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# OVERVIEW OF POLITY

## Reorganisation of States ►►

- The immediate fallout of the freedom of the country was the creation of India and Pakistan. Sardar Patel took the task of creating one India. The States Reorganization Act, 1956 was a major reform of the boundaries of India's states and territories, organizing them along linguistic lines.
- The State Reorganization Act, 1956 came into effect at the time when the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956, restructured the constitutional framework for India's existing states under the provisions of Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution.

## Constitutional Provisions

- The founding fathers of the independent India, gave the country a federal, parliamentary, democratic constitution on 26 January 1950. The Constitution envisaged the creation of a layered territorial and administrative order, but little was said about the basis on which they would be created, i.e. geography, demography, administrative convenience, language, or culture. That decision was left entirely to the wisdom of Parliament. According to the Constitution:
  - ▶ **Article 2:** states that 'Parliament may by law admit into the Union, or establish new states on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit.'
  - ▶ **Article 3:** states that Parliament 'may by law form a new state by separation of territory from any state or by uniting two or more States or parts of states.' Additionally, it may 'increase the area of any state; diminish the area of any state, alter the boundaries of any state', and 'alter the name of any state'.

## On the Eve of Independence

- The history of Reorganization of States in India needs to be viewed, against the backdrop of the partition in 1947, integration of princely states and the federal crisis originated out of complex diversity across the length and breadth of India.
- Freedom of India was celebrated with much exuberance and elation on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947. But the independence had been accompanied by a multitude of problems, most immediate of which was the territorial and administrative integration of the princely states. With great skill and masterful diplomacy and using both persuasion and pressure, **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel** succeeded in integrating the hundreds of princely states with the Indian Union.
- After the territorial and administrative integration, major challenge was of national unity or consolidation of the nation. This is also sometimes referred to as national integration or the integration of Indian people as a political community.
- To achieve national unity in the midst of complex diversity was a herculean task as India consists of a large number of linguistic, cultural and geographic-economic zones. It has followers of different religions, Hindus,

Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists and Jews, apart from tribals with myriad belief systems. Given this diversity, the leaders of the national movement realized that India could be unified only by accepting this immense diversity and not counter posing it to the process of nation-in-the making.

## Accession of the Princely States

- In colonial India, nearly 40 per cent of the territory was occupied by fifty-six small and large states ruled by the princes who enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy under the system of British paramountcy.
- With the announcement of independence, Britishers stated that 'His Majesty's Government does not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under paramountcy to India.' Consequently, rulers of several states claimed that they would become independent on 15 August 1947 when British rule will end.
- Further Jinnah stated that 'the States would be independent sovereign States on the termination of paramountcy and were 'free to remain independent if they so desired'.
- But due to this, the unity of free India would have been endangered due to the presence of hundreds of large and small independent or autonomous states interspersed within it which were sovereign.

## Clauses in Instrument of Accession

- From June to August 15 1947, 562 of the 565 India-linked states signed the **Instrument of Accession**.
- Instrument of Accession granted the GOI control over specified subject matters. The nature of the subject matters varied depending on the acceding state. The states which had internal autonomy under the British signed an Instrument of Accession which only ceded three subjects to the government of India—defence, external affairs, and communications.
- Rulers of states which were talukas, where substantial administrative powers were exercised by the Crown, signed a different Instrument of Accession, which vested all residuary powers and jurisdiction in the Government of India.
- Rulers of states which had an intermediate status signed a third type of Instrument, which preserved the degree of power they had under the British.
- **Accession of Hyderabad**
  - ▶ Hyderabad constituted a state that stretched over 82,000 square miles (over 212,000 square kilometers) in the center of India with the population of 16 million, 85% of whom declared themselves Hindus.
  - ▶ **Nizam Usman Ali Khan** of Hyderabad denied for integration with India.
  - ▶ The strategic location of Hyderabad, which lay astride the main lines of communication between northern and southern India, could be easily used by "foreign interests" to threaten India.
  - ▶ **Lord Mountbatten** crafted a proposal called the '**Heads of Agreement**', which called for the disbandment of the Hyderabad army, for the Nizam to hold a plebiscite and elections for a constituent assembly, and for eventual accession. While India would control Hyderabad's foreign affairs, the deal allowed Hyderabad to set up a parallel government and delay accession. But Nizam of Hyderabad rejected it.
  - ▶ When all the negotiation process failed, GOI launched **Operation Polo**.
  - ▶ On 13 September, the Indian Army was sent into Hyderabad under Operation Polo on the grounds that the law and order situation there threatened the peace of South India. The troops met little resistance by the Razakars and between 13 and 18 September took complete control of the state.
- **Accession of Junagadh**
  - ▶ Junagadh was a small state on the coast of Saurashtra surrounded by Indian territory and therefore without any geographical contiguity with Pakistan. Yet, its Nawab announced accession of his state to Pakistan on 15 August 1947 even though the people of the state, overwhelmingly Hindu, desired to join India.
  - ▶ Consequently, there was unrest in the region. There were two principalities of Junagadh. They declared independence and opted for merger with India. Sensing insecurity the Nawab fled to Pakistan and established a government in exile (ArziHukoomat) in Pakistan territory.
  - ▶ India asked Pakistan not to accept accession and instead agree for plebiscite in the princely state. But Pakistan did not agree.
  - ▶ Indian Army entered Junagadh and its administration was transferred to Indian control. A plebiscite was held in which 99% favored merger with India. The state is now in Saurashtra region of Gujarat. Thus, the process of integration of princely states to India was complete.

### o Accession of J&K

- ▶ The state of Kashmir bordered on both India and Pakistan.
- ▶ Its ruler Hari Singh was a Hindu, while nearly 75 per cent of the population was Muslim. Hari Singh too did not accede either to India or Pakistan. Fearing democracy in India and communalism in Pakistan, he hoped, to stay out of both and to continue to wield power as an independent ruler.
- ▶ But On 22 October, with the onset of winter, several Pathan tribesmen, led unofficially by Pakistani army officers, invaded Kashmir and rapidly pushed towards Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. The ill trained army of the Maharaja proved no match for the invading forces, in panic, on 24 October, the Maharaja appealed to India for military assistance. Nehru, even at this stage, did not favour accession without ascertaining the will of the people. But Mountbatten, the Governor-General, pointed out that under international law India could send its troops to Kashmir only after the state's formal accession to India. **Sheikh Abdullah** of the National Conference and **Sardar Patel** too insisted on accession.
- ▶ On 26 October, the Maharaja acceded to India and also agreed to install Abdullah as head of the state's administration. Even though both the National conference and the Maharaja wanted firm and permanent accession, India, in conformity with its democratic commitment and Mountbatten's advice, announced that it would hold a referendum on the accession decision once peace and law and order had been restored in the Valley.
- ▶ After accession, the Cabinet took the decision to immediately fly troops to Srinagar. This decision was bolstered by its approval by **Gandhiji** who told Nehru that there should be no submission to evil in Kashmir and that the raiders had to be driven out. On 27 October nearly 100 planes airlifted men and weapons to Srinagar to join the battle against the raiders.
- ▶ Fearful of the dangers of a full-scale war between India and Pakistan, the Government of India agreed, on 30 December 1947, on Mountbatten's suggestion, to refer the Kashmir problem to the Security Council of the United Nations, asking for vacation of aggression by Pakistan.
- ▶ The **Security Council**, guided by Britain and the United States, tended to side with Pakistan. Ignoring India's complaint, it replaced the 'Kashmir question' before it by the 'India-Pakistan dispute'.
- ▶ It passed many resolutions, but the upshot was that in accordance with one of its resolutions both India and Pakistan accepted a ceasefire on 3 December 1948 which still prevails and the state was effectively divided along the ceasefire line.
- ▶ In 1951, the UN passed a resolution providing for a referendum under UN supervision after Pakistan had withdrawn its troops from the part of Kashmir under its control. The resolution has remained infructuous since Pakistan has refused to withdraw its forces from what is known as Azad Kashmir. Since then Kashmir has been the main obstacle in the path of friendly relations between India and Pakistan.

### ■ Accession of States under France and Portuguese

- ▶ In the 1950s, France still maintained the regions of Pondicherry, Karikal, Yanam, Mahe and Chandernagore as colonies and Portugal maintained Daman and Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Goa remained as colonies.

### ■ Factors responsible for accession of French colonies

- ▶ **Insignificant in population and area:** The total area of the settlements was well under 2,000 square miles (5,200 km<sup>2</sup>), that of the Union (excluding Kashmir) well over 1,000,000 square miles (2,600,000 km<sup>2</sup>). The total population of the settlements was less than 1,000,000 that of the Union over 360,000,000.
- ▶ **Lack of clear cut frontiers with India:** Very few of the settlements had clear-cut frontiers with India. There were many enclaves entirely surrounded by Indian territory, especially in Pondicherry district.
- ▶ **Economic Factors:** The very economic existence of the settlements depended on Indian goodwill.
- ▶ **Lack of military resistance:** If India wished to annex the settlements forcibly there was very little that France could do to stop her.

### ■ Accession of Daman and Diu

- ▶ Portugal had resisted diplomatic solutions, and refused to transfer power.
- ▶ Local people protested against the government with the support of RSS and United Front of Goans and occupied Daman and Diu. Later, merged with India in 1961.

### ■ Accession of Goa

- ▶ Many Goans living under colonial rule resented the presence of the Portuguese colonialists for their brutal policies and mandates, and their relentless campaigns to convert the predominantly Hindu Goans to Christianity.
- ▶ GOI started **Operation Vijay** over Goa and annexed it in 1961. Goa was incorporated into India as a centrally administered Union Territory and, in 1987, became a State.

### ■ Accession of Sikkim

- ▶ Sikkim was a British dependency, with a status similar to that of the other princely states. On independence, however, the Chogyal of Sikkim resisted full integration into India. Given the region's strategic importance to India, the Government of India signed first a **Standstill Agreement** and then in 1950 a full treaty with the Chogyal of Sikkim which in effect made it a protectorate which was no longer part of India. India had responsibility for defence, external affairs and communications, and ultimate responsibility for law and order, but Sikkim was otherwise given full internal autonomy.
- ▶ In the late 1960s and early 1970s, **the Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal**, supported by the minority Bhutia and Lepcha upper classes, attempted to negotiate greater powers, particularly over external affairs, to give Sikkim more of an international personality. These policies were opposed by **Kazi Lhendup Dorji** and the Sikkim State Congress, who represented the ethnic Nepali middle classes and took a more pro-Indian view.
- ▶ In April 1973, an **anti-Chogyal agitation** broke out, the agitators demanded the conduct of popular elections. The Sikkim police were unable to control the demonstrations, and Dorji asked India to exercise its responsibility for law and order and intervene. India facilitated negotiations between the Chogyal and Dorji, and produced an agreement which envisaged the reduction of the Chogyal to the role of a constitutional monarch and the holding of elections based on a new ethnic power-sharing formula.
- ▶ The Chogyal's opponents won an overwhelming victory, and a new Constitution was drafted providing for Sikkim to be associated with the Republic of India.
- ▶ On 10 April 1975, the Sikkim Assembly passed a resolution calling for the state to be fully integrated into India. This resolution was endorsed by 97% of the vote in a referendum held on 14 April 1975, following which the Indian Government amended the constitution to admit Sikkim into India as its 22nd state.

## Rehabilitation of the Refugees

- The task of rehabilitating and resettling refugees from East Bengal was made more difficult by the fact that the exodus of Hindus from East Bengal continued for years. While nearly all the Hindus and Sikhs from West Pakistan had migrated in one go in 1947, a large number of Hindus in East Bengal had stayed on there in the initial years of 1947 and 1948.
- But as communal riots broke out periodically in East Bengal, there was a steady stream of refugees from there year after year till 1971. Providing them with work and shelter and psychological assurance, became a continuous and hence a difficult task. Unlike in Bengal, most of the refugees from West Punjab could occupy the large lands and property left by the Muslim migrants to Pakistan from Punjab, U.P. and Rajasthan and could therefore be resettled on land.
- This was not the case in West Bengal. Also because of linguistic affinity, it was easier for Punjabi and Sindhi refugees to settle in today's Himachal Pradesh and Haryana and western U.P., Rajasthan and Delhi. The resettlement of the refugees from East Bengal could take place only in Bengal and to a lesser extent in Assam and Tripura. As a result 'a very large number of people who had been engaged in agricultural occupations before their displacement were forced to seek survival in semi-urban and urban contexts as the underclass.

### ■ State Reorganization Commission

- ▶ Government appointed a three man States Reorganization Commission (SRC) charged with 'preservation of unity and security of India'. In its findings the SRC recommended a division of India based on dominance and geographical concentration of ethno-linguistic communities.
- ▶ Parliament called for a reorganization of India into 14 states, based on the criteria laid down by the SRC. At that time, the SRC refrained from dividing the provinces of Bombay and Punjab, as no neat divisions could be made along linguistic lines in these two provinces.

- ▶ The first reorganization acknowledged India as a federation of ethnic subunits. The design for governance was based on two connected objectives:
    - ◆ Relational control (guided regional policies) &
    - ◆ Interlocking balances. (guided domestic politics)
  - ▶ The principle of interlocking balances was to secure balance among its diverse sub-nationalities. India included several nations within its borders. Therefore, the objective was to create a series of interlocking balances between proximate cultural communities (i.e., between Punjabi and Hindi speaking communities in Punjab), the homelands of such communities, and the central state (i.e., Punjab and the central government), and between the central state and its adversaries with whom it shared ethnic and religious minorities (i.e. India and Pakistan; India and Sri Lanka; India and Bangladesh).
  - ▶ To maintain the balances the central government was forced to yield linguistic states that would thereafter organize politics on the basis of their distinctive cultural and political identity. The linguistic reorganization of 1955-56 was an antidote to the unitary tendencies embedded in the Constitution. Once the principle of linguistic states had been accepted in 1956, the separation of Gujarati and Marathi speaking communities in Bombay, and Punjabi and Hindi speaking people in Punjab, was only a matter of time.
- **Second Federal Reorganization (1971-87)**
- ▶ The Second Reorganization focused on the division of the state of Assam in Northeast India. Representing a different set of issues for Indian leaders, this region had been left largely untouched by the SRC.
  - ▶ It was a patchwork of tribal and mixed linguistic communities. No neat divisions along the lines of the earlier reorganization were possible. The colonial legacy had created a special set of problems as the North-east was the least integrated region in the territorial and administrative sphere of British India. Also Decades of missionary conversions among the tribal population had enlarged the gulf between people residing in the plains and those residing in the hills. The overlapping of the Naga and Mizo tribes across Burma and the Indo-Chinese border, closely linked the issue of ethnic autonomy to national security and territorial control.
  - ▶ The Indian state, thus, had to integrate within its federal union a vastly diverse and underdeveloped North-east. This task was made more difficult because China claimed parts of this area (Arunachal Pradesh). Indian leaders were faced with the task of reconciling the conflicting goals of democratic accommodation and security requirements. The answer was found in dividing Assam into seven separate province-states.
  - ▶ **Provision of Sixth Schedule**
    - ◆ Government created the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution which divided the North-east into three broad areas with special arrangements of power sharing for each:
      - The hill areas included the tribal homelands where tribal nationalities controlled their affairs,
      - The frontier tracts were the responsibility of the state government of Assam, and
      - The tribal areas in the plains were protected under provisions for representation and inalienable rights to tribal lands.
    - ◆ The Sixth Schedule created District Councils, yet another administrative innovation, which provided local communities with wide ranging powers over local economy, culture, religion, and customs.
    - ◆ In the case of Naga people, Government also used force to weaken and eliminate insurgencies among the Naga tribes. The objective was not to annihilate the Nagas but to split the movement - by separating the moderates from the militants - and forging an agreement with the latter to integrate them within the Indian union. In 1963, one large faction of Nagas was willing to sign a peace agreement in exchange for autonomy and statehood which became the basis for the new state of Nagaland in 1963.
    - ◆ In 1971, by an Act of Parliament, several states were carved out from the former state of undivided Assam. Tripura and Manipur, which were originally parts of Assam, became Union Territories in 1956 and then separate states in 1972. Meghalaya became an autonomous state within Assam and then a full fledged state in 1972.
    - ◆ Arunachal Pradesh and Meghalaya had not been convulsed with popular demands for separate statehood. Their creation was meant to pre-empt China from making claims to these border territories.

### ■ Third Federal Reorganization (1999)

- ▶ The Third Federal Reorganization in the heartland of India, should be viewed against the backdrop of shifts in the political trends that had become visible in the 1980s like the emergence of coalition governments, the regionalization of politics, and the dispersion of power it brought about. Some major shifts were also evident in the intellectual and ideological arenas in response to the end of the Cold War and the 'Third Wave' of democratization based on market economy. Three arenas of policy were immediately affected by these shifts:
  - ◆ Economic Policy
  - ◆ Foreign policy
  - ◆ Public debate Culture
- ▶ India acceded to the global changes by initiating economic reforms. Liberalization of the economy had unshackled new centers of political interest and influence. A retreat of the central state meant greater latitude for the state and local level constituencies and a shift in the locus of decision making to the regions.
- ▶ This was then the period of unstable coalition rule and frequent elections in which all the parties formed successions of governments in India between 1991-98.
- ▶ India's province-states were no longer pre-occupied with the question of autonomy from the center but were exerting power within and over the center. It is this sea change in Indian politics that explains the ease with which the three states of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Uttaranchal were created.
- ▶ Jharkhand has had a history of agitation going back to 1800, but the demand for a separate state became evident largely in the 1950s when linguistic agitation swept through India. In its report, the SRC had cited economic non-viability of the residual state, and disruption to the boundaries of the four affected states, as grounds to reject the demand for Jharkhand state.
- ▶ The efforts of the government for a balanced development have utterly failed and the people are not ready to wait any longer. The central government accepted the proposal to form an Autonomous Council modeled on the pattern of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (with limited executive and legislative powers) but the three affected states - Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa - rejected the formation of Jharkhand from parts of their territories. Only Bihar passed a bill to form a separate Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council in 1994. Once the bill was passed, the emergence of a separate state from within Bihar was a foregone conclusion. But no other state boundaries had been altered.
- ▶ While the backward caste tribal element was critical in the politics that created the separate states of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, the constituency for the new state of Uttarakhand was distinctly upper caste. The state of Uttar Pradesh (UP) is very large and many have argued for its break up into more manageable administrative units. The BJP had very strong support in the upper caste Hindu voters of the hill areas that make up Uttarakhand. Political calculations became the catalyst in the decision to create Uttarakhand.

### Accommodation and National Integration

- These cases of India's post independence history have shown that even after six decades of independence, some of the issues of national integration are not fully resolved.
- Regional aspirations ranging from demands of statehood and economic development to autonomy and separation keep coming up.
- The period since 1980 accentuated these tensions and tested the capacity of democratic politics to accommodate the demands of diverse sections of the society.

## Emergency in India »»

### Emergency Provisions: Article 352, 356, 360

- As per the Articles 352, 356 and 360 in the Constitution of India, President of India have been given extraordinary power to declare an emergency to meet any threat to the country. Those powers to President of India in Constitution are called emergency provisions.



### ■ National Emergency (Article 352):

- ▶ If the president of the state is not satisfied with a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or any part is threatened whether by war or external aggression or an armed rebellion, then he may proclaim a state of national emergency for the whole of India or a part of India.
- ▶ Such a proclamation of emergency may be revoked by the President subsequently.
- ▶ The proclamation of emergency made under Article 352 may be subjected to the judicial review and its constitutionally can be questioned in a court of law on the grounds of malafide.
- ▶ The proclamation made must be approved by both the houses of parliament within one month after the proclamation.
- ▶ The effect of the proclamation of emergency is the emergence of the full-fledged Unitary Government.

### ■ State Emergency (Article 356)

- ▶ Article 356 provides that if the President, on receipt of a report from the Government of a state or otherwise, is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on by the provisions of the Constitution, the President may issue a proclamation.
- ▶ By that proclamation, the President may assume to himself all or any of the powers vested in the Governor and may declare that the powers of the legislature of the State shall be exercisable by the Parliament.
- ▶ The proclamation issued under Article 356 must be laid before each House of the Parliament. If the proclamation is not approved by both Houses, it will expire in two months.
- ▶ The Proclamation is so approved by Parliament (by simple majority) shall be in operation for six months. However, it may be revoked in between or extended further by the Parliament.

## National Emergencies in India

- **1962 to 1968 - During the India-China war** — “the security of India” having been declared “threatened by external aggression”.
- **1971 - Indo Pakistan war**, “the security of India” having been declared “threatened by external aggression”.
- **1975 to 1977** - Under controversial circumstances of political instability, Indira Gandhi’s prime ministership — “the security of India” having been declared “threatened by internal disturbances”.

## Emergency 1975-77

- India has survived its democracy since independence, however, emergency was seen as a black spot on it. Proclamation of emergency in India was a fateful decision. It was due to political & personal reasons of the leader & against a predicted mass revolution called by Jayaprakash Narayan.
- Emergency was seen as a black spot because:
  - ▶ Reason of the emergency was not justified as it involved the personal interests.
  - ▶ Thousands of opponents were jailed.
  - ▶ Fundamental Rights like Freedom of speech, expression were suspended. Press was heavily censored.
  - ▶ State legislature like Gujarat & Tamil Nadu where anti-Indira government was in power, were dissolved by imposing President’s rule.
  - ▶ Government initiated widespread sterilization program to limit population growth. People were forced & sterilized against their will.
  - ▶ 42nd Amendment of the Constitution was passed which was called mini-constitution in itself. Power of Judicial Review was abandoned.
  - ▶ Public and Private media institutions, like the national television network Doordarshan, were used for government propaganda.
  - ▶ Many people were detained by police without charge or notification of families.
- However there were several positive outcomes of the the emergency. Such as:
  - ▶ Indian Economy showed the sign of recovery.
  - ▶ Inflation was controlled through curbing black marketing & hoarding.

- ▶ Food productivity improved as the results of green revolution started appearing.
- ▶ Education was promoted. Social evils like dowry were controlled.
- ▶ Law & Order was followed strictly & administration becomes responsible to the people.
- ▶ Government adopted 20-point programme for upliftment of urban & rural poor.

## JP Movement

- JP also decided to organize a country-wide movement against widespread corruption and for the removal of Congress and Indira Gandhi, who was now seen as a threat to democracy and portrayed as the fountainhead of corruption.
- This movement attracted support from students, middle classes, traders and a section of the intelligentsia. It also got the backing of nearly all the non-left political parties who saw in JP a popular leader who would enable them to acquire credibility as an alternative to Congress.
- In the meanwhile, Mrs Gandhi suffered another political blow when the Gujarat assembly election results came on 13 June. The opposition Janata front won 87 seats and the Congress 75 seats in a house of 182. Surprisingly, the Janata front succeeded in forming a government in alliance with the same Chimanbhai Patel against whose corruption and maladministration the popular movement had been initiated.
- The Allahabad judgement and the Gujarat assembly results revived the opposition movement. JP and the coalition of opposition parties were not willing to wait for the result of Gandhi's appeal to the Supreme Court or the general elections to the Lok Sabha due in eight months. They decided to seize the opportunity and accused Mrs. Gandhi of 'clinging to an office corruptly gained,' demanded her resignation and called for a country-wide campaign to force the issue. Mrs Gandhi's lightning response was to declare a state of Internal Emergency on 26 June.
- Indira Gandhi justified her action in imposing the Emergency in terms of national political interests and primarily on three grounds. First, India's stability, security, integrity and democracy were in danger from the disruptive character of the JP Movement. Second, there was the need to implement a programme of rapid economic development in the interests of the poor and the underprivileged. Third, she warned against intervention and subversion from abroad with the aim of weakening and destabilizing India.
- In fact, neither JP nor Indira Gandhi chose the democratic way out of the crisis. JP should have demanded and Indira Gandhi should have offered to hold fresh elections to Lok Sabha, which were in any case due in early 1976, earlier, in October-November 1975 itself, and thus provided a practical alternative to both the demand for her resignation and the Emergency.

## Failures of JP movement

- This movement was flawed in many respects, in terms of both its composition and its actions and the character and philosophy of its leader. JP became a critic of parliamentary politics and parliamentary democracy. For years, he tried to popularise the concept of 'partyless democracy'.
- This movement came to include the communal Jan Sangh and Jamaat-e-Islami, the neo-fascist RSS, the conservative and secular Cong (O), Socialists and the extreme left Naxalite groups. Almost entirely negative in its approach, the movement could not fashion an alternative programme or policies except that of overthrowing Indira Gandhi.
- In its later phases, the movement depended for organization on the RSS-Jan Sangh, which alone among its constituents had a strong well-knit organization, trained cadre and branches all over the country, especially in northern and central India. The agitational methods adopted and propagated by the JP Movement were also extra-constitutional and undemocratic.
- More serious was JP's incitement to the army, police and civil services to rebel. Several times during the course of the movement, he urged them not to obey orders that were 'unjust and beyond the call of the duty' or 'illegal and unjust' or 'unconstitutional, or against their conscience.'
- The climax of the JP Movement came on 25 June 1975 when a public call was given for a nation-wide mass civil disobedience movement which would culminate in a gherao of the prime minister's residence, thus forcing her to resign or to enact another Jallianwala Bagh massacre—a massacre she would never be able to live down.
- The situation that was being created by the JP Movement was that of insurrection without revolution. The tactics it evolved over time amounted to a revolution without a revolutionary party, organization, ideology or programme.

- The adoption by a popular movement of the rhetoric of revolution and of extra-legal and extra-constitutional and often violent agitational methods is not compatible with the functioning of a democratic political system. Historically, such a mix has been the hallmark not of a revolution but of a counterrevolution, as the history of the rise of fascism in Europe.
- The danger of authoritarianism did not come from JP who was not planning or giving direction to an authoritarian coup d'état. But there were others around him who were so inclined and who were increasingly coming to control the movement and who could capitalize on his ideological woolliness and basically weak personality.

## Linguistic Regionalism in India ▮▮

Language is closely related to culture and therefore to the customs of people. The massive spread of education and growth of mass literacy can only occur through the medium of the mother tongue. Since independence in 1947, linguistic affinity has served as a basis for organizing interest groups. The "language question" itself has become an increasingly sensitive political issue. Efforts to reach a consensus on a single national language that transcends the myriad linguistic regions and is acceptable to diverse language communities have been largely unsuccessful.

### Constitutional position

- Language as a subject is dealt in **Part XVII of the Indian Constitution** along with the **Eighth schedule**, in articles **344 and 351** (which specify the languages of India for purposes mentioned in these two articles).
- In the articles concerning **fundamental rights** regarding language, education, and culture etc.

### Language Policy

- The language policy of India gives full freedom to the states to choose any language or languages spoken in regions as their regional language and to have one or more of them as official language by different states. However, for the Union, the Constitution prescribes Hindi in Devanagari script for official purposes along with English as an associate official language. Policy with reference to the use of languages in administration, education, judiciary, legislature, mass communication, etc. is pluralistic in its scope.
- Our Policy is both multifaceted i.e. language-development oriented and language-survival oriented. It is intended to encourage the citizens to use their mother tongue in different levels and domains to achieve the goal of the policy to help all languages to develop.

### Language and Regionalism

- Many Indian nationalists originally intended that Hindi should replace English (the language of British rule 1757-1947) as a medium of common communication. Both Hindi and English are extensively used, and each has its own supporters. Native speakers of Hindi, who are concentrated in North India, contend that English, as a relic from the colonial past and spoken by only a small fraction of the population, is hopelessly elitist and unsuitable as the nation's official language.
- Proponents of English argue, in contrast, that the use of Hindi is unfair because it is a liability for those Indians who do not speak it as their native tongue. English, they say, at least represents an equal handicap for Indians of every region. Efforts to switch to Hindi or other regional languages encounter stiff opposition both from those who know English well and whose privileged position requires proficiency in that tongue and from those who see it as a means of upward mobility. Partisans of English also maintain it is useful and indeed necessary as a link to the rest of the world, that India is lucky that the colonial period left a language that is now the world's predominant international language in the fields of culture, science, technology, and commerce. They hold, too, that widespread knowledge of English is necessary for technological and economic progress and that reducing its role would leave India a backwater in world affairs.

### Tamil Nadu and Anti-Hindi agitations

- Anti-Hindi agitations erupted in Tamil Nadu in 1937, a decade before India obtained independence, and much before Hindi was even declared the country's official language. In that year, C. Rajagopalachari, heading the Government, introduced Hindi as a compulsory language in the Presidency's public schools. This order was immediately met with opposition by social activist Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, leader of the opposition Justice Party (DravidaKazhagam) and advocate for a separate Dravidian State.

- A massive resistance against the mandatory instruction of Hindi in schools erupted in the state. C. Rajagopalachari's insistence that Hindi must be learnt in public schools was related to the acknowledgement that Hindi was the primary language used in the government. Despite the growing protests, his administration issued an order in 1938, making the teaching of Hindi compulsory in 125 schools of the Madras Presidency.
- Viewing his insistence as an effort to undermine and destroy the Tamil language and its culture, a large-scale movement arose, marked by fasts, demonstrations, protest-marches, processions, and the destruction of public property. The protests only subsided in 1940, when the government withdrew its initial order and instead made the teaching of Hindi optional rather than compulsory.
- The next decade was embedded with similar agitations, the leaders of the DravidaKazhakam initiated protests all over the state. Every time the protests abated, the administration would try to re-institute Hindi in schools, triggering yet another round of demonstrations.
- In December 1952, PottiSriramulu fasted unto death over the issue of a separate state for Telugu speaking people. Bowing to popular pressures, the government created a separate state for Telugu people - Andhra Pradesh. Andhra's victory boosted demands in other provinces.

### The Agitations of 1965

- As the day (26 January 1965) of switching over to Hindi as sole official language approached, the anti-Hindi movement gained momentum in Madras State with increased support from college students. A full-scale riot broke out in the southern city of Madurai, the riots spread all over Madras State and were marked by acts of violence. To calm the situation, Government gave assurances that English would continue to be used as the official language as long as the non-Hindi speaking states wanted.
- Official Languages Act was eventually amended in 1967 by the Government to guarantee the indefinite use of Hindi and English as official languages. This effectively ensured the current "**virtual indefinite policy of bilingualism**" of the Indian Republic.

### National education policy

- In 1986, Government introduced the "National Education Policy". This education policy provided for setting up Navodaya Schools, where the DMK claimed teaching of Hindi would be compulsory. Tamil Leaders announced an agitation against the opening of Navodaya Schools in Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly unanimously passed a resolution demanding the repeal of Part XVII of the constitution and for making English the sole official language of the union.
- Government assured MPs from Tamil Nadu that Hindi would not be imposed. As part of the compromise, Navodhaya schools were not started in Tamil Nadu. Currently, Tamil Nadu is the only state in India without Navodaya schools.

### Recent controversy

- Government's proposal to give prominence to Hindi in official accounts in social media has met with stiff opposition in Tamil Nadu with leaders slamming the move, voicing fears of "imposition" of the language on non-Hindi speaking sections. People located in 'Region C' with whom the Government of India's communication needs to be in English, will not have access to such public information if it is not in English. This move would therefore be against the letter and spirit of the Official Languages Act, 1963.
- Even one of the Government circular announced prize money of Rs 2,000 to two employees who do their official work mostly in Hindi. Rs 1,200 and Rs 600 will be given to the second and third position holders respectively. This has again initiated scuffle between North and South India but the issue got resolved unanimously.
- The draft NEP, 2019, has recommended the restructuring of the school curriculum and this is a major departure from the legacies of the National Policy on Education, 1968, which follows the "10+2" format in the school education system. The main thrust of the draft policy is on breaking the "rigid boundaries of disciplines" in higher education and moving towards broad based, flexible learning.

#### ■ Recent Recommendations:

- ▶ Institutions offering single streams (such as technical education) must be phased out and all universities and colleges must aim to become multidisciplinary by 2030.

- ▶ The NEP has recommended that a National Research Foundation (NRF), tasked with creating a conducive ecosystem for research through funding and mentoring, should be set up.
- ▶ The draft NEP envisages the creation of a new apex institution for education through an Act of Parliament. The **RashtriyaShiksha Aayog** (RSA), chaired by PM, will be responsible for developing, articulating, implementations, evaluating and revising the vision of education in the country on a continuous and sustained basis.
- ▶ The draft policy proposes a National Education Technology Forum, a group of education leaders and government officials to discuss and advice on how to strengthen educational technology and centres of Excellence in Educational Technology in prominent institutions.

### Conclusion

- The language phenomenon is thus a sort of crisis which has to be solved by deliberations with the state governments. Some permanent arrangement to keep one language either English or Hindi and to get the matter be translated into the main national language either by in-house department or by way of outsourcing can be one of the way forward. The potential crisis should be solved amicably so as to prevent periodical agitations on linguistic issues at the cost of other important national issues country is facing. Hence steps should be taken to place language as a source of unity of the country by recognizing linguistic diversity and initiating tolerance for each culture.

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