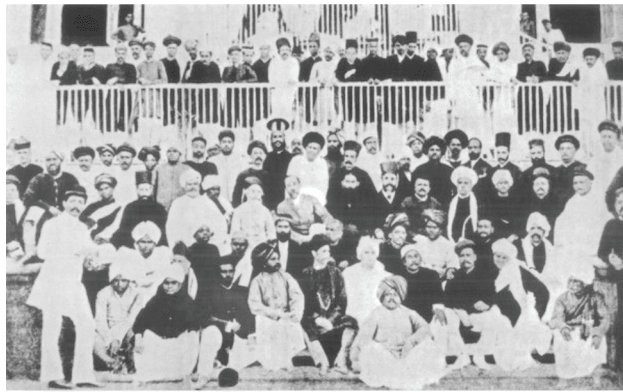
The Nationalist Movement led by the Congress can be divided into three phases :-

1. Liberal Phase (1885-1905)
2. Extremist Phase (1905-1920)
3. Gandhi Era (1920-1947)

The Liberal era of the National Movement (1885-1905)

The national movement from 1885 to 1905 is described as the liberal phase. During this period national movement was led by middle class intellectuals like lawyers, doctors, teachers, writers, journalist. The major leaders were Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Firoz Shah Mehta,

Gopal Krishna Gokhale. The leaders of this phase believed that there is a need to make the people aware about political issues so that they can gain self-confidence to oppose the British rule. The entire philosophy and action of the nationalists of this phase was inspired by this vision. Their main objective was to develop such an economic – political programme, which had the consent of people from different regions, religions, castes, language group and classes.



The members present in the first session of Indian National Congress

First of all, the nationalist leaders did an economic analysis of Imperialism. According to them the gist of British colonialism was to subjugate Indian economy to the British economy. Day by day India was becoming the poorer under the British rule. This poverty was the outcome of economic backwardness of India and this backwardness was the result of British rule. The traditional industry of India was destroyed by the British rule and the process of modern industries received a jolt. Indian agriculture was also exploited by the British policies. The leaders criticised the government expenditure. A major share of government money was spent on army and administration but peoples' needs like education and health were ignored. These leaders advocated the theory of 'Wealth Drain' which established that wealth is sent from India to England through various means but India does not get any reward or benefit from it.

Initial Objectives of the Congress

Initially the objective of Congress was not to free India from the British rule. The liberals had trust in fairness of the British. The objective of Congress was to expand the representative assemblies and increase Indian representation in these bodies. Simultaneously the Congress in its initial conferences demanded increase in the number of elected representatives of these Councils to develop their representative character. Through petitions, reminder letters and delegations the liberals appealed to the British government to agree to their just demands. During this phase the Congress had presented many political demands which are as follows–

1. Expansion of the legislative assemblies and the election of their members by the people and increase of Indian members in these bodies.

2. Use of Jury in the judicial system.
3. Indian should get a place in Executive Council and in highly placed jobs and higher military education to Indians.
4. To amend the Arms Act and give rights to Indians.
5. In 1905, Gokhale demanded self-rule under the British Empire. The same demand was repeated by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906.

For necessary reforms in the social and economic life, the Congress placed the following demands :-

1. Deduction in land tax and suitable system of irrigation
2. Promote Indian industries and their modernization
3. Put a ban on the food grain exported outside by India
4. Reduction in administrative expenditure
5. To abolish salt tax

British Government and Congress

Initially the formation of the Congress was looked upon as a great success for Britain but this cordial relation between the government and the Congress did not last for a long time. Very soon the government got fearful of this organisation and saw a threat in it. The government stopped promoting the Congress. In 1888, there was a change in the government policy towards Congress. During a banquet, Lord Dufferin said, “Now the tilt of Congress is towards sedition and this organisation represents educated Indians only for the namesake.” In 1890, the government brought out a notification according to which government officials were asked not to participate in the meetings of the Congress. In this way relationship between the Congress and the government started deteriorating.

Despite the change in the attitude of the government, the Congress continued to walk on its path. Undoubtedly there was a change in the working policy of the congress. The Congress leaders started refuting the views of the Viceroy. Gradually the Congress started holding meetings in different parts and resolutions were passed to fulfil national demands. Still the Congress leaders had faith in the British. Addressing the Poona Congress, Surendra Nath Banerjee described Indians as loyal towards the British government. The work of Congress started receiving popularity in England also and few Britishers also showed interest in it. Members of British Parliament Charles Bredlaw and Sir William Wedderburn can be specially mentioned in this context whose efforts led to the formation of Indian parliamentary committee

in 1890. This Committee published a magazine named 'India' in 1890 which became a monthly in 1892 and became weekly in 1896. Due to these efforts, the Indian Council Act was passed in 1892 which led to some reforms in Indian Legislative Assembly. This reform act was an outcome of the efforts of the Congress but it was not satisfied with this. Not only this, limited political rights which were gained by the Indians were also being undermined. In 1898, a law was passed which made criticism of British government as a crime. In 1899, the number of Indian members in Calcutta Corporation was reduced. In 1904, freedom of the press was restricted. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and editors of many news papers were arrested. This led to great discontent among national leaders. The government also kept on refuting Congress resolutions which led a few members of Congress to believe that the objective will not be achieved by merely passing resolutions. It was thought that for this some solid steps will have to be taken.

Success of the Liberals

There were shortcomings in the programme of liberals and they did not achieve much success in their objective but their importance cannot be ignored. They did not openly confront the government because they were aware of the prevailing conditions. If they had adopted extreme policy, the government would have strongly suppressed them from the beginning. In such a situation even the limited service which they rendered to India, would not have happened. It can not be denied that they were the forerunners of Indian nationalism. In effect, it was because of the efforts of the liberal leaders of the Congress that a wave of nationalism travelled across India. Due to their efforts, the demands of colonial self rule and administrative reforms were placed. Their contribution towards political training of Indians and making them aware was appreciable.

It was because of the efforts of the liberals that the Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed.

One of the benefits of the influence of liberals on politics was the rise of self-confidence and dignity in the heart of the nationalist. Gradually they started to realise that the British government does not want their welfare.

The foundation of Indian freedom movement was laid down during the 20 years efforts of the liberals. The liberal leaders made us capable that we could place the demand of independence before the government. Appreciating the work of the liberals, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya expressed the opinion that the foundation of the building of modern independence was laid down by the early liberals. It was because of their efforts that one by one the floors of the building were constructed. First self-

rule of the colonies than home rule under the empire, than swaraj and at the top the floor of total independence could be built.

The Extremist Phase of National Movement (1905-1920)

After 1905 AD, national movement entered into a new phase. Its leadership was taken over by Extremist leaders in place of liberals. Extremist leadership continued to emphasize the basic contradiction between the British and the people of India and according to them, the national movement was the result of this contradiction. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Aurovindo Ghosh, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai were the prominent Extremist leaders.

Lokmanya Tilak was the first leader who used the word ‘Swaraj’ in the national movement. Afterwards Gandhiji said about him that "Like millions of other countrymen, I also am admirer of his immense knowledge, indomitable courage, patriotism, simplicity and purity and great sacrifice in personal life. He inspired his countrymen more than any contemporary leaders. He instilled the sense of ‘Swaraj’ in our hearts." Perhaps no other leader of that time had as much knowledge of the evils of the British Government as Lokmanya Tilak had. Tilak was the first national leader who recognized the important role of workers and peasants in the national movement. He actively did political work among the workers of Mumbai. The result of this was that in 1908 when Tilak was punished for 6 years at that time the workers of the mills and railway employees all went on strike for 6 days.

Extremist leaders supported of political struggle and active participation of the people in a big way. They made Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education and Swaraj as the core slogan of the national movement. Describing the constitutional measures of liberals as ‘beggary’, they emphasized on a broad based movement of passive resistance against the government. The leaders of Extremist party clearly laid down the objectives of the independence movements. Tilak declared, “Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it”. The conditions for the national movement to enter in to next phase of development were formed when the British government decided for the partition of Bengal on 20th July, 1905.

The Indian National Congress considered the decision to Bengal partition as a British ploy to weaken the national movement. Congress opposed this decision and organized a huge mass movement in Bengal against it. Initially the movement was led by moderates like Surendranath Banerjee and Krishna Kumar Mitra but later on the leadership came into the hands of extremist leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurovindo Ghosh and Ashwin Kumar Dutt.

The anti partition movement of Bengal was inaugurated on 7th August 1905,

when a huge conference was organized in Calcutta to oppose the partition. Despite this, when the decision to partition Bengal was implemented on 16 October 1905, the movement became widespread throughout Bengal. Very soon political activity related to boycott of foreign goods and use of indigenously manufactured goods in India started. The leaders of the movement prepared a comprehensive program to fight against the British rule. The issue of Bengal partition was linked to the freedom struggle of India.

The slogans of Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education and Swaraj gradually started spreading in other provinces as well. The whole country got tied together by similar ideas and politics. Lokmanya Tilak emerged as the greatest leader of this phase. The British government responded to this movement by suppression. The government imposed ban on meetings and demonstrations. The government unsuccessfully tried to divide people on the basis of caste, region, language and most of all religion but due to the arrest of the Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal and political renunciation of politics by Aurobindo Ghosh this movement did not last for long.

This movement made the people politically aware and active. They became self-confidence and self-reliant got generated in them. Ultimately the government had to succumb before the demands of the nationalist. In 1911, the decision of partition of Bengal was taken back. Bengal was re-united. Bihar and Orissa were converted into a separate province by taking them out of the big Bengal.

In between from 1905 to 1907, the mutual difference between the liberals and the extremist in the Congress platform was increasing. The extremists were confident that the struggle for freedom had started and the people have become aware. As such, it was the right time when the Bengal movement needed to be further intensified and expanded to other province of the country. At that time, the leader of extremists was Aurobindo Ghosh. On the other hand, the liberals believed that it was too dangerous to remain with the extremists. When the government was ready to suppress any anti-imperialist movement was it justified in inviting suppression? The leader of the liberals was Firoz Shah Mehta, a session of the Congress was held on the banks of river Tapti in Surat. The Congress got formally divided from here.

After 1908, the entire national movement was declining but nationalist sentiments were present in the hearts of the people. When after six years, Tilak was released from jail in 1914, he again put the nationalist movement on track. During the Lucknow session in 1916 Tilak was again inducted in Congress. In this session, the Congress –Muslim League compromise took place which is known as Lucknow Pact. Annie Besant and Tilak played an important role in this compromise. Tilak

proposed one more resolution, that an executive may be formed which can give shape to Congress decisions and programmes but this could not be accepted. In 1920 Gandhi ji gave a new shape to the Congress constitution for the conduct of people based movement and he regarded it essential to approve the proposal given by Tilak.

The First Phase of revolutionary movement –

At the time when the liberal and extremist groups were taking shape on the Congress platform, the revolutionary ideology was developing in the country. The background of this revolutionary movement was prepared by the extremist leaders. Among the extremist group there was a group which wanted to throw out the British rule forcefully. This was the group of revolutionaries. It did not at all believe in constitutional means. For the achievement of independence, the revolutionaries regarded any means as proper.

The main area of the revolutionary movement was Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab. The partition of Bengal in 1905 and the Swadeshi movement gave powerful support to the revolutionary movement. It was because of the repressive and reactionary policy of the government that there was an aggressive publicity of this movement. The major leaders of this movement in Bengal were Barindra Kumar Ghosh and Bhupendra Dutt. Through the magazines ‘Yugantar’ and ‘Sandhya’ they publicized extremism and said that their vision is focused on the revolution which is going to happen in the beautiful future and they wanted to be prepared for it.

The revolutionary movement started to gain momentum gradually. As a result, many secret revolutionary organisations were established. One of these was the Anushilan Samiti. Its branches were spread all over Bengal. With the efforts of Shyamji Krishan Verma and Lala Hardayal, revolutionary committees were formed in London also. There was an increase in political murders and dacoities. In Calcutta, the Principal Presidency Magistrate Kingsford had got the volunteers of the swadeshi movement flogged and ordered stringent punishment. Very soon Kingsford became Judge and came to Muzzafarpur. The revolutionaries decided to murder him and take revenge. This work was given to Khudiram Bose and Praffula Chaki. On 30th April 1908, they threw a bomb at a vehicle coming from Kingsford’s residence. But unfortunately in that vehicle wife and daughter of Kennedy, a lawyer in Muzzafarpur were seating. Both the ladies died due to the bomb. Praffula Chaki committed suicide but Khudiram Bose was caught and he was sentenced to death by hanging. In this way, they became martyrs for the independence of the country. After this event, a big revolutionary conspiracy was found in Calcutta in which Aurobindo Ghosh, Barindra Kumar Ghosh and many other youth were arrested. This incident is normally known

as the Alipur Conspiracy case. In 1913, Lala Hardayal formed the Ghadar party. This party decided to stage a soldiers rebellion in Punjab in February 1913.

In 1907, revolutionary movement started in Punjab. The revolutionaries were organised by Sardar Ajit Singh, Bhai Parmanand, Balmukund and Lala Hardayal. In Maharashtra, the revolutionaries were Shyamji Krishan Verma, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and Ganesh Sawarkar.

The Second Phase of revolutionary movement –

The total failure of Mahatma Gandhi's non-cooperation movement led to the revival of the revolutionaries. In Bengal, the Anushilan and Yugantar committees came back in action and in almost all the major cities of north India revolutionary associations were formed. But the important thing was that now it was realized that an all India organisation needs to be formed. Therefore in October 1925, a conference of all the revolutionary parties was called in Kanpur in which revolutionary leaders like Sachindranath Sanyal, Jagdish Chandra Chatterjee and Ramprasad Bismil and youth leaders like Bhagat Singh, Shiv Verma, Sukhdev, Bhagwati Charan Bohra, and Chandrashekhar Azad participated. As a result, the Indian Republican Army was formed in 1928 and its branches were established in different provinces.

During this phase the main objective of the revolutionaries was to establish united India marked by socialist ideology and a federal republic in place of British imperialism. To accomplish their activities, the revolutionaries collected funds not by looting individuals but by targeting government treasury.

On 9th August 1925, the revolutionaries successfully robbed the train going to Kakori on the Saharanpur-Lucknow route. During the case of the Kakori Scandal, the people showed a lot of sympathy.

In Punjab in 1928 when Lala Lajpat Rai died because of police lathi charge during a demonstration led by Bhagat Singh against the Simon Commission, the revolutionaries took revenge by killing the Assistant Superintendent of Police Saunders in Lahore. The police started its repressive drive against the common people. The people started having this feeling that the revolutionaries leave after doing their work and the common people have to face the repression of the police. On this the Indian Republic Army sent two revolutionaries for arrest. Under this plan, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt threw bombs at empty benches of the Central Legislature in Delhi on 8th April 1929 and got arrested. They did not want to kill anybody. They felt that to make the deaf hear loud noise is required. Afterwards, in the Lahore Conspiracy case Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were hanged till

death on 23rd March 1931.

Similarly in Bengal, Surya Sen attacked the Chittagong armoury in April 1930. These revolutionaries gave clear evidence of their bravery but this did not result in any clear advantages. Ultimately Surya Sen was caught and hanged in 1933.

Today those revolutionaries are regarded as martyrs who laid their lives for the independence of India.



The Gandhian Era of the Nationalist Movement (1920-1947)

In December 1919, the Congress session was held in Amritsar in which Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak participated for the last time. He passed away three months after this. During the Amritsar Congress, Tilak in an informal discussion had said, “I may not be alive to see it (home rule), but if we work hard and concentrate on this new work in our hearts the new generation will definitely achieve this. At present I believe that events in Punjab, martial law rule, and the Jalianwala Bagh massacre have filled the people with a feeling of protest whose new symbol is Gandhi. Although I believe that functional cooperation will deliver maximum benefit, but I will not be an obstacle on its path.”

Now in the next phase of the nationalist movement Gandhi ji arose as the undisputed leader.

In South Africa, there was discriminatory treatment with Indians on the basis of

apartheid. Gandhi ji decided to protest against this. In the struggle which lasted from 1893 till 1914, Gandhi ji developed the philosophy of the Satyagrah movement.

In January 1915, Gandhi ji returned to India at the age of 45 years. In the words of Rabindranath Tagore, “a great soul in the attire of a beggar” had returned. Gandhi ji made Gokhale his ‘political mentor’ and on his advice studied the condition of India for one year by being a silent observer. After meeting his people in Rajkot and Porbandar Gandhi ji left for Shantiniketan. It was Rabindranath Tagore who first of all described Gandhi ji as “Mahatma”. From there he travelled throughout the country for one year and worked to establish his ashram in Ahmadabad.

In India, Gandhi ji started his political activities in 1917 from a place called Champaran in north Bihar. In Champaran Gandhi ji launched a movement against the exploitation of farmers by the owners of indigo gardens. While he was in Champaran, he received a message from Sabarmati Ashram to soon return to Ahmadabad. There the workers of the cloth mills had demanded better wages from their owners. Next year Gandhi ji led the movement of the farmers of Kheda in Gujarat against the administration.

The movements of Champaran, Ahmadabad and Kheda gave Gandhi ji the opportunity to come closer to the people of India. He came to learn about the strength and weaknesses of the people. In these struggles he had a practical application of his satyagrah philosophy. He received the support of young leaders like Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Kriplani, Mazhar-ul-Haq and Sardar Patel in these battles. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was among his ardent devotees. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had taken birth in a farmer’s family in Nadiad of Gujarat. After completing his education he started practicing as a ‘criminal lawyer’ in Ahmadabad. He started his political life in 1915 from ‘Gujarat Sabha’ whose Chairman was Gandhi ji. Patel was fully responsible for active participation in the demonstration against the “Rowlatt Bill”, publication of “Satyagrah Patrika”, participation in the non-cooperation movement and the establishment of Gujarat Vidyapeeth. He successfully led the farmer’s satyagrah in Bardoli in 1928. It was after this satyagrah that he received the title of ‘Sardar’. He was a confidant of Gandhi ji. He played an important role in pacifying the naval mutiny in Bombay in 1946. Sardar Patel was one of the principal figures among the founders of modern India. He played a crucial role in integrating the native principalities. He was regarded as the ‘iron man of India’. He passed away in 1950.

Now Gandhi ji was prepared for bigger struggle in the future which transformed the Indian nationalist movement as the biggest people’s movement.

Forthcoming events of the nationalist movement-

During this phase there was widespread application of the thoughts of Gandhi ji. Therefore, the nationalist movement after 1920 is known as the Gandhian phase.

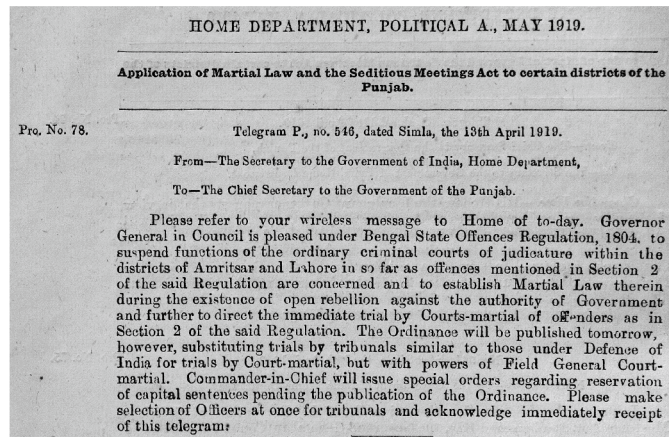
Rowlatt Satyagrah-

The year 1919 was of extreme discontent for India. To quell the growing sentiment of nationalism in the country and the revolutionary activities, Britain needed more repressive powers. On the recommendation of the Rowlatt Committee, two bills were proposed by William Vincent. In these legislations, it was provided to monitor the activities of that individual who was apprehended to be involved in sedition, and to arrest a person who could possibly disturb peace.

Gandhi ji remarked that to get rid of the 'Rowlatt Act' satyagrah was the only method. In this regard, he requested the Governor General to rethink about the legislation but in spite of the persuasion of Gandhi ji and the protest of the Indian members of the State Assembly, the bill was passed on 17th March, 1919. When constitutional protest did not yield any result, Gandhi ji gave the suggestion of starting satyagrah. A Satyagrah Committee was formed under his chairmanship in February 1919. The people were appealed to observe strike on 6th April. People participated in the strike very enthusiastically. Due to some confusion about the date, the people in Delhi went on strike on 30th March during which there was a lot of violence. There was violence at other places also during the strike but the incidents in Punjab were taking a dangerous turn.

Jalianwala Bagh Tragedy

Meetings in support of the satyagrah were held in Amritsar also. 6th April passed peacefully there but the Deputy Commissioner there arrested two leaders of Punjab, Dr Satyapal and Dr Saifuddin Kichlu, without any reason and sent them to an undisclosed place. This was opposed in the entire state. For their release, strike was declared in Amritsar. The army was called against this. The soldiers fired indiscriminately at the protesters. On 11th April, General Dyer occupied Amritsar with the army.



Telegram regarding imposing of Martial Law in Punjab

To condemn this firing, a meeting was called in Jalianwala Bagh on 13th April. About 20000 people were present in the meeting. Without giving any warning General Dyer fired at the people. In 10 minutes, 1650 bullets were fired. Jalianwala Bagh is surrounded by buildings on all the sides. There was only one congested path to escape from there. The soldiers of General Dyer were raining bullets by blocking that gate. According to government report 379 people died whereas the Congress said that the number was 500. According to the government, the number of injured people was 15000. The soldiers of Dyer continued to spray bullets till they exhausted all. In this way, on 13th April a very tragic event took place in Amritsar which is now known as famous Jalianwala Bagh massacre. The government continued its repression even after this incident. Martial law was imposed. During this terrorist phase there were many firing incidents, people were hanged, bombs were dropped from aircrafts and people were forced to crawl on their stomach.

When the news about the inhuman activities in Punjab reached other parts of India there was unprecedented anger among the Indians. Any person with dignity would not have accepted all this keeping eyes closed. Shankaran Nair, a member of the Executive Council of the Governor General resigned protesting against the imposition of Martial Law. Dismayed by the ghastly incidents in Punjab, Rabindranath Tagore returned his title of 'Sir'. All the nationalists were extremely unhappy with the activities of the Hunter committee which had been constituted to investigate the massacre. When Gandhi ji saw that the atmosphere in the entire country was violent he called off the movement.

The Congress session organised in Amritsar in 1919 reflected the sentiment prevailing in the entire country. Chitranjan Das was against accepting the Montford reforms but Tilak wanted to give constructive cooperation. In the end, there was a compromise and the Congress accepted this that reforms be introduced in such a manner that a popular government may soon be established in the country.

Non-Cooperation Movement

At this time, Gandhi ji was gradually being drawn into the Khilafat Movement, from whose platform he was to declare his non cooperation with the government soon. While he was in South Africa, he had become interested in the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity. He established contact with the Ali brothers and believed that the Khilafat demand was justified.

For him, "The Khilafat Movement was an opportunity to bind Hindus and Muslims in unity, which would not come in hundreds of years." In November 1919, Gandhi ji was elected president of the Khilafat Conference. At the Conference, he

asked the Muslims not to participate in the public festival organized to commemorate the victory of the Allied Nations. It was announced that if Britain did not do justice to Turkey, boycott and non-cooperation would begin. The Amritsar Congress and the Muslim League supported the movement. Gandhi ji decided to launch the Satyagraha movement. The program of non-cooperation was started on 1 August 1920.

For its success, the cooperation of Congress was mandatory. Gandhi ji's appeal attracted leaders of both the moderate and radical groups because he joined the goal of achieving of Swaraj through the non-cooperation of the extremists. Even revolutionary nationalists wanted to give him an opportunity.

The Congress accepted the new plan for non-violent non-cooperation in its special session in Kolkata in September 1920. The resolution of the Kolkata session declared that "The non-violent non-cooperation movement that Mahatma Gandhi has started, will continue until the said injustice is resolved and Swaraj is not established". This movement of non-cooperation was to move through many stages. It was to begin with the renunciation of the titles given by the government and the boycott of three types. Three types of boycott included picketing - boycott of meetings, courts and school colleges. Along with that there was talk of 'turning the spinning wheel and loom in every house'. There was a plan to introduce taxation in the last phase of the movement. But it was not sure when this time would come. Lawyers boycotted work in courts. In December 1920, the annual Congress session was held in Nagpur. The new program there was passed unanimously. Prior to this, the goal of Congress was to achieve colonial self-government while staying within the empire. Now it has been changed to 'achieve self-rule through peaceful measures'.

The Congress structure was organized in Nagpur session by giving a new constitution. The Congress was transformed into a solid and influential political organization, with an executive committee of 15 members, a pan-India committee of 350 members and provincial committees that ranged from districts to towns, tehsils and villages. The executive committee was to be given a coordinated shape, which was to remain active throughout the year. It usually had the authority to review its decisions and even change the decision. The provincial committees were re-organized on linguistic basis. These committees were different for each state. In this order, units were also formed for the area, tehsil and then district above the village. The delegates to attend the annual session of the Congress were to be elected on the basis of membership, that is, one representative per 50000 members. With this arrangement, Congress became a representative institution. The annual subscription amount was only 25 paise. Hence, the number of its members increased twice a day

and quadrupled by night. However this membership was also not required. Approval of the Congress's goals and principles was sufficient for membership. For this reason, this team reached millions of poor people of India. After reducing the age limit to 18 years, more youth came in it. By 1923, the number of rural members doubled from the number of members in urban areas.

The basic change was not only in the social structure but also in its approach and policies. Membership was now a live commitment rather than just a passive work. The Congress became an instrument of political socialization. It took up the work of Khadi, untouchability, prohibition of alcohol and national education. The use of Hindi and other Indian languages broke the wall between the educated and the general public. A Tilak Swaraj Fund was established, in which more than one crore rupees were collected within 6 months. This strengthened the organization in financial matters. Thus a secular party standing on the foundation of public support decided to fight the imperialists under the leadership of Gandhiji with a wonderful weapon.

In order to get Swaraj as soon as possible, the new movement of the Congress adopted a struggle against the government. The mass movement moved forward very fast. Gandhi ji clearly predicted that Swaraj will be found within a year. He even declared a date for it. Before 31 December 1921, Swaraj was to be achieved. Things had advanced so much that in September 1921, Gandhi ji said in a conference that "I am so sure of attaining Swaraj before the end of the year that I cannot imagine staying alive after 31 December without taking Swaraj."

After all the Congress candidates withdrew their names from the elections, the lawyers were urged to boycott the courts and the public from educational institutions, foreign clothing and liquor shops. A large number of students left their schools and colleges, teachers resigned. National educational institutions like Jamia Millia Islamia and Kashi and Bihar and Gujarat Vidyapeeth were established. Acharya Narendra Dev, Rajendra Prasad, Zakir Hussain and Subhash Chandra Bose did teaching work in national universities. The complete boycott of foreign cloth was to be completed by 30 September 1921. During the Swadeshi movement in the first decade of the century, incidents of dharna and burning of foreign goods in public places were to be repeated. The student community was organized as volunteers. It worked on publicity of the national issue, mobilization of donations, demonstrations against those who were with the British, operating courts with judgments of the Panch and staging dharnas in front of shops selling foreign goods.

The movement met with extraordinary success in boycotting the arrival of the Prince of Wales. There was a strike in Mumbai and a meeting was held on the beach,

in which Gandhi ji put on a fire of foreign clothes. But the crowd became undisciplined. Police opened fire. The strike was a complete success, apart from a clash between the Khilafat men and the police in Kolkata.

The government was in a lot of trouble and decided to take repressive measures. The Congress and the Khilafat Volunteers was declared illegal. Public meetings and processions were banned. This was a challenge to the organization and freedom of speech because no political movement could run without it. Dismissing the order, Chittaranjan Das accepted the challenge and said, "I feel that my wrists have handcuffs and I have a weight of iron chains on my body. The whole country is like a long prison. What difference does that make? It is whether I am alive or dead." After the arrest of his wife and son, thousands of workers also courted arrest.

By the end of 1921, all the major leaders except Gandhi ji were sent to jail. The executive had allowed each province to launch a civil disobedience movement on certain conditions, but Gandhi ji became restless due to the revolt of Mopallah and the riots in Mumbai. He wanted to move forward slowly. He decided to intensify the movement in the villages by removing it from the cities where non-violence had failed. The Ahmadabad Congress expressed its determination that it would run the non-violent non-cooperation movement even faster and continue until the reins of the Government of India did not come in the hands of the people. For the achievement of this purpose, all rights were given to Gandhi ji. Gandhi ji gave his famous challenge to the Viceroy on 1 February 1922. There was no other option except for the country to adopt a method of non-violence to fulfill its demands.

It was announced that Gandhi ji would try it in Bardoli, Gujarat, but before a widespread mass movement of civil disobedience could be started in Bardoli, on February 5, an incident occurred at a place called Chori Chora in Uttar Pradesh. In response to the indiscriminate firing by the police, some farmers set the police station on fire, leading to the death of 22 soldiers. In Bardoli, an executive meeting was called in an expeditious manner. At the insistence of Gandhi ji, on 12 February, it was agreed to adopt a constructive program by postponing civil disobedience. Many national leaders were shocked by the decision of Bardoli. Subhash called it a 'national disaster'. Gandhi ji faced a lot of difficulty in justifying the decisions among his followers. He assured Nehru that, "Had the postponement not taken place, we would have led a violent movement instead of essentially non-violent one. This step of retreat would enrich our struggle. We returned to our anchor site. "

On March 10, 1922, Gandhi ji was arrested and he was accused of spreading hatred against the state. Gandhi's arguments in order to justify his work made the case historical because he himself accepted the case. He said, "Even after not

wishing I have reached a conclusion that due to its relation with England, India had become so helpless politically and economically as it was never before. The people of the cities do not know as to how after filling half the stomach the people are gradually approaching death. They do not realize that the British government established by law in India is continuing only for the exploitation of the people. Any wrong interpretation of statistics, no tricks can prove this fact wrong that there are human skeletons lying in many villages. The biggest misfortune is that the English or their Indian colleagues in the administration do not know that they are committing this crime, which I have tried to tell about. I believe that many British and Indian officials sincerely understand that they are implementing one of the best systems of the world and India is progressing steadily but slowly. "

Concluding his statement, he said that "he believes that non-cooperation with evil is the same duty as cooperation with good. He demanded from the court that under the law, what is considered as a deliberate offense, is the greatest for whatever punishment can be given to me, should be given to me. I think this is the greatest duty of a citizen."

The judge hearing the trial admitted, "It is a fact that you are a great patriot and leader in the eyes of millions of people of your country, but in the eyes of the court, the man who broke the law and gave his self-acceptance is given six years of jail - the punishment which was given to Lokmanya Tilak in the year 1908."

At present, the halt in the movement on 12 February 1922 proved to be temporary. Montague and Birkenhead had said that India cannot challenge the world's most powerful power and if challenged, it will be answered with full force. After the withdrawal of the movement, Gandhi replied to the challenge in his article in Young India on 23 February 1922 that the British should know that the conflict that broke out in 1920 is the final struggle, the decisive struggle, decision will be taken, whether it takes a month or it takes a year or so. It may take several months or many years. Regardless of whether the British rule do the same repression that it did during the 1857 revolt, the decision will be taken.

Civil disobedience movement

When the Non-Cooperation Movement was withdrawn in 1922, there was widespread disappointment. There was sadness in the public. Principles, parties and politics, everything started falling apart. During this period of recession, poisonous air of communal strife started blowing in the country. The Muslim League then separated itself from the Congress. In response, the Hindu Mahasabha began to campaign in a narrow and reactionary manner. A section of Congress leaders,

represented by Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru, tried to take a new turn after the Bardoli decision. They suggested that Congress leaders should contest elections and go to the Legislative Councils and expose the undemocratic and oppressive character of the British government there. These leaders had demanded a change in the program of the Congress that is why there were differences between the changers and the no-changers. The changers also formed the Swaraj Party, but they did not let any differences affect the unity of the national movement. Both stayed within the Congress and while doing their own activities, both supported each other as much as possible. When the time of struggle came, the two gathered again.

On 22nd November 1927, the British Cabinet from London announced that it had been decided to appoint a Royal Commission two years before the appointed time, which would review whether India had become more reformed and worthy of parliamentary democracy. The Chairman of the Commission was an Englishman Sir John Simon, hence it was also called the Simon Commission. All the seven members of the Commission were Englishmen.

There was an immediate and widespread reaction in the whole of India that not a single Indian was considered eligible for membership of the Commission to decide India's political future. It was humiliating for India that there was no Indian in it.

Within the Congress an extremist faction was formed. A new leftist faction began to appear in the national movement. At the end of 1927, Jawaharlal Nehru returned to India after touring Europe for a year and a half. He approached socialist areas in Europe and established contacts with their ideas. The Madras session of the Congress took place in late 1927. It also showed new leftist tendencies and it became clear that it had a great impact especially among the youth. The Madras session unanimously passed a resolution presented by Jawaharlal Nehru and supported by Subhash Chandra Bose in which the goal of national movement was declared complete independence. In this session, it was decided to boycott the Simon Commission. Along with this, it was also decided that there should be an all-party conference and Congress should participate in the Indian plan to make a plan against the government plan of the new legislation. The Congress accepted to join the anti-imperialist league. Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose were considered the main leaders of the youth and the growing leftist tendencies within the Congress. They were appointed Secretary of the Congress.

On 3 January 1928, as soon as Simon and his companions landed in Mumbai, opposition began. On that day there was a strike in all the major cities and towns and people held mass demonstrations, black flags were shown.

Lors Birkenhead, the conservative Secretary of State, who appointed the Simon Commission, was also consistently chanting that the Indian people were unable to make a unanimous proposal for constitutional reform. This challenge was also accepted and all-party session was held in February, May and August 1928 to finalize a plan. It was named as the Nehru Report after Motilal Nehru. He was the lead author of this report. It said that the Indian government should be holding 'Dominion status'. In this, the demand for separate electorate on communal grounds, on the basis of which constitutional reforms were made in the past, was rejected.

Gandhi ji found it difficult to accept the Nehru Report at the Calcutta Session of the Congress in December 1928. The proposal he made said that this report did not mean that the goal of complete independence was abandoned and if the government does not approve this report by 31 December 1929, then the Congress will once again launch the non-violent non-cooperation movement and this time it will start with non-payment of tax..

The Congress session was very important. The struggle was to be waged in the coming year. That is why Gandhi ji was elected as Congress President but he withdrew his name and nominated the Independent League and youth leader Jawaharlal Nehru, who had sympathized with socialism. At that time, in arguing for his choice, Gandhi ji said about Nehru that no one can move ahead of him in the love for the country. He is brave and sentimental and we are in great need of these qualities at this time. But along with the introduction of perseverance and sentimentality in struggles, he also has the ability to work at the discretion of a politician. He is a lover of discipline and has proved through his actions that he has the ability to take decisions despite disagreeing. He is humble and so practical that he never boasts. The country is completely safe in his hands.

Lahore session was held in late 1929. It was announced that the time of the Nehru Report has passed. From now onwards, the goal of Congress will be complete Swaraj. Jawaharlal Nehru's presidential speech was a motivating call for the movement to act. 'Now we have to agitate to free our country from foreign rule and you colleagues and all the people of the country are cordially invited to join hands in this.' Nehru made it clear that liberation does not mean mere overthrow of foreign rule. I should clearly accept that I am a socialist, a republican.

At midnight, when the previous year ended and the year 1930 began, the tricolor flag of Indian independence was hoisted. On 26th January 1930, the first Independence Day was celebrated in the entire country. There were huge demonstrations and meetings everywhere, in which vows were made to fight for complete independence. The people declared that 'To have trust in the British Raj

anymore is to sin towards man and God and expressed our belief that if we stop voluntarily cooperating with the government and stop paying tax and do not commit violence even when provoked, then this inhuman rule will surely end. '

In the Lahore Congress held in 1929, the Congress executive gave this right to Gandhi ji to launch a civil disobedience movement in the country. Non-payment of tax was also included in this movement. In this, the members of the Legislative Assembly were also called upon to resign as MLAs. In mid-February 1930, a meeting of the Congress Working Committee was held at the Sabarmati Ashram in which Gandhi ji was empowered to start the Civil Disobedience Movement whenever and wherever he wished. Viceroy Lord Irwin rejected the 11-point minimum demands presented by Gandhi on 31st January 1930. That is why there was only one way left - of civil disobedience.

Gandhi led his civil disobedience in a unique way by leading a civil disobedience campaign. He started this movement with the Dandi Yatra to remove the tax on salt. The example of Gandhi breaking the salt law in Dandi, a village on the coast of Gujarat, has become a global example. To reach his designated place Gandhiji traveled 200 miles on foot with his companions and on 6th April 1930, he broke the salt law by making salt there. This had a miraculous effect and thousands of people of the country disobeyed the salt law and started making salt. Soon it became a big movement. Thousands of women came out of the four walls of the houses and started protesting at liquor shops. For this, they also had to go to jail. To promote indigenous textiles, foreign cloth was boycotted and their Holi was burnt in public.

Mahatma Gandhi wanted to keep the above programs of this movement within the limits, but it soon crossed these limits. At this time the world was undergoing economic recession. India's economic condition had become extremely pathetic. The outbreak of unemployment was increasing. Workers started to strike. Students left schools and colleges and actively supported the movement. The farmers stopped paying taxes. The government started evicting the farmers from the land. The enthusiasm which was increasing for the movement in the people, the repression cycle of the government was getting cruel day by day. Ordinances were issued. Lathi charge was done against the protesters. Satyagrahis were killed by firing. Their property was confiscated by the government. Thousands of people were jailed. The Pathans of the North Western Frontier Province agitated against the government under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

The harsh and cruel atrocities of the British Government on Satyagraha shook Mahatma Gandhi. He wrote a letter to the Governor General to this effect but it had

no impact. On 5th May 1930, when Mahatma Gandhi announced the right to take over Dharsana's salt factories, he was arrested. There was extreme reaction to his arrest. A strike was held in most cities. 50000 workers of Mumbai left work and took to the streets. The workers of the railway factory came on strike as soon as the news of the mill workers' strike spread. It took a fierce form in the agitation in Solapur, the industrial city of Mumbai.

The British government could not imagine that the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 would be so widespread and fierce. The movement took many forms such as the non payment of tax, prohibition, salt satyagraha, cannabis and boycott of foreign cloth, opium and other intoxicants, boycott of government schools and colleges, courts etc. In short, we can say that this movement was successful as expected. By the beginning of July, there was no province of India where this movement had not spread. This movement got more support from the women than the non-cooperation movement. The second feature of this movement was that the farmers made their active contribution in it. Farmers in Bihar and Gujarat were pioneers in this movement.

The British government made every effort to crush this movement, but it failed. At the same time, the plans of Round Table Conferences progressed. The British government was anxious to get the support of Gandhi and Congress because the British government had now reached the conclusion that no constitution related plan could be successful without the support of the Congress. Therefore, the Governor General, through Tej Bahadur Sapru and Gandhi made efforts to compromise with the Congress.

Gandhi-Irwin Pact

The First Round Table Conference failed. Irwin called Gandhi to meet him on 13 February 1931. Their talks continued for 15 days. The ban on the Congress Working Committee was lifted as a result of this dialogue. On 26 February, all the members of the Committee including Gandhi ji were released unconditionally. On 5 March 1931, an agreement was reached between Gandhi ji and Irwin.

The major provisions of the agreement were as follows :-

1. The British government withdrew all the ordinances and cases and apart from those who indulged in violent activities, other Satyagrahis were set free.
2. The confiscated property of the satyagrahis was returned.
3. Mahatma Gandhi postponed the Civil Disobedience Movement.
4. Congress decided to participate in the Second Round Table conference.

5. The British government accepted the program of peaceful sit-in at liquor shops and foreign cloth shops.
6. People living on the sea shore were allowed to make salt without paying tax.

The above provisions show that Mahatma Gandhi was very successful in achieving his objectives but he postponed the movement.



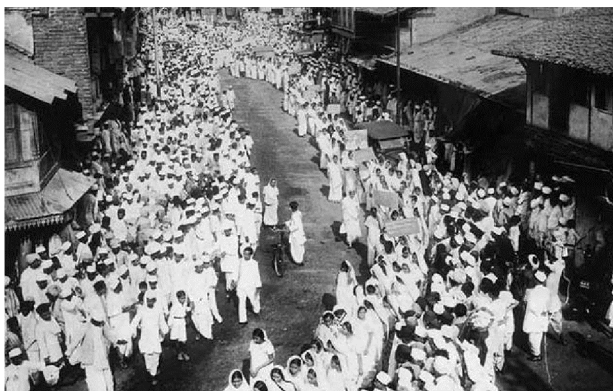
In the Second Round Table Conference, Gandhi ji made commendable efforts for communal unity, but the imperial British government did not allow him any success. Gandhi returned home in December 1931 and the second round table conference was postponed in June 1932. While returning to India, he saw that there was a clear violation of his Delhi Agreement. The new Viceroy of India, Willingdon, started his repression cycle. The Viceroy and the Secretary of India started their illiberal policy by arresting Mahatma Gandhi again. To crush the Congress, the Viceroy issued four more ordinances on 4 January 1932. It became common practice to fire on the protesters. Group fines were imposed. Thousands of men and women were put in jails. The movement of 1932 also spread throughout the country. In this, people generally did not resort to violence. The government had understood that this movement would end in 6 weeks. But it continued for several months. Meanwhile, in August 1932, Macdonald declared a communal arbitration. Gandhi ji wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of Britain informing that if the separate electorate of the depressed classes is not abolished, they will start a fast unto death from 30 September. It had no effect on the government. But Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the Dalit class, broke Gandhi ji's fast by promising to withdraw the separate electorate of the Dalit class. This is called Poona Pact of 1932 AD. On 8 May 1933, he again undertook a 21-day fast. He tried to meet the Viceroy again, but he clearly said that first stop the movement. On this, Gandhi ji announced the end of the mass movement in July 1933 and the individual Satyagraha. With this, all the struggle committees of the Congress were abolished. On this too, Gandhi ji was again arrested in August 1933. His health started deteriorating after he went on a fast, and the government released him unconditionally on 23rd August. Congress session was held in May

1934. The movement was withdrawn unconditionally in this session. In June 1934, the ban on Congress was lifted.

The achievements of the Civil Disobedience Movement cannot be denied. There were some permanent benefits from this movement as well. For the first time, people from different sections of society participated in the mass movement. The public demonstrated their reverence and loyalty behind this movement. In the context of its achievements, Crawford wrote that "Gandhi had awakened a gentle and inactive nation from centuries of sleep".

Quit India Movement

The Quit India Movement of 1942 AD holds an important place in Indian history. This revolution shook the foundation of British imperialism in India and proved that there will be no longer British domination over India. Indians are ready to die for their freedom.



Quit India Movement

- I. After the failure of the Cripps Mission in 1942, Indians began to understand that the British government closed the chapter on independence and the government adopted a harsh repressive policy. Due to this, there was despair and despondency in the country. In such a situation, there was no other option before the Congress but to start a movement.
- ii. Initially, the British government could not successfully confront Japan in World War II. In Malaya, Singapore, Burma etc., the British army had to retreat which made the Indians believe that Britain cannot protect India. If England liberates India, then Japan will not attack India.
- iii. In the name of war, the government was playing the drama of imperialism in the country. There was corruption and black marketing in the country. Due to this, there was dissatisfaction among the public towards foreign government. On 27th July, the British Government made an announcement from London that India would be made a base for war and necessary action would be taken for it. Indian leaders were very angry with this and after about 12 days of this announcement started the Quit India Movement.

The Congress Working Committee met in Wardha on 14 July 1942, in which it was demanded by the Wardha proposal that the British leave India. It was also said in

the proposal that the situation that has arisen will be resolved only by the end of British rule. It was said in the proposal that to fulfill this purpose, the Congress will launch a comprehensive movement. On the occasion of Tilak Day in Allahabad on 1 August 1942, Jawaharlal Nehru said in his speech, “we are going to play with fire, we are going to use two-edged sword, which can hurt us on the contrary, but we are constrained”.

The meeting of the Congress Executive Committee was held in Mumbai on 7 and 8 August 1942, which passed the Quit India resolution. After the resolution was passed, Mahatma Gandhi gave a speech. He said, “Existence of British rulers in India is to invite Japan to attack India. The possibility of this invasion will be removed by their leaving India. Leave India in the hands of God or leave India on chaos”. He had clearly said, “I cannot wait for freedom much longer. I cannot wait for Jinnah to change his heart. This is the last struggle of my life”. Mahatma Gandhi said, “I am giving you a mantra ‘Do or Die’. Either we will get the country liberated in this effort or we will die in this task.”

The British government was ready for action. The Quit India resolution was passed on the night of 8 August 1942. The government soon started arresting the leaders. On 9 August, all the leaders along with Mahatma Gandhi were arrested. Mahatma Gandhi was placed under house arrest in Aga Khan Palace, Pune, and other leaders in the fort of Ahmednagar. The arrest of the leaders was tried to be kept secret, but the government could not succeed in its objective. News of the arrest of the leaders spread across the country at wind speed. The government declared the Congress as an illegal institution and kept the police guard at the Congress offices.

The movement started in the country after the arrest of national leaders. Anti-government protests were held, strikes were held, and processions were taken out. The government adopted a stringent repression policy and they were started to be stopped by cavalry and guns. There was terror in the whole country. No leader was out of jail who could guide the public in this difficult situation. Aroused by hatred and anger towards the government, the public took a violent path. Workers went on strike in Jamshedpur, Ahmadabad and Mumbai. Schools and colleges were closed. It appeared that parallel governments were formed in many parts of the country in Balia in Uttar Pradesh, Tamluk in Midnapore in Bengal and Satara in Maharashtra. People were attacked in many places and many escaped from jail alone. Leaders like Jayprakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Ram Manohar Lohia etc. played an important role in this movement while going underground.

The British government targetted the people with machine guns and bullets to suppress the revolution. The police acted ruthlessly to spread terror. Making people

stand in the scorching sun and shoot them, stripping them naked and hanging them upside down from the trees, flogging them were the punishments the police adopted to terrorize the public. Thousands of people were killed due to firing by the police and soldiers. Hundreds of thousands of men and women were flogged. Indeed, the repression cycle of the British authorities had reached its peak. Seven students fell victim while hoisting the national flag at Patna Secretariat. Thus, the oppressive policy of the government reached its culmination. Not only this, unnatural famine had been created in some parts of the country.

Mahatma Gandhi, the priest of non-violence, was angered by the government's repression cycle and the violent acts of the people. He started a 21-day fast on 10 February 1943. The government did not take responsibility for it. Many Indians in the Viceroy's Executive Council resigned and appealed to the government to free Gandhiji from jail. But nothing came out of it. On 2 March 1943, the fast of Mahatma ji ended safely. Gandhiji fell ill in April 1944 and the government forced to release him from jail on 6 May 1944.

The August revolution of 1942 AD is important in the history of Indian nationalism. It is true that this movement could not succeed. But this does not take away the importance of revolution. This proved that British rule could not continue in India for a long time. The government came to know that there is widespread dissatisfaction in the Indian public against British rule. Thus, the revolution of 1942 AD set the appropriate background for Indian independence. In the revolution, the Indian public showed extraordinary courage and patience. Millions of youths agreed to be martyred for the freedom of the motherland in the revolution. It was clear from this that the feeling of nationalism was at its peak and in such a situation, the survival of the British was doubtful.

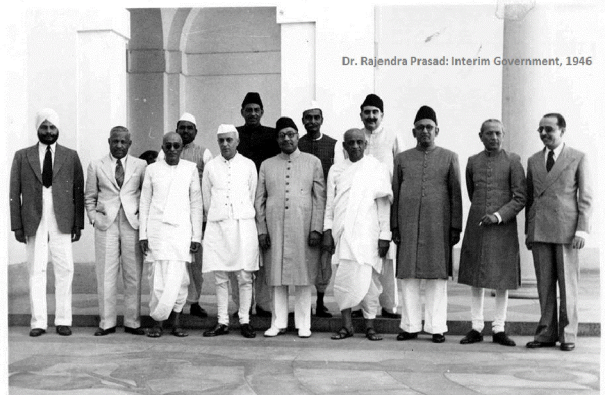
Indian National Army- Subhash Chandra Bose was placed under intense surveillance at his home in Kolkata in the late 1940s. However, he went out of India in January 1941 and tried to get help from those countries by traveling to Germany and Japan for India's independence. Japan had taken over Singapore. Many Indian soldiers of the British Army were arrested by Japan there. Netaji organized those soldiers and formed the Azad Hind Fauj which achieved much success against the British and marching ahead it reached upto Imphal. But in the end it was also defeated with the defeat of Japan. Netaji died. Shahnawaz, Dhillon,



Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose

Sehgal, etc., officers of the Azad Hind Fauj were arrested and tried for treason. But due to public pressure, the government had to release them.

Naval Ratings Revolt - Another important event took place in 1946 AD. Indian soldiers revolted at places like Bombay, Karachi, Madras etc. for their various demands. The most important was the rebellion of naval rating in Bombay. The government was requested to fulfill their demands and public meetings were also organized. Having these military revolts terrorized the British rulers. Due to this, the British had fallen in the eyes of foreign nations and the British understood that now Indian soldiers will not lend support to stay in power for a long time.



Interim Government-1946

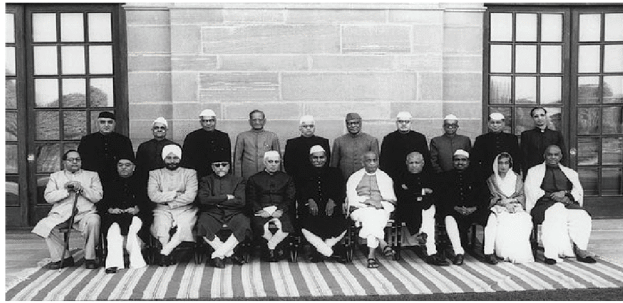
During this period of national movement, workers and peasants started protesting openly on political and economic issues. These included Tebhaga Movement, Warlis Rebellion, Telangana Struggle, Hyderabad Kisan Movement, Kisan Morcha of Punjab and held various strikes at different places.

As a result of the movements taking place in India, the British power understood that its power here could not last long in the old way. In this era, the demand of the Congress was 'quit India', and the British Government decided that a Cabinet Mission should be sent to India in March 1946. The purpose of the mission was to manage the nature and functioning of the transfer of power.



In September 1946, an interim government was formed without the approval of the Muslim League and Nehru was appointed its head, but Jinnah exerted strong pressure against the Congress and British rule. Congress believed that if partition is necessary, it should be decided after independence. But Jinnah was adamant that independence will come only after partition. The Muslim League rejected the Cabinet Mission. The evidence of this rejection was seen 'in direct action' on 16

August 1946, in which about 5000 people died and the freedom movement became blood-stained. After this, the Muslim League also refused to join the Constituent Assembly. Even in the election of 1946, the Muslim League polarized Muslim seats. Riots broke out in Kolkata, Rawalpindi and Noakhali. Eventually due to league's communal and biolent attitude Indian independence resulted in partition and India was partitioned according to Mountbatten plan.



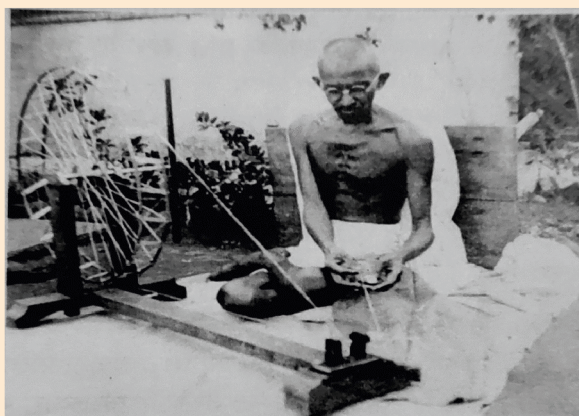
First Cabinet after Independence

Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi was a versatile genius. He was originally a rationalist. He has played a notable role in the Indian freedom struggle. He was not only a thinker, leader and social reformer but an active political activist who gave a new twist to political thought. His Satyagrahi personality, which started from South Africa, flourished completely during the Indian National Movement. He was the inspiration for basic movements like Satyagraha, Civil Disobedience and Quit India Movement. Gandhi's charismatic personality and his ideas had wide influence not only in India but globally. His ideas basically emerged in experimental form.

Mahatma Gandhi introduced Indian values in his thinking among high purity, morality and spirituality were predominant. Instead of the politics of struggle and deceit, he made truth, non-violence, cooperation, service, public welfare and love the basis of his philosophy of thought. Gandhi gave importance to novaleness, morality and change of heart politics in politics rather than power.

His biggest gift to the suffering mankind of the world is the important weapon of non-violence. It is an unmatched way of fighting



evil which they practiced and implemented. Gandhiji gave the inspiration that

even the powerful British Empire can be fought successfully without arms. Gandhiji did not present his ideas as the ultimate truth and he described his entire activities as 'searching for truth'. He has written that I do not want to leave any ideology behind me, the ideas which I have today can be change tomorrow, I have nothing new to teach. Truth and non-violence are as old as hills.

Impact on Gandhian thought

Gandhiji received his righteousness from his family and Vaishnav background from his mother. He got inspiration from scriptures like Vedas, Puranas, Upanishads, Gita, Vedanta, Ramayana etc. He saw Ram as a historical person and as a eternal God. Saints like Surdas, Tulsidas, Meera, Narsi Mehta etc. also had a deep influence on his thoughts. But he did not remain untouched by the influence of Christian and Muslim religion. His own belief was that salvation or self-realization is possible only by the grace of God. He considered it necessary to receive divine grace. He believed in avatarism, despite not believing in the real and virtuous God. He accepted the monotheistic ideology, yet considered God the creator of the universe. During his stay in England at the time of his education. He was more influenced by Western thinking.

Apart from these, Ruskin's 'Unto this last', Thoreau's 'On Civil Disobedience' and Tolstoy's 'Kingdom of God is Within You' etc. He was also highly influenced by Emerson.

God, truth and non-violence

Truth which is the main pillar of Gandhiji's philosophy is synonymous with God. For Gandhi, truth and God and God and truth depend on each other. According to him, one can experience God only through truth. Whenever a true thing is said, whenever a true feeling is felt, then we feel the power of God. He is because he is the truth. Truth and God are similar for Gandhiji. Gandhiji had unwavering faith in God. Gandhiji's faith in God was the result of his family's Vaishnava practice and worship. Through him, the feeling of strong faith in God was awakened under the influence of Vaishnava sect. He devoutly worshipped Rama. His Rama was not a historical man but a regular, eternal and unique God. According to him, perfection cannot be achieved without having a devoted feeling towards God. The foundation of Gandhian philosophy is based on the fact that truth and God are one, truth is God, God is truth. As he said in his 'autobiography', I have never experienced

a God other than truth, and the whole philosophy of truth is incomplete without non-violence. According to him, God can be attained through non-violence. Without non-violence it is not possible to find the truth. Non-violence and truth are interwoven in such a way that it is not possible in practice to separate them from each other. This are two sides of the same coin.

Gandhi's concept of Swadeshi

Gandhiji has gave very broad meaning to the concept of Swadeshi. This concept is limited not only to the use of indigenously manufactured goods in the economic sector. He has described Swadeshi as the pre-requisite of Swaraj and he has called for a link connecting self-government and self-reliance, national government and national self-reliance. According to him, Swadeshi is the spirit inherent in us, which removes us from the more remote and confines us to take advantage and use of our immediate environment. I consider Swadeshi the religious principle followed by all. In this Swadeshi is the ultimate form of patriotism of the highest spiritual mode. This means that as compared to others we should serve our motherland and serve our immediate neighbor rather than people in remote places within our country. Swadeshi demands that we remain firmly connected with the ideals and institutions of our country.

Gandhiji's thoughts on Sarvodaya

Gandhiji's concept of 'Sarvodaya' is the essence of his philosophy. His main philosophy is the rise and development of the whole society. Which got expressed in his ideas related to Sarvodaya. Gandhiji believed that Sarvodaya is a continuous effort to make a philosophy of life, a way of life and the creation of a new society. Since he believed in the unity of and means, therefore for him Sarvodaya is both a means as well as an end. According to Gandhiji, Sarvodaya is the ultimate goal of every human being and society. Therefore, it is the ultimate duty of all to achieve it. He believed that there can be mountains in the path of Sarvodaya, fast flowing rivers can also come in the way and big pits, trenches etc. can also come, but in spite of these obstacles, we have to go towards our ultimate goal. Nobody can stop it. Based on this willpower, we can achieve our goal.

Gandhiji's ideas of 'Sarvodaya' were influenced by Ruskin's ideas. During the train journey from Johannesburg to Durban, Gandhiji's friend Pollock gave him Ruskin's book 'Unto this last'. This book shook him. After reading

the book, he decided that he would try to mould his life in accordance with the ideals of this book. He translated this book into Gujarati language and named it 'Sarvodaya'.

Meaning of Gandhi's Sarvodaya Concept

1. The wellbeing of a person lies in the well being of all.
2. This concept implies that instead of maximum welfare of the maximum people of the society, the entire well being, welfare and development of the entire people is a must.
3. According to Gandhiji, the value of the work of both the lawyer and the barber should be equal, because the right to livelihood is equal to all.
4. By toiling hard the simple life of a farmer is the true life.

Under the idea of 'Sarvodaya', Gandhiji wishes for the development of all without any discrimination. He did not believe in the principle of well being of most people because under this principle the interests of the minorities can be ignored in fulfilling the interests of the majority.

Spinning wheel idea

According to Gandhiji, the charkha is a symbol of Indianness and public aspirations. It enhances their pride by providing support to the helpless. Charkha teaches the lesson of self-confidence, self-control and self-reliance. Charkha is about to bring about a quiet but definite revolution. It is not a symbol of commercial war but a symbol of commercial peace. It gives the message of independence to all. Gandhiji believes that with the help of spinning wheel, there will be a lot of help in the economic and moral revival of India.

Khadi is the main symbol of Swadeshi

Gandhiji himself gave the form of 'Khadi' to symbolically explain to the general public the broad concept of Swadeshi. He himself used to give the message of Khadi regularly by spinning the spinning wheel and used to ask all his ashram dwellers and followers to run the charkha regularly. But the general public, most of their followers themselves, also forgot the widespread notion of Swadeshi and made it synonymous with Khadi. Charkha's music was the 'voice of the soul' for Gandhiji. For him, Khadi was a symbol of economic freedom, equality and self-respect. He made Khadi a symbol of Indian unity and adorning it as 'khaddar' and dressed everyone with national costume. He considered agriculture and making as 'two lungs' of human

beings. According to him, Khadi had the ability to establish Hindu-Muslim unity and remove untouchability.

Views on Trusteeship

The concept of trusteeship or trust is the main unit of the Gandhian economic system, which is based on non-violence, swaraj and equality. Gandhiji believes that society is based on non-violence. Gandhiji's real objective is to build exploitation free economy. In his principle of trusteeship, it is mandatory to have self-reliance, benevolence and autonomy of the producing unit. Non-violence is based on equal distribution and trusteeship. According to Gandhiji, trusteeship is an instrument which is non-violent and through which economic change can be brought. At its core, this feeling works that rich people should have a sense of security for their extra wealth and should not keep even one rupee more than their neighbors. Gandhiji has considered the concept of trusteeship extremely dynamic. According to him, the economy should be such that there is no shortage of food and clothes. Everyone must get so much work that they can fulfill the basic need of food and cloth.

Satyagraha

Satyagraha means the 'urge for truth', that is, the urge for self-power, love, devotion and true power. This system clarifies the Gandhian attitude towards social and political struggle. Satyagraha is not merely a method of mass struggle and retaliation. It also offers solutions for personal and domestic conflicts by self-restraint. The word 'Satyagraha' is not only indicative of struggle and retaliation, but also of creative work. Satyagraha is the path of non-violence and the use of force is prohibited even in favorable conditions. It is the weapon of the brave, in which violence is not possible in any form. The basis of Satyagraha is Nishkam Karma Yoga of Gita. Its basis is unity of means and goals. The principle of Satyagraha gives us the message that the basis of the world is not self-force but self-power, justice, service and mercy. Satyagraha is the path of non-violence. It is an unlimited and infinite concept. Truth is given more attention in Satyagraha and it is can not be sacrificed at any cost. It is truth which triumphs eventually. The use of force has no effect on the Satyagrahi. A Satyagrahi is a law abiding person by nature. He obeys the conscience as the supreme law. Opposition of certain laws by civil disobedience can only appear in disobedience. In reality, he follows a higher law or morality. Gandhiji has considered Satyagraha as an 'urge towards truth' and the power produced by this type of urge. Evil must be

conquered by love. Such behavior is possible in the family, society and also in the international arena. Three principles have been mentioned below about the limits of Satyagraha -

1. Those who practice Satyagraha should not raise their basic demand.
2. Success achieved by Satyagraha can continue only through Satyagraha and
3. Whatever is possible from Satyagraha, it will definitely be achieved.

Inspired by Tolstoy, Gandhiji took Satyagraha out of the confines of family life and used it in social and political fields. There is neither a leader nor a follower in Satyagraha. All are leaders and all follow the path of Satyagraha. Self-reliance is the main feature of Satyagraha. Satyagraha is a progressive process. In this, the minimum is also maximum. The minimum is never destroyed and there is no place for running away from it. The struggle of Satyagraha is long term and ends only after the attainment of the goal. Satyagraha should be used for the others interests and public interest. Gandhiji considered Satyagraha as the most effective weapon of direct action. But he advised that other measures should be implemented before performing Satyagraha. Satyagraha should be used only when other measures fail.

Tools of Satyagraha

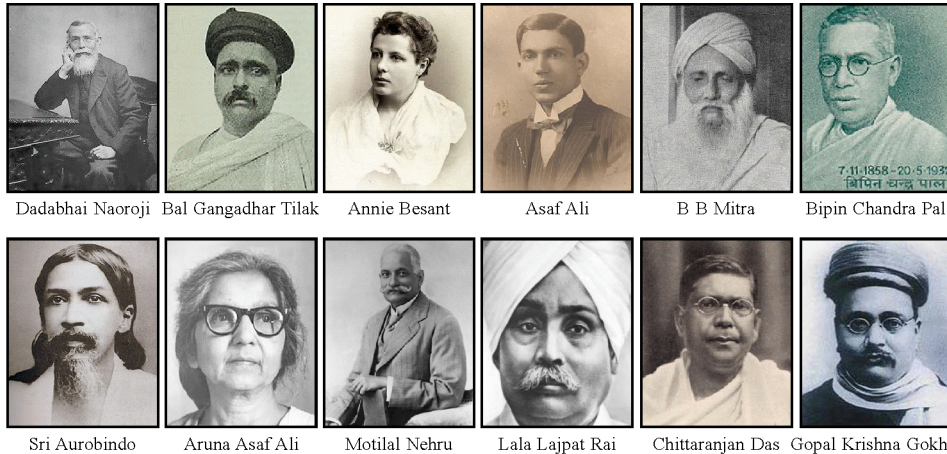
1. Civil disobedience
2. Non-cooperation
3. Strike
4. Social Exclusion
5. Picketing
6. Fasting

Decentralization of governance

Gandhiji was in favor of maximum possible decentralization of governance. He believed that with decentralization of governance more and more people would be able to participate in governance. In this system, the individual will be the primary unit of governance. The independence of the individual is threatened by centralization of power. According to Gandhiji, due to the decentralization of powers, seven lakh villages of the country will get the opportunity to work independently and participate in governance. The governance will not be like a pyramid but according to a oceanic concentric

circles. That is why Gandhiji supported the Panchayati Raj system. There will be Panchayats in every village and which will take decisions regarding their village and will also decide and implement.

Some Important Personalities of the National Movement



Exercise

- Who founded the East India Association?
(A) Naoroji (B) Tilak
(C) Rajgopalachari (D) Gokhale
- When did the first bifurcation of Congress take place after its establishment in 1885 AD?
(A) 1905 (B) 1906 (C) 1907 (D) 1908
- In which session did Congress set its goal of complete Swaraj?
(A) 1929, Lahore (B) 1916, Lucknow
(C) 1931, Karachi (D) 1936, Faizpur
- Non-cooperation movement started with the question of -
(A) Khilafat (B) Economic Issues
(C) Rowlatt Act (D) Simon Commission
- What do you understand by the Diarchy established under the 1919 Act?
- What do you understand by Liberation Day?
- What were the major proposals of the Cripps mission?
- Explain about the Swadeshi movement.
- Evaluate the role of Mahatma Gandhi in the national movement.

Chapter - 3

Process of Constitutional Development in India

Constitutional democracy was established in India after independence. This journey of transition from the medieval monarchical system to the constitutional democracy occurred in various phases. An important landmark in this process was arrival of the East India Company. East India Company was established in 1600 by a royal charter of the British Crown. The company was named as The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies. East India Company did set up its first office in India at Surat in 1612. Initially, the company was a business entity. As per the Charter, it had limited legislative and judicial powers. But gradually it changed its style of functioning and by the year 1765, it emerged as a regional power which became a tool of expansion for the British Empire in India. The British rule can be divided into two phases- (1) the rule of the company up to 1857 and (2) direct rule of the Crown from 1858 to 1947.

Influence of East India Company increased substantially after its victory at the Battle of Plassey (1757), Battle of Buxar (1764) and after conclusion of the Treaty of Allahabad. The Treaty of Allahabad gave Lord Clive diwani rights over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. His diarchy administration unleashed a state of anarchy in Bengal. The company was governed by the Court of Directors who were elected by the Court of Proprietors. These proprietors were shareholders of the company. Due to its increased influence in India, employees of the company were making excessive profits and the company got entangled into financial crisis. As a result, there arose a demand for more effective control of the company by the British government and parliament. To this end, Regulating Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1773. This constitutional intervention by the British Parliament ushered India into a long process of constitutional history which can be described under the following headings-

Regulating Act of 1773

This act was an important step in constitutional development in India as it was

the first attempt by the British government to control and regulate the affairs of the East India Company. This act brought about the following major changes in rights and functions of the company-

- (i) Under this Act, Governor of Bengal was made Governor General, and thus, the then Governor of Bengal Warren Hastings became the first Governor General.
- (ii) Provision was made for a four-member Governor General's Council.
- (iii) The Act laid down foundations of a central government under British India. Calcutta Presidency was promoted and was given control over subordinate presidencies in matters of foreign policy, war and peace.
- (iv) The Act also marked the beginning of parliamentary control over East India Company's administration in India.
- (v) For the first time, in order to have judicial control over administration and employees of the company, a supreme court was established.

Thus, it's clear that the Regulating Act increased the control of British Parliament and government over the East India Company. According to Gurumukh Nihal Singh (Landmarks in Indian Constitution and National Development), the act was of great constitutional significance as it recognised the political activities of the company and for the first time, gave British parliament the right to establish a government of its own choice in India. This fundamentally changed the form of government in India.

According to Lord North, "each article of this Act was formulated in a way so as to give a firm, clear and decisive nature to the affairs of the company."

Amending Act of 1781 (Act of Settlement)

This Act rectified the anomalous jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The Act was introduced to reduce tussles and disputes between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council.

- (1) While putting limitations on its jurisdiction, the Act barred the Supreme Court from taking any action against the administrative decisions of the company employees.
- (2) Also, the Supreme Court could not take any action against the individuals and employees engaged in revenue collection. Thus, the supremacy of the Supreme Council of Bengal was established.
- (3) The Supreme Court was also directed to respect socio-religious customs and traditions of Indians while formulating and implementing laws.
- (4) The Government of Calcutta was empowered to make laws for Bengal, Bihar

and Orissa as well.

(5) This Act is also known as the Act of Settlement or Settlement Act.

Pitt's India Act of 1784

In order to overcome the shortcomings of the Regulating Act, the British Parliament passed the Pitt's India Act in 1784. The Act reduced political rights of the Board of Directors of the company. For political activities 'Board of Control' was established which was headed by a member of the British Parliament. With the passage of this Act, the following changes took place-

- (i) British parliament's control over the company's administration increased.
- (ii) The Act provided for three members instead of four in the Governor General's Council.
- (iii) For the first time, the Company's territories in India were named as 'British Indian Territories'
- (iv) A three-member council was formed each in Bombay and Madras to assist the governors.

According to Sir Courtenay Ilbert, "The Act established a Board of Control which was meant to have control over Directors. Thus, a dual system of governance was established, one by the Company and the other by the Parliamentary Board. This system of inspection and counter-inspection continued until 1858."

Amending Act of 1786

This Act empowered the Governor General to overrule the decisions of his council and implement his own decisions under special circumstances. The Governor General was also granted the powers of Chief Commander.

Charter Act of 1793

This charter was passed with an objective to improve the functions and organization of the company. The key feature of this charter was that it included all important provisions of the previous Acts. Salient features of this Act were as follows:-

- (1) Trading rights of the company were extended for the next 20 years.
- (2) The Act laid the foundations of rule of law in British India in place of the personal laws of the past rulers. It was decided that these written laws and regulations were to be interpreted by the judiciary.
- (3) For Governor General and members of the Governor General's Council, a minimum twelve years of Stay in India was made compulsory as qualification.
- (4) The act stipulated that the salary of the members of the Board of Control was to

be given from Indian treasury henceforth.

Charter Act of 1813

A significant decrease in the British trade was recorded, due to the long-drawn Napoleonic war and implementation of the continental system. On the other hand, the British businessmen and industrialists started demanding opening of trade with eastern countries to all private traders. In order to fulfil these demands, the Charter Act was passed. It is also called the East India Company Act of 1813. The key provisions of this Act were as follows :-

- (1) The trade monopoly of the company was abolished. Indian trade was opened to all British traders. The company's monopoly remained intact only over tea-trade and India's trade with China.
- (2) Christian missionaries were allowed to preach and propagate Christianity in India.
- (3) Provision of Rs. one lakh was made for education.

Charter Act of 1833

After the enactment of the Act of 1813, the Company's empire in India expanded considerably and British control was established over Maharashtra, Central India, Gwalior, Indore etc. The Charter Act of 1833 was passed with an objective to provide stability to this dominance. Its key provisions were as follows :-

- (1) Trade activities of the company were completely abolished. Naturally, it also ended the company's monopoly over the tea-trade and trade with China.
- (2) The Act centralised Indian administration; Governor-General of Bengal was made the Governor-General of the entire India. Legislative and financial powers of the subordinate presidencies were abolished.
- (3) The Government of India took guarantee of the company's debts.
- (4) It was decided that, for the purpose of appointment to any post of the company, all Indians would be treated as equal to any other British subject and they would not be discriminated on the basis of religion, nationality, ethnicity etc.
- (5) A fourth member, as law member, was added to the Governor General's Council for better formulation of law.
- (6) A Law Commission was appointed with the objective of consolidating, codifying and reforming Indian laws.
- (7) The Act provided for the upliftment of status of slaves and abolition of slavery.

Charter Act of 1853

The Charter Act of 1853 was the last one in the overall history of British rule in

India. Primarily, the Act was based on the report of then Governor General Lord Dalhousie and demands of Indians to end the rule of company. Accordingly, the company was allowed to keep Indian territories as trustee on behalf of the Queen and her successors under jurisdiction of the British Parliament. Key features of this Act were as follows :-

- (1) The British Parliament was authorised to end the company rule in India at any point of time.
- (2) Law member of the Executive Council was accorded the status of full member.
- (3) Provisions were made for the appointment of a separate Governor General for Bengal.
- (4) Governor General was given the right to appoint Vice-Chairman of his Council.
- (5) Provisions were made to separate legislative functions from the administrative ones.
- (6) Number of members at the Board of Directors was reduced from twenty four to eight.
- (7) Provision of competitive examination was made for appointment of the employees of the company.
- (8) For the first time, legislatures were given powers to formulate their own rules.

Government of India Act of 1858

Since the Charter of 1853, didn't authorize the company to govern for a fixed period, power could be transferred to British Crown by the parliament at any point of time. Indians revolted against the British rule in 1857. The revolt forced Britishers to consider changes in colonial governance. Since the Revolt of 1857 had exposed the unsatisfactory policies of the company, it gave British parliament an excuse to dismiss the company rule. The British Parliament passed several acts to protect its empire, which became the foundation of Indian administration. The major provisions of the Act of 1858 were as follows-

1. The rule of the company in India was abolished and responsibility to govern was handed over to the British Empress.
2. Now India was to be ruled by the Secretary of State on behalf of the British Empress, who was to be assisted by a fifteen-member Council. Approval by the Secretary of State's was made mandatory on all laws and proceedings pertaining to India's governance.
3. Governor General of India was named 'Viceroy' (representative of the Crown) and was compelled to act as per orders of the Secretary of India. Thus, Lord

Canning became the first Viceroy of India.

4. The Minister for India was given rights to exchange letters with the Viceroy secretly and to present budget for India at the British Parliament every year.
5. A post of Secretary of India was created.

On November 4th 1858, Queen Victoria announced a major policy announcement for India. Important points of this announcement were as follows :-

1. Indian subjects would be treated at par with British subjects living in other parts of the empire.
2. Indian citizens would not be discriminated against as far as recruitment in public services was concerned and recruitments would be made on the basis of education, merit and credibility.
3. Efforts would be made for the physical and moral upliftment of the people of India.
4. The treaties entered between the East India Company and native kings would be respected as usual.

Indian Council Act of 1861

The Indian Council Act of 1861 is a watershed event in the constitutional history of India. It is important for two reasons. First, it empowered the Governor General to nominate Indian representatives in his expanded Council and to associate them with legislative work. Secondly, it decentralized the legislative powers of the Governor General's Council, i.e. the governments of Bombay and Madras were also given legislative powers. Other important provisions of this Act were as follows :-

- (1) Members at the Governor General's Legislative Council were increased to a minimum of six and maximum of twelve, out of which half of the members were required to be private (non-governmental).
- (2) For legislative purposes, Governor General was authorised to carve out new provinces and to appoint a governor or lieutenant governor for such newly created provinces.
- (3) It also paved the way for participation of Indians as non-official members at the Council of Governors General and Governors.
- (4) Governor General was authorised to issue ordinances. By the Act of 1865, Governor General was given rights to fix and change the boundaries of Presidencies and Provinces through proclamation. Similarly, by the Act of 1869, the Governor General was empowered to make laws for Indians living abroad. By the Act of 1873, a provision was made to dissolve the East India

Company at any time. Pursuant to this provision, the East India Company was dissolved on January 1st 1874.

Indian Council Act of 1892

Under the Act of 1861, private members in the Council were either large landowners, retired officers or members of the royal families of India. It did not meet the aspirations of popular representation of Indian people. The Congress was established in 1885 and it gave leadership to Indian people in agitation against the British Raj. The National movement was at its peak. The Indian National Congress demanded greater representation of Indians. The demand for greater freedom also came from European traders who demanded freedom from the control of 'India Office', situated in England. As a result, a committee was constituted under the chairmanship of Sir George Chisjani and its recommendations were incorporated in the Act of 1892. Key provisions of the Act were as follows :-

- (1) By this act, the number of "additional members" to the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils was increased and provision of their election was specifically mentioned. Although it provided for limited elections, it ensured representation of key social classes at the Legislative Council.
- (2) Though limited in its scope, the system of elections was accepted in principle.
- (3) Powers of the Council were also increased. Presentation of annual income or budget to the Council was made mandatory. The Council could discuss various issues but it wasn't authorised to vote.
- (4) Members could ask questions about the functioning of the executive.

Although with this Act began a system of limited election for the members at legislature, there were several loopholes in it. Therefore, the Indian nationalists repeatedly criticised the act. Also, the powers of legislative councils were very limited. Members could not ask supplementary questions. Answer to any question could be denied. Additionally, representation of various classes at the council was also biased.

Indian Council Act of 1909 (Morley-Minto Reforms)

The act of 1892 could not satisfy the nationalists, at the same time, the influence of revolutionary leaders on the national movement was on increase. Then Secretary of State Lord Morley and Viceroy Lord Minto both were in favour of some new reforms in administration. Based on the recommendations of Sir Arundel Committee, a new Act was passed in February 1909, which came to be known as the Indian Council Act 1909 or 'Morley-Minto Reforms'. Key provisions of this Act were as follows :-

- (1) The number of elected members to the Central and Provincial Legislative

Councils was increased by this Act. Further, it ensured the majority of private (non-government) members at Provincial Legislative Councils.

- (2) Seats at the Central and Provincial Councils were divided into three categories— general (allotted to various provinces on regional basis), special electorate (Muslims and landowners) and special interests (Chamber of Commerce, Planters Association, Universities, Port Trust etc.).
- (3) Members on general seats were elected indirectly. Electoral councils were constituted from the local bodies. These electoral councils elected the members of Provincial Legislative Councils and members of the Provincial Legislative Councils elected members of the Central Legislative Council.
- (4) For the first time, a separate electorate was introduced; communal electorate was implemented.
- (5) The Act provided for the appointment of an Indian member to the Governor General's Executive Council. First Indian to be appointed to the Governor General's Executive Council was Mr. Satyendra Sinha.
- (6) Scope of the legislature was expanded with this Act. The members were given rights to make budget proposals and ask questions and supplementary questions on issues of public interest. Subjects which were kept out of the preview of the legislature were: armed forces, foreign relations and princely states.
- (7) Central Legislative Council was renamed as Imperial Legislative Council by this Act.

The biggest flaw of this act was the implementation of a separate or communal electorate. The Act introduced the parliamentary system but without parliamentary responsibility.

Government of India Act 1919 (Montague-Chelmsford Reforms)

Under various pressures including scathing attack on the Act of 1909, circumstances arising out of the First World War and, spread of revolutionary movements against policies of the British rule, then Secretary of State for India, Montague gave a historic statement at the House of Commons on August 20, 1917, where he stated the intention of British rule follows :-

"To integrate Indians with administration and the gradual development of autonomous institutions, so as to establish a responsible government that as integral part of British India."

To implement this declaration, "Montford Report, 1918" was published, which became the basis of the Act of 1919. The Act brought many important changes to the British rule in India.

- (1) The Central Legislative Council was replaced by a bicameral legislature consisting of two houses: State Council (Upper House) and Vidhan Sabha (Lower House). Although some provisions to nominate members to the legislature were kept intact, a majority of elected members was ensured in each House.
- (2) Members were elected directly from the delimited constituencies. Franchise was expanded by this Act. Qualifications for the electoral college were based on communal membership, residence and property.
- (3) A new system of "diarchy" was introduced among eight key provinces which were called the 'Governor's Provinces'. Subjects under the provincial list were divided into two- reserved subjects and transferred subjects. Subjects on the reserved list were under the Governor's jurisdiction and who was to be assisted by the executive council in running these departments. Subjects on the transferred list were under the jurisdiction of Indian ministers, who were appointed from among the Indian members.
- (4) After ten years of the enactment of the Act, a Commission was constituted by the British Parliament to examine the practical aspects of diarchy and constitutional reforms and to give recommendations on progress of responsible government. As per this provision, Simon Commission was constituted in 1927.

There were many flaws in the act of 1919. It did not meet the demand of a responsible government. Additionally, without the approval of the Governor General, the Provincial Legislatures were not allowed to debate and discuss bills on various subjects. In principle, the Central Legislature remained supreme and competent to enact laws for the entire British India. Despite the division of powers between the centre and provinces, the constitution of British India remained an unitary one. Diarchy among the provinces was a total failure. Governor's supremacy remained intact. In the absence of financial powers, ministers were unable to implement their policies effectively. Additionally, ministers were not collectively responsible to the legislature.

Simon Commission 1927

As per Section 84 of the 1919 Act, a commission was constituted under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon. There wasn't a single Indian member in this commission. Therefore, Indians opposed it vehemently. The Commission published its report in June 1930. After the Simon Commission rejected the demand of Dominion status, the Congress passed the resolution for 'Purna Swaraj' at its Lahore session in 1929.



Boycotting Simon Commission

Government of India Act of 1935

The responsible government proposed under the Act of 1919 never came into existence. Thereafter, failures of the Simon Commission (1927), Nehru Report, Round Table Conferences, etc. laid the foundations of the Act of 1935. The Government of India Act of 1935 contained 324 Articles and 10 Schedules. Key provisions of the Act were as follows :-

- (1) This Act provided for an all-India union of British provinces and native states. It was compulsory for the British provinces to join the union, but the same was kept optional (left to the will of kings and princes) for the princely states.
- (2) A division of powers was made between the union and provinces. Various subject were placed on three lists- union list, provincial list and concurrent list.
- (3) The Act of 1919, which was implemented among the provinces of diarchy, was implemented at the center. The Central Government subjects were categorised into two- reserved subjects and transferred subjects. The reserved subjects were placed under the jurisdiction of the Governor General, while the subjects transferred were handed over to the Council of Ministers.
- (4) A bicameral legislature was established at the center - State Council (Upper House) and Central Legislative Assembly (Lower House).
- (5) Diarchy was put to an end and the principle of provincial autonomy was accepted.
- (6) Provincial legislature was given rights to make laws on the provincial list and the concurrent list.
- (7) Provincial legislative councils were given various powers. The Council of

Ministers was made responsible to the legislature and it could be removed by a no confidence motion passed by the legislature. The legislature could also exercise some control over administration by asking questions and supplementary questions.

- (8) Burma was separated from India under this Act and two new provinces, namely Orissa and Sindh, were created.
- (9) The Act also provided for the establishment of a federal bank and a federal court.
- (10) The proposals regarding the Central Government couldn't not come into force. Due to reluctance and indifference of the native states, the All India Federation did not come into existence.

After the conclusion of provincial elections in 1937, the diarchy came to an end and full autonomy was established, however, the autocratic powers of the governor rendered this autonomy redundant.

Independence of India Act 1947

Key provisions of the Indian Independence Act 1947, which was passed by the British Parliament on the basis of Mountbatten Plan, were as follows :-

- (1) The date of August 15, 1947 was fixed for the creation of two dominions named India and Pakistan.
- (2) It was proposed to divide the territories of India as India and Pakistan and to make two provinces each in Bengal and Punjab. All the provinces included in British India, except the territories falling in Pakistan, were considered included in India.
- (3) East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam's Sylhet district were to be included in Pakistan.
- (4) The responsibility of Her Majesty's government in India and its suzerainty over the Indian princely states would end on August 15, 1947.
- (5) Native princely states could join either India or Pakistan.
- (6) There would be a Governor General, appointed by her majesty, for each dominion. For purposes of the dominion government, Governor General was to represent Her Majesty.
- (7) There was to be a separate legislature for each dominion, having full authority of legislation, without any interference from the British Parliament.
- (8) Both the Constituent Assemblies were given the status of parliament and were bestowed full powers of dominion legislature through a temporary provision

for the dominion governments.

- (9) For effective implementation of the Act, the Governor General was given powers to issue such ordinances as he deemed necessary.
- (10) The Act specified the terms and conditions of continuation of the jurisdiction or authority of Her Majesty's government over services of the Secretary of State (Secretary of India), Indian Armed Forces, British Army, Navy and Air Force.

Despite the implementation of the above mentioned acts and various provisions thereof, after independence the most important task before our nation-makers was to formulate a constitution which could be the basis for the attainment of the ideals of our freedom fighters.

Making of the Constituent Assembly

In 1946, the Cabinet Mission arrived in India. Under this plan, elections of the Constituent Assembly were held in July 1946. Provision was made for a 389-member Constituent Assembly (296 from the British provinces and 93 from the princely states).

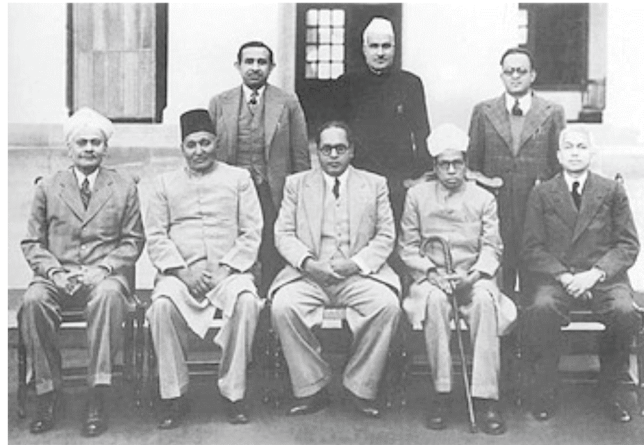
The Constitution Assembly was constituted in three phases. As per the Cabinet Mission Plan, 296 members of the Constituent Assembly were elected in July-August 1946. The second phase began with the plan of partition on June 3rd 1947. The Constituent Assembly was reorganized. After the partition, the number of total members at the Constituent Assembly remained 324, out of which, 235 seats were kept for the provinces and 89 for the princely states. The third phase was about inclusion of the princely states at the Constituent Assembly. Hyderabad was the only state whose representatives did not join it. After formation of the Constituent Assembly, on August 14th 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru announced, "Freedom and power bring responsibility. The responsibility rests upon this Constituent Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India."

Key Members of the Constituent Assembly : Constitution-Makers

It would be pertinent to mention that the Constitution of independent India was a result of decades of contemplation by the Indian leaders. There had been deliberations and reflections over the constitution making for a long time as a continuous process, for example - Swaraj Bill of 1895, Commonwealth of India Bill 1925, Nehru Report 1928, Karachi Proposal 1934 and, Sapru Committee Report of 1944. All these proposals testify that leadership of the freedom struggle was inclined towards constitution making along with the attainment of independence.

At the Constituent Assembly, contributions of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, K.M. Munshi, Gopalaswami Iyengar, Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, Pattabhi Sitaramaiya, Durgabai Deshmukh, Hansa

Mehta, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Thakurdas Bhargava and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were significant. While Nehru was an idealist, Prasad and Patel were realist and pragmatic. Dr. Ambedkar was a great scholar of law, Gopal Swami Iyengar also was a gifted scholar. If Patel's principal advisors were K. M. Munshi and V.P. Menon, Nehru's principal advisors were Krishnaswamy Iyer and B.N. Rau. Efforts were made to



Dr. Ambedkar with members of Draft Constitution Committee

ensure representation of all sections and regions of India at the Constituent Assembly.

The very first session of the Constituent Assembly began on December 9th, 1946 at the Central Hall of parliament building. Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha was unanimously elected as the temporary president; thereafter, the members presented their letter of credit and signed the register. On December 4th 1946, the veteran Congress leader, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, was elected permanent Speaker of the Constituent Assembly. The first step towards constitution-making was the 'Objective Resolution' presented by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru on December 13th 1946. While moving the Objective resolution Pt. Nehru stated, "The resolution I am placing before you defines our aims, describes an outline of the plan and points the way we are going to tread." The Objective Resolution expressed its firm and solemn resolve to declare India an independent Sovereign Republic. It was further declared that "all power and authority of Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people". It announced that the people of India shall be guaranteed justice, social, economic and political and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action. The Constituent Assembly deliberated upon the Objective Resolution from December 13th to December 19th 1946. The Constituent Assembly deliberated on the motive proposal. On January 22nd 1947, the members of the Constituent Assembly unanimously passed this resolution.

Once the Objective Resolution was accepted, the Constituent Assembly did set up several committees to look into various aspects of constitution making. Key among those were: (1) Union Constitution Committee (2) Provincial Constitution Committee (3) Union Power Committee (4) Advisory Committee on Fundamental

Rights, Minorities and Tribals and Excluded Areas (5) Drafting Committee etc. The Constituent Assembly had already constituted a Negotiating Committee to negotiate with the princely states.

On March 17th 1947, the Advisory Branch of the Constituent Assembly also sent a questionnaire to various provincial legislatures and the central legislature to seek their opinion on key features of the proposed Constitution.

Meanwhile, the British government published a plan of partition on June 3rd, 1947.

The Constituent Assembly's advisory branch prepared the very first draft of the Constitution in October 1947. Prior to the preparation of this draft, the Constituent Assembly's Secretariat collected inputs from various constitutions in the world into three volumes and distributed it among the members of the Constituent Assembly. B. N. Rau, the constitutional advisor, also presented a report after consultation with constitutional experts across the world.

On August 29 1947, the Constituent Assembly appointed a Drafting Committee. Dr. Ambedkar was elected the chairman of this committee. The other members were Kanhaiyalal Manikya Lal Munshi, Mohammad Sadulla, B.L. Mitter, Krishnaswamy Iyer, N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar and D.P. Khaitan. Later, B.L. Mitter and D.P. Khaitan were replaced by N. Madhava Rau and T.T. Krishnamachari. The Drafting Committee was appointed to "...scrutinise the draft of the text of the Constitution of India prepared by Constitutional Adviser, giving effect to the decisions already taken in the Assembly and including all matters which are ancillary thereto or which have to be provided in such a Constitution, and to submit to the Assembly for consideration the text of the draft constitution as revised by the committee..." The Draft Constitution of India, prepared by the Drafting Committee, was submitted to the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly in February 1948. Amendments and suggestions were invited after the draft Constitution was published. A Special Committee considered these suggestions and published a revised edition of the Draft Constitution. On November 15, 1948, the Constituent Assembly took up article-by-article discussion on the Draft Constitution. By January 8th 1949, the Constituent Assembly had deliberated upon 67 articles. This is called



Dr. Ambedkar handing over the draft of the constitution to Dr. Rajendra Prasad

the 'first reading' of the Constitution, as it was about general discussion. The 'second reading' ended on November 16, 1949. The 'third reading' continued until November 26th, 1949 and the Draft Constitution was finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly. On January 24 1950, the last working day of the Constituent Assembly, three copies of the Constitution were placed before the House. One copy was in handwritten English which had artwork inscribed on it. The second one was a printed copy in English while the third one was a handwritten copy in Hindi. The Speaker of the House requested all the members to sign all three copies one by one. After the members had affixed their signatures to copies of the Constitution, with the rendition of "Jana-gana-mana" and "Vande Matram", the 'Sabha' was dissolved as the Constituent Assembly. On January 26, 1950, the Constituent Assembly became the (interim) Parliament of the Republic of India.

Process of the Constitution Making

First of all, the Constituent Assembly identified its subject of deliberation in the form of Objective Resolution. This Objective Resolution became the basis of the Preamble to the Constitution of independent India. Thereafter, the Constituent Assembly appointed various committees to deliberate upon the constitutional issues. Many of these committees were headed either by Pt. Nehru or Sardar Patel. According to the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly, these two stalwarts determined the core principles of the Constitution. All the committees performed with great dexterity and presented important reports. These reports were discussed at length by the Constituent Assembly and their recommendations became the basis of the Draft Constitution. The Draft Constitution was carefully examined not only by the members of the Drafting Committee, but also by the other members of the Constituent Assembly who discussed each article in detail. At times, not only each sentence but each word was discussed. As a result, the Draft Constitution became very lengthy. The very first draft of the Constitution prepared by the Advisory Branch of the Constituent Assembly's Secretariat for the consideration of the Drafting Committee had 243 articles and 43 schedules. The first Draft Constitution prepared by the Drafting Committee contained 315 articles and 8 schedules. By the time the second reading of the Draft Constitution was over, the number of articles had reached upto 386. When the Constitution was finally adopted, it had 395 articles and 8 schedules. A total of 7635 proposals for amendment were tabled at the Constituent Assembly out of which it discussed and disposed of as many as 2,473 amendments. The people of India took active interest in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly and 53,000 people were given entry to the spectators' gallery.

The important fact is that the Congress, the most prominent party in those times, made every effort to make the Constituent Assembly more representative. All the top leaders of the Congress Party like Pt. Nehru, Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra

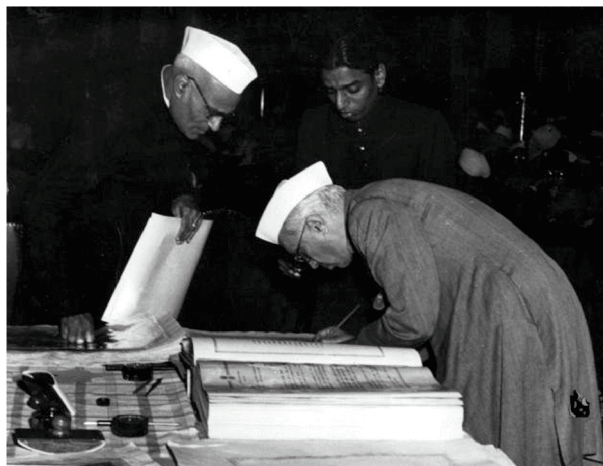
Prasad, Maulana Azad, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Pt. Govind Vallabh Pant, Bal Govind Kher, Babu Purushottam Das Tandon, K.M. Munshi and Acharya J.B. Kripalani were members of the Constituent Assembly. It was due to the efforts of the Congress that many eminent personalities having legal and administrative authority, who never belonged to the Congress,



Nehru with Members of constituent Assembly

were elected to the Constituent Assembly. Some of those prominent figures were - Dr. Ambedkar (Chairman of the Drafting Committee), A. K. Iyer, N.G. Aangar, Santhanam, M.R. Jayakar, Sachchidanand Sinha, Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, V. Siva Rao, Dr. Radhakrishnan, K.T. Shah, M.C. Mukherjee, Hridaynath Kunzru etc. Of the seven members of the Drafting Committee, only two, K. M. Munshi and T. T. Krishnaswamy, were from the Congress; Mohammad Saadullah was a member of the Muslim League; Ambedkar, Khaitan, Madhavrao and Ayyer were independent members. These luminaries provided technical and legal expertise to the Constituent Assembly. Also they played a decisive role in giving shape to philosophical core of the Constitution, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Jayaprakash Narayan were also invited as members of the Constituent Assembly, but Sapru could not accept it due to health reasons and Jayaprakash Narayan did not accept the proposal. Even the candidates who were elected on the Muslim League's ticket and preferred to stay back in India after partition, were granted membership of the Constituent Assembly, a testimony of the Constituent Assembly's liberal overview! Mohammad Sadullah, a representative from the League, was also at the Drafting Committee.

It is important to underline the fact that, along with the top leaders, all the members of the Constituent Assembly, played an important and active role. It is clear from the Constituent Assembly debates that its members were gifted scholars and were highly committed. Fearless debates on many issues also establish the fact that the



Signing on the constitution

members enjoyed complete freedom of speech at the Assembly.

It took 2 years, 11 months and 17 days to complete the Constitution. About Rs. 64 Lakh (Rs. 63,96,729) were spent on it. The Draft Constitution was discussed for 114 days. In its final form, the Constitution had 395 articles and 8 schedules. Few provisions of the Constitution came into practice on November 26, 1949 while remaining provisions were implemented with effect from January 26, given the historic significance of January 26.

In his last speech at the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar said "In view of time taken by the constituent assemblies of the USA, Canada, South Africa, and Australia, this Assembly may well congratulate itself for having accomplished such a formidable task in such a short time."

Exercise

1. Who was the Governor General of Bengal at the time of implementation of the Regulation Act?
(A) Warren Hastings (B) Wellesley
(C) Curzon (D) Canning
2. When did the first session of the Constituent Assembly take place?
(A) 22nd October 1764 (B) 9th January 1919
(C) 5th May 1989 (D) 9th December 1946
3. Under which Act Diarchy\ Dyarchy established by Government of India Act 1919 was introduced to provinces instead of the center?
(A) 1921 (B) 1935
(C) 1947 (D) 1950
4. When were the Provincial Cabinets established as per the British India Act of 1935?
(A) July 1937 (B) August 1937
(C) September 1937 (D) October 1937
5. Explain the process of making of the Constitution of India.

Chapter - 4

Nehru's Intellectual Legacy and Scientific Outlook

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was an extraordinary and multi-faceted person. Nehru attained global recognition as he was a highly educated politician, sharp orator, writer, ardent supporter of liberal principles and had unwavering faith in democratic institutions and traditions. After nearly two centuries of colonial rule and exploitation, independent India needed a leadership who could lead the nation towards a new direction and pave the path of development. At such a time, Nehru played a crucial role as the first Prime Minister of independent India. That's why he is revered as an architect of modern India. We find detailed accounts of international order, India's geography, history and natural resources in his speeches delivered on various occasions, letters written to daughter Indira Gandhi, Mahatma Gandhi and other great leaders and also in his book 'Discovery of India' and 'Autobiography'. He openly expressed his views on history, science, religion, society, economy and scientific temper. We find progressive scientific outlook in his work and statements. For the future of strong India, his ideas were clear, rational and meaningful. It is also clear from the decisions taken during his tenure that he put his ideas into practice.

Scientific Outlook

To build a strong nation, scientific approach was a must. Nehru believed that the progress in science and technology are crucial to solve the problems of India. In his address to the Indian Science Congress in January 1938, he stated that



Nehru's having bird's eye view from Naval Ship

science alone could save hunger, poverty and illiteracy, superstition, decaying traditions and customs and wastage of resources. The same was reiterated in the Science Policy passed by the Lok Sabha in March 1958. It acknowledged the role of science in the nation's economic, social and cultural upliftment.

He believed that one's scientific temper should not be limited only to the quest of any single truth, it should reflect one's inner thought and activities. A tradition should not be believed just because it has been going on for centuries but it must be tested from a scientific perspective and the scientists should play an active role in nurturing the scientific approach. These Nehruvian ideas about scientific outlook have emerged stronger than ever before.

Nehru was extremely optimistic about social transformations brought by practice of science. This is also evident from his address at the 47th session of the Indian Science Congress. On this occasion, he said that my interest in science is also about the social changes it brings. As a developing country we will have to face political, economic and social challenges. Solution to these problems would not be possible without science. He further stated that in the course of human history nothing else has impacted human life more than science and science cannot be tied up to the national boundaries. Science is not for the good of any single country but for welfare of the entire world.

Pandit Nehru also tried to look at religion from a scientific perspective. He was of the view that religion has undoubtedly contributed to the upliftment of humanity, but it has also limited human curiosity and sense of enquiry. He was not much influenced by religion's other-worldly claims.. His position was that greater reliance on religion adversely affects one's self reliance and creative faculties. He considered that life-cycle and nature can be better understood with progress in science. As knowledge increases, the scope of narrowness in religion decreases. There was a time when our daily essentials such as agriculture, food, clothes, social relations etc were tied to religion but with the passage of time these came under scientific enquiry.



Nehru with great scientist Albert Einstein

According to Nehru, scientific temper is a way of life. Nowadays, science is

indispensable for all nations and their citizens. He also said that science only discovers knowledge but the scientific approach in society makes it progressive. Laying the foundation stones of the National Institute of Science in 1948, he stated that scientific approach is the most appropriate way to solve the problems of life. By trading this path, human life and institutions will prosper. We can inspire each and every individual to be on the right path only by adopting scientific methods. Addressing the 1955 session of the Indian Science Congress, Nehru said that I accept my mistakes as doing so being closer to scientific approach. Establishment of various technical and research institutes in India, nuclear power program and space program clearly show that Nehru's scientific ideas were also put into practice.

During Nehru's prime ministership, steps were taken to impart technical training. In 1952, first of the five IITs, patterned after Massachusetts Institute of Technology (USA) were established in Kharagpur. Later, four other IITs were set up in Madras, Bombay, Kanpur and Delhi. Considering the role of science in social welfare, the budget for science-based activities and research was increased. Expenditure on this head increased from Rs. 1.10 crore in 1948-49 to 85.06 crore in 1965-66. As a result, the number of scientists and technicians increased from 1,88,000 (1950) to 7,31,500 (1965). Also, the number of students in engineering and technical colleges increased from 13,000 in 1950 to 78,000 in 1965. Similarly, the number of students studying in agricultural colleges increased from 2,600 in 1950 to 14,900 in 1965.

Nuclear Power Program

India has been one of the leading countries to understand the importance of nuclear energy. Nehru well understood that nuclear power would bring a revolution in the social, economic and political life across the world as well as it would influence security capabilities of a nation. In early 1948, he wrote :- "The future belongs to those who will be able to produce nuclear power. It is going to become the leading energy source in the future. Naturally military security is also linked to it."

In August 1948, the Government of India established the Atomic Energy Commission, headed by India's leading nuclear scientist Dr. Homi Jahangir Bhabha. This commission was created under the Department of Scientific Research to develop peaceful energy, which worked directly under Prime Minister Nehru. In 1954, the government set up a separate department for nuclear energy under the leadership of Prime Minister, with Dr. Homi Jahangir Bhabha as its secretary. India's first nuclear reactor Apsara, which was also the very first nuclear reactor in Asia, started functioning in Bombay in August 1956. Nuclear power plants established

under India's state-of-the-art and highly advanced nuclear power program also started generating electricity within a few years. Although India was devoted to peaceful use of nuclear energy, this capability could easily be used to make nuclear bombs. In the time to come, India did this and today India is a key nuclear power nation in the world.

Space Research

Indian Space Program is a brainchild of Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, who is also called the father of Indian Space Programme. He is considered a national hero. After the launch of Sputnik in 1957, he recognized the utility of artificial satellites. India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who considered scientific innovations central to India's future, placed space research under the Department of Atomic Energy in 1961. In 1962, Dr. Homi Jahangir Bhabha, director of the Department of Atomic Energy, constituted the Indian National Committee of Space Research' (INCOSPAR), chaired by Dr. Sarabhai.

Keeping in mind the need for indigenous technology and the possibility of future instability in supply of raw materials and technology, Indian space program tried to bring the supply of raw materials, processes and technology under its control. As the Indian satellite program, Rohini, kept on launching more advanced rockets, the space program grew. It was separated from the Department of Atomic Energy and was made an independent government department. Indian Space Research Organization was formed in 1969 and the Department of Space was established in June 1972.



Nehru with famous scientist Dr. Vikram Sarabhai

Dr. Sarabhai participated in an early study with NASA to find out the possibility of multipurpose artificial satellites, like the ones being used for direct broadcasting of television. The study made it clear that these satellites were the cheapest and simplest instruments of broadcasting. From the very beginning, at ISRO, Dr Sarabhai built an independent launch vehicle to put the satellites into space. This launch vehicle was capable of placing artificial satellites into their orbit and also provided necessary ground for building large launch vehicles in the future. Recognising India's capabilities to make satellites having solid propellants, with the Rohini range of satellites, other countries also accepted the utility of solid fuel rockets for the similar programs. ISRO started building infrastructure and technology for the Satellite Launch Vehicle (SLV). Inspired by the US Scout rocket, the SLV was designed as a solid-state four stage vehicle.

It can be easily inferred from the progress made in the space program by India within two decades after independence, that the newly independent nation got services of such visionary policy-makers and scientists who contributed to the space research and brought India into ranks of the selected few nations internationally. Given this progress in space research, India has been able to carry out state-of-art space programmes such as launching of geostationary satellites using GSLV, Mangalyaan and Chandrayaan. Undoubtedly, this progress in science was unprecedented and was a perfect example of Nehru's scientific temper.

Nehru's Views on Democracy

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not only the first Prime Minister of India, but also the person who sowed the seeds of democracy in this diverse nation. He believed that there was no place for any discrimination based on religion, caste, race, and gender in India. We can easily see the glimpses of his ideas on democracy, expressed at various pre and post independence addresses, in the Preamble, Fundamental Rights and other provisions of the Indian Constitution. We often find references to social and economic justice, equality before law, equality of opportunities, freedom of expression and freedom of religious beliefs in his addresses.

As far as democracy is concerned, Nehru was of the opinion that “there is a huge gap between those on the top and those on the bottom. For democracy, it is necessary to fill this gap. In fact, as far as opportunities, living conditions and basic needs of life are concerned people should be brought closer.” It is clear that, of all democratic values, Nehru gave utmost importance to equality of opportunity.

Nehru stood firmly in the favour of economic democracy along with political democracy. On the occasion of a seminar on parliamentary democracy, on February

25th 1956, he stated , "in the past, the meaning of democracy has been understood as political democracy where every person exercises franchise, but there is no meaning of such franchise for a person who is economically backward and hungry. "

Pandit Nehru's democracy was based on the principle of participation with decentralization of power as an important element. In order to realise these principles, the Community Development Programme was started in 1952 and a committee was constituted under the chairmanship of Balwant Rai Mehta which submitted its report in November 1957. This report became the basis for establishment of a three-tier Panchayati Raj system.



Nehru at Nagaur, Rajasthan on the occasion of inauguration of Panchayati Raj, 2 October, 1959

It is noteworthy that on October 2nd, 1959, foundations of a three-tier Panchayati Raj system was laid at Nagore district of Rajasthan. On this occasion, Pt. Nehru said in his speech, "roots of democracy are not unknown to India, it can be seen in our ancient panchayat system. The way, all are entitled to vote and everyone has equal economic opportunities, similarly, all will be equal in each panchayat, there will not be any discrimination between men and women."

Pandit Nehru is credited with establishing democracy in its true sense in India. In order to evaluate his contributions to democracy, we need to have a look at political conditions among those nations who achieved independence from the colonial powers in the 20th century. We find that while most of these nations have been suffering from their internal problems and could not establish democracy in its true sense, India today is the largest successful democracy in the world, thanks to Nehru.

Nehru's Economic Vision: Democratic Socialism

In order to eradicate prevalent socio-economic inequalities and redress the

defects of the capitalist system, Nehru emphasised on establishing a socialist society in India. From the very beginning Pandit Nehru had realised that inherent problems of Indian economy couldn't be addressed without socialism. Pandit Nehru's socialist ideas are found in his book 'Whither India'. Nehru was greatly influenced by the socialist ideology during his visit to Russia in 1927. By socialism, Nehru meant equality. However, he was well aware that socialism couldn't be established by destroying capitalism completely. Therefore, instead of resorting to drastic measures, he emphasised on a moderate path to achieve socialism.

While speaking in the Lok Sabha on December 15, 1952, Pandit Nehru clearly stated "We cannot take our nation forward by conflicts. A lot has been achieved by peaceful means and I don't see any reason for resorting to violent means instead of peaceful ones. I firmly believe that if we try to achieve our goals, however lofty, through violent methods, we will encourage the same evil we are fighting against. India is a vast country with lots of diversity. If someone picks up a sword, others will respond in the same fashion. Such confrontation will turn into aimless violence. It will either make the limited resources of the nation fragmented or will render it very weak. "

While arguing for the democratic path in this context, Pt. Nehru stated, "ultimately peaceful progress is the path to democratic progress. The ultimate goal is economic democracy where the differences between the rich and the poor, between the haves and have-nots will come to an end. Every obstacle in the path of this goal is to be removed, whether it is through goodwill or by the force of law and government."

According to Nehru, the only solution to India's socio-economic problems was socialism. Socialism is the path to freedom from all forms of exploitation. Nehru said, 'I firmly believe that the solutions to India's problems lie in socialism. I use this term not in the sense of some vague humanistic concept, but as a scientific-economic viewpoint. Socialism is more than an economic principle. It is a philosophy of life and that is why I am inclined towards it. I do not see any way other than socialism to end poverty, unemployment and plight among the Indian people.'

Pandit Nehru explained socialism specifically in the Indian context. He did not blindly follow socialism, but spoke about the nature of socialism as per conditions prevalent in the country. While delivering the presidential speech at the Indian National Congress session of 1929, Nehru clearly stated, "we must realise that gradually the socialist philosophy has come to permeate structures of society all over the world. There are only two points of discord: first, how to establish peace and second, means to make it fully effective. India too will have to adopt socialism to put

an end to poverty and inequality. We may adopt it intelligently as per our own context. Our economic program should be based on humanitarian approach and a person should not be sacrificed on the altar of capital. If an industry cannot satisfy the hunger of its workers, it should be shut down.” Thus, Nehru supported democracy along with socialism. Nehru remained committed to this democratic socialism throughout his life. He thought that political democracy without economic democracy was meaningless and only political democracy could become a medium of socialism.

Clarifying this concept, Nehru further explained that under this system, capital and other economic resources will not be concentrated in the hands of the capitalist class and it will be ensured that resources of the nation are under effective control of the people. He emphasised the recognition of political rights of the people, economic and social justice, decentralization of resources and a fair system of production and distribution as key components of democratic socialism. Nehru considered democratic socialism as the cornerstone of India's bright future.

Ideas on Secularism

Nehru was the real proponent of Indian secularism. Nehru himself told the US Ambassador Chester Bowles “even if I die today, formation of this secular state would be considered my most important achievement.” For Nehru, secularism meant equal respect for all religions. Cornerstones of Nehruvian secularism were: belief in human individuality and morality, faith in democracy, curiosity about truth and freedom of conscience.

Nehru was instrumental in making a secular constitution and a secular state. He considered secularism as the basis of national unity. It is due to divisions and communalism, that India has had to suffer humiliation, defeat and disintegration. Unfortunately, in the past, India was embroiled into long periods of infighting and conflict, as a result, her unity and power suffered. India had great luminaries in every field- art, literature, crafts and philosophy but the infightings inflicted severe damage. There were many reasons for such conflicts, however, religion was one of the key reasons. India was partitioned in the name of religion. To ward off the divisive influence of religion, secularism was given space in Indian Constitution :-

The only way to stop communalism and mutual discord is to :-

- (1) Rise over religious differences and learn to respect all religions.
- (2) State must respect all religions and treat them as equal.
- (3) There should not be any state-religion and state shouldn't give preference

to any particular religion.

- (4) Every citizen must have freedom of conscience, worship, and freedom to propagate his/her religion.
- (5) Politics must be kept separate from religion.
- (6) No one should be allowed to disturb peace and violate morality in the name of religion.

According to Nehru, the country had achieved political integration, but effective integration was still to be achieved. It means that all citizens should identify themselves with the diversities. These provisions have been given place in the Indian Constitution. Their purpose is to maintain and nurture national unity by establishing communal harmony and tolerance.

Nehru's notion of secularism is liberal, comprehensive and incremental. He wanted to march from a secular state to a secular society. He also achieved considerable success in this direction. Later, all political parties, governments and the Supreme Court accepted secularism as a foundational pillar of Indian polity. Secularism has become synonyms with national unity.

Ideas on Nationalism

Nehru also clearly expressed his views on nationalism. He was a great supporter of the freedom struggle of Afro-Asian nations against imperialistic powers. He understood nationalism in the broader context of internationalism. He said, 'nationalism is a strange concept, which gives life, progress, power and unity at a certain point in the nation's history, however, it has a limiting tendency since people start thinking that their country is different from the rest of the world. It changes the perspective and people remain stuck amid their own struggles and ideas of good and bad; and shut their eyes to other perspectives. As a result, nationalism which symbolises human progress, becomes a symbol of mental blockade.'

His ideas about nationalism were very clear. He used to say, 'the nationalist feelings are very complex. Most of us think that we are just and fair and it is the other country which is on the wrong side. Somewhere in our minds, there is a deep-seated belief that we are not like others; there is a difference between us and them – though we may not repeatedly say so due to decency.'

Looking at national unity from a new perspective, Nehru also made scathing attacks on communalism. He considered it fatal for national unity. He was of the opinion that nationalism cannot survive along with communalism. Nationalism doesn't mean hindu nationalism or sikh nationalism. As we talk of hindu or

musalsman, we cannot think of Hindustan. Everyone will have to ask oneself : what do I want to make of India - a country, a nation or ten-twenty divided, fragile and powerless nations with fissiparous tendencies.

If the feeling of nationalism is so common even among the nations influenced by new ideas and international forces, it is natural that people in India are influenced by nationalism. Sometimes It is alleged that our nationalism is a symbol of backwardness and narrow-mindedness.

Nehru's Internationalism

Internationalism can be clearly seen in Nehru's ideas. He was highly influenced by those ideas of liberalism and social progress which guided the freedom movements in Asia and Africa. In 1927, Nehru had stated that the Congress should formulate a foreign policy. It was due to his efforts that the Congress came to consider India's freedom struggle as a global one. As a result of his efforts, the Congress began to consider India's freedom struggle as a global part. According to Nehru, Indians must keep high morals and ideals at the centre of every struggle. His nationalism



**Nehru with delegate of Indonesia
at Asian conference, 1949**

was steeped in humanism which cannot be tied to the national boundaries. Gandhiji used to say that his ideas on internationalism were as effective as nationalism. Given his vast knowledge of history and philosophy, he clearly understood global problems. He was of the opinion that the key difference between the East and the West was that of industrial development. It was due to industrialisation, that the world fell flat in front of European ambitions. Nehru's internationalism was based on democracy and socialism. He was highly influenced by the French Revolution as it had attacked conservative socio-religious norms and practices. He was of firm belief that democracy will join hands with science to attack communalism and put narrow

religious practices to an end. In this context, Nehru seems to have been influenced by August Comte and James Mills, who were champions of freedom and humanism. We find references to Karl Marx and Engels in his writings. Nehru was highly influenced by the socialist ideas. He was also influenced by Russian pacifism in international affairs. Commenting on European imperialism and colonialism, Nehru stated that it was due to capitalism that Europe could establish control over Asia. Nehru travelled to many Asian countries and kept in touch with them as given their colonial past problems of most of these countries were similar and they could express concerns over any occurrence jointly. The efforts to Afro-Asian unity materialized in Afro-Asian Conference held in 1947 at Delhi. Nehru thus spoke at this occasion. “colonial rule has done harm to our mutual relations. However, walls surrounding us will collapse soon and we will be united like old friends.” He was of the opinion that Asia should play a key role in global affairs. and asian nations could play an important role in peace-building in the nuclear age. In January 1949, he strongly supported Indonesia's independence from Holland and made it clear that the entire world would be united to fight any wrong move. Thus, Nehru was an unparalleled champion of internationalism.

He was strongly against the horrors of war. At Madras session of the Congress (1927), he emphasised peace and declared every war an international tragedy. Since war brings tyranny and destruction, Nehru believed that war affects not only a nation but also the people. He was of the opinion that then Europe was full of hatred and fear. Every country in Europe hated another one and wanted to destroy her. This was the reason that Nehru strongly advocated the principles of freedom, equality and justice and wanted to bring cooperation instead of conflict in the international arena.

Nehru advocated universal disarmament. No country should be harassed by another one. There should be fair allocation of resources. There should not be any religious and racial discrimination between nations and communities. Nehru made two important contributions, ideologically and practically, to internationalism which need mention here. The first one is- policy of non-alignment and the second is panchsheel The first of these is the foreign policy of non-attachment and the second is the principle of Panchsheel, both these concepts are interrelated.

Non- Alignment

After independence, India chose the path of independent foreign policy. Jawaharlal Nehru was its key architect. He was convinced that given her civilizational legacies, India could speak boldly in international affairs. If India couldn't raise its voice, newly found freedom would be meaningless. Being a vast nation with glorious traditions, it was imperative for India to speak up. Thus,

independent foreign policy was a necessity of time and Nehru followed it.

Based on Nehruvian ideas, the non-aligned movement was given the shape of an institution. The backdrop of this movement was the division of the world into two opposed camps after World War-II. One camp was led by the US and the other one by Soviet Union. Nehru well understood that the newly independent and impoverished nations of Asia & Africa would be at disadvantage by joining the military alliances of big powers. They would be reduced to pawns in the chess game of the superpowers. The newly independent nations had to fight poverty, illiteracy and diseases and this couldn't be achieved by joining military alliances. On the contrary, India and other similar nations needed peace for progress and development. Their interests lie in peace not in war. Therefore, India neither joined nor supported Baghdad Pact, Manila Pact, the SIETO or CENTO. Through these treaties, West and East Asian nations were allied with the Western power block.

India not only remained non-aligned or aloof from the power blocks, Nehru was quick to dismiss allegations of "immoral neutrality" levelled against India. Nonalignment meant taking an independent stand on each issue, identifying right and wrong, taking the right path. Nehru stated, "As far as evils of fascism, colonialism and apartheid or nuclear bombs, attacks and repression are concerned, we firmly stand against them without any hesitation.... . We are not aligned to the Cold-War military alliances. Newly independent nations of Asia and Africa cannot be forced to become cogs in the Cold War machine. Anyways, we are free to oppose any such move as we deem to be harmful or wrong to the world or to ourselves, and whenever a need arises, we shall use this freedom."

Non-alignment symbolised the struggle of India and other newly independent nations to maintain their freedom from colonialism and imperialism. Being one of the first countries to get independence, India, rightly, showed the path to other former colonies. Collectively, these nations are of great importance. For example, due to entry of the newly independent nations, membership of the United Nations increased substantially; the one-nation one-vote system, with the help of Soviet Union, helped the non-aligned nations to face the Western bloc with the help of the Soviet Union. Thus, nonalignment helped to democratise international relations.

Primary objective of India's foreign policy was to assist the colonial nations in their fight against colonialism. It also gave strength to India's foreign policy. Nehru's strong opposition to war and his ideas about struggle against the threats of nuclear war after Hiroshima are well known. Nehru was inspired by the Gandhian philosophy of nonviolent struggle and gained support of great intellectuals like

Einstein and Bertrand Russell. Nehru made advocacy of nuclear disarmament as well as disarmament in general, the objective of India's foreign policy.

Nehru made it clear by his own thought and actions as well as by India's conduct in international politics that nonalignment was neither opportunistic nor idle. Some of the salient features of Nehru's non-alignment are as follows :-

1. Foundations of Non-Alignment : World Peace – Nehru was witness to disastrous consequences of war and his primary goal in international politics was to oppose all situations of tensions and conflict. Nehru was farsighted to understand that if India got aligned with any of the superpowers, it will add to tensions in international affairs and India will invite tension and war for herself. Nehru was a humanist and a champion of world peace. He genuinely thought that by a nonaligned policy India could bring the two opposing power blocks closer and could also achieve peace for herself. Due to her non-aligned credentials, in practice, India played a role of peacemaker in conflicts like Korea, Cyprus, Congo etc. Core inspiration behind Nehru's nonalignment was a quest for peace: peace for his own nation as well as for the entire world.

2. Non-Alignment : A positive policy – During the Nehruvian era use of the term neutrality was in vogue, but on more than one occasion, Nehru made it clear that non-alignment was not a negative policy in terms of international law or international politics. During his visit to the US in 1949 Nehru famously stated, "India is not neutral. India cannot and shall not be neutral where peace is threatened and freedom is denied, for to be neutral in such circumstances would be the denial of all that India stands for." Nehru made it clear that nonalignment was neither opportunistic nor negative. It was a positive policy to oppose aggression and to support freedom, truth and justice.

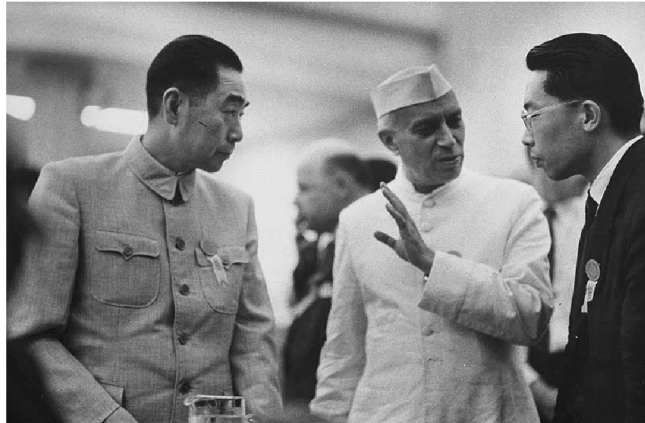
3. Nonalignment : A Dynamic Policy – In its original conception nonalignment is not a static one, rather it is a dynamic policy, keeping pace with the changing national and international circumstances. Nonalignment is both a means and an end in itself. Its main objective is to serve India's national interest keeping in mind the wider global good.

4. Peaceful Coexistence : An Essential Characteristic of Nonalignment – Nonalignment is based on the idea of peaceful coexistence. Peaceful co-existence means that despite differing interests and ideologies among nations, tensions, conflicts and wars are unnecessary. Nations may live peacefully together despite all their differences and they must do so.

Nehru was the chief architect of the non aligned foreign policy. The radical

ideology of non-Alignment began to transform into a movement. Though nonalignment couldn't stop wars completely, it is true that it helped to establish the idea of world peace and also succeeded in preventing the third world war to a certain degree. Nehru's nonalignment played a key role in developing moral strength, consciousness and self-respect among the third world countries.

Panchsheel – Nehru was of the opinion that conflict and war between the opposing systems were not natural or inevitable. They could peacefully coexist with each other and it was also necessary to save humanity from destruction.



Nehru consistently stressed peaceful coexistence between the countries having opposing ideologies and political systems. He believed that no one had monopoly over truth and pluralism was the truth of life. He said that mutual cooperation among nations having different political, social and economic systems is necessary for human welfare and world peace. The five basic principles adopted to achieve this objective are called Panchsheel. The five principles of Panchsheel are as follows :-

1. To respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other nations
2. Non-interference in the internal affairs of another country
3. Not to attack another country.
4. To encourage mutual cooperation.
5. To follow the policy of peaceful co-existence.

In short, being the first Prime Minister of independent India, Nehru had to face immense challenges. Despite, by any historic yardstick, his achievements were of greatest proportion. Above all, he recognised certain values, point of views, ideals, goals and perspectives in the interest of the nation. He made these values part of the cultural consciousness of Indian people.

Nehru strengthened the Indian nation, laid the foundations of a political system based on parliamentary democracy and civil rights; made secularism, social justice and social reforms basis of Indian political system; made nonalignment, freedom, self respect, national interest, world peace and anti-colonialism basis of India's

foreign policy; initiated planned development; laid foundations of a robust public sector; put India on the path of self-reliant independent economy and carried forward the scientific temper. He put forth the ideal of a socialist society based on equality and popularised it. Abolition of untouchability and passage of Hindu Code Bill were his historic achievements. In his political career, Nehru always acted politely and liberally. High standards of conduct in public life, which Nehru set, proved to be a yardstick for the later political leaders. Nehru's success in establishing democracy was proven by the peaceful transition of power, both within the party and the government, after his demise in 1964.

Exercise

1. When was first atomic reactor established in India ?
(A) 1954 (B) 1955
(C) 1956 (D) 1957
2. Which system was established by Balwant Rai Mehta committee recommendation ?
(A) Panchayati Raj (B) Urban Administration
(C) Molecular Research (D) Space Research
3. When was Planning Commission established ?
(A) 1949 (B) 1950
(C) 1951 (D) 1952
4. Who wrote the book Whither India ?
(A) Dadabhai Naoroji (B) Jawahar Lal Nehru
(C) R. C. Dutt (D) Gopal Krishna Gokhale
5. Explain theory of Panchsheel.

Chapter - 5

Planned Development as Foundation of a Strong India : Nehru's Contribution

At the time of independence, India with around 30 crores of population, inherited poor agriculture and cottage industry and a society caught in abject poverty and unemployment. It was one of the poorest countries in the world. India was also plagued with legacies of colonial exploitation, around three million deaths in Bengal famine, trauma of partition and a refugee crisis of around fifteen lakh people who migrated from Pakistan. In 1950 national income was merely 30.6 billion dollars. It was a big challenge in front of policy makers to ensure an all round development by proper utilization of limited economic resources in the face of big territory, geographic diversities and extreme backwardness of the rural areas.

During his visit to Russia in 1927, Nehru was greatly influenced by the planned development. And he also dreamed of planned economic development in India. In 1934, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, in his book *Planned Economy in India*, presented a model of planned development in ten years. He presented a proposal to double national income by linking the labor engaged in agriculture to industries. This was the first attempt at economic planning in India. Subsequently, as a result of discussion on planned development at the Indian National Congress session, in 1938 the National Planning Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Pt. Nehru.

The report of the National Planning Committee became the basis of economic planning in India. The National Planning Committee, after a thorough study of each sector of economy, presented recommendations for development. Thus, Nehru presented a strong foundation for planned economic development even before independence.

Nehru was greatly influenced by the model of planned economic development as well as socialism in Russia, however, he didn't believe in the absolutist Bolshevik system based on use of force, neither did he support the capitalist system in Britain.

He envisioned a planned democratic socialist model and after independence, India adopted a formal model of planned economic development. Thus, it is imperative to understand Nehru's ideas about economic planning which are as follows :

Economic Planning and development of Planning Commission

Planned development is the best example of the actualization of Nehru's vision. The Planning Commission was established on March 15, 1950 under the chairmanship of Pt Nehru. Nehru invited top economists from India and abroad to prepare the draft of the First Five-Year Plan. During Nehru's tenure as Prime Minister, three Five-Year Plans were implemented which helped to realize objectives such as providing adequate means of livelihood to people, making material resources available to each section of the society, and the decentralization of wealth and resources.

Nehru had a firm faith in state planning. He understood very well how independence of the nation was dependent on heavy industries and power resources and how India could join the technological race with the rest of the world. Planned development was required not only for India's economic freedom but also to bridge the gap between Indian culture and the modern world. Nehru believed that it was impossible to achieve this goal in absence of socialist control and a functional industrial growth pattern. Unlike the past century, the state-aided private sector was not sufficient for the 20th century. Nehru was in the favour of state-control. However, Nehru's firm opinion about comprehensive state control got somewhat softened, so was the case with his socialist approach and he presented a model of mixed economy for independent India.

At the Avadi session of Congress in January 1955, Nehru declared the establishment of a socialist society in India as a goal of planning. Under this socialistic pattern, means of production was to be kept under state control or ownership, production was to be increased rapidly, and national wealth was to be equally distributed.

Jawaharlal Nehru considered economic planning as the backbone of economic development. He believed that planning was a must for the best utilization of limited resources. Planning does not mean only aggregation of projects, rather it means setting the foundation of projects and leading them in a way so as to ensure overall progress of the society. We had acute poverty. We always have had a difficult choice - to concentrate production in some selected favourable areas and leave the backward areas aside for some time, or to focus on development of backward areas

simultaneously to reduce regional economic disparities. We adopted a balanced path and presented the nation with an inclusive model of development.

Nehru placed great emphasis on planning with an objective of social justice. He wrote in his book *Discovery of India*, “our social structure will have to put limitations on tendency to hoard and will have to remove obstacles to development. Planning will be to the benefit of common men. It may benefit in terms of improvement in living standards, increase in opportunities for progress and flourishing of innate human qualities. However, all these efforts should be undertaken democratically”.

Nehru wanted to make India as an industrialized nation through economic planning. The core idea behind planning was industrialization without which poverty alleviation, national security and economic rebuilding was not possible. Thus, a national industrialization scheme includes large-scale, small scale and cottage industries. However, agriculture cannot be set aside while making such plans. While doing so, agriculture will not be forgotten under the scheme. Scope of planning tends to expand when social services are also included under it.

Nehru did not let the Planning Commission become absolute. According to Nehru, the Planning Commission must function within the limitations of the Constitution. Though Nehru himself was the Chairman of the Planning Commission, we get a clear picture of his views from his statement given at Lok Sabha on December 15, 1952. He stated, “we are working under such a democratic structure as we have chosen for ourselves and which is enshrined in our Constitution and Parliament. It is natural that our planning should be according to our system. However, the Planning Commission does not have any authority to make any such policy which is contrary to our Constitution and political system”.

The planning system, Nehru introduced, was a democratic one. The Planning Commission was not an all-powerful institution in our country. Though the Prime Minister used to be the ex-officio Chairman of the Planning Commission and the Planning Commission did formulate plans for the entire nation, but ultimately, the proposed plans were to be laid on the table of the Parliament for implementation. The plans were to be implemented by the central as well as the state governments. It is noteworthy that the Planning Commission was constituted by a Cabinet proposal and it was a consultative body.

As far as the tenure of the planning was concerned, Nehru expressed the opinion that the plans should be both long-term and short-term. Long-term goals may be achieved through short-term plans. The five-year plans must play an effective

role as an intermediate link. In Nehru's words, "It is a must that we should have a fairly clear idea of what we want to achieve in a period of 15 years. Then, we can zero it on specific smaller plans to be included in the general plan. And then, on the smallest, that is, the one-year or annual plan which should also be included in the larger plan. There should be a broader structure of the Five Year Plan in which the above-mentioned changes may be done keeping in mind our resources and long term scenario which may come up with the passage of time. When we keep a 15 year target, it will become easy for us to accept smaller plans."

Nehru was of the opinion that "Planning is a continuous process to achieve set goals... a long-term plan should not be of five years, rather it should be of fifteen or twenty years with a focus on social structure....This only can take the nation on the path of development and progress."

Nehru's socialist program was supported by the leading industrialists in 1944. The key among these industrialists were Jehangir Ratanji Dadabhoy Tata, Ghanshyamdas Birla, and Purushottam Thakurdas. The historical document prepared by them is known as Bombay Plan.

On the recommendations of the Planning Advisory Board constituted under the chairmanship of K. C. Niyogi in 1946, the Planning Commission was constituted by a proposal of the Union Cabinet on March 15, 1950. It was a consultative body. The Planning Commission was the apex body to make plans for social and economic development of the nation. The Planning Commission was constituted to fulfill three principles enshrined in the Constitution :

1. All citizens of India, women and men, have equal rights to means of livelihood.
2. All material resources of the nation should be utilised and distributed in a way so as to ensure progress of common people.
3. Economic development should by no means centralize capital among few hands rather should make capital reach to common people.

The Planning Commission was primarily entrusted with the following tasks :

1. To make an assessment of the capital, material and human resources and to explore the possibilities of augmenting these resources.
2. To make plans for efficient and proper utilization of national resources.
3. To fix the priorities and various stages of the plan implementation.
4. To identify obstacles in the path of economic development.

5. To prepare a suitable environment for the successful implementation of each phase of the plan.
6. To review plan implementation periodically and to recommend on requisite appropriation.
7. To give advice on any such issue as sought by the Centre or the state governments.

The Planning Commission was assigned subjects such as public participation in national planning and development, hill area development program, national information and science bureau, and Institute of Applied Man Power Research etc. In addition to Pt. Nehru, key members of the Planning Commission were senior bureaucrat VT Krishnamachari, the then Finance Minister CT Deshmukh, JC Ghosh and KC Niyogi. Except Nehru, all members were given responsibilities for specific sectors. For example, during the first plan Krishnamachari had responsibilities for agriculture, irrigation and energy, Ghosh had education, social welfare and community development, Niyogi had industry, commerce and transport and Deshmukh was entrusted with financial management. From 1950 onwards, each plan played a key role in India's development. Before implementation of each plan, the previous plan was thoroughly evaluated and an action plan for the future was prepared. Each plan had certain set goals. Originally, the Planning Commission was set up as a staff agency to give advice to the Central Government. However, later it emerged as a powerful guiding entity.

Planned development was essential for the newly independent nation. The British rule had left Indian economy devastated, society was riddled with economic inequalities, industrialization was limited to certain sectors and there was a skewed distribution of resources. It is noteworthy that during the British rule, the government had absolute control over economic policies and resources which was detrimental to the interest of common people. Therefore, after independence, for equal distribution of resources and prosperity it was imperative that capital should not be concentrated in the hands of private businesses, rather it should be in the public sector. Therefore, after independence India adopted a moderate path of mixed economy rather than a socialist or capitalist one. Public sector undertakings did play a key role in this planned development model.

Article 39 of the Indian Constitution reads, "The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing :

- a. that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means to livelihood;

- b. that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;
- c. that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;”

All the developed, developing and underdeveloped nations have recognized the importance of the public sector in planning. Given the global recession of the 1930s, even in a capitalist country like the United States of America, enterprises such as 'Tennessee Valley Authority' were established in the public sector.

Undoubtedly, the Planning Commission was an important plank to place the country on the path of progress. We can easily understand this fact by having a glance at objectives and achievements of the first three Five Year plans. These three plans were implemented under the chairmanship of Pt. Nehru.

First Five Year Plan (1951–1956)

The key objective of the first Five-Year Plan was to place the country on the path of development by creating balance among various sectors of the economy. This goal was to be achieved through a mixed economy model where the public sector had to function along with the private sector. Agriculture, irrigation and power sector were given top priority in the first Five-Year Plan. Iron & steel industries, chemical industries and electric equipment firms were established. Social sectors such as education, technical training and health were given special attention.

The draft of the first plan was presented by the Planning Commission in July 1951. It had two parts: a provision of Rs. 1493 crore was made for part one. The projects in this part were to be completed compulsorily. A provision of Rs. 300 crore was made for the second part of the plan. This part was to be executed with external assistance. While finalizing the draft of the plan, both the parts were merged and a composite plan of Rs. 2069 crore was prepared. Later this amount was increased to Rs. 2377 crore. The plan made a provision of Rs. 647 crore for irrigation and energy, Rs. 570 crore for transport and communication, Rs. 532 crore for social services, Rs. 354 crore for agriculture and community services and Rs. 188 crore for industry and mining.

The Plan set a target of thirteen percent increase in national income while there was an increase of eighteen percent during those five years. Per capita income increased by eleven percent and the consumption level increased by eight to nine percent. Agricultural production recorded an increase of eighteen percent and

industrial production increased by 39 percent. The Plan had special focus on science & technology, research, heavy industries, cottage industries, handicrafts and construction of dams. In the social sector, especially in healthcare, a provision of Rs 10 crore was made for malaria prevention. A provision of Rs forty nine crores was made for construction of industrial houses for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Various irrigation schemes were started during this Plan such as Bhakra Nangal, Hirakud and Damodar Valley scheme etc. Nehru called these dams the temples of modern India. In the final year of the first Five-Year Plan (1956), five IITs were established. In 1956, the University Grants Commission was established to strengthen the higher education system in the country.

The First Five-Year Plan also emphasised that in order to fulfill its socio-economic obligations, the government will have to set up necessary industries in those areas where the private sector was unwilling to play a role. During this plan period, Hindustan Shipyard Limited, Integral Coach Factory, Khadi and Village Industries Board, Hindustan Machine Tools Limited, Air India International, Indian Airlines Corporation, Bharat Electronics Limited, State Bank of India and Ashoka Hotels Limited etc were established in the public sector. Establishment of public sector undertakings during the first and subsequent plans helped to accelerate economic growth and industrialization, build infrastructure, to ensure balanced regional growth and to generate employment opportunities at a quick pace. It also helped in redistribution of income and property, establishment of small and ancillary industries, achievement of a socialistic society, putting a check on concentration of wealth and means of production, encouraging exports and accumulating savings and capital for the economy. These public sector undertakings also gave tough competition to the private sector and proved to be role models. These also enabled the efficient and scientific exploration of natural resources.

Under this Plan, numerous research institutes and undertakings were established with an objective to strengthen basic infrastructure. It also reflects the far-sightedness of policy-makers. Name of such institutions along with their picture and date of establishment is given below.



**Central Drug Research Institute,
Lucknow**

It was inaugurated by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on February 17, 1951.



**Central Electrochemical Research
Institute, Karaikudi, Tamilnadu.**

It was established in January 1953 as a national laboratory of CSIR for research in the field of electro- chemistry. Alagappa Chettiar, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Shanti Swaroop Bhatnagar played a key role in setting up the institution.



**Central Food Technology Research
Institute, Mysuru**

As an attached laboratory to CSIR, it was established in 1950 for research in the field of technology development, food safety and engineering.



**Central Glass and Ceramic Research
Institute, Kolkata**

was established in 1944 in a limited way for the study of mineral sources but was duly inaugurated on 26 January 1950.



**Central Leather Research Institute,
Chennai**

Founded on 24 April, 1948 for
research in leather industry



National Chemical Laboratory, Delhi

Founded in 1950 for research in
chemical and chemical engineering



**National Metallurgical Laboratory,
Jamshedpur**

The foundation stone for this laboratory was laid by hon'ble Shri C. Rajgopalachari on 21 November, 1946. It was formally inaugurated by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru on 26 November, 1950.



National Physical Laboratory, Delhi

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru laid the foundation stone of NPL on 4 October, 1947 for research in measurement and formally inaugurated by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on 21 January, 1950.



Gandhi Sagar Dam

This dam is located in Neemuch and Mandsaur district of Madhya Pradesh. The then Prime Minister Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru laid the foundation stone on March 7, 1954.



Tungabhadra Dam was constructed across the Tungabhadra River, a tributary of the Krishna River. The dam is at Hospet, Bellari district of Karnataka. The main architect of the dam was Shiromal Aiyar from Chennai. It was completed in 1953.



Bhakra Nangal Dam

The agreement for this project was signed by the then Punjab Revenue Minister, Sir Chhotu Ram in November 1944 with Raja of Bilaspur and finalised the project plan on 8 January 1945. Construction of the dam started in 1948. Jawaharlal Nehru poured the first bucket of concrete into the dry riverbed of the Sutlej in 1955, as a symbolic initiation of the work. Nehru called it a gift to the people of India.



National Fertilizer Limited, Nangal

For research in the food sector, it was established in 1961.



Bharat Electronics Ltd.
founded in 1954 at Bangalore



Hindustan Shipyard Ltd.
is a shipyard located at Visakhapatnam

The First Five-Year Plan got completed in March 1956. This plan laid the basis for establishing a socialist system in India. It installed the foundation of a social and economic system laced with the values of freedom and democracy which was above caste, class and regionalism. The establishment of these institutions created employment and increased production, which was a fundamental requirement for a developing country.

Second Five-Year Plan (1956–61)

Before the commencement of the Plan in April 1954, the Planning Commission urged the State Governments to prepare district and village level plans specifically to include the importance of agricultural production and rural industries. The reason for preparing these plans at the local level was due to different requirements of each region, geographical structure and level of development. Thus, a successful attempt was made to include common people in the scheme. Eminent statistician Mahalanobis contributed to the formulation of this scheme. The scheme was built on the model given by him. He was of the view that basic industries should be set up in the country so that opportunities for agriculture and other allied industries are available. The objectives of this scheme were as follows :

1. To develop the institutes established in the First Plan and research done in these institutes in India to be used in development;
2. To give priority to industrial and technological development;
3. Increase national income so that the standard of living can be improved;
4. Increase in employment opportunities;

5. Reducing inequality in the distribution of income and wealth.

The draft of the Second Plan came in February 1956 and was passed by the Parliament in May 1956. Under this scheme, a provision of Rs. 4800 crore rupees was made for the public sector and Rs 2400 crore for the private sector. In this scheme, the provision of 50 percent of the total plan was kept for transport, communication, industry and mining.

In the Second Plan, due to the Suez Canal crisis and some other problems, the estimated cost of public sector projects started increasing. There were discussions to increase the provision of Rs 4800 crore for the public sector. For this, in May 1958, the National Development Council presented its report to Parliament and suggested 3 options :

1. The provision of the Plan should be made at Rs. 4260 crore.
2. The actual provision of the Plan should be kept at Rs 4800 crore and for irrigation, energy, social services budget should be cut.
3. The provision of the Plan to complete some major projects by putting Rs. 4500 crores.

The National Development Council agreed on the third point and divided the plan into two parts. A provision of Rs. 4500 crores was laid in the first part which included the main projects and in the second part a provision of Rs. 300 crores was made, which had to be completed after getting adequate financial resources.

(Rs. in crores)

Area	Provision 4800 crore	Percentage	Provision 4500 crore	Percent
Transportation and communication	1345	28.0	1340	29.8
Industry and minerals	880	18.4	790	17.5
Social services	863	18.0	810	18.0
Agriculture and community services	568	11.8	510	11.3

Irrigation and energy	860	17.9	820	18.2
Rural and small industry	200	4.2	160	3.6
Miscellaneous	84	1.7	70	1.6
Total	4800	100	4500	100

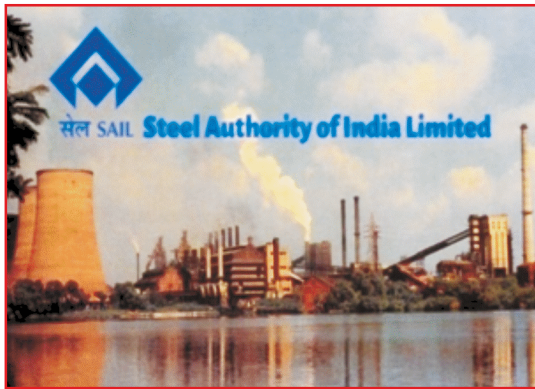
In this Plan, assistance of Rs. 95 crore was taken from the International Monetary Fund. Foreign aid was received from the USA, USSR, West Germany and Japan and the World Bank also provided assistance for the development of railways and ports.

In the Second Plan, the national income increased by 10 percent. Per capita income grew by 11 percent, while agricultural products grew by 19 percent. The rate of appropriation, which was initially 7.3 percent of national income, increased to 11 percent. Irrigated area increased from 2.26 crore hectare to 2.8 crore hectare and power generation increased from 34 lakh kilowatt to 56 lakh kilowatt.

In this plan period, keeping in view the objective of establishing a socialist society, a new industrial policy was announced in 1956. It set the goal of rapid industrialization to promote economic growth. During this period, public enterprises such as ONGC, Heavy Electricals Limited, National Coal Development Corporation Limited, Indian Refineries Limited, Indian Oil Limited, Hindustan Teleprinters Limited were established. Bhilai, Durgapur and Rourkela steel plants were also established during this period.

While science, technology, industry and agriculture were given priority in this Plan, on the other hand, the Ministry of Education outlined various programs related to cultural unity and development which were as follows :-

1. Development of Hindi and other regional languages;
2. Establishment of National Book Trust;
3. Establishment of Sanskrit University in Benares and Kurukshetra;
4. Establishment of Music, Dance, Drama Academy for the development of arts and culture;
5. Development of Department of Archeology, National Archives and Department of Anthropology.



Bhilai Steel Plant was set up with the help of USSR in 1955



ONGC was founded on 14 August, 1956 for exploring Oil and Gas product.



Hindustan Teleprinter Ltd. was incorporated in Chennai in 1960 as a public sector undertaking to manufacture communication equipment.



Bharat Heavy Electrical Ltd. established in 1956 as public sector undertaking under Industry and Commerce Ministry for manufacturing of heavy electrical equipment.

Third Five Year Plan (1961–66)

The work of drafting the Third Plan was started in 1958 and the Plan period itself started from April 1, 1961. Its initial format was presented at the National Development Council meeting in March 1960 and it was published in July 1960.

The main objectives of this Plan were as follows :-

1. Increase in national income by 5 percent per year;
2. Self-sufficiency in food production and increase in agricultural products for supply and export of industries;

3. To develop basic industries so that the industrial needs of the country could be met with internal resources in 10 years;
4. To increase employment opportunities;

In the Third Plan, a provision of Rs. 7500 crore was made for the public sector and Rs. 4100 crore for the private sector.

There were two major hurdles during the Plan period. In 1962 and 1965, the defense budget was increased due to the wars with China and Pakistan respectively. During this Plan period, out of the five years, the country did not receive adequate rainfall for three years and external financial support was also less. Despite these problems, the Plan secured major achievements such as national income grew by 13.8 percent and per capita income by 5.3 percent. The rate of appropriation increased from 11 percent to 14.15 percent of national income and the rate of savings increased from 8.5 percent to 11.5 percent. Agricultural production grew by 16 percent, the industrial sector grew by 8 percent and production growth in basic industries was 15 percent to 16 percent annually.

The Plan aimed at strengthening the public undertakings by empowering them to be a strong medium for centralizing economic power and curbing monopolistic tendencies. In this Plan, Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation of India, Unit Trust of India, National Seeds Corporation Limited, Food Corporation of India, Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, Cement Corporation of India, Hindustan Zinc Limited, Industrial Development Bank of India, and Sambhar Salts Limited etc. were established in the public sector. From the progress of the above mentioned three Five-Year plans and three annual plans, it is clear that for undertaking infrastructure development in various fields like oil, coal, steel metal agriculture, food and seeds, cement, textile industry, petrochemicals, etc. significant public enterprises were established which played a very important role in the economic development of the country in later years.

Area	Provisions	Percentage
Industry and minerals	1520	20.0
Transport and communications	1486	20.0
Social services and miscellaneous	1300	17.0

Agriculture and community services	1068	14.0
Energy	1012	13.0
Irrigation	650	9.0
Rural and small scale industries	264	4.0
Miscellaneous	200	3.0

The Third Plan attempted to take the economy to a higher level of development and aimed at self-sustaining growth. The war with China in 1962 and Pakistan in 1965 and the drought hit in 1965–66 limited the target for growth in the scheme. Even after the failure of the scheme and the devaluation of 1966, stability in exports forced the postponement of the Fourth Plan and the period 1966 to 1969 remained a 'plan holiday' in India. The Fourth Five-Year Plan (1969–74) also adopted the objectives of development with stability, self-reliance with substantial growth and social justice and equality as per the objectives of the Second and Third Plans. The Fifth Five-Year Plan aimed to achieve self-sufficiency and eradicate poverty. At the same time, the objective of controlling inflation was fixed in this plan. The Janata government ended the Fifth Five-Year Plan which was to end in 1979, a year earlier. After the two one-year plans in 1978-80, the Sixth Plan set targets for eliminating poverty and unemployment through several programs, such as the Minimum Needs Program, with the same objectives. In the Seventh Plan (1985–90), growth, modernity, self-reliance and social justice were given importance but achieving the desired objective was the problem.

Due to international and political instability, the Eighth Plan commenced from April 1992 in the period of economic reform. The purpose of this plan was to make human development in all respects. For this, goals related to basic education, health and employment were set. At the time of the Ninth Plan, when the concept of open market economies was being emphasized all over the world, the government's prudent role was aimed at providing productive employment, providing minimum infrastructure and other common goals of development. Encouraged by the good performance during the Ninth Plan, the Tenth Plan set a target of 8 percent annual growth. The Tenth Plan attempted to redefine the role of the government sector relative to the strong private sector. Along with this, efforts were made for balanced

development of all states, energy improvement, technological advancement and increasing the efficiency of economic activities. The Plan was successful with a growth rate of 7.9 percent. The Eleventh Five Year Plan targeted rapid and inclusive growth. These goals were also shared by the Twelfth Plan.

The present government established the National Institution for Transforming India (NITI Aayog) in 2015 in place of the Planning Commission. It provides directional and policy considerations to the Government of India in major policy making. It also provides relevant technical advice to the Center and the States, outlining strategic and long-term policies and programs for the Government of India. Instead of the top-down approach to the development of the Planning Commission, this Commission believes in the bottom-up approach of development. It has not been long since the NITI Aayog was established. Internal differences have also been seen in the Commission. The Commission will also have to put more efforts to earn the trust of the states.

Exercise

1. In which year the planning commission was established in India ?
2. What were the problems in the country at the time of independence ?
3. In which year and through which act the University Grants Commission was established?
4. Describe the achievement of five year plans in India.

संदर्भ ग्रंथ सूची

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| ● भारतीय राष्ट्रवाद की सामाजिक पृष्ठभूमि | —ए आर देसाई |
| ● आज का भारत | —रजनी पाम दत्त |
| ● आधुनिक भारत का इतिहास | —एम एस जैन |
| ● भारत का संविधान | —जयनारायण पांडेय |
| ● भारत का संविधान | —डी डी बसु |
| ● गांधी नेहरू कॉरिस्पोंडेंस | —अर्जुन देव द्वारा संपादित |
| ● भारत का स्वतंत्रता संघर्ष | —बिपिन चंद्र |
| ● आजादी के बाद का भारत | —बिपिन चंद्र, मृदुला मुखर्जी,
आदित्य मुखर्जी |
| ● भारत में उपनिवेशवाद एवं राष्ट्रवाद | —डॉ सत्या एम राय |
| ● भारत का वृहद इतिहास भाग 3 | —मजूमदार, राय चौधरी, दत्त |
| ● आधुनिक भारत का इतिहास | —जी एस छाबड़ा |
| ● डिस्कवरी ऑफ इंडिया | —जवाहर लाल नेहरू |
| ● ग्लिम्प्सेस ऑफ वर्ल्ड हिस्ट्री | —जवाहर लाल नेहरू |
| ● स्ट्रगल फॉर फ्रीडम | —आर सी मजूमदार द्वारा संपादित
(भारतीय विद्या भवन) |
| ● ब्रिटिश पैरामाउंटसी एन्ड इंडियन रेनेसां | —आर सी मजूमदार द्वारा संपादित
(भारतीय विद्या भवन) |

Website :

- <http://planningcommission.gov.in>
- <http://nationalarchives.nic.in>
- <http://nehrumemorial.nic.in>