

Modern India

- Revolutionary Nationalism

Revolutionary Movements in India: First Phase

- Reasons for Emergence of Revolutionary Activities

- The activities of revolutionary heroism started as a by-product of the growth of militant nationalism. The first phase acquired a more activist form as a fallout of the Swadeshi and Boycott movement and continued till **1917**.
- The second phase began as a result of the fallout of the **Non-cooperation Movement**.
- After the open movement's demise, the younger nationalists who had been a part of it found it impossible to drop out and fade into the background.
- The **1905 Bengal Partition** was forced in the teeth of moderate protest. A group of nationalism had now realized the futility of prayer and petition to the Government.
- They were convinced with the extremist's critique of moderate politics and sneered at the political mendicancy of Congress moderates.
- The extremist had rightly emphasized the need to go beyond prayer and petition and advocate the need for a more militant program. They had put forward the ideas of boycott and passive resistance. They had aroused the youth for direct and self-sacrifice.
- The extremists were unable to give a practical expression to these ideas. They had also failed to organize any effective body that could direct the revolutionary energies of the youth in a positive direction.
- Moreover, the youth had participated actively in the Swadeshi Movement in the hope that the extremist's methods of boycott, swadeshi and passive resistance would lead the country to Swaraj.
- Instead, the Swadeshi Movement not only failed in achieving the goal of Swaraj, but it could also even reverse the partition of Bengal.
- Another factor that contributed to the rise of revolutionary terrorism was the brutal repression of the Swadeshi by the government. The Congress split in 1907 facilitated this further

and the government launched an all-out attack on the extremists.

- Since all avenues of peaceful political protest were closed to them due to government repression, the youth believed that in order to achieve nationalist goals of independence, the British had to be physically expelled.

- **Revolutionary Activities - Ideology**

- The activities, writings, and speeches of this period's revolutionaries reveal a strong religious bias, romanticism, and emotionalism.
- Many of them were convinced that "**pure political propaganda would not suffice for the country, and that people needed to be spiritually prepared to face dangers.**" However, their religion was not the same as that of the majority of the country's people.
- There were flaws in the early revolutionaries' ideology, as well as flaws in their reliance on religious teachings to advance the cause of revolution, but it is also beyond doubt that the emancipation of India through armed struggle was the supreme goal for the staunch revolutionaries.
- This aspect should not be overlooked or undervalued when evaluating the early stages of the revolutionary movement.
- Individual heroic actions such as organizing assassinations of unpopular officials as well as traitors and informers among the revolutionaries themselves; conducting swadeshi dacoities to raise funds for revolutionary activities; and **(during the First World War)** organizing military conspiracies with the expectation of assistance from Britain's enemies were all part of the revolutionary methodology.
- The plan was to instill fear in the rulers' hearts, rouse the people, and remove their fear of authority.
- The revolutionaries hoped to inspire the populace by appealing to patriotism, particularly among the idealistic youth who would eventually drive the British out.
- They began the search for a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary program by drawing lessons from our own history as well as the histories of other countries' revolutions.
- They did not preach social reform, but rather broke down the barriers of time-honored customs. **They revolted against**

E ▶ ENTRI

anything that attempted to obstruct the revolutionary movement's onward march.

• **Bengal**

- The first revolutionary organizations were formed in **1902** in **Midnapore (under Jnanendra Nath Basu) and Calcutta (under Promotha Mitter and including Jatindranath Banerjee, Barindra Kumar Ghosh, and others)**.
- In April **1906**, Anushilan's inner circle (**Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Bhupendranath Dutta**) launched the weekly **Yugantar** and staged a few ill-fated 'actions.' By **1905-06**, a number of newspapers were advocating revolutionary violence.
- **Sandhya and Yugantar in Bengal, and Kal in Maharashtra**, were among the newspapers and journals advocating revolutionary activity.
- The Yugantar group made an abortive attempt on the life of a very unpopular British official, Sir Fuller (**the first Lieutenant Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, though he had resigned from the post on August 20, 1906**).
- There were attempts to derail the train carrying the lieutenant-governor, Sri Andrew Fraser, in December 1907.
- **Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose threw a bomb at a carriage carrying a particularly sadistic white judge, Kingsford, in Muzaffarpur in 1908.**
- There was no sign of Kingsford in the carriage. Instead, two British ladies were assassinated.
- Prafulla Chaki committed suicide, while Khudiram Bose was tried and executed.
- The entire Anushilan group was apprehended, including the Ghosh brothers, Aurobindo and Barindra, who were tried in the Alipore conspiracy case, which was also known as the Manicktolla bomb conspiracy or the Muraripukur conspiracy.
- Barrah dacoity was founded in 1908 by Dacca Anushilan under the leadership of Pulin Das to raise funds for revolutionary activities.
- In December 1912, Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal staged a spectacular bomb attack on Viceroy Hardinge as he made his official entry into the new capital of Delhi in a procession through Chandni Chowk.

E ▶ ENTRI

- The western Anushilan Samiti found a good leader in Jatindranath Mukherjee, also known as Bagha Jatin, and rose to prominence as the Jugantar (or Yugantar).
- Jatin revitalized connections between the central organization in Calcutta and other locations in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.
- During World War I, the Jugantar party arranged for the import of German arms and ammunition through sympathizers and revolutionaries in other countries.
- In what has come to be known as the '**German Plot**' or the '**Zimmerman Plan**,' Jatin asked Rashbehari Bose to take command of Upper India in order to foment an all-India insurgency.
- **Maharashtra**
 - The first of the revolutionary activities in Maharashtra was the organization of the Ramosi Peasant Force by Vasudev Balwant Phadke in 1879, which aimed to rid the country of the British by instigating an armed revolt by disrupting the communication lines.
 - Bal Gangadhar Tilak spread a spirit of militant nationalism, including the use of violence, through Ganpati and Shivaji festivals, as well as his journals Kesari and Mahratta, during the 1890s.
 - In 1897, two of his disciples, the Chapekar brothers, Damodar and Balkrishna, murdered the Poona Plague Commissioner, Rand, and one Lt. Ayerst.
 - Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and his brother Ganesh Damodar Savarkar founded the Abhinav Bharat Society (Young India Society) in 1904.
 - It was founded as "Mitra Mela" in Nasik while Vinayak Savarkar was still a student at Fergusson College in Pune.
 - The society grew to include several hundred revolutionaries and political activists with branches in various parts of India, eventually extending to London after Savarkar went to study law.
 - Following a few assassinations of British officials, the Savarkar brothers were convicted and imprisoned. In 1952, the society was formally disbanded.
 - **Madanlal Dhingra assassinated Lt. Col. William Curzon-Wyllie**, the political aide-de-camp to the Secretary of State for India, on the evening of 1 July 1909, at a meeting of Indian

ENTRI

students at the Imperial Institute in London. Dhingra was arrested, tried, and executed.

- **Anant Laxman Kanhare** assassinated **AMT Jackson**, the district magistrate of Nasik, in India in the historic "**Nasik Conspiracy Case**" in 1909

• Punjab

- Extremism in Punjab was fueled by issues such as frequent famines combined with an increase in land revenue and irrigation tax, zamindars' practice of 'begar,' and events in Bengal.
- Lala Lajpat Rai, who brought out Punjabi, and Ajit Singh (Bhagat Singh's uncle), who organized the extremist Anjuman-i-Mohisban-i-Watan in Lahore with its journal, Bharat Mata, were among those active here.
- Extremism in Punjab died down quickly after the governments struck in May 1907 with a ban on political meetings and the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh.
- After this, Ajit Singh and a few others associates- Sufi Ambaprasad, Lalchand, Bhai Parmanand, Lala Hardayal developed into full-scale revolutionaries.

• Decline of Revolutionary Activities

- Stern Government repression along with a series of draconian laws.
- Lack of popular response.
- **World War-I** ended and the government released all political prisoners arrested under the Defense of India Act.
- The discussion began on the new Constitutional Reforms (Government of India Act 1919) which generated an atmosphere of compromise.
- Gandhi arrived on the national scene and emphasized non-violent means which also halted the place of revolutionary activities.

Revolutionary Movements in India: Second Phase

• Revolutionary Activities During 1920s - Background

- Frustration over the failure of the political struggle in the early twentieth century, as well as government repression, led to the rise of revolutionary terrorism.
- The revolutionary terrorists believed that passive resistance could not achieve nationalist goals, so they adopted the bomb cult.

E ▶ ENTRI

- During the First World War, revolutionary terrorists were subjected to harsh repressive measures, and their movement suffered a setback.
 - The majority of them were released from prisons in late 1919 and early 1920s, as the government sought to create a favourable environment for the Montagu reforms. In 1920, the Non-Cooperation Movement was founded.
 - Many of the revolutionary terrorist leaders were met by Mahatma Gandhi and C.R. Das, who urged them to join the nonviolent mass movement or, at the very least, to halt their activities.
 - The revolutionaries recognised that the country had entered a new political era. Many of the leaders attended the National Congress session in Nagpur and joined the Congress.
 - The abrupt suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement in early 1922 following the Chauri-Chaura incident caused a wave of disappointment and discontent among the movement's young participants.
 - Many of them became disillusioned with Gandhi's leadership and embarked on a very simple strategy of nonviolent struggle. They returned to the idea of a violent overthrow of British rule.
 - In this regard, they were also inspired by revolutionary movements and uprisings in Russia, Ireland, Turkey, Egypt, and China.
 - While the old revolutionary leaders resurrected their organisations, a slew of new revolutionary terrorist leaders emerged from the ranks of eager non-cooperators
- **Punjab, UP, Bihar**
 - The **Hindustan Republican Association/Army, or HRA**, dominated revolutionary activity in this region.
 - Ramprasad Bismil, Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, and Sachin Sanyal founded the **HRA in Kanpur in October 1924**.
 - Its goal was to organize an armed revolution to destabilize the colonial government.
 - And in its place, establish a Federal Republic of the United States of India, the basic principle of which would be adult franchise.
 - **Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, or HSRA**, was later renamed.

• **Hindustan Republican Association (1924)**

- The **Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA)** was a revolutionary party founded by **Ram Prasad Bismil** and his associates to fight British colonial rule in India and, if necessary, achieve independence for the country through an armed rebellion.
- The main impetus for the formation of the party was Mahatma Gandhi's decision to call off the **non-cooperation movement in 1922 as a result of the Chauri Chaura incident**.
- While some leaders of the Indian National Congress split off to form the Swaraj Party, some of the younger nationalists and workers became disillusioned with the idea of nonviolence and looked to revolutionary movements to achieve freedom.
- **Bismil had spoken out against Gandhi at the INC's Gaya session in 1922.**

• **Yugantar**

- The **Yugantar (Jugantar) Party** was colonial Bengal's most powerful revolutionary terrorist organisation.
- **Barindra Kumar Ghosh** established **Yugantar (also known as Jugantar)**. **He was Aurobindo's younger brother and a revolutionary and journalist in India.**
- In April 1906, an inner circle of the Calcutta anushilan samiti led by Barindrakumar Ghosh and Bhupendranath Datta (with Aurobindo Ghosh's advice) launched the weekly Jugantar (New Era).
- The organization is named after the Jugantar, the militant nationalists' mouthpiece.
- Barindra vowed to free India from British colonial rule through religious inspiration tempered by acts of violence, justifying Ksatriya murders in the name of human happiness.
- He launched a ferocious anti-Partition movement with revolutionary zeal.
- He and his twenty-one followers gathered weapons and explosives and built bombs, laying the groundwork for the Jugantar terrorist organisation.

• **Kakori Robbery (1925)**

- The **Kakori train robbery was the HRA's most significant action.**
- The men boarded the 8-Down train in Kakori, a remote village near Lucknow, and stole the train's official railway cash.

E ▶ ENTRI

- Many people were arrested as a result of the government's response to the Kakori robbery.
- 17 were imprisoned, four were sentenced to life in prison, and four were hanged: Bismil, Ashfaqullah, Roshan Singh, and Rajendra Lahiri.
- **As a result, Kakori proved to be a setback.**
- **Murder of Saunders (Lahore, December 1928)**
 - Just as the **HSRA** revolutionaries were beginning to shift away from individual heroic action, the death of Sher-i-Punjab Lala Lajpat Rai as a result of lathi blows received during a lathi-charge on an **anti-Simon Commission procession (October 1928)** prompted them to return to individual **assassination**.
 - Saunders, the police official responsible for the Lahore lathicharge, was shot dead by **Bhagat Singh, Azad, and Rajguru**.
 - They had misidentified Saunders as Superintendent of Police James Scott, who was in charge of the lathi charge against Lala Lajpat Rai and his followers.
 - When Chandrashekhar Azad attempted to pursue Bhagat Singh and Rajguru as they fled, he was shot dead by an Indian constable.
- **Bomb in Legislative Assembly (1929)**
 - The HSRA leadership has now decided to inform the public about its new objectives and the need for a mass revolution.
 - **On April 8, 1929, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt were asked to throw a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly** in protest of the passage of the Public Safety Bill and Trade Disputes Bill, both of which aimed to limit the civil liberties of citizens in general and workers in particular.
 - The bombs had been purposefully designed to be harmless in order to make **"the deaf hear."**
 - The goal was to be arrested and use the trial court as a forum for propaganda in order for people to become acquainted with their movement and ideology.
 - **In the Lahore conspiracy case, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, and Rajguru were tried.**
 - In jail, these revolutionaries fasted in protest of the deplorable conditions and demanded honorable and decent treatment as political prisoners.

E ▶ ENTRI

- On the **64th day of his fast, Jatin Das became the first martyr.**
- In December **1929, Azad was involved in an attempt to blow up Viceroy Irwin's train near Delhi.**
- In February **1931, Azad** was killed in a police encounter in a park in Allahabad. On **March 23, 1931, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, and Rajguru were hanged.**
- **Chittagong Armory Raid (April 1930)**
 - **Surya Sen** and his associates decided to organize an armed rebellion to demonstrate that it was possible to challenge the mighty British Empire's armed might.
 - They intended to seize and supply arms to the revolutionaries by occupying two major armories in Chittagong.
 - They also intended to destroy telephone and telegraph lines, as well as the railway line connecting Chittagong to the rest of Bengal.
 - The raid took place in **April 1930**, and it was carried out by 65 activists under the banner of the Indian Republican Army—Chittagong Branch.
 - Sen hoisted the national flag, saluted, and declared a provisional revolutionary government after the raid was successful.
 - They later dispersed into nearby villages and raided government targets.
 - **Surya Sen** was arrested in February 1933 and hanged in January **1934**, but the Chittagong raid fired the revolutionary-minded youth's imagination, and recruits poured into revolutionary activist groups in droves.
- Peasant Movements
 - **Background**
 - The impoverishment of the Indian peasantry was a direct result of the transformation of the agrarian structure as a result of colonial economic policies, the ruin of handicrafts leading to overcrowding of land, the new land revenue system, and the colonial administrative and judicial system.
 - Peasants in zamindari areas faced high rents, illegal levies, arbitrary evictions, and unpaid labor. The government levied heavy land taxes in Ryotwari areas.
 - Fearing the loss of his only source of income, the overburdened farmer frequently approached the local

E ▶ ENTRI

moneylender, who took full advantage of the former's difficulties by extracting high interest rates on the money lent.

- Often, the farmer was forced to mortgage his land and cattle. The mortgaged items were sometimes seized by the moneylender. Over large areas, actual cultivators were gradually reduced to the status of tenants-at-will, sharecroppers, and landless laborers.
- Peasants frequently resisted exploitation, and they soon realized that their true adversary was the colonial state.
- In some cases, desperate peasants turned to crime to escape intolerable conditions. These crimes included robbery, dacoity, and social banditry.
- **Indigo Revolt (1859 - 1860)**
 - **In Bengal, indigo planters, nearly all of whom were Europeans, exploited local peasants by forcing them to grow indigo on their lands instead of more lucrative crops like rice.**
 - The planters forced the peasants to take advance payments and enter into fraudulent contracts, which were then used against them.
 - The planters intimidated the peasants through kidnappings, illegal confinement, flogging, attacks on women and children, cattle seizure, house burning and demolition, and crop destruction.
 - **The peasants' rage erupted in 1859**, when they decided not to grow indigo under duress, led by Digambar Biswas and Bishnu Biswas of Nadia district, and resisted the physical pressure of the planters and their lathiyals (retainers), backed by police and the courts. They also formed a counter-force to the planters' attacks.
 - The Bengali intelligentsia played an important role in supporting the peasants' cause by organising mass meetings, preparing memoranda on peasants' grievances, and assisting them in legal battles.
 - The government formed an indigo commission to investigate the issue of indigo cultivation. Based on its recommendations, the government issued a notification in November 1860 stating that ryots could not be forced to grow indigo and that all disputes would be resolved through legal means.

E ▶ ENTRI

- However, the planters were already closing down factories, and by the end of **1860, indigo cultivation had all but disappeared from Bengal.**
- **Pabna Agrarian League (1878 - 1880)**
 - During the 1870s and 1880s, large parts of Eastern Bengal experienced agrarian unrest as a result of **zamindars' oppressive practices. The zamindars raised rents above the legal limit and prevented tenants from acquiring occupancy rights under Act X of 1859.**
 - To achieve their goals, the zamindars used forcible evictions, cattle and crop seizures, and lengthy, costly litigation in courts where the poor peasant was at a disadvantage.
 - With enough of the oppressive regime, the peasants of Yusufshahi Pargana in Patna district formed an agrarian league or combination to oppose the zamindars' demands.
 - Though peasant discontent persisted until 1885, the majority of cases had been resolved, partly through official persuasion and partly due to zamindars' fears.
 - Many peasants were successful in acquiring occupancy rights and resisting increased rents. In addition, the government promised to enact legislation to protect tenants from the worst aspects of zamindari oppression. **The Bengal Tenancy Act was passed in 1885.**
- **Deccan Riots (1867)**
 - The **Ryotwari system heavily taxed the ryots of western India's Deccan region.** Again, the peasants were caught in a vicious network, this time with the moneylender as the exploiter and main beneficiary. These moneylenders were mostly outsiders—**Marwaris or Gujaratis.**
 - Conditions had deteriorated due to a drop in cotton prices following the end of the **American Civil War in 1864**, the government's decision to increase **land revenue by 50% in 1867, and a string of poor harvests.**
 - The growing conflict between moneylenders and peasants resulted in a social boycott movement organized by the ryots against the "outsider" moneylenders in 1874.
 - The government was successful in suppressing the movement. The **Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act was passed in 1879 as a conciliation measure.**
- **Changed Nature of Peasant Movement after 1857**

E ▶ ENTRI

- Peasants emerged as the primary force in agrarian movements, fighting for their own demands directly.
 - The demands were almost entirely focused on economic issues.
 - The movements were aimed at the peasants' immediate adversaries: foreign planters, indigenous zamindars, and moneylenders.
 - The struggles were aimed at achieving specific and limited goals and resolving specific grievances.
 - These movements were not aimed at colonialism.
 - The goal of these movements was not to end the peasant subordination or exploitation system.
 - The territorial scope was limited.
 - There was no long-term organization or continuity of struggle.
 - The peasants became acutely aware of their legal rights and asserted them both inside and outside of the courts.
- **Kisan Sabha Movement (1857)**
 - The **Awadh taluqdars reclaimed their lands after the 1857 revolt**. This strengthened the taluqdars' (large landlords') grip on the province's agrarian society.
 - The majority of cultivators were subjected to high rents, summary evictions (bedakhali), illegal levies, renewal fees, or nazrana.
 - Food and other necessities were more expensive during the First World War. This aggravated the plight of the UP peasants.
 - Kisan Sabhas were organized in UP primarily due to the efforts of Home Rule activists. Gauri Shankar Mishra and Indra Narayan Dwivedi established the United Provinces Kisan Sabha in February **1918**. **Madan Mohan Malaviya backed them up. By June 1919, the UP Kisan Sabha had 450 branches.**
 - Because of differences in nationalist ranks, the **Awadh Kisan Sabha was formed in October 1920**.
 - The movement faded quickly, owing in part to government repression and in part to the passage of the **Awadh Rent (Amendment) Act**.
 - **Eka Movement (1921)**
 - The **Eka Movement**, also known as the Unity Movement, is a peasant movement that began in Hardoi, Bahraich, and

E ▶ ENTRI

Sitapur at the end of **1921**. It was founded by Congress and the Khilafat movement and was later led by Madari Pasi.

- The main reason for the move was high rent, which in some areas was more than **50%** of the recorded rent. Oppression of the cedars entrusted with collecting rent, as well as the practice of share rent, contributed to this movement.
- The Eka meetings were marked by a religious ritual in which a hole representing the Ganga was dug in the ground and filled with water, and a priest was brought in to preside.
- The assembled peasants vowed that they would pay only recorded rent but pay it on time, would not leave when ejected, would refuse to do forced labor, would not help criminals and would abide by Panchayat decisions, they would not pay revenue without receipt, and they would remain united under
- This movement included small zamindars who were dissatisfied with the British government due to high land revenue demands.
- Soon after, the Movement's leadership shifted from Congress to Madari Pasi, a low caste leader who was not willing to accept nonviolence. As a result, the movement lost contact with the nationalist class.
- Because the national leader in this case was Mahatma Gandhi, whose ideology was based on nonviolence.
- The Eka Movement came to an end in March 1922 as a result of severe repression by authorities.
- **Mappila Revolt (1921)**
 - The Mappilas were Muslim tenants who lived in the Malabar region, where the majority of the landlords were Hindus.
 - During the nineteenth century, the Mappilas also expressed their resentment of landlord oppression. Their complaints centered on a lack of tenure security, high rents, renewal fees, and other oppressive exactions.
 - The Mappila tenants were especially encouraged by the local Congress body's demand for government legislation governing tenant-landlord relations. The Mappila movement eventually merged with the ongoing Khilafat agitation.
 - Mappila meetings were addressed by leaders of the **Khilafat-Non-Cooperation Movement such as Gandhi, Shaukat Ali,**

and Maulana Azad. Following the arrest of national leaders, leadership passed to local Mappila leaders.

- **Bardoli Satyagraha (1926)**

- After Gandhi's arrival on the national political scene, the Bardoli taluka in Surat district experienced intense politicization.
- The movement began in January 1926, when the government decided to increase land revenue by **30%**. The Congress leaders quickly protested, and a Bardoli Inquiry Committee was formed to look into the matter.
- The committee determined that the revenue increase was unjustified. Vallabhbhai Patel was appointed to lead the movement in February **1926**. The women of Bardoli bestowed upon him the title "**Sardar.**"
- The Bardoli peasants decided under Patel to refuse payment of the revised assessment until the government appointed an independent tribunal or accepted the current amount as full payment.
- Massive tension had built up in the area by **August 1928**. There was talk of a railway strike in Bombay.
- Gandhi arrived in Bardoli to be on standby in case of an emergency. The government was now looking for a graceful exit. It stipulated that all occupants must first pay the increased rent (not actually done).
- Then, a committee investigated the situation and determined that the revenue increase was unjustified, recommending only a 6.03 percent increase.

- **All India Kisan Sabha (1936)**

- In April **1936**, **Swami Sahjanand Saraswati** was elected president, and N.G. Ranga was appointed general secretary.
- A kisan manifesto was issued, and a periodical was launched under the direction of Indulal Yagnik.
- In **1936**, both the **All India Kisan Sabha(AIKS)** and the Congress met in Faizpur.
- The **AIKS** agenda had a strong influence on the Congress manifesto (particularly the agrarian policy) for the 1937 provincial elections.

- **Impact of Peasant Movements**

- Though these revolts did not aim to remove British rule from India, they did raise awareness among Indians.

ENTRI

- The peasants became acutely aware of their legal rights and asserted them both inside and outside of the courts.
 - Peasants emerged as the primary force in agrarian movements, fighting for their own demands directly.
 - During the **Non-Cooperation Movement**, various Kisan Sabhas were formed to organize and agitate for peasant demands.
 - These movements weakened the landed class's power, contributing to the transformation of the agrarian structure.
 - Peasants felt compelled to band together and fight exploitation and oppression.
 - These insurgent movements paved the way for a slew of other uprisings across the country.
- Two Nation Theory and Muslim League
 - **Two-Nation Theory**
 - The two-nation theory is an ideology of religious nationalism which significantly influenced the Indian subcontinent following its independence from the British Empire.
 - The plan to partition British India into two states was announced on **3rd June 1947**. These two states would be India and Pakistan.
 - According to this theory, Indian Muslims and Indian Hindus are two separate nations, with their own customs, religion, and traditions; therefore, from social and moral points of view, Muslims should be able to have their own separate homeland outside of Hindu-majority India.
 - The ideology that religion is the determining factor in defining the nationality of **Indian Muslims was undertaken by Muhammad Ali Jinnah**.
 - **Critical events from 1909 to 1947 leading to Partition**
 - The partition of Bengal in 1905 served as the first act of the British towards breaking Hindu Muslim unity.
 - The later introduction of the Morley Minto reforms in 1909 proved to be a critical juncture in the struggle against colonial domination in India.
 1. The reforms introduced a system under which separate electorates were formed, where in only Muslims could vote for Muslim candidates in constituencies reserved for them.

2. By doing so the British wanted to promote the idea that the political, economic and cultural interests of the Muslims and Hindus were separate.
- Then, the Montagu Chelmsford reforms or the Government of India Act 1919 in addition to the reserved seats for Muslims
 - Later, Hindu-Muslim unity began to bond with the coming of Non-cooperation Movement in 1919, by rallying on the Khilafat issue.
 1. However, Following the **Chauri Chaura incident(1922)** where some British policemen were killed due to some action initiated by the participants of the **Non-Cooperation movement, the movement itself was called off by Gandhiji.**
 2. So, now the **Muslim leaders** felt betrayed since their cause of revolting against the removal of the Caliphate was left unfinished due to the calling off of the movement.
 3. From that time on, the differences between the Hindus and the Muslims only increased over a period of time and eventually became irreconcilable.
 - In **1930, Muhammad Iqbal** became the leader of the Muslim League in **1930 and for the first time articulated a demand for a separate Muslim state.**
 1. He argued that Muslims and Hindus constituted two different nations in themselves and were incompatible.
 2. At this time, the congress rejected this theory and argued in favor of a united India, based on unity between different religious groups.
 - Further, the policy of the British to divide and rule got exemplified in the Communal Award of 1932. This policy further strengthened the provisions for separate electorates.
 - Conclusively, Jinnah in 1940 declared at the Muslim League conference held at Lahore, that “Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religions, philosophies, social customs and literature. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state”

ENTRI

- The Cripps Mission in 1942 suggested that India be granted a Dominion status under the British Empire.
 1. The Mission did not accept the demand for Pakistan but allowed for a provision whereby provinces could secede from the Indian Union.
 2. But, the Congress and the Muslim League interpreted this in their own unique ways.
- Eventually, on the **16th August 1946 Jinnah** declared Direct Action Day and the Muslim League raised the demand for an independent Pakistan.
 1. There were communal tensions amongst the Hindus and the Muslims in places including Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Bihar, Punjab
- In **1947, Mountbatten** agreed with the Muslim League's demand for an independent Pakistan but he also saw merit in the Congress's demand for unity.
 1. He was asked by the British government to explore options of creating a united India or the option of partition
 2. However, the unity signs did not find place, and as a result India and Pakistan dominions were created in 1947
- **Analysis of Policies/Actions that led to the theory**
 - 1. The Colonial State's policies**
 - The British Colonial state chose to strengthen its power in India by adopting the strategy of dividing social groups and pitting them against each other
 - The British said that in order to deal with the problem of Hindu-Muslim discord and in order to avert the threat of Hindu majoritarianism, it was critical to give special representation rights to the minorities.
 - As a result, the colonial policies led to communal practices in following ways
 1. Firstly, communities were separated and defined on grounds of religious affiliation. This meant that Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs etc. were treated as separate communities and were given representational rights accordingly.
 2. Further these communities were believed to be completely different and hostile to each other. Thus, it was argued that only the representatives of each

community could represent the interests of that community.

3. Thirdly, the British readily accepted the communal spokespersons as the sole representatives of their communities. Towards the end of the British rule, Jinnah was seen as the sole spokesperson of the Muslims in Colonial India, in spite of the fact that other Muslim leaders were present within the Muslim League and in the Congress who were opposed to the idea of Partition.

- Thus, it is evident that Communalism could not have flourished the way it did, without the support of the **British Colonial state**.
- Thus, the policy of **Divide and Rule** led to communalism and further, extreme communalism led to Partition.

2. **The dilemmas and decisions of the Congress**

- The Indian national movement succeeded in forming an alliance between some classes and communities and in acquiring independence from the British, but it failed to create unity which could have prevented Partition.
- So, what happened in **1947** was a result of the collapse of negotiations between the Congress and the Muslim League.
- **Essentially the Congress** did not vouch for Partition of India. Congress leaders wanted the British to transfer power to a united India.
- One of the reasons for accepting the demand for **Pakistan** was that the Congress leaders came to the conclusion that the demand was based on 'popular will'
- Also, the Congress leadership agreed to Partition was also because they saw it as a sort of temporary measure
- It was thought by some that after passions subsided, people would see the futility of Partition and would want to reunite.
- Further, the Congress accepted the proposal for Partition in the hope that it would finally help in ending the wide spread communal violence prevalent in Colonial India in **1946-47**

- The Congress could have opted to oppose the demand for Partition through use of force but this was against its democratic ideals.
 - So, When dialogue and negotiations with the Muslim League failed and the Interim government didn't succeed, the Congress accepted the demand for Pakistan
 - Still, the Congress tried to pressurize the British to transfer power to a united India but didn't succeed in the endeavour primarily because of its inability to forge a united front with the Muslim League representatives
- **Muslim League**
 - Despite the sincere efforts of the Congress's forefathers to attract Muslims to their sessions, the majority of the Islamic leadership, with the exception of a few scholars such as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Syed Ameer Ali, who focused more on Islamic education and scientific developments.
 - It rejected the notion that India has two distinct communities that should be represented separately in Congress sessions.
 - The **Indian National Congress was founded in 1885**. It was formed with the intention of bringing the thoughts and demands of all Indians, regardless of religion, to the attention of the British government.
 - The **Indian National Congress** was doing well, and because it was working with the British government, it was able to affect many major changes in the structure of the government and its policies.
 - Although Congress was successful in many areas, it was unsuccessful in gaining the trust of Indian Muslims.
 - The Indian Muslims believed that the Congress was primarily a Hindu organization that could not serve Muslim communities. It sparked the idea of forming a separate political group for Indian Muslims.
 - Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, a philosopher and Muslim reformist, was the first to plant the communal idea that Muslims are a separate nation in the Indian political ethos.
 - On December 30, 1906, approximately 3000 delegates attended a conference of the Muhammadan Educational Conference in Dhaka, where the ban on politics was lifted and a motion to form the AIML was moved

ENTRRI

- **The All India Muslim League was India's first Muslim political party.**
- **Features**
 - **All India Muslim League**, was a political organization that led the movement for the establishment of a separate **Muslim nation during the partition of British India (1947)**.
 - The Muslim League was established in 1906 to protect the rights of Indian Muslims.
 - Initially encouraged by the British and generally supportive of their rule, the league adopted self-government for India as its goal in **1913**.
 - For decades, the league and its leaders, most notably **Mohammed Ali Jinnah, advocated Hindu-Muslim unity in a united and independent India**.
 - It wasn't until **1940** that the League of Nations called for the establishment of a separate Muslim state from India's planned independent state.
 - Because it feared that an independent India would be dominated by Hindus, the league advocated for a separate nation for India's Muslims.
 - Jinnah and the Muslim League led the fight for the partition of British India into separate Hindu and Muslim states, and the league became Pakistan's dominant political party after the country's independence in **1947**.
- **Objectives**
 - To protect Muslims' political rights and bring them to the attention of the government and to prevent the spread of prejudice against other Indian communities among Muslims.
 - To foster feelings of loyalty to the British government among Indian Muslims, and to dispel any misconceptions about the government's intentions regarding any of its measures.
 - Profiting from and advancing the political rights and interests of India's Muslims, as well as respectfully representing their needs and aspirations to the government.
 - To prevent any feelings of hostility toward other communities among Indian Muslims, without prejudice to the League's aforementioned objectives.
- **Reasons for the Formation of All India Muslim League**



ENTRI

- The **All India National Congress** was a Hindu-dominated organization. Its interests were always at odds with the Muslims'.
- By **1906, Muslim leaders were convinced that they needed their own political party to speak for the community on all major occasions.**
- In terms of education and economic progress, Muslims had lagged far behind Hindus. Only by establishing a separate Muslim organisation that could represent the wishes of the Muslims could educational and economic conditions be improved.
- The **Urdu-Hindu controversy began with Hindus' demand that Hindi replace Urdu as the official language in Devanagari Script. Sir Anthony Macdonald, the then-Governor of Uttar Pradesh, removed Urdu from public office.**
- The Congress clearly sided with Hindi and supported the anti-Urdu movement, and there was no other political party that supported Urdu. As a result, the need for the formation of a Muslim political party was acutely felt.
- The watershed moment occurred during John Morley's budget speech in the summer of 1906, when he hinted at constitutional reforms.
- Muslims did not have a political platform to demand their fair share at the time. They reiterated their desire for a separate political platform.
- Minto expressed his full support for the Muslim demands. The success of Deputation compelled Muslims to form their own political organization.
- Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's belief that Muslims were somehow a separate entity.
- Muslims did not believe that Hindus and Muslims belonged to the same nation. They differed in terms of religion, history, languages, and civilization. It became critical for Muslims to form their own political party.
- Nawab Salimullah Khan proposed the formation of the All India Muslim League, which was seconded by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali, and Moulana Zafar Ali.
- On **December 30, 1906, the All India Educational Conference passed the resolution.**

- The Indian National Army
 - Southeast Asia and Japan were the major refugee nations for the exiled Indian Nationalists before the outbreak of World War II.
 - **70,000 Indian troops were stationed along the Malayan coast at the start of World War II in Southeast Asia.**
 - After the Japanese army succeeded in their campaign on the Malayan coast, many Indian soldiers were taken as **Prisoners of War**. Nearly **45,000** soldiers alone were captured after the fall of Singapore.
 - From these PoWs, the first Indian National Army was born. This army was formed under Mohan Singh who was an officer in the British-Indian Army captured in the Malayan Campaign.
 - The degrading conditions in the camps for the PoWs and the strong resentment towards the British army led to the rise of volunteers that wanted to join the INA.
 - An **Indian Nationalist, Rash Behari Bose was given the overall leadership of the army.**
 - The INA received whole-hearted support from the Japanese Imperial Army as well as from the people belonging to Indian ethnicity living in Southeast Asia.
 - However, disagreements between the **Japanese and the INA (Mohan Singh in particular) led to the disbandment of INA in 1942**
 - **The Indian National Army under Subhas Chandra Bose**
 - Although Mohan Singh and the Japanese army had had a falling out, they agreed to the reformation of the INA on the condition that this time the army should be led by Subhas Chandra Bose.
 - Mohan Singh himself was in the favor of appointing Subhas Chandra Bose as the leader of the army as he felt him to be the most suitable to lead an army, as he was a loyal nationalist.
 - His actions against the British army served as enough proof of his loyalty as they had imprisoned him but he escaped to Germany in 1941.
 - The Germans were unable to provide support to him for forming an army to fight against British rule, but the Japanese were ready to support him.

E ▶ ENTRI

- Bose came to **Singapore in July of 1943** and took charge of the **revived Indian National Army** also known as the **Azad Hind Fauj**.
- The arrival of Bose gave the INA a new lease on life as many civilians like barristers, traders, and plantation workers joined the army in their fight against British Rule. His famous saying was **“Give me Blood! I will give you Freedom”** (tum mujhe khoon do, main tumhe azadi dunga).
- **Operations of the Indian National Army/ Azad Hind Fauj**
 - **Although the INA had to function as a subordinate under the Japanese Army**, Bose felt that this was a necessary sacrifice that he had to make to reach his ultimate goal to free India from British rule.
 - The INA participated in Operation **U-Go in 1944**, which was a Japanese campaign against British India.
 - The INA, although successful in the early stages of the campaign, saw a downfall as they were forced to withdraw during the battles of Imphal and the battle of Kohima that saw the British defeat the Japanese in a devastating manner.
 - Because of this, the INA lost a significant amount of men and supplies during this retreat. Many of the units were disbanded or were forced to merge with the now declining Japanese Army.
 - The British Army captured most of the members of the Azad Hind Fauj after Japan was defeated in World War II.
 - At the time of Japan’s surrender in 1945, Bose evaded capture and left for Dalian near the Soviet border. However, shortly after he was reported to have died in a plane crash near Taiwan.
 - After **Bose’s death**, the remaining members of the INA **surrendered to the British Indian forces in Singapore**.
- **Azad Hind Radio**
 - This radio station was created to encourage countrymen to fight for freedom under the leadership of **Subhas Chandra Bose**.
 - The radio station used to broadcast news at weekly intervals in various languages like **English, Hindi, Tamil, Punjabi, Urdu, etc.**

ENTRI

- The main aim for the formation of the **Azad Hind Radio** was to counter the broadcast of allied radio stations and to fill Indian nationals with pride and motivation to fight for freedom.
- **The Rani Jhansi Regiment**
 - **Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose** was a firm believer of women's power and women were also greatly inspired by his words.
 - He had always wanted to form an only women's regiment and his dream came to fruition with the formation of the Rani Jhansi Regiment on 12th July 1943.
 - **About 170 women cadets joined** the force and their training camp was set in Singapore.
 - They were given ranks according to their educational background.
 - **By November of 1943, this unit had more than 300 cadets as camps were also established in Rangoon and Bangkok.**
 - The women cadets were given military and combat training, weapons training, and route marches. Some of them were also chosen for advanced training and some were also chosen for training as a nurse.
 - The Rani Jhansi Regiment mainly worked as care and relief givers.
 - The unit later disbanded after the fall of Rangoon and the withdrawal of the Azad Hind Government.
- **The Fate of the Indian National Army after World War II**
 - The surviving members of the **INA** were tried for treason by the British Indian government in the trials that took place at the Red Fort in **New Delhi**.
 - The British had decided to make these trials public. However, their move backfired as this led to a surge of nationalism so great that it was not seen in the entire time that the British were ruling India.
 - The Indian populations treated them as patriots rather than traitors that the British army was trying to portray them as.
 - As the trial progressed, it also led to a mutiny within the British Indian Army. The British quickly realized that the very force that had kept them in power for so long, which was the army, was slowly going against them.

E ▶ ENTRI

- The **Quit India Movement** also launched at the same time and coupled with the side effects of the mutiny forced the British to fasten the Independence of India, which was the ultimate goal of the **INA**.
- Therefore, it can be said that the **Indian National Army** played a huge role in gaining independence even though they were defeated in the end.
- Nehruvian Era
 - **BIRTH AND FAMILY**
 - Jawaharlal Nehru was born in **Allahabad on November 14, 1889**. He was born into a family of **Kashmiri Pandits, who had migrated to Delhi early in the 18th century**.
 - His father was Motilal Nehru, a renowned lawyer, and leader of the Indian independence movement. His mother was Swarup Rani Thussu who was also part of a well-known Kashmiri Pandit family.
 - Jawaharlal Nehru has two sisters and a brother. His sister **Vijay Lakshmi Pandit, later became the first female president of the United Nations General Assembly**. His youngest sister, Krishna Hutheesing, became a noted writer and authored several books on her brother
 - **EDUCATION**
 - Nehru was educated at home by a series of English governesses and tutors until the age of 16.
 - In 1905 he went to Harrow, a leading English school, where he stayed for two years.
 - He then attended Trinity College, Cambridge, where he spent three years earning an honors degree in natural science. On leaving Cambridge he qualified as a barrister after two years at the Inner Temple, London.
 - **The political journey of Jawaharlal Nehru**
 - **He returned to India in 1912** and plunged straight into politics. Here, he was inevitably drawn into the struggle for independence.
 - He enrolled as an advocate of the **Allahabad High court**, but he had very little interest in the profession, unlike his father who was a successful barrister.
 - **1912:** Nehru attended the Bankipore Congress session as a delegate. The Congress party at that time consisted of moderates and elites, and Nehru immediately doubted the

ENTRRI

effect they could have on Indian society. But he agreed to work with the party in support of the Indian Civil Rights movement led by Gandhi in South Africa.

- **1914-15:** World War I broke out and there were missed feelings among Indians regarding the war. Nehru worked as a volunteer for the St. John Ambulance during the war.
- **1916:** Jawaharlal Nehru met Gandhiji for the first time in the Lucknow session of Congress. He is said to have been inspired by the senior.
- **1919:** Nehru became the secretary of the Home rule league, Allahabad.
- **1920:** He organized the first Kisan March in the Pratapgarh District of Uttar Pradesh. He was twice imprisoned in connection with the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920-22.
- **1922:** Gandhiji called back the Non-Cooperation movement in 1922 due to the Chauri chaura incident. This caused a rift in the Congress and leaders like Motilal Nehru and CR Das formed the Swaraj Party, while Jawaharlal Nehru remained loyal to Gandhi's decision.
- **1923:** Nehru became the General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee in September 1923.
- **1926:** Nehru toured Italy, Switzerland, England, Belgium, Germany, and Russia in 1926. He attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels, Belgium as an official delegate of the Indian National Congress.
- **1928:** He was lathi-charged in Lucknow in 1928 while leading a procession against the Simon commission.
- **Jawaharlal Nehru's presidency of INC sessions**
 - **1929:** Nehru was elected President of the Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress, where complete independence for the country was adopted as the goal. **At midnight on New Year's Eve 1929, Nehru hoisted the tricolor of India upon the banks of the Ravi in Lahore.**
 - He drafted a resolution, Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy in **1929-31** which had the core aims of the congress and future of the nation.
 - **1936-38:** Nehru traveled to Europe again due to his wife's illness. But this trip also sparked his interest in socialism and Marxism.

ENTRI

- He was elected **President of the Lucknow Session in 1936 again**
- The Congress party decided to contest the provincial elections of **1937** despite disagreement from Nehru and Gandhi Ji.
- **Jawaharlal Nehru: The first Prime Minister of India**
 - **1947:** Nehru declares that no princely state would exist in independent India and they need to join the constituent assembly. He made Vallabhbhai Patel and V.P Menon in charge of integrating the states, in which they were successful.
 - **1950:** The new Constitution of India came into force on 26th January 1950 making India a sovereign democratic republic.
 - **1952:** The first elections under the new constitution of India were held. Congress Party under Nehru's leadership won the elections and formed the first elected government of the Republic of India.
- **1952-57: Second Nehru Ministry at the Center**
 - Jawaharlal Nehru appointed the states reorganization commission in **1953** to organize states on a linguistic basis.
 - This commission was headed by Justice **Fazal Ali**.
 - He advocated democratic socialism and encouraged India's industrialization by implementing the **first five-year plans**.
 - He attempted to push the development by undertaking both agrarian reforms and industrialization together.
- **1958-62: Third Nehru Ministry at the Center**
 - The Congress party won the **1957 and later 1962** elections as well. Nehru served as **Prime Minister of India for three** consecutive terms that are for **17 years**.
 - He annexed Goa into India from the Portuguese occupation in **1961 after years of failed negotiations**. He was lauded and criticized for the use of force internally and externally.
 - The **Sino-Indian War of 1962** was a troubled time under his last term as Prime Minister.
- **Contribution of Nehru**
 - **Institutionalization of Democracy**
 - Nehru was committed to the establishment of a strong Indian nation where the concept of equal rights of citizens would override all societal divisions.

- Nehru's ideals envisioned in '**Objective Resolution**', steered the Constituent Assembly to draw up a working constitution.
- It gave a tremendous leg up to the country's historically discriminated sections like Dalits and religious minorities.
- It was he who established the robust tradition of parliamentary supremacy over the military that prevented India from becoming another junta-ruled Third World autocracy.
- The nature of the **Nehruvian way of politics (debate and deliberation)** led to development of respect for parliamentary procedures, abiding faith in the constitutional system.
- **Ideal of Secularism**
 - Nehru believed that India belonged to all who had contributed to its history and civilisation, and that the majority community had a special obligation to protect the rights, and promote the well-being, of the minorities.
 - This helped in building the narrative of '**Unity in Diversity**'.
- **Welfare State**
 - Through the planned economy approach, Nehru envisaged that in a land of extreme poverty and inequality, the objective of government policy must be the welfare of the poorest, most deprived and most marginalized of the people.
 - This notion drives the policy of successive governments that poverty and inequality in India cannot be tackled only by the market.
 - It can be reflected in the creation of a framework of rights, including the right to work, the right to food, the right to education and the right to fair compensation for land, all of which have empowered the poorest of people in India.
- **Establishing Institutions of Excellence**
 - It was Nehru who built the scientific base for India's space and engineering triumphs today.
 - With the establishment of what is now the **Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO)**, India has achieved the status of Space power today.

- With the **Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs)** established in his tenure, Indians have a worldwide reputation for engineering excellence.
- Also, he laid the foundations of a dual-track nuclear programme due to which India achieved nuclear-capable status.
- Also, the economic policies of investing in heavy industries and protecting the nascent manufacturing sector, helped India to substitute imports to a certain extent.
- **Foreign Policy**
 - For Nehru, Non-alignment (NAM) was the response to the bipolar divisions of the Cold War era.
 - After two centuries of British rule, Nehru was determined to protect the country's strategic autonomy without compromising independence by aligning itself to either superpower in the Cold War.
 - This policy of **NAM**, made India one of the most distinguished leaders of Third World solidarity, reached out to the rest of the colonized world, and forged a joint front against colonialism and a reinvented imperialism.
 - Nehru was also a skilled exponent of soft power, much before the term was even coined.
 - He developed a role for India in the world based entirely on its civilisational history and its moral standing, as the voice of the oppressed and the marginalized against the hegemony of the day.
 - This gave India global reputation and prestige across the world for years, and strengthened our self-respect as we stood, proud and independent, on the global stage.
- Making of the constitution
 - **Evolution of Indian Constitution**
 - **M.N. Roy**, a communist movement pioneer in India, proposed the idea of a Constituent Assembly for India for the first time in **1934**.
 - For the first time in **1935**, **the Indian National Congress (INC)** demanded a Constituent Assembly to draft the Indian Constitution.
 - On behalf of the **INC**, **Jawaharlal Nehru** declared in **1938** that " the Constitution of free India must be framed, without outside

interference, by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise."

- The British Government finally agreed to accept the demand in principle in what became known as the 'August Offer' of 1940.
- **Sir Stafford Cripps, a Cabinet Member, visited India in 1942** with a draft proposal from the British Government for the creation of an independent constitution to be adopted after World War II.
- The Muslim League, which wanted India divided into two autonomous states with separate Constituent Assemblies, rejected the Cripps Proposals.
- In the end, a **Cabinet Mission was dispatched to India.**
- While it rejected the idea of two Constituent Assemblies, it proposed a scheme for the Constituent Assembly that was most acceptable to the Muslim League.
- **Process of Making of Indian Constitution**
 - The creation of the Indian Constitution was largely divided into two phases: **1858 to 1935 and 1946 to 1949.**
 - The British government introduced various elements of governance with the transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown via various Acts.
 - These also included elements of Indian representation in governance institutions.
 - The British introduced them to serve their colonial interests rather than to provide them with democratic rights.
 - The Indian National Movement leaders were opposed to the provision for communal representation introduced through the **Morley-Minto Reforms in 1909 and the Communal Award in 1932.**
 - Gandhi's fast resulted in the Poona Pact, which abolished the separate electorate and granted reservation to the poor in the provincial legislature.
 - Following the **Indian National Congress's** emphasis on the need for a Constitution of India to be drafted by their own Constituent Assembly, the British reluctantly recognized the urgency of establishing the Constituent Assembly of India for Indians.
 - It was also due to the changed political situation in Britain following the Second World War and a change of government.

E ▶ ENTRI

- **The Constituent Assembly**, which was formed in response to the Cabinet Mission Plan's recommendations, was elected by the provincial assemblies using the restricted adult franchise.
- Despite being elected by the most privileged members of society; the Constituent Assembly represented a wide range of opinions and ideologies. It also represented various social groups in India.
- Before making a decision on any issue, the Constituent Assembly thoroughly debated it.
- The decisions and recommendations of the Constituent Assembly's various sub-committees were eventually incorporated into the Indian Constitution.
- The Indian Constitution is a document that lays out a vision for social change.
- The Constitution embodies liberal democracy and secularism principles, as well as some elements of social democracy.
- It ensures the protection of individuals' and communities' cultural, linguistic, and religious rights.
- **Framing of Indian Constitution**
 - The Indian Constitution was drafted by a constituent Assembly established under the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946.
 - The Assembly was made up of **389 members who represented provinces (292), states (93) and the Chief Commissioner Provinces (3), as well as Balochistan (1)**
 - On **December 9, 1946**, the Assembly held its first meeting and elected **Dr. Sachidanand Sinha**, the **Assembly's oldest member**, as **Provisional President**.
 - On **December 11, 1946**, the Assembly elected **Dr. Rajendra Prasad** as its **permanent Chairman**.
 - Following the withdrawal of Muslim League members following the country's partition, the Assembly's strength was reduced to **299 (229 representing provinces and 70 representing states)**.
 - The Constituent Assembly established **13 committees to frame the constitution**.
 - Based on the reports of the committees, a draught constitution was prepared by a seven-member Drafting Committee chaired by **Dr. B.R. Ambedkar based on the reports of these committees**.

ENTRI

- The draft constitution was published in January 1948, and the public had eight months to discuss it and propose amendments.
- After the draft was discussed by the people, the press, the provincial assemblies, and the constituent Assembly, the same was finally adopted on November **26, 1949**, and was signed by the President of the Assembly.
- India's constitution was not an original document but had borrowed good features from other constitutions.
- While adopting these features, the framers of the constitution made necessary modifications for its suitability to Indian conditions and avoided their flaws.
- **The constitutions of the United Kingdom, the United States, Ireland, and Canada, among others, had a significant impact on the Indian Constitution.**
- **Objectives of the Constitution**
 - Resolve to proclaim India as an independent sovereign republic.
 - To create a democratic Union with equal self-government for all constituent parts.
 - The people give the union government and the governments of the constituent parts all of their power and authority.
 - To guarantee and secure to all Indians. Justice, Social, economic, and political.
 - Equality of status, opportunity, and equality before the law
 - Freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation association, and action.
 - Adequate safeguards for minorities from backward and tribal areas, as well as the poor and other disadvantaged groups.
 - To uphold the Republic's territorial integrity and sovereign rights on land, sea, and air in accordance with the justice and law of civilized nations.
 - To ensure India's rightful and honored place in the world.
 - To contribute to the advancement of world peace and the well-being of humanity.
- **Enactment and Adoption of the Indian Constitution**
 - The Indian Constitution was adopted on **November 26, 1949**, which means it was finalized by the Constituent Assembly on that date.

E ▶ ENTRI

- **However, it went into effect two months after its adoption, on January 26, 1950, also known as the date of its "commencement."**
- However, some of its provisions, such as those relating to citizenship, elections, a provisional Parliament, and temporary and transitional provisions, went into effect on November 26, 1949.
- The reason for starting it two months after it was adopted was to commemorate **January 26** as the original date of independence.
- It was on this day, **January 26, 1930**, that the **Indian National Congress (INC) declared India's Independence Day for the first time.**
- It is important to note that the Indian Constitution is the result of a lengthy process and deliberations.
- Economic planning
 - **History of Economic Planning In India**
 - Economic planning in India dates back to the pre-Independence period when leaders of the freedom movement and prominent industrialists and academics got together to discuss the future of India after Independence which was soon to come.
 - Noted civil engineer and administrator **M. Visvesvaraya** is regarded as a pioneer of economic planning in India.
 - His book "**Planned Economy for India**" published in **1934** suggested a ten year plan, with an outlay of **Rs. 1000 crore** and a planned increase of **600% in industrial output per annum** based on economic conditions of the time.
 - The Industrial Policy Statement published just after independence in **1948 recommended setting up of a Planning Commission** and following a mixed economic model.
 - major milestones related to economic planning in India:
 1. **Setting up of the Planning Commission: 15 March 1950**
 2. **First Five Year Plan: 9 July 1951**
 3. **Dissolution of the Planning Commission: 17 August 2014**
 4. **Setting up of NITI (National Institution for Transforming India) Aayog: 1 January 2015**

- **Objectives of Economic Planning in India**

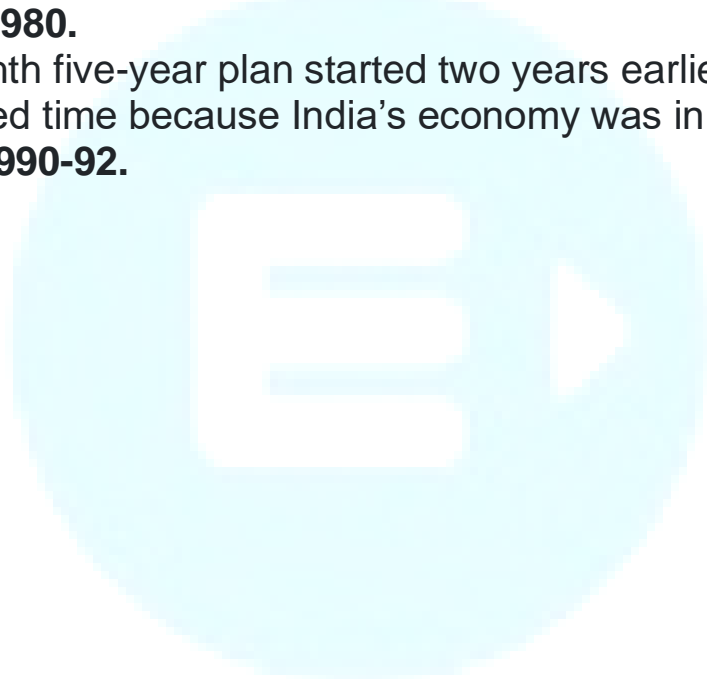
- **Economic Development:** This is the main objective of planning in India. Economic Development of India is measured by the increase in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of India and Per Capita Income
- **Increased Levels of Employment:** An important aim of economic planning in India is to better utilize the available human resources of the country by increasing the employment levels.
- **Self Sufficiency:** India aims to be self-sufficient in major commodities and also increase exports through economic planning. The Indian economy had reached the take-off stage of development during the third five-year plan in 1961-66.
- **Economic Stability:** Economic planning in India also aims at stable market conditions in addition to the economic growth of India. This means keeping inflation low while also making sure that deflation in prices does not happen. If the wholesale price index rises very high or very low, structural defects in the economy are created and economic planning aims to avoid this.
- **Social Welfare and Provision of Efficient Social Services:** The objectives of all the five year plans as well as plans suggested by the NITI Aayog aim to increase labor welfare, social welfare for all sections of the society. Development of social services in India, such as education, healthcare and emergency services have been part of planning in India.
- **Regional Development:** Economic planning in India aims to reduce regional disparities in development. For example, some states like Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu are relatively well developed economically while states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Assam and Nagaland are economically backward. Others like Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh have uneven development with world class economic centers in cities and a relatively less developed hinterland. Planning in India aims to study these disparities and suggest strategies to reduce them.
- **Comprehensive and Sustainable Development:** Development of all economic sectors such as agriculture, industry, and services is one of the major objectives of economic planning.

E ▶ ENTRI

- Reduction in Economic Inequality: Measures to reduce inequality through progressive taxation, employment generation and reservation of jobs has been a central objective of Indian economic planning since independence.
- Social Justice: This objective of planning is related to all the other objectives and has been a central focus of planning in India. It aims to reduce the population of people living below the poverty line and provide them access to employment and social services.
- Increased Standard of Living: Increasing the standard of living by increasing the per capita income and equal distribution of income is one of the main aims of India's economic planning
- **Five Year Plans**
 - The Constitution came into force on 26 January 1950. Subsequently, **the Planning Commission was set up on 15 March 1950 and the plan era started from 1 April 1951 with the launch of the First Five Year Plan (1951-56).**
 - Economic planning in India started after independence in the year 1950 when it was deemed necessary for the economic growth and development of the nation. This was carried through the Five-Year Plans, developed, executed, and monitored by the **Planning Commission (1951-2014) and the NITI Aayog (2015-2017).**
 - Long term objectives of Five Year Plans in India are
 1. **High Growth rate to improve the living standard of the residents of India.**
 2. **Economic stability for prosperity.**
 3. **Self-reliant economy.**
 4. **Social justice and reducing the inequalities.**
 5. **Modernization of the economy.**
 - The idea of economic planning for five years was taken from the Soviet Union under the socialist influence of **first Prime Minister Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru.**
 - The first eight five-year plans in India emphasized growing the public sector with huge investments in heavy and basic industries, but since the launch of the Ninth five-year plan in **1997**, attention has shifted towards making the government a growth facilitator.

ENTRI

- Each **five-year plan started from April 1 of a particular year and ended on March 31 of a particular year, so by convention the five-year plans take on 5 financial years.**
- Three Annual Plans were launched between the third five-year plan & the fourth five-year plan. The fifth five-year plan was launched by the Indira Government but was abandoned one year before its scheduled end by the Janta Alliance government.
- Instead of a regular plan, the Janata Government introduced the Rolling plan in **1978**. This rolling plan was launched actually as the 6th plan from **1978 to 1983**, but soon the Janata government was ousted from power and the incumbent Indira Government abandoned it and launched her own sixth plan in **1980**.
- The Eighth five-year plan started two years earlier than the scheduled time because India's economy was in shambles during **1990-92**.



Five Year plans in India

Plan	Year
First Plan	1951-1956
Second Plan	1956-1961
Third Plan	1961-1966
Three Annual Plans	1966-1969
Fourth Plan	1969-1974
Fifth Plan	1974-1979
Sixth Plan	1980-1985
Seventh Plan	1985-1990
Eighth Plan	1992-1997
Ninth Plan	1997-2002
Tenth Plan	2002-2007
Eleventh Plan	2007-2012
Twelfth Plan	2012-2017

- **First Five Year Plan (1951-56)**

- The first five-year plan was presented in the parliament by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in December 1951. This plan promoted the idea of a **self-reliant closed economy and was developed by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis**. The plan had heavily borrowed ideas from the USSR's five-year plans developed by Domer. Due to this, the first five-year plan is also called the **Domer-Mahalanobis Model**.
- In this plan, the highest priority was given to the Agriculture, Irrigation & Power Projects. Total plan budget of Rs. 2069 Crore was allocated to seven broad areas: irrigation and energy (**27.2 percent**), **agriculture and community development (17.4 percent)**, **transport and communications (24 percent)**, **industry (8.4 percent)**, **social services (16.64 percent)**, **land rehabilitation (4.1 percent)**, and **other (2.5 percent)**. The plan was successful due to favorable monsoons and relatively higher crop yields.
- Some Key notable points of the First Five Year Plan
 1. Many irrigation projects including **Bhakra Dam** and **Hirakud Dam** were started in the first five-year plan.
 2. At the end of the plan period in 1956, five Indian **Institutes of Technology (IITs)** were started as major technical institutions.
 3. **The University Grant Commission** was set up to take care of funding and take measures to strengthen higher education in the country.
- **Critical Assessment of First Five Year Plan**
 1. At the time of Independence, India faced several problems such as partition and influx of refugees, severe food shortage, mounting inflation, and disequilibrium in the economy due to the **Second World War**.
 2. First five-year plan ushered India into the planned economy with a socialist aim. Its key objective was to achieve self-sufficiency in food production, so the highest preference was given to agriculture. The total outlay of this plan was Rs. 2069 Crore which was later increased to Rs. 2378 Crore.

3. But this plan was more or less a haphazard venture because at that time there was no concrete data and reliable statistics. The plan was basically a patchwork of so many projects which were isolated from each other. However, the plan was a great success thanks to the two continuous good harvests and emphasis on agriculture & irrigation.
4. The country was able to achieve the targeted growth and was able to increase national income. However, the per capita income did not increase substantially because the increase in national income was offset by the increase in population. The Indian Government had collaborated with the WHO to address infant mortality and this also contributed to the growth of the population.

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

- The success of the First Five-year plan boosted the confidence of the leaders. The agriculture growth target in the first plan was achieved, so the government quickly started looking beyond agriculture. The second five-year plan focused on industry, especially heavy industry. The target of a 25% increase in national income was set through rapid industrialization.
- The second five-year plan is based on the so-called Mahalanobis model. This was the USSR model Indianized by PC Mahalanobis, the founder of the Indian Statistical Institute and a close aide of Nehru. This model is known to have set the statistical foundations for state-directed investments and created the intellectual underpinnings of the license raj through an elaborate input-output model.
- This Model suggested that there should be an emphasis on the heavy industries, which can lead the Indian Economy to a long-term higher growth path. India's second five-year plan and Industrial policy Resolution 1956, which paved the way for the development of the Public Sector and license raj, were based upon this model.
- **Some Key notable points of the Second Five Year Plan**

1. **Steel mills at Bhilai, Durgapur, and Rourkela were established in the second five-year plan.**
 2. **Enhanced coal production and more railway lines were introduced in this plan.**
 3. **The Atomic Energy Commission was formed in 1957 with Homi J. Bhabha as the first chairman.**
 4. **Tata Institute of Fundamental Research was established as a research institute.**
 5. **In 1957 a talent search and scholarship program was begun to find talented young students to train for work in nuclear power.**
- **Achievements of Second Five Year Plan**
 1. The second five-year plan, based on socialistic patterns, had targeted an increase of **25%** in National Income by Rapid industrialization, however, the achieved target was only **20%**. Further, per capita income grew by 8% only.
 2. Domestic production of industrial products was encouraged, particularly in the development of the public sector.
 - **Critical Assessment of Second Five Year Plan**
 1. The second five-year plan was a big leap forward and it laid a **heavy emphasis on the heavy industries.**
 2. During this plan period the Industry policy resolution was amended and the primary responsibility for development was left to the Public Sector. The private sector was more or less confined to the consumer industries only.
 3. The small and cottage industries remained sluggish during this plan.
 4. The imports increased and this uncovered India's Sterling Balances. The results were seen in the third plan when India was forced to devalue its currency twice
 - **Third Five Year Plan (1961-1966)**
 - The first two plans developed an institutional structure to take the country on the path of a developed economy. The third plan for the first time rode on the wave of high expectation following the overall growth of the economy of India. In this plan, India made efforts to achieve self-

reliance in food production and industry. However, the plan period saw lots of political and economic problems.

- The Indo-China war 1962 and Indo-Pak War 1965 etc. exposed the weakness of the country. These conflicts substantially shifted the focus towards defense production.
- The country's morale was down due to the death of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964 and Lal Bahadur Shastri soon afterward. Further, 1965-66 was a near-famine year, and the problem became more severe due to a lack of buffer stocks.

- **Critical Assessment of Third Five Year Plan**

1. During the third five-year plan, the country was reeling under a **high budget deficit**. In **1966 the third plan was struck because of more and more borrowing from the International Monetary Fund**. Foreign aid was cut off and there was international pressure to **devalue the Rupee**. When the rupee was devalued in 1966, it had its own impact on the economy. The growth rate was targeted at 5%, however, achieved only 2.2%. Much of the achievement was null and void because of **36% inflation and devaluation of the rupee in 1966**.
2. Due to bitter experience, the demand for a planned holiday was raised from various sectors and the planning commission admitted that this plan was a failure. Accordingly, the government declared a planned holiday for the next three years and due to this, the fourth plan started in 1969. The government mobilized all available resources for stepping up food production and establishing buffer stocks to meet the contingency. In this way, the economy had so much degenerated that planning was now made annual with three annual plans to take on the short-term objectives.
3. However, there were positive achievements also. The years 1965-66 ushered **India into the Green Revolution and advanced agriculture**. The construction of dams continued. Many cement and fertilizer plants were also built. Punjab began

producing an abundance of wheat. Many primary schools were started in rural areas. In an effort to bring democracy to the grassroots level, Panchayat elections were started and the states were given more development responsibilities. State electricity boards and state secondary education boards were formed. States were made responsible for secondary and higher education. **State road transportation corporations were formed and local road building became a state responsibility.**

- **Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-1974)**

- Fourth Five Year Plan was the first plan launched by the Indira Gandhi government amid the pressure of drought, devaluation, and inflationary recession. The country was fighting with population explosion, increased unemployment, poverty, and a shackling economy. In addition, the situation in East Pakistan (now independent Bangladesh) was becoming dire as the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 and Bangladesh Liberation War took place. Funds earmarked for industrial development had to be used for the war effort. The result was that this plan period was also no better than the third five-year plan.

- **Key notable points of the Fourth Five Year Plan**

1. India fought yet another war with Pakistan and helped in the creation of **Bangladesh**. Needed to tackle the problem of Bangladeshi refugees after the 1971 war.
2. Nationalization of **14 major** Indian Banks was a key event during this war. This boosted the confidence of the people in the banking system and started greater mobilization of private savings into the banking system.
3. At the end of this plan, India also performed the Smiling Buddha underground nuclear test in **1974**. This test was partially in response to the US deployment of the **Seventh Fleet in the Bay of Bengal to warn India against attacking West Pakistan and widening the war**. The international community took several harsh measures against India, which affected the domestic economy.

4. The **Oil Crisis of 1973** skyrocketed the oil and fertilizer prices leading to very high inflation.
- **Critical Assessment of Fourth Five Year Plan**
 1. The Fourth plan, when it was introduced after a gap of three years, was an ambitious plan with an aim of **5.5%** growth as the previous plans had a growth target/achievement of a maximum of **3.5%**.
 2. But the Indo-Pakistan war, the liberation of Bangladesh and problem of Bangladesh refugees, successive failures of monsoon, Asian Oil Crisis of **1973** marred the objectives of this plan. The international economic turmoil due to the Oil crisis upset the calculations for the Fourth Plan. So only **3.4% growth could be achieved.**
- **Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79)**
 - The fifth five-year plan was launched with **twin objectives of poverty eradication and attainment of self-reliance.**
 - The planning commission devised a national program for minimum needs, which included elementary education, safe drinking water, health care, shelter for the landless, etc. **The Electricity Supply Act 1975** was enacted to enable the central government to enter into power generation and transmission. Meanwhile, India had seen a substantial rise in the food grain production, and from the fifth plan onwards India achieved self-sufficiency in food grains production.
 - To alleviate the problem of the unequal spread of the green revolution, the government unsuccessfully tried to take over the wholesale trade in wheat. The Indira Gandhi government also launched a twenty point program and irrigation schemes such as **Command Area Development Programme in this plan.**
 - However, in **1975**, Indira Gandhi imposed an emergency, and planning became subject to much politicization. In **1977**, **the government changed and the first non-Congress Government took over power with Morar Ji Desai at its helm.** The new central government was a coalition called Janata Alliance. This government reconstituted the planning commission and

announced a new strategy in the planning. This new strategy involved a change in the objective and approach pattern.

- The new objective laid down was **“Growth for Social Justice”**. The new approach was **“Rolling Plan”**. It terminated the fifth five-year plan in 1977-78 and launched its own sixth five-year plan for the period 1978-83 and called it a rolling plan. Later, the Janta government self-destructed itself and Indira Gandhi again became prime minister. She immediately threw the Janta’s rolling plan in the dustbin and launched her own plan for the years **1980-85**. The year **1978-79** was restored back to the fifth plan of **1974-79**.
- **Rolling Plans**
 - The meaning of the Rolling Plan was that **now, every year the performance of the plan will be assessed and a new plan will be made next year based upon this assessment.**
 - In the rolling plans there are three kinds of plans. First is the plan for the current year which comprises the annual budget. Second is a plan for a fixed number of years, which may be **3, 4, or 5 years**. This second plan keeps changing as per the requirements of the economy (and politics).
 - Third is a prospective plan which is for **10, 15, or 20 years**. Thus, there is no fixation of dates in respect of commencement and end of the plan in the rolling plans.
 - **Advantages and Issues with Rolling Plans**
 1. The main advantage of the rolling plans is that they are flexible. They are able to overcome the rigidity of fixed five-year plans by revising targets, projections, and allocations as per the changing conditions in the country’s economy. Thus, the rolling plans allow for revisions and adjustments. In rolling plans, the review of a plan becomes a continuous exercise. The effect of changed circumstances and the changing demand and supply conditions can be incorporated in the plan.
 2. **No doubt in fixed plans**, the annual reviews are made, but they are getting information regarding the progress of the economy. While in the case of rolling

plans, the yearly reviews are such a nature that they serve as the basis for the revised new five-year plan every year. Such yearly review is the essence of rolling plans.

3. However if targets are revised each year, it becomes very difficult to achieve the targets which are laid down in the five-year period. Frequent revisions make it difficult to maintain the right balances in the economy which are essential for its balanced development.
4. So far, rolling plans have been unsuccessful in underdeveloped economies like Mexico and Myanmar and were later discarded, however in developed nations like **Japan & Poland** they have been successfully used.

- **Fate of India's Rolling Plans**

1. Due to political problems, **Morar Ji Desai** was forced to resign, and his successor **Chaudhary Charan Singh (was in office for 170 days)** failed to sustain a parliamentary majority as alliance partners withdrew support.
2. The new elections were held and now Indira Gandhi came back to power with thumping success in January **1980**. She resumed her own strategy and the new 6th plan was started on **April 1, 1980**, which continued till **March 31, 1985**.

- **Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85)**

- From the sixth five-year plan onwards, there was massive investment in the Social Services. These social services included Education, Health and Family Planning, Housing & Urban Development, and other services. From the 6th Plan onwards, the role & scope of the Planning Commission also increased.
- The plan objectives were poverty alleviation and higher economic growth. Special attention was paid to the removal of poverty through rural development schemes such as **Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)**, **National Rural Employment Programme (NREP)**, and **Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)**, etc.

- The **poverty was 47%** at the beginning of the plan and a target of **30% was fixed to achieve**. The **actual target achieved at that time was 37%**.
- **Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM) was started in 1979.**
- **Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)** was launched on October 2nd 1980 all over the Country
- **The National Rural Employment Programme (NREP)** was launched in October 1980 and became a regular Plan program from April 1981
- Till recently, **37% population** of India was below the poverty line, which has now come down to **20.9%** as per the government
- **7th Five Year Plan (1985-90)**
 - A long-term plan was outlined for **1985-2000** and the 7th five-year plan was announced in this backdrop on November 9, 1985. This plan was started by the Rajiv Gandhi government when Dr. Manmohan Singh was Deputy chairman of the planning commission. The basic objectives were: Speedy development, modernization, self-reliance, and social justice. Seventh Plan also envisaged the continuance and expansion of the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and **Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)** which was started in the Sixth Plan.
 - The 7th Five Year plan was considerably big. The outlay of **Rs. 1, 80,000 Crore** was not only double of the previous plan but also had a broader scope and the actual spending of **Rs. 218700 Crore was 21.5%** more than the plan outlay. The outlay on Rural Development was doubled in this plan.
- **Annual Plans: 1990-92**
 - The unsustainable fiscal deficit of the 1980s along with the excessive external borrowing accumulated and culminated in the crisis of 1991. The Foreign exchange reserves were left at just one billion Dollars in January 1991, which was sufficient to finance three weeks' worth of imports.
 - So, the country was on the brink of default on its external obligations. The immediate response of the caretaker

government under Chandrasekhar was to secure an emergency loan of **\$2.2 billion** from the International Monetary Fund by pledging **67 tons of India's gold reserves** as collateral. This triggered the wave of national sentiments against the rulers of the country.

- After the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in 1991, a nationwide sympathy wave secured the victory of the Congress. The new Prime Minister was Narsimharao and his finance minister was Manmohan Singh. This new government started several reforms which are collectively called . This process brought the country back on track and after that India's Foreign Currency reserves have never touched such a brutal low.
- During the period of **1990-92**, two annual plans for 1990-91 and **1991-92** were launched. They were worth Rs. 58,369.30 Crore and Rs. 64,751.20 Crore. The Eighth Plan could not start because of politico-economic turmoil in the country during 1990-92.
- **Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-1997)**
 - Due to political turmoil at the center as well as the global economic changes and fiscal imbalances of the country in the late '80s, **the Eighth Plan could not take off in 1990.**
 - **The National Development Council ratified the format of the plan.**
 - It was decided that the Eighth Five Year Plan would commence on April 1, 1992, and that 1990-91 & 1991-92 have to be treated as separate Annual Plans formulated within the framework of the earlier approach to the 8th Five-year Plan 1990-95.
 - **Major Objectives**
 1. **Creation of employment, to check population growth, and overall human development.**
 2. **Primary health facilities, Drinking Water & Vaccination in all villages**
 3. **Growth and diversification of agricultural activities**
 4. **Strengthen the basic Infrastructure.**

5. the 8th plan was a plan for managing the transition from a centrally planned economy to a market-led economy through indicative planning.
6. By 1992, India was a party to WTO, and the decision of opening the Indian Economy was taken to correct the increasing deficit and foreign Debt.

- **Critical Overview**

1. The eighth five-year plan can be called a “**Rao and Manmohan Plan** “. This was a reform period and the following took place during the reform period. In 1991, Rupee was once again devalued. Due to the currency devaluation, the Indian Rupee fell from **17.50 per dollar in 1991 to 45 per dollar in 1992**.
 2. The Value of the Rupee was devalued 23%. The Government announced the new Industrial Policy whereby it delicensed most industries, reduced import tariffs, opened the door for foreign direct investment, and introduced a market-determined exchange rate system.
 3. **The Eighth plan started in April 1992**. One of the major highlights was the modernization of the industries. The plan was launched with twin objectives of alleviation of poverty and unemployment.
 4. This plan period saw the launching of many flagship programs. In the 8th five-year plan, the growth rate achieved was **6.8%** against the target of 5.6%. In the first two years, the achieved growth rate was in the tune of **7.7%**. Later it decreased due to mounting pressure on Asian Economies which later culminated in the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997.
- **Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002)**
 - This period saw a change in the government. The Ninth plan was started with the objective of “**Growth with Social Justice and Equality**”.
 - It also assigned importance to agriculture growth. Regulation of the debt programs was emphasized to improve the government’s financial position.
 - It was developed in the context of **4 important dimensions of the government policy**:

1. Improving the quality of the life
2. Generation of Productive employment
3. Creation of regional balances
4. Self-reliance

- The average target growth rate was 6.5% but the achieved growth rate was 5.5%. The growth in agriculture fell to 2.1% and manufacturing fell to **4.51% from 4.69% and 7.57 % from the previous plans.**
- **Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007)**
 - The tenth plan was launched by Atal Bihari Vajpayee Government on December 21, 2002. This plan was prepared in the background of high expectations arising from the better growth rate achieved after the liberalization. Economy accelerated in the Tenth Plan period (2002–03 to 2006–07) to record an average growth of 7.7%, the highest in any Plan period so far.
 - National Income increased by 7.6% and Per capita income by **6% per annum**. Industrial production increased at the rate of **8.6% per year**. In the last year of the plan, double-digit growth was achieved. This led the Vajpayee government to call for a new election a bit earlier than its scheduled time in **2004**.
 - The **NDA** asked to vote in the name of the “feel-good factor” but somehow, this did not work. Vajpayee was ousted from power and the **UPA-I** government came at the center. **The 61st report of the NSSO for 2004-05 recorded poverty to be 22%** from the earlier level of **26.1%**. The **UPA government continued many of the NDA schemes. It launched Bharat Nirman to upgrade rural infrastructure**
- **11th Five Year Plan**
 - India entered the Eleventh Plan period with an impressive record of economic growth. Together with the 10th plan progress, India emerged as one of the fastest growing economies in the world in the initial years of the 11th plan.
 - India’s economic fundamentals have been improving in many dimensions, and this is reflected in the fact that despite the slowdown in **2011–12**, the **growth rate of the economy averaged 8 percent in the Eleventh**

Plan period. This was lower than the Plan target of 9 percent, but it was better than the achievement of 7.8 percent in the Tenth Plan.

- **12th Five Year Plan**

- **The 12th Five Year Plan of the Government of India (2012–17) was India’s last Five Year Plan.**
- Its main theme is “**Faster, More Inclusive and Sustainable Growth**”.
- The Twelfth Five-Year Plan of the Government of India has been decided to achieve a growth rate of 9% but the **National Development Council (NDC)** on 27 December 2012 approved a growth rate of 8% for the Twelfth Plan.
- The government intends to reduce poverty by 10% during the **12th Five-Year Plan.**
- The plan aims towards the betterment of the infrastructural projects of the nation avoiding all types of bottlenecks.
- The document presented by the planning commission is aimed to attract private investments of up to US\$1 trillion in the infrastructural growth in the 12th five-year plan, which will also ensure a reduction in the subsidy burden of the government to **1.5 percent from 2 percent of the GDP** (gross domestic product).
- **The objectives of the Twelfth Five-Year Plan were**
 1. **To create 50 million new work opportunities in the non-farm sector.**
 2. **To remove gender and social gaps in school enrolment.**
 3. **To enhance access to higher education.**
 4. **To reduce malnutrition among children aged 0–3 years.**
 5. **To provide electricity to all villages.**
 6. **To ensure that 50% of the rural population has access to proper drinking water.**
 7. **To increase green cover by 1 million hectares every year.**
 8. **To provide access to banking services to 90% of households.**

- **NITI Aayog**
Historical Background

E ▶ ENTRI

- The Government of India constituted NITI Aayog to envisage the vision of “**Maximum Governance, Minimum Government**”. It replaced the Planning Commission, which had been instituted in 1950. This step was taken to better serve the needs and aspirations of the people.
- **The Planning Commission was established as a body to direct investment activity in a country.**
- The Planning Commission of India had two major responsibilities: to implement the five-year plan and to offer financial assistance to the state.
- An important evolutionary change, NITI Aayog acts as the quintessential platform of the Government of India to bring the States to act together in national interest, and thereby fosters cooperative federalism.

Functions

- **NITI Aayog acts to allow States to deepen their policy engagement with the Central Government.**
- The Aayog planned to come out with three documents: 3-year action agenda, **7-year medium-term strategy paper and 15-year vision document.**
- NITI Aayog is meant to serve as a state-of-the-art resource center for research on policy innovations, propagate a culture of high-quality monitoring and evaluation as well as promote collaboration between policymakers and researchers.
- In a paradigmatic shift from the command and control approach of the past, NITI Aayog accommodates diverse points of view in a collaborative, rather than confrontation, setting. In the spirit of federalism, NITI’s own policy thinking is shaped by a bottom-up approach rather than a top-down model.
- **Need for NITI Aayog:** The majority of the criticism directed at the planning commission was that it imposed its development strategy on nations without their active participation and without taking into account their social and economic differences. The planning commission adopted a one-size-fits-all answer.
- **Aim of NITI Aayog:** Promoting the involvement of Indian state governments in the economic policy-making process via a bottom-up strategy to accomplish Sustainable Development Goals and strengthen cooperative federalism.

E ▶ ENTRI

- **NITI Aayog is based on the seven pillars of effective governance.**
- **Pro-people:** it fulfills the aspirations of society as well as individuals
- **Pro-activity:** in anticipation of and response to citizen needs
- **Participation:** involvement of the citizenry
- **Empowering:** Empowering, especially women in all aspects.
- **Inclusion of all:** inclusion of all people irrespective of caste, creed, and gender
- **Equality:** Providing equal opportunity to all especially for youth
- **Transparency:** Making the government visible and responsive

Organization of NITI Aayog

- **The Prime Minister is the ex-officio Chairman of the Aayog.**
- A full-time organizational setup consists of a Vice-Chairperson.
- **Three full-time members.**
- Two part-time members from leading Universities or Research Organizations.
- Four ex-officio members of the Union Council of Ministers which is to be nominated by the Prime Minister.
- **A Chief Executive Officer with the rank of Secretary to the Government of India who looks after administration.**
- **A Secretariat as deemed necessary**

Composition of NITI Aayog

- **Prime Minister of India is the Chairperson**
- The Governing Council includes Chief Ministers of all States and Lt. Governors/Administrators of the Union Territories.
- Regional Councils will be created to address particular issues and possibilities affecting more than one state. These will be formed for a fixed term. It will be convened by the Prime Minister. It will consist of the Chief Ministers of States and Lt. Governors of Union Territories. These will be chaired by the Chairperson of the NITI Aayog or his nominee.
- Special invitees: **Eminent experts, specialists with relevant domain knowledge, which will be nominated by the Prime Minister.**

The objective

E ▶ ENTRI

- To evolve a shared vision of national development priorities, sectors and strategies with the active involvement of States.
- To foster cooperative federalism through structured support initiatives and mechanisms with the States on a continuous basis, recognizing that strong States make a strong nation.
- To develop mechanisms to formulate credible plans at the village level and aggregate these progressively at higher levels of government.
- To ensure, in areas that are specifically referred to, that the interests of national security are incorporated in economic strategy and policy.
- To pay special attention to the sections of our society that may be at risk of not benefiting adequately from economic progress.
- To design strategic and long-term policy and program frameworks and initiatives, and monitor their progress and their efficacy. The lessons learnt through monitoring and feedback will be used for making innovative improvements, including necessary mid-course corrections.
- To provide advice and encourage partnerships between key stakeholders and national and international like-minded think tanks, as well as educational and policy research institutions.
- To create a knowledge, innovation and entrepreneurial support system through a collaborative community of national and international experts, practitioners and other partners.
- To offer a platform for the resolution of inter-sectoral and inter departmental issues in order to accelerate the implementation of the development agenda.
- To maintain a state-of-the-art resource centre, be a repository of research on good governance and best practices in sustainable and equitable development as well as help their dissemination to stakeholders.
- To actively monitor and evaluate the implementation of programs and initiatives, including the identification of the needed resources so as to strengthen the probability of success and scope of delivery.
- To focus on technology up-gradation and capacity building for the implementation of programs and initiatives.

- To undertake other activities as may be necessary in order to further the execution of the national development agenda, and the objectives mentioned above.

Achievements and Initiative

- Measuring performance and ranking States on outcomes in critical sectors and ensuring that the growth process of India must be inclusive. India's growth process remains inclusive.
- **The Governing Council of NITI Aayog has promoted Zero Budget Natural Farming.**
- The concept of a village storage scheme has been developed. Similarly, the Dhaanya Lakshmi Village Storage Scheme was suggested in the Union Budget 2021, although it has yet to be implemented.
- Promoting the adoption of frontier technology like Artificial Intelligence, blockchain, the Methanol economy etc.
- Promote entrepreneurial and innovation ecosystem: Atal Innovation Mission, which established Atal Tinkering Labs in India, has already done commendable work in improving the innovation ecosystem in India, Global Entrepreneurship Summit **2017 – Women First: Prosperity for All, Women Entrepreneurship Platform.**
- Launch a mission “**Explore in India**” by revamping minerals exploration and licensing policy.
- NITI Aayog Identified: **117 Aspirational districts based upon composite indicators.**
- International Relations
 - **Determinants of India's Foreign Policy**
 1. **Historical Factors**
 - **The long and rich but complicated history experience of the people of India has been a conditioning factor of Indian Foreign Policy.**
 - Having experienced the exploitation and sufferings under the yoke of British imperialism, Indian foreign policy stands totally committed to fighting against Imperialism, Colonialism, and Racialism.
 - The support for solidarity with Asian and African countries too springs from India's opposition to imperialism and colonialism.
 - The historical links with Britain and other countries of the Commonwealth have been positive factors in the

maintenance and development of relations with the Commonwealth countries.

- The impact of British Culture and tradition is again visible in the operations of Indian diplomacy.
- The history of a national movement, ideals, and principles that governed towards freedom, the history of India's pre-independence foreign relations, and the unfortunate effects of the partition of India have been influential factors in the making of **Indian Foreign Policy**.

2. Political Factors

- **Indian political tradition has been an influential factor of Indian Foreign Policy.**
- The experience of Indians during British rule has been its significant element.
- The quasi-independent international entity status of India tacitly recognized by the British Government, particularly after **1919**, helped the process of origin of Indian foreign policy.
- Further, India's spiritualistic view of politics and power as reflected in the ideas of Gandhiji, Aurobindo, and Rabindranath Tagore, has been instrumental in making Indian foreign policy adopt world peace, remaining aloof from power-politics, cold war, and military alliances as the ideals.
- Internationalism as an objective of Indian Foreign Policy too bears the influence of Indian political thought.

3. Geographical Factors

- **Geopolitics refers to the importance of geographical factors in determining foreign policy.**
- India is centrally located in Asia and has the largest land area in **South Asia**.
- In such a situation, any major incident in Asia has an impact on India.
- The Himalayas serve as sentinels for India, influencing relations with other Himalayan countries such as **Nepal, Bhutan, and Myanmar**.
- However, China's desire to maintain its dominance in the region since **1962** has had a clear impact on India's

foreign policy, which has recently shown a shift in relations with Nepal.

- India's dominance over the Indian Ocean is required for India to become a major power in the Indian-Pacific region.
- The Indian Ocean region is now an important trade and communication route for the entire world.
- As a result, it also plays an important role in determining India's foreign policy

4. Population

- India is currently the world's second-most populous and youngest country, so it is becoming a consumption-oriented country, which will fill the need for a large market for all producing nations, which is a determinant of foreign policy. However, with such a large population, issues such as hunger and poverty are visible in India's foreign policy.
- Many times, India and America have clashed in the World Trade Union over the government's intervention in agricultural subsidies.

5. Government System

- India has a democratic governance system that inspires many countries around the world to accept Indian ideology; for example, **ASEAN** countries besieged by China look to India because India's democracy adheres to the principle of peaceful coexistence.
- However, in the parliamentary system, the role of state governments in determining foreign policy is often important, and it becomes even more important if there is a coalition government at the center, as demonstrated by the Tamil issue in Sri Lanka and the **2005 US Nuclear Deal**

6. Economic Development

- Economic sovereignty is critical in determining foreign policy. India, like its policy, had to open its markets in 1991, but since then, India has become a financial powerhouse.
- Many countries have expressed interest in India's economic growth. Today, India is a significant energy

consumer, with countries such as Turkmenistan, Iran, and Russia forming economic alliances with it.

7. Regional Environment

- Regional events also play a role in determining foreign policy. For example, in **1971**, the alliance of China, the United States, and Pakistan created a crisis situation for India, which prompted India to turn toward Russia.
- At the moment, China's growing dominance is another reason for the intensification of India-US relations. With **Look East to Act East** policies and **China's rise in ASEAN**, India has increased its capacity and power.

8. Global Environment

- Global factors became important in determining foreign policy after globalization when the entire world became interconnected.
- Even if India and America cooperate on environmental issues, India may oppose the move to withdraw from the **Paris Agreement**. This is also an example of India's desire for a democratic government in Afghanistan in order to combat terrorism.
- The world order has changed dramatically since **World War II**, with India attempting to reform the **United Nations Security Council**.

9. Military Power

- Today, India ranks third in the Army, fourth in the **Air Force, and sixth in the Navy**. At the same time, India has an abundance of nuclear power.
- Everyone is aware of India's dominance in space. In such a situation, they play an important role in India's foreign policy formulation.

• Objectives of India's Foreign Policy

- **Preservation of India's territorial Integrity:** The core interest of a nation is territorial integrity and the protection of national borders from foreign aggression. After a long period of struggle, India achieved hard-won independence from foreign rule. As a result, it was natural for her to place a premium on foreign policy independence.
- **Independence of Foreign Policy:** In this light, India's efforts to strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity, endorsement of non-interference principles in the internal affairs of other nations,

and finally the adoption of a nonalignment policy should be viewed.

- **Promoting International Peace and Security:** India, as a "newly independent and developing country," correctly recognized the link between international peace and development. Her emphasis on disarmament, as well as her policy of avoiding military alliances, is intended to promote global peace.
- **Economic Development of India:** At the time of independence, India's primary requirement was the rapid development of the country. It was also necessary to strengthen the country's democracy and freedom. India opted out of power block politics, which was a defining feature of cold war international politics, in order to gain financial resources and technology from both blocks and to focus her energy on development.

- **Basic Principles**

- **1. Panchsheel**

- Indian policymakers recognized the link between peace, development, and humanity's survival. Given the devastation caused by two world wars, they realized that lasting world peace was required for a nation's progress. Without global peace, social and economic development are likely to fall to the wayside.
 - Thus, Nehru, the father of Indian foreign policy, prioritized world peace in his policy planning. According to him, India desired peaceful and friendly relations with all countries, particularly the major powers and neighboring countries.
 - Panchsheel was signed on April 28, 1954, and has since become a guiding principle in India's bilateral relations with other countries.
 - Panchsheel includes the five foreign policy principles listed below:
 1. **Mutual respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of each other.**
 2. **Non-aggression towards one another.**
 3. **Non-Interference in each other's internal affairs.**
 4. **Equality and mutual benefit**
 5. **Coexistence in peace.**

2. The policy of Non-alignment

- The most important aspect of India's foreign policy is non-alignment. Its central tenet is to maintain independence in foreign affairs by refusing to join any military alliance formed by the United States and the Soviet Union, which emerged as an important aspect of cold war politics following **World War II**.
- Non-alignment is not the same as neutrality, non-involvement in international affairs, or isolationism. Keeping away from military alliances and superpower blocs was thus a necessary condition for foreign policy independence.
- India was instrumental in popularizing and consolidating the **Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)**. In **1947**, India convened the **Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi**, led by **Nehru**, to forge the concept of Asian solidarity

3. The policy of resisting Colonialism, Imperialism, and Racism

- As a victim of colonialism and racism, India was vehemently opposed to these evils in any form. Colonialism and imperialism are viewed as threats to international peace and security by India.
- In **1946**, India was the first country to raise the issue of apartheid at the **United Nations**. India advocated for Indonesia's independence and organized the Asian Relations Conference to that end.
- **14 African countries** were liberated from the yoke of colonialism in 1964 as a result of India's consistent efforts through **NAM** and other international forums. India made sincere efforts to put an end to South Africa's apartheid scourge. The abolition of racial apartheid in South Africa in 1990 was a huge success for Indian policy.

4. Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes

- One of the pillars of India's foreign policy is its unwavering belief in political solutions and the peaceful resolution of international disputes. This principle is enshrined in the **Indian Constitution, the Directive**

Principles of State Policy, and the United Nations Charter.

- India has taken the lead in resolving the Korean conflict and has supported negotiated settlements of the Palestine issue, the Kashmir problem, border disputes with neighboring countries, and other such disputes and problems.
- At the moment, India is in favor of a peaceful resolution of the Iranian nuclear issue, the problem of a democratic upsurge in the **Middle East**, and so on. India has always been opposed to foreign military intervention in resolving international issues.

5. Support for the United Nations, International Law, and a Just and Equal World Order

- India holds high regard for international law and/or the principles of sovereign equality of nations and non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations as advocated by the United Nations. India has backed the UN's campaign for disarmament. Before the United Nations in 1988, India proposed a very ambitious nuclear disarmament program.
- Despite the fact that this proposal was rejected by the other members of the UN, India remains committed to the cause of universal disarmament to this day. India has played an important role in preserving world peace by assisting in the decolonization process and actively participating in UN peacekeeping operations.

Phases of India's Foreign Policy

The first phase (1947-62): Optimistic Non-Alignment

- This period is distinguished by the establishment of a bipolar world, with camps led by the **US and the USSR**.
- In this phase, India's goals were to protect its sovereignty, rebuild its economy, and maintain its integrity.
- **One of the first countries to be decolonized was India.**
- As a result, it was only natural for India to take the lead in the quest for a more equitable world order in Asia and Africa.

- In order to achieve this, India was instrumental in the formation of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) 1961, which marked the pinnacle of Third-World solidarity.
- The **1962 conflict with China**, however, not only brought this period to a close but also did so in a way that severely harmed India's reputation.
- **The second phase (1962-71): Decade of Realism and Recovery**
 - Following the **1962** war, India made pragmatic security and political decisions.
 - In the interest of national security, it went beyond non-alignment, signing a now-forgotten defense agreement with the United States in **1964**.
 - External pressures on **Kashmir (Tashkent agreement 1965)** came from the **United States and the United Kingdom**.
 - Both India and Pakistan agreed to withdraw all armed forces to pre-war positions, restore diplomatic relations, and discuss economic, refugee, and other issues as part of the Tashkent agreement.
 - The agreement, however, did not include a no-war pact or any acknowledgment of Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir (**as Pakistan was an ally of the US**).
 - As a result, India has begun to lean toward the Soviet Union.
- **The third phase (1971-91): Greater Indian Regional Assertion**
 - **When India liberated Bangladesh in the 1971 India-Pakistan war, it demonstrated a remarkable use of hard power.**
 - However, it was a particularly difficult period because the US-China-Pakistan axis that had formed at the time posed a serious threat to India's regional power prospects.
 - After conducting a peaceful nuclear explosion test in **1974**, India was sanctioned by the US and its allies (Pokhran I).
 - In addition, the fall of the Soviet Union, India's close ally, and the economic crisis of 1991 forced India to

reconsider its basic principles of domestic and foreign policy.

- **The Gulf War (1991-1992)**, the disintegration of the Soviet Union (**1991**), long-term economic stagnation, and domestic turbulence all collided in 1991, resulting in a balance of payment crisis in India.
- **The fourth phase (1991-98): Safeguarding Strategic Autonomy**
 - The emergence of a unipolar world (led by the United States) prompted India to rethink its foreign policy.
 - This quest for strategic autonomy was centered on securing the country's nuclear weapons capability (Pokhran II 1998).
 - During this time, India increased its engagement with the United States, Israel, and ASEAN countries.
- **The fifth phase (1998-2013): India, a Balancing Power**
 - During this time, India began to develop the characteristics of a balancing power (against the rise of China).
 - The nuclear deal between India and the United States reflects this (123 Agreement).
 - At the same time, India could unite with China on climate change and trade, as well as strengthen ties with **Russia**, all while assisting in the formation of the **BRICS**.
- **Sixth phase (2013-until now): Energetic Engagement**
 - India's policy of non-alignment has transformed into multi-alignment in this period of transitional geopolitics.
 - Furthermore, India is now more aware of its own capabilities as well as the expectations placed on it by the rest of the world.
 - One factor is that India is one of the world's major economies.
 - India's talent will likely become more important in the creation and maintenance of global technology over time.
 - India's willingness to influence key global negotiations (**such as the climate change conference in Paris**) is also significant.
 - Through its approach to the Indian Ocean Region (SAGAR initiative) and the extended neighborhood, India

has been able to assert itself beyond **South Asia (Act East policy and Think West policy)**.

• **Major events that have shaped India's Foreign Policy**

1. **1947**- Invasion of Kashmir
2. **1962**- India China War
3. **1965**- India Pakistan War
4. **1971**- Liberation of Bangladesh
5. **1991**- Collapse of USSR
6. **1998**- India's nuclear test at Pokhran
7. **1999**- Kargil intrusion by Pakistan
8. **2001**- Terrorist attacks in the United States, including the bombing of the Twin Towers in New York; terrorist attacks on the Indian Parliament
9. **2008**- Terrorist attacks in Mumbai by Pakistan in; The failure of Lehman Brothers in the United States triggered the global recession led by the United States.
10. **2014**- PM Modi's government breathes new life into Indian F.P. – open about India's ambition to be a "great power".