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The era after India's independence from colonial rule starts with its partition into two halves – India and Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten became the first Governor General of free India and M.A. Jinnah that of Pakistan. The transition was violent, with blood curling massacres all over the country, ample proof to the historic acrimony that the Indians shared within themselves.

PARTITION: THE TRAGEDY

India and Pakistan won independence in August 1947, following a nationalist struggle lasting nearly three decades. It set a vital precedent for the negotiated winding up of European empires elsewhere. Unfortunately, it was accompanied by the largest mass migration in human history of some 10 million. As many as one million civilians died in the accompanying riots and local-level fighting, particularly in the western region of Punjab which was cut in two by the border. One explanation for the chaos in which the two nations came into being, is Britain's hurried withdrawal with the realisation it could ill-afford its over-extended empire.

Pakistan celebrated its independence on 14 August and India on 15 August, 1947, the border between the two new states was not announced until 17 August. It was drawn up by a British lawyer, Cyril Radcliffe, who had little knowledge of Indian conditions and with the use of out-of-date maps and census materials. Communities, families and farms were cut in two, but by delaying the announcement the British managed to avoid responsibility for the worst fighting and the mass migration that had followed. The total population of the undivided Punjab Province was 33 million. It included territories directly administered by the British (pop. 28 million) and several princely states. The Punjab was a Muslim majority province while Hindus and Sikhs together made up a very large minority of 44-47 per cent. The principle on which India and the Punjab were divided was that Muslim-majority areas were separated from the rest of India and given to Pakistan. After partition, 90% of the sub-continent's industry, and taxable income

base remained in India, including the largest cities of Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta. The economy of Pakistan was chiefly agricultural, and controlled by feudal elites. The great advantage enjoyed by the Indian National Congress was that it had worked hard for 40 years to reconcile differences and achieve some cohesion among its leaders. The heartland of support for the Muslim League, however, lay in central north India (Uttar Pradesh) which was not included within Pakistan.

The Partition of India ranks, beyond doubt, as one of the 10 greatest tragedies in human history. For the Punjab alone, the loss of life is estimated somewhere between 500,000-800,000 and 10 million people were forced to flee for their lives. More importantly, after World War II the first case of ethnic cleansing took place in the Punjab. Therefore, it bore the brunt of the partition violence. Thus at the end of 1947 all traces of a Muslim presence in the Indian East Punjab were wiped out, except for some Muslims remaining in the tiny princely state of Malerkotla. In the Pakistani West Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs became conspicuous by their absence.

Fear of an uncertain future, lack of communication between the leaders of the estranged communities, the waning authority of the British and the consequent unreliability of the state institutions and functionaries created the social and political milieu in which suspicion and fear proliferated, generating angst among the common people. In such situations reaction and overreaction led to intended and unintended consequences which aggravated and finally resulted in the biggest human tragedy in the history of the Indian sub-continent. Partition was more than a geographical mutilation of the sub-continent; it was one of those dehumanising horror stories that have sustained the 20th century's narratives on revolutions and liberation, be it the Fuhrer's Final Solution or the Pol Pot's ethnic cleansing, Mao's Cultural Revolution or Stalin's Great Terror. It is a stain on our freedom, the scar on our memory as a nation.

In January 1948, the government of India,

following a fast by Gandhiji, paid Pakistan Rs. 550 million as part of the assets of Partition, even when it feared that the money might be used to finance military action in Kashmir. The governments of the two countries differed on issues raised by evacuee property, left behind by those who migrated from the two countries, but every effort was made to resolve them through renegotiations. Since August of 1947, India and Pakistan have fought three major wars and one minor war over territorial disputes. The boundary line in Jammu and Kashmir is particularly troubled. The partition of India is a signal event in world history, not merely in the history of the Indian sub-continent.

As a result of Partition, 8 million refugees had come into the country from what was now Pakistan. These people had to be found homes and jobs. Then there was the problem of the princely states, almost 500 of them, each ruled by a maharaja or a nawab, each of whom had to be persuaded to join the new nation. The problems of the refugees and of the princely states had to be addressed immediately. In the longer term, the new nation had to adopt a political system that would best serve the hopes and expectations of its population.

India's population in 1947 was large, almost 345 million. It was also divided. There were divisions between high castes and low castes, between the majority Hindu community and Indians who practiced other faiths. The citizens of this vast land spoke many different languages, wore many different kinds of dress, ate different kinds of food and practiced different professions. How could they be made to live together in one nation-state?

The government had to stretch itself to the maximum to give relief to and resettle and rehabilitate the nearly six million refugees from Pakistan who had lost their all there and whose world had been turned upside down. The task took some time but it was accomplished. By 1951, the problem of the rehabilitation of the refugees from West Pakistan was fully tackled. 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. However, as violence against Hindus broke out

periodically in East Bengal, there was a steady stream of refugees from there year after year until 1971. Providing them with work and shelter and psychological assurance, therefore 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. In addition, 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.

To the problem of unity was added the problem of development. At Independence, the vast majority of Indians lived in the villages. Farmers and peasants depended on the monsoon for their survival. So did the non-farm sector of the rural economy, for if the crops failed, barbers, carpenters, weavers and other service groups would not get paid for their services either. In the cities, factory workers lived in crowded slums with little access to education or healthcare. Clearly, the new nation had to lift its masses out of poverty by increasing the productivity of agriculture and by promoting new, job-creating industries. Unity and development had to go hand in hand. If the divisions between different sections of India were not healed, they could result in violent and costly conflicts – high castes fighting with low castes, Hindus with Muslims and so on. At the same time, if the fruits of economic development did not reach the broad masses of the population, it could create fresh divisions – for example, between the rich and the poor, between cities and the countryside, between regions of India that were prosperous and regions that lagged behind.

ASSASSINATION OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Rejoicing in August 1947, the man who had been in the forefront of the freedom struggle since 1919, the man who had given the message of non-violence and love and courage to the Indian people,

the man who had represented the best in Indian culture and politics, was touring the hate-torn lands of Bengal and Bihar, trying to douse the communal fire and bring comfort to people who were paying through senseless slaughter the price of freedom. In reply to a message of birthday congratulations in 1947, Gandhiji said that he no longer wished to live long and that he would invoke the aid of the all-embracing Power to take me away from this “vale of tears” rather than make me a helpless witness of the butchery by man become savage, whether he dares to call himself a Muslim or a Hindu or what not.

The celebrations of independence had hardly died down when on 30th January, 1948, a radical minded Hindu, Nathuram Godse, assassinated Gandhiji at Birla house, just before his evening prayers. The whole nation was shocked and stricken with grief and communal violence retreated from the minds of men and women. Expressing the nation’s sorrow, Nehru spoke over the All India Radio:

“Friends and comrades, the light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere . . . The light has gone out, I said, and yet I was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light . . . that light represented something more than the immediate present; it represented the living, the eternal truths, reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom.”

INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATES

With great skill and diplomacy and using both persuasions and pressure, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel succeeded in integrating the hundreds of princely states with the India Union. Some states have joined the Constituent Assembly in April 1947. But the majority of princess had stayed away and a few, such as those of Travancore, Bhopal and Hyderabad, publicly announced their desire to claim an independent status. On 27 June, 1947, Sardar Patel assumed charge of the newly created States, Department with V.P. Menon as its Secretary. Patel’s first step was to appeal to the princes whose territories fell inside India to accede to the Indian Union in three subjects: foreign relation, defense and communications. Fearful of the rising people’s movements in states, and of Patel’s reputation for firmness all but three of them—Junagadh, Jammu and Kashmir and Hyderabad—acceded to India by 15 August, 1947.

Junagadh was a small state on the coast of Saurashtra surrounded by Indian territory and therefore without any geographical continuity with Pakistani. 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. Pakistan accepted Junagadh’s accession. On the other hand, the people of the state were against the ruler’s decision. They organized a popular movement, forced the Nawab to flee and established a provisional government. Indian troops marched into the state. A plebiscite was held in the state in February 1948 which went overwhelmingly in favour of joining India.

The state of Kashmir was 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 did not accede either to India or Pakistan. He hoped to stay out of both and to continue as an independent ruler. On 22 October, with the onset of winter, several Pathan tribesman, led unofficially by Pakistani army officers, invaded Kashmir and rapidly pushed towards Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. In panic, on 24 October, the Maharaja appealed to India for military assistance. Within days, acting under pressure, the Maharaja acceded to India and signed the instrument of accession with India. After accession India decided to send troops to Srinagar. In order to avoid 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 United Nations Security Council, asking for vacation of aggression by Pakistan. Nehru was to regret this decision later as the Kashmir issue became a victim of cold war politics. Security Council, guided by Britain and the United States, tended to side with Pakistan instead of declaring Pakistan an aggressor state.

The Nizam of Hyderabad was the third Indian ruler who did not accede to India before 15 August. Instead, he claimed an independent status and, encouraged by Pakistan, began to expand his armed forces. In November 1947, the Government of India signed a standstill agreement with the Nizam, hoping that while the negotiations proceeded, the latter would introduce representative government in the state. But the Nizam hoped to prolong negotiations and in the meanwhile build up his military strength and force India to accept his sovereignty. Meanwhile, there was rapid growth of the militant Muslim communal organization, Ittihad ul Muslimin and its paramilitary wing, the

Razakars with active official help by Nizam. As a result of attacks by the Razakars and repression by the state authorities, thousands of people fled the state and took shelter in temporary camps in Indian territory. The state Congress-led movement now took to arms. By then a powerful communist-led peasant struggle had developed in the Talangana region of the state from the latter half of 1946. On 13 September, 1948, the Indian army moved into Hyderabad. The Nizam surrendered after three days and acceded to the Indian Union in November. The government of India retained Nizam as formal ruler of the state or its Rajpramukh, was given a privy purse, and permitted to keep most of his wealth.

In return for their surrender of all power and authority, the rulers of major states were given privy purses in perpetuity, free of all taxes. The privy purse amounted to Rs. 4.66 crore in 1949 and were later guaranteed by the constitution. The ruler were allowed succession to the gaddi and retained certain privileges such as keeping their titles, flying their personal flags and gun salutes on ceremonial occasion. However, later Indira Gandhi abolished most of the above mentioned concessions.

After waiting patiently for international opinion to put pressure on Portugal, Nehru ordered Indian troops to march into Goa on the night of 17 December, 1961. The governor-General of Goa immediately surrendered without a fight and the territorial and political integration of India was completed.

FIRST INDO-PAKISTAN WAR (1947)

In the 18th century, Kashmir was ruled by the Pashtun Durrani Empire. In 1819, Kashmir was conquered by the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh. Following the First Anglo-Sikh War in 1845 and 1846, Kashmir was first ceded by the Treaty of Lahore to the East India Company, and shortly after sold by the Treaty of Amritsar to Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu, who thereafter was given the title Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. From then until the Partition of India in 1947, Kashmir was ruled by the Hindu Maharajas of the princely state of Kashmir and Jammu, although the majority of the population were Muslim, except in the Jammu and Ladakh region.

PARTITION AND DISPUTE

In 1947, British rule in India ended with the

creation of a new state: the Dominion of Pakistan and a successor state to British India the Union of India, while British suzerainty over the 562 Indian princely states ended. According to the Indian Independence Act, 1947, "the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the rulers of Indian States", so the states were left to choose whether to join India or Pakistan or to remain independent. Jammu and Kashmir, the largest of the princely states, had a predominantly Muslim population, while having a Hindu ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh. On partition Pakistan expected Kashmir to be annexed to it.

In October 1947, Muslim revolutionaries in western Kashmir and Pakistani tribals from Dir entered Kashmir, intending to eliminate Dogra rule. Unable to withstand the invasion, the Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession on 25 October, 1947 that was accepted by the government of India on 27 October, 1947.

INDO-PAKISTANI WAR (1947)

After rumours that the Maharaja supported the annexation of Kashmir by India, militant Muslim revolutionaries from western Kashmir and Pakistani tribesmen made rapid advances into the Baramulla sector. Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir asked the government of India to intervene. However, India and Pakistan had signed an agreement of non-intervention. Although tribal fighters from Pakistan had entered Jammu and Kashmir, there was no iron-clad legal evidence to unequivocally prove that Pakistan was officially involved. It would have been illegal for India to unilaterally intervene in an open, official capacity unless Jammu and Kashmir officially joined the Union of India, at which point it would be possible to send in its forces and occupy the remaining parts.

The Maharaja desperately needed military assistance when the Pakistani tribals reached the outskirts of Srinagar. Before their arrival into Srinagar, India argued that the Maharaja must complete negotiations for ceding Jammu and Kashmir to India in exchange for receiving military aid. The agreement which ceded Jammu and Kashmir to India was signed by the Maharaja and Lord Mountbatten. In Jammu and Kashmir, National Conference volunteers worked with the Indian Army to drive out the Pakistanis.

The resulting war over Kashmir, the First Kashmir War, lasted until 1948, when India moved the issue to the UN Security Council. Sheikh Abdullah was not in favour of India seeking UN intervention because he was sure that the Indian Army could free the entire State of invaders. The UN had previously passed resolutions for setting up monitoring of the conflict in Kashmir. Following the set-up of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP), the UN Security Council passed Resolution 47 on 21 April, 1948. The resolution imposed an immediate cease-fire and called on the Government of Pakistan 'to secure the withdrawal from the state of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the state for the purpose of fighting.' It also asked Government of India to reduce its forces to the minimum strength, after which the circumstances for holding a plebiscite should be put into effect 'on the question of Accession of the state to India or Pakistan.' However, both India and Pakistan failed to arrive at a Truce agreement due to differences in interpretation of the procedure for and extent of demilitarization one of them being whether the Azad Kashmiri army is to be disbanded during the truce stage or the Plebiscite stage.

In November 1948, The Indian and Pakistani governments agreed to hold the plebiscite, but Pakistan did not withdraw its troops from Kashmir, thus violating the conditions for holding the plebiscite. In addition, the Indian Government distanced itself from its commitment to hold a plebiscite. India proposed that Pakistan withdraw all its troops first, calling it a precondition for a plebiscite. Pakistan rejected on the grounds that the Kashmiris may not vote freely given the presence of Indian army and Sheikh Abdullah's friendship with the Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. However, Pakistan proposed simultaneous withdrawal of all troops followed by a plebiscite under international auspices, which India rejected. Hence Pakistan didn't withdraw its forces unilaterally. Over the next several years, the UN Security Council passed four new resolutions, revising the terms of Resolution 47 to include a synchronous withdrawal of both Indian and Pakistani troops from the region, per the recommendations of General Andrew McNaughton. To this end, UN arbitrators put forward 11 different proposals for the demilitarization of the region. All of these were accepted by Pakistan, but rejected by the Indian government. The resolutions

were passed by United Nations Security Council under Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter. Resolutions passed under Chapter VI of the UN charter are considered non-binding and have no mandatory enforceability, as opposed to the resolutions passed under Chapter VII.

MYTH OF NEHRU AND PATEL RIVALRY

Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel were not opponents and adversaries. This myth is promoted by advocates of a 'strong' India, by those who believe that Nehru was soft on Pakistan, soft on China, and soft on the minorities. It is usually accompanied by a subsidiary myth, namely, that Patel would have made a 'better' Prime Minister than Nehru. In truth, Nehru and Patel worked superbly as a team—who, in the first, formative years of independence, effectively united and strengthened India. Of course, they differed by temperament and ideology. But these differences were subsumed and transcended by commitment to a common ideal: namely, a free, united, secular and democratic India. There were some things Nehru could do better than Patel—communing with the masses, relating to the world, assuring vulnerable groups (such as Muslims, tribals, and Dalits) that they enjoyed equal rights with other Indians. There were some things Patel could do better than Nehru—dealing with the princes, nurturing the Congress party, carrying along dissidents in the Constituent Assembly. Each knew the other's gifts, each took care not to trespass on the other person's turf. That is how, together, they built India anew out of the ruins of Partition. Along with the Kashmir issue, an important source of consent tension between the two countries was the strong sense of insecurity among Hindus in East Bengal, fuelled primarily by the communal character of Pakistan's political system. This led to the steady migration of the persecuted Hindus from East Bengal to West Bengal and retaliatory attacks on Muslims in West Bengal, leading to their migration. On 8 April, 1950, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan signed an agreement known as the Nehru-Liaquat pact to resolve the issue of protection of the minorities. The pact met with the strong disapproval of the Hindu communalists and the two ministers from Bengal, Syama Prasad Mookerjee and K.C. Neogi, resigned from the cabinet in protest. This incident clearly demonstrates that communalism has not only led to internal problems but our relations with neighboring countries have also been affected by the scourge of communalism.

India's independence represented for its people the start of an epoch that was imbued with a new vision. In 1947, the country commenced its long march to overcome the colonial legacy of economic underdeveloped-prevalence of disease and stark social inequality and injustice. 15 August, 1947 was only the first stop, the first break-the end of colonial political control. Centuries of backwardness were now to be overcome, the promises of the freedom struggle to be fulfilled, and people's hope to be met.

The tasks of nation-building were taken up by the Indian people and their leaders with a certain elan and determination and with confidence in their capacity to succeed. Jawaharlal Nehru's famous 'Tryst with Destiny' speech on the eve of independence reflected this buoyant mood. India has started off with a broad social consensus on the basic contours of the India that was to be built on the values of nationalism, secularism and democracy. Rapid economic development and radical social change were other agreed on goals. These values and goals, and the road to their achievement, had been mapped over more than seventy years by the national movement.

AGREEMENT OVER BASIC GOALS

The first and the most important task was to preserve, consolidate and strengthen India's unity, to push toward the process of the making of the Indian nation, and to build up and protect the national state as an instrument of development and social transformation. Indian unity had to be strengthened by recognizing and accepting India's immense regional, linguistic, ethnic and religious diversity.

It was agreed that India's revolution had to be taken beyond the merely political to include economic and social transformation. The social scene also called for rapid transformation. Despite lower-caste movements in several parts of the country and Gandhiji's campaign against untouchability society was under severe grip of socio-economic malaises. Male domination was still nearly

total and women suffered immense social oppression in the family. Economic development and a democratic political order were to be accompanied by rapid social transformation so that existing gross economic, caste and gender inequalities were rapidly eliminated, poverty was removed and the levels of living raised. The structure of Indian society was to be rapidly transformed in a broadly socialist direction.

EVOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

The national movement had aroused expectations of a rapid rise in personal and societal prosperity of social and economic equity and equality of the good life. Indira Gandhi's slogan of 'Garibi Hatao' in 1971 further fuelled these expectations as did the process of continuous politicization since 1950. The constantly rising aspiration and expectations had to be fulfilled as rapidly as possible and without letting too wide a gap develop between expectations and fulfillment. At the same time, political stability had to be ensured for the accomplishment of all the tasks. The political system had to combine stability with growth, social transformation and deepening of the political process. The Indian revolution had to be gradual, non-violent and based on political stability, but it had to be a revolution all the same. First act of this revolution was to be the evolution of a constitution as per India needs.

National movement has popularized among the people the notions of parliamentary democracy, republicanism, civil liberties, social and economic justice, which became among the essential principles of constitution.

The actual functioning of the Congress organization, especially from 1920 onwards, after Gandhiji modified the Congress constitution, was based on the elective principle. All office-bearers were chosen through election. Even more than the form, it was the spirit of democracy, on which in the last and first resort the foundations of the constitution rest, which was inculcated among the people by the national movement. This found

expression in widespread mass participation. It ensured a place for adult franchise after independence. Age for the same was reduced from 21 years to 18 years during time of Rajiv Gandhi.

Elective principle was first introduced by the British in the Indian Councils Act of 1892. The Congress and its nationalist precursors and the Indian Press, had been demanding elections to the councils, elected majorities in them and greater powers to the non-official members of councils for many years before that. Nationalist demands had already far exceeded what was granted in 1892. National movement by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century had begun to espouse the doctrine of self-determination or the right of Indians to frame their own constitution.

Tilak and Annie Besant had launched a Home Rule agitation. The Congress-Muslim League scheme for constitutional reforms emerged out of the Congress League Pact of 1916. A very prominent role was played by Motilal Nehru, who introduced resolution on February 8, 1924 in the Central Legislative Assembly which asked the government to summon at an early date, a representative Round Table Conference to recommend with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities and the scheme of a constitution for India. This was the first time that the demand for a constitution and the procedure for its adoption were spelt out in clear terms.

This resolution, which came to be known as the 'National Demand', was passed by a large majority in the central Legislative Assembly- 76 for and 48 against. In May 1928, Congress appointed a committee chaired by Motilal Nehru to determine the principles of the constitution for India. The Nehru Report, submitted on August 10, 1928 was in effect an outline of a draft constitution for India. Most of its features were later included in the Constitution of India. The demand for a Constituent Assembly was repeated frequently after 1934 and included in the Congress manifesto for the 1936-37. In 1937, a resolution recommending replacement of the Government of India Act, 1935 by a constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly was introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly.

The 'August Offer' made by Viceroy Linlithgow in 1940 in an attempt to secure Indian cooperation in the war effort for the first time conceded that the framing of new constitution should be primarily the responsibility of Indian themselves. The Cripps proposals were a major advance in the position of

the British government. For the first time, it was clearly accepted that the constitution would be the sole responsibility of Indians alone. On February 19, 1946, the British government declared that they were sending a Cabinet Mission to India to resolve the whole issue of freedom and constitution making. The Congress responded to the Cabinet Mission Scheme by pointing out that in its view the constituent Assembly, once it came into being, would be sovereign. It would have the right to accept or reject the Cabinet Mission's proposal on specific lines. Though an assurance on those lines was not forthcoming from the British, the Congress nevertheless decided after a great deal of debate to accept the scheme and try to work it, as there was a feeling that outright rejection would again delay the process of transfer of power. The Muslim League continued to oppose the Constituent Assembly at every stage, before as well as after it was constituted.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Constituent Assembly was to have 389 members. Of these, 296 were to be from British India and 93 from the princely Indian states. Initially, however, the Constituent Assembly comprised only members from British India. Elections of these were held in July-August 1946. Of the 210 seats in the general category, congress won 199. It also won 3 out of 4 Sikh seats from Punjab. The total Congress tally was 208. The Muslim League won 73 out of the 78 Muslim seats. Especially since the Constituent Assembly was not elected on the basis of universal adult franchise and was thus not as truly representative in character as the Congress had wished and demanded and also because only Muslims and Sikhs were recognized as minorities deserving special representation, special effort was made to see that the Assembly did indeed reflect the diversity of perspectives present in the country.

The Congress Working Committee in early July 1946 specifically instructed the Provincial Congress Committees to include representatives of Scheduled Castes, Parsis, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, tribals and women in the Congress list for the general category. The other important consideration in choosing names for election to the Assembly was that the very best talent available in the country must be involved in the task of the making of the constitution. The lead was given by Gandhiji himself who suggested the names of

sixteen eminent persons for inclusion in the Congress list. Altogether thirty people who were not members of the Congress were thus elected on the Congress ticket. Having failed to prevent the election of the Constituent Assembly, the Muslim League now concentrated its energies on refusing to join its deliberations.

The Congress and Jawaharlal Nehru as President of the interim government continued to make conciliatory gestures to Muslim League, but to no avail. Accordingly, on November 20, 1946, the decision to convene the first session of the Constituent Assembly on December 9, 1946 was announced. At Nehru's insistence, the oldest member of the Assembly, Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha, became the provisional president and invitations were issued in the name of the secretary of the Constituent Assembly. In doing this Nehru was establishing for all to see, the independence of the Assembly from British control. On December 9, 1946, the Constituent Assembly of India began its first session. For all practical purposes, the chronicle of Independent India began on that historic day.

The real responsibility of deciding the constitutional framework within which the government and people of India were to function had been transferred and assumed by the Indian people with the convening of the Constituent Assembly. The first session was attended by 207 members. The Muslim League, having failed to prevent the convening of the Assembly, now refused to join its deliberations. Consequently, the Seventy six Muslim members of the League stayed away and the four Congress Muslim members attended this session. On December 11, 1946, Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected the permanent Chairman, an office later designated as President of the Assembly On December 13, 1946. Jawaharlal Nehru moved the famous Objectives Resolution, which was debated till December 19 but its adoption was postponed to enable the representatives of the Muslim League and the princely states to join.

At the next session, which took place from January 20-22, 1947, it was decided to not wait any longer for the League, and the Objectives Resolution was passed. The third session was held from April 18 to May 2, 1947 and the League still did not join. On June 3, 1947, the Mountbatten Plan was announced which made it clear that India was to be partitioned. The completely altered the perspective of the Constituent Assembly, as the Cabinet Mission Plan, the essence of which was

Compromise with the league, was no longer relevant. With India becoming independent on August 15, 1947, the Constituent Assembly became a sovereign body, and also doubled as the legislature for the new state. It was responsible for framing the constitution as well as making ordinary laws. That its function as a legislature as well as its large size did not come in the way of its effectively performing its duties as a constitution making body is due to the enormous preparatory work as well as organizational skills and hardwork of its leading members.

The work was organized into five stages: Committees were asked to present reports on basic issues; B.N. Rau, the constitutional advisor, prepared an initial draft on the basis of the reports of these committees and his own research into the constitutions of other countries; The drafting committee, chaired by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, presented a detailed draft Constitution which was published for public discussion and comments; The draft Constitution was discussed and amendments proposed; and The constitution was adopted.

In addition, a critical role was played by Congress party. It had asked a committee of experts to prepare material and proposals for the constitution as early as July 4, 1946. The committee was chaired by Nehru and had Asaf Ali, K.T. Shah, D.R. Gadgil, K.M. Munshi, Humayun Kabir, R. Shanthanam and N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar as members.

On 13 December, 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru introduced the vision of the Constitution- "Objectives Resolution" in the Constituent Assembly. It was a momentous resolution that outlined the defining ideals of the Constitution of Independent India, and provided the framework within which the work of constitution-making was to proceed. It proclaimed India to be an "Independent Sovereign Republic", guaranteed its citizens justice, equality and freedom, and assured that "adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and Depressed and Other Backward Classes..." After outlining these objectives, Nehru placed the Indian experiment in a broad historical perspective. As he spoke, he said, his mind went back to the historic efforts in the past to produce such documents of rights. In returning to the past and referring to the American and French Revolutions, Nehru was locating the history of constitution-making in India within a longer history of struggle for liberty and

freedom. The momentous nature of the Indian project was emphasised by linking it to revolutionary moments in the past. But Nehru was not suggesting that those events were to provide any blueprint for the present; or that the ideas of those revolutions could be mechanically borrowed and applied in India. He did not define the specific form of democracy, and suggested that this had to be decided through deliberations. And he stressed that the ideals and provisions of the constitution introduced in India could not be just derived from elsewhere. "We are not going just to copy", he said. The system of government established in India, he declared, had to "fit in with the temper of our people and be acceptable to them". It was necessary to learn from the people of the West, from their achievements and failures, but the Western nations too had to learn from experiments elsewhere, they too had to change their own notions of democracy. The objective of the Indian Constitution would be to fuse the liberal ideas of democracy with the socialist idea of economic justice, and re-adapt and rework all these ideas within the Indian context. Nehru's plea was for creative thinking about what was appropriate for India.

The Constituent Assembly had 300 members. Of these, six members played particularly important roles. Three were representatives of the Congress, namely, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabh Bhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad. It was Nehru who moved the crucial "Objectives Resolution" which spelt out the philosophy and basic features of the constitution, as well as the resolution proposing that the National Flag of India be a "horizontal tricolour of saffron, white and dark green in equal proportion", with a wheel in navy blue at the centre set a formidable example by his keen involvement in every aspect of the process. Patel, on the other hand, worked mostly behind the scenes, playing a key role in the drafting of several reports, and working to reconcile opposing points of view. Sardar Patel's interest was second, if at all, only to Nehru's. He played the decisive part in bringing in the representatives of the erstwhile princely states into the Constituent Assembly, in seeing to it that separate electorates were eliminated and in scotching any move for reservation of seats for religious minorities. Rajendra Prasad's role was as President of the Assembly, where he had to steer the discussion along constructive lines while making sure all members had a chance to speak. Rajendra Prasad won acclaim for his impartiality and dignity as President of the Assembly. Maulana Azad brought

his formidable scholarship and philosophical mind to bear on many issues of grave importance. Informed by a strong sense of its historic role in laying the foundations of independent India, the Congress party tried hard to do its best by the people it had led to freedom.

Besides these Congress leaders, a very important member of the Assembly was the lawyer and economist, B.R. Ambedkar. During the period of British rule, Ambedkar had been a political opponent of the Congress; but, on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, he was asked at Independence to join the Union Cabinet as law minister. Ambedkar himself had the responsibility of guiding the Draft Constitution through the Assembly. In this capacity, he served as Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution. Serving with him were two other lawyers, K.M. Munshi from Gujarat and Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar from Madras, both of whom gave crucial inputs in the drafting of the Constitution. These six members were given vital assistance by two civil servants. One was B.N. Rau, Constitutional Advisor to the Government of India, who prepared a series of background papers based on a close study of the political systems obtaining in other countries. The other was the Chief Draughtsman, S.N. Mukherjee, who had the ability to put complex proposals in clear legal language.

This took three years in all, with the printed record of the discussions taking up eleven bulky volumes. But while the process was long it was also extremely interesting. The members of the Constituent Assembly were eloquent in expressing their sometimes very divergent points of view. In their presentations we can discern many conflicting ideas of India – of what language Indians should speak, of what political and economic systems the nation should follow, of what moral values its citizens should uphold or disavow.

Between December 1946 and November 1949, some three hundred Indians had a series of meetings on the country's political future. The meetings of this "Constituent Assembly" were held in New Delhi, but the participants came from all over India, and from different political parties. These discussions resulted in the framing of the Indian Constitution, which was adopted on 26 January, 1950.

Hammered out during intense debates in a constituent assembly which sat from 1947 to 1949, India's constitution established a set of principles

and institutions that have governed the country's political life upto the present. Under it, as Nehru sought to create a 'modern' free India, the country decisively repudiated much of its colonial heritage. Although remaining a member of the Commonwealth, India was proclaimed a republic, thus ending its allegiance to the British Crown, when the constitution was inaugurated. That date, 26 January, known as Republic Day, with a massive parade in New Delhi, has remained a major focus for India's celebration of its nationhood. Rejecting the imperial vice-regal style of government associated with the Raj, the new India nevertheless sought inspiration in domestic British political practice. The constitution put in place a Westminster style of government, with a parliament comprising two houses, and a prime minister selected by the majority party in the lower house, called the Lok Sabha or House of the People. Nehru took up the position of prime minister, while the president, installed in the old vice-regal palace, acted, like the sovereign in Britain, as titular head of state. The old colonial separate electorates, with their divisive tendencies, were in similar fashion abolished in favour of single member constituencies, modelled on those in Britain itself, open to all.

Elements of the old colonial style of governance nevertheless persisted under the new order. Some 200 articles of the Government of India Act of 1935, for instance, were incorporated into the new constitution. The federal structure, in which power was shared between the centre and the former provinces, now become states, remained intact. So too, significantly, did the provision of the 1935 Act which awarded the provincial governor, and president, imperial-style power to set aside elected ministries in times of emergency. These powers were often employed in independent.

India to intimidate recalcitrant state governments, and, in one exceptional instance, to facilitate a period of authoritarian 'emergency' rule throughout the country. In addition, the administrative structure of the Indian Civil Service, renamed the Indian Administrative Service, remained in place. This 'steel frame', its British members replaced by Indians trained in the same spirit of impartial governance, was seen, in the tumultuous years after independence, as a necessary bulwark of stability for the new government. One American idea incorporated in the new constitution was that of a Supreme Court with powers of judicial review of legislation. At no time did the constituent assembly ever consider instituting a Gandhian-

styled nonparty government, with a weak centre and power diffused among self-governing villages. The new India was not to be modelled on a vision of its ancient past.

All were agreed that the new India must be a democratic land, with universal suffrage and freedom of press and speech. Troubled, however, by the persisting discrimination against 'untouchables' and other disadvantaged groups, the Congress Party took steps to insure that these groups had a voice in the new constitutional order. One was the appointment of the distinguished 'untouchable' leader Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to chair the drafting committee for the constitution.

Since their tense stand-off over the Communal Award in 1932, Ambedkar, a graduate of Columbia University in New York, had never been reconciled with Gandhi. Calling Hinduism a 'veritable chamber of horrors', he had argued that all Gandhism had done was to 'smoothen its surface and give it the appearance of decency and respectability'. Before his death in 1956, Ambedkar converted to Buddhism. The new constitution itself outlawed untouchability, but of greater importance over the long term was the reservation of seats in the legislatures for the former untouchables, and with them the depressed forest tribes. These groups were listed on a special schedule in the constitution, and so became known as 'Scheduled Castes and Tribes'. The members of these castes stood for election in regular constituencies where they alone were allowed to be candidates.

In this way the state avoided the use of colonial-style separate electorates, but secured 'untouchable' inclusion in the legislature. Their presence offered visible evidence of the state's concern for the welfare of their communities. As time went on, as we shall see, these reservations grew to include preferential access to educational institutions and the administrative services, while the existence of such benefits for the 'scheduled' castes inspired other 'backward' classes to demand similar treatment.

The Congress Party under Nehru's leadership was committed as well to the principles of secularism and socialism. Despite the predominance of Hindus among its membership, the Congress had always proclaimed itself a secular organization, and Nehru was determined that India should be a secular state. In the 1940s and 1950s, especially in the wake of partition and Gandhi's assassination, this principle encountered little overt opposition. Nehru took care to disassociate the state both from

religion and from the Congress itself, by, for instance, such measures as installing the lion capital of the Buddhist ruler Asoka as the central device on the country's flag and currency instead of adopting a Hindu icon or even the Gandhian spinning wheel which adorned the Congress's Party flag. By contrast with its American variant, which sought to impose a 'wall' between church and state, Indian secularism sought to engage with, and so sustain, all of India's various religions. This form of secularism, with its communally based schools and codes of law, was hard to put into practice. Furthermore, the policy encouraged a persisting allegiance to 'community' at odds with the individualism of a democratic polity. The constitution further enshrined among its directive principles, not only the fundamental right of private property, but a commitment to economic justice, defined as distributing the material resources of the country in such a way as to promote the common good and an equitable sharing of wealth.

The Constitution of India came into force on 26 January, 1950. Since then, the day is celebrated as Republic Day. However, before 1950, 26 January was called Independence Day. Since 26 January, 1930, it was the day on which thousands of people, in villages, in mohallas, in towns, in small and big groups would take the independence pledge, committing themselves to the complete independence of India from British rule. It was only fitting that the new republic should come into being on that day, marking from its very inception the continuity between the struggle for independence and the adoption of the Constitution that made India a Republic.

Democracy took a giant step forward with the first general election held in 1951-52 over a four-month period. These elections were the biggest experiment in democracy anywhere in the world. The elections were held based on universal adult franchise, with all those twenty-one years of age or older having the right to vote. There were over 173 million voters, most of them poor, illiterate, and rural, and having had no experience of elections. The big question at the time was how would the people respond to this opportunity.

Many were skeptical about such an electorate being able to exercise its right to vote in a politically

mature and responsible manner. Some said that democratic elections were not suited to a caste-ridden, multi-religious, illiterate and backward society like India's and that only a benevolent dictatorship could be effective politically in such a society. The coming elections were described by some as 'a leap in the dark' and by others as 'fantastic' and as 'an act of faith.' India's electoral system was developed according to the directives of the Constitution. The Constitution made a provision for an Election Commission. It was to be headed by a Chief Election Commissioner, to conduct elections. It was to be independent of the executive or the parliament or the party in power.

Organization of the elections was a wondrous task. There was a house-to-house survey to register the voters. With over 70 per cent of the voters being illiterate, the candidates were to be identified by symbols, assigned to each major party and independent candidates, painted on the ballot-boxes (this was later changed to symbols on the ballot papers). The voters were to place the ballot papers in the box assigned to a particular candidate, and ballot was secret. Over 224,000 polling booths, one for almost every 1000 voters, were constructed and equipped with over 21/2 million steel ballot-boxes, one box for every candidate. Nearly 620,000,000 ballot papers were printed. About a million officials supervised the conduct of the polls. Of the many candidates, whoever got the plurality, or the largest number of votes would be elected. It was not necessary for the winning candidate to have a majority.

In all, candidates of over fourteen national and sixty-three regional or local parties and a large number of independents contested 489 seats for the Lok Sabha and 3,283 seats for the state assemblies. Of these, 98 seats for the former and 669 for the latter were reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Nearly 17,500 candidates in all stood for the seats to the Lok Sabha and the state legislatures. The elections were spread out over nearly four months from 25 October, 1951 to 21 February, 1952.

Suitable conditions were created for the free participation of the opposition parties in the elections, including Jan Sangh and CPI. The Opposition was, however, quite fragmented.



THE NEHRU ERA (1947-1964)

Jawaharlal Nehru was the first Prime Minister of India. His Prime-Ministership was marked by social and economic reforms of the Indian state. A number of foreign policy landmarks like the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement also marked the tenure of Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister.

Jawaharlal Nehru became Prime Minister on the 15th of August, 1947. His ascension was plagued by controversy and a bitter power struggle within the Congress Party. The internal struggle of the party was symptomatic of the larger struggle within the Indian Republic itself. The initial period of Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister was marked by communal violence.

Jawaharlal Nehru was forced to concede the creation of Pakistan as per the wishes of the Muslim League leader the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Communal violence enveloped the entire country during this period. Maximum bloodshed was witnessed in the national capital Delhi. The Indian states of Punjab and West Bengal also witnessed fierce bloodshed.

The first Prime Minister tried to defuse the explosive situation by visiting the violence affected areas. He toured the riot stricken areas with Pakistani leaders to reassure those affected by the violence. Nehru promoted peace in Punjab during that momentous period in Indian history. The secular nature of Jawaharlal Nehru was best exemplified during those times. He took active steps to safeguard the status of Indian Muslims.

India held its first national elections under the Constitution in 1952, where a turnout of over 60% was recorded. The National Congress Party won an overwhelming majority, and Jawaharlal Nehru began a second term as Prime Minister. President Prasad was also elected to a second term by the electoral college of the first Parliament of India.

NEHRU ADMINISTRATION (1952-1964)

The 1951-52 election swept the Congress Party into power at national and state levels alike. In the

new Lok Sabha the party won 364 of the 489 seats. This electoral victory, capitalizing as it did upon the appeal of the Congress as the party that had brought independence to India, and wrapping itself in the saintly legacy of the martyred Mahatma Gandhi, was hardly surprising. Support for the Congress was, however, by no means universal. Indeed, of the votes cast, the Congress secured only some 45 per cent. The remainder was split amongst an array of opposition parties, rightist, leftist, and regional, pushed to the margins by Congress's domination of the political centre. This disjuncture between the Congress Party's limited popular appeal, and its domination of the legislature, was to be a feature of Indian politics for decades to come.

The first two decades of India's independence can aptly be characterized as the age of Nehru. Several elements together shaped the political life of the country through the 1950s and into the 1960s. These include a politics of brokerage, a commitment to economic development, and a struggle to contain fissiparous linguistic regionalism.

All were knitted together by Nehru's commanding presence. Forced for the first years of his rule to share power with the imperious Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, after Patel's death in 1950 Nehru successfully turned back the sole remaining challenge to his authority, that of Purushottam Das Tandon at the head of the Congress Working Committee. From then on until his death in 1964, Nehru was unchallenged master of the Indian scene. Operating from a position of unquestioned strength, but never ruthless or vindictive, Nehru impressed his will upon the administrative services, the military, and the legislature. Nehru represented the newly independent India to itself, as well as to the world at large.

Prime Minister Nehru, with his charismatic brilliance, led the Congress to major election victories in 1957 and 1962. The Parliament passed extensive reforms that increased the legal rights of women in Hindu society, and further legislated against caste discrimination and untouchability. Nehru advocated a strong initiative to enroll India's

children to complete primary education, and thousands of schools, colleges and institutions of advanced learning, such as the Indian Institutes of Technology were founded across the nation. Nehru advocated a socialist model for the economy of India — no taxation for Indian farmers, minimum wage and benefits for blue-collar workers, and the nationalisation of heavy industries such as steel, aviation, shipping, electricity and mining. An extensive public works and industrialization campaign resulted in the construction of major dams, irrigation canals, roads, thermal and hydroelectric power stations.

STATES REORGANIZATION

Demand of states on linguistic basis was developed even before independence of India under British rule. Though that time Indian administrative regions were identified as different provinces. Odisha was the first Indian state formed on linguistic basis in the year 1936 due to the efforts of Madhusudan Das and became Orissa Province. In Odisha, linguistic movement started in the year 1895 and intensified later years with the demand of separate province from Bihar and Orissa Province.

The reorganization of the states based on language, a major aspect of national consolidation and integration, came to the fore almost immediately after independence. The boundaries of provinces in pre-1947 India had been drawn in a haphazard manner as the British conquest of India had proceeded for nearly a hundred years. No heed was paid to linguistic or cultural cohesion so that most of the provinces were multi-lingual and multi-cultural. The interspersed princely states had added a further element of heterogeneity.

The case for linguistic states as administrative units was very strong. Language is closely related to culture and therefore to the customs of people. Besides, the massive spread of education and growth of mass literacy can only occur through the medium of the mother tongue. After independence, the demand for the reorganization of states on linguistic basis was raised from different regions. The Constitution Assembly appointed S.K. Dhar Commission in Nov. 1947 to study the issue of reorganization of States on linguistic basis. The commission in its report, submitted in 1948, recommended against the organization of states purely on linguistic basis. Instead, the commission suggested the following criteria alongwith

language- Geographical contiguity, Financial self-reliance, Administrative viability and Potential for development.

The Congress, in its Jaipur session in 1948, appointed a three member committee to consider the recommendations of Dhar Commission. The Committee is popularly known as JVP Committee after the name of its three members – Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabh Bhai Patel, and Pattabhi Sitarammaiah. The committee rejected language as the basis of reorganization of states. It suggested that the security, unity and economic prosperity of the nation as the criteria of reorganization. The Congress Working Committee accepted its recommendation in 1949.

Potti Sreeramulu's fast-unto-death, and consequent death for the demand of an Andhra State in 1953 sparked a major re-shaping of the Indian Union. In December 1953, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru appointed the States Reorganization to reorganize the Indian states. This was headed by the retired chief Justice of supreme court Fazal Ali and the commission itself was also known as the Fazal Ali Commission. The other two members of the commission were Mr. Hridaynath and Mr. K.M. Panikkar. The efforts of this commission were overseen by Govind Ballabh Pant, who served as Home Minister from December 1954. The commission created a report on September 30, 1955 recommending the reorganization of India's states. The parliament debated on the report. Some of the important recommendations of the Commission were:

- (i) The Indian Union was to consist of 16 States as against the existing 27 and three centrally administered territories.
- (ii) Special safeguards were recommended for linguistic minorities.
- (iii) In the interests of national unity and good administration, the Commission—recommended the reconstitution of certain All India Services. It further recommended that at least 50 per cent of the new entrants to the All India Services and at least one third of the number of Judges in a High Court should consist of persons recruited from outside that State so that, administration might inspire confidence and help in arresting parochial trends.
- (iv) The Commission put emphasis on the need for encouraging the study of Indian languages other than Hindi but, for some

time to come, English continue to occupy an important place in the universities and institutions of higher learning.

- (v) The Commission rejected the demand for the creation of a Punjabi Speaking State (Punjabi Suba) because “the creation of such a state will solve neither the language nor the communal problem”.

Finally, a bill making changes in the constitution and reorganizing states was passed and was implemented from November 1, 1956. The States Reorganization Act was enacted on 31 August, 1956. Before it came into effect on 1 November, an important amendment to the Constitution was also enacted; this amendment (the Seventh) was timed to come into force on the same day.

Under the Seventh Amendment, the existing distinction among Part A, Part B, Part C, and Part D states was abolished. The distinction between Part A and Part B states was removed, becoming known simply as "states". A new type of entity, the union territory, replaced the classification as a Part C or Part D state. It provided for fourteen states and six centrally administered territories. The Telengana area of Hyderabad state was transferred to Andhra; merging the Malabar district of the old Madras Presidency with Travancore-Cochin created Kerala. Certain Kannada-speaking areas of the states of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Coorg were added to the Mysore state. Merging the states of Kutch and Saurashtra and the Marathi-speaking areas of Hyderabad with it enlarged Bombay state. But two of the most sensitive area, Bombay and Punjab, were not reorganized on linguistic basis. The demands for separate tribal states, including Jharkhand and Nagaland, were also bypassed.

ECONOMIC POLICIES

Nehru implemented policies based on import substitution industrialization and advocated a mixed economy where the government controlled public sector would co-exist with the private sector. He believed that the establishment of basic and heavy industry was fundamental to the development and modernization of the Indian economy. The government therefore directed investment primarily into key public sector industries – steel, iron, coal, and power – promoting their development with subsidies and protectionist policies. The policy of non-alignment during the Cold War meant that Nehru received financial

and technical support from both power blocs in building India's industrial base from scratch. Steel mill complexes were built at Bokaro and Rourkela with assistance from the Soviet Union and West Germany.

Five-Year Plans (FYPs) are centralized and integrated national economic programs and were implemented immediately after independence under socialist influence of first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The Planning Commission was set up in March 1950. The main objective of the Government was to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by efficient exploitation of the resources of the country increasing production and offering opportunities to all for employment in the service of the community. The Planning Commission was charged with the responsibility of making assessment of all resources of the country, augmenting deficient resources, formulating plans for the most effective and balanced utilization of resources and determining priorities. The first Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru presented the first five-year plan to the Parliament of India on December 8, 1951. This plan was based on the Harrod-Domar model.

The First Five-Year Plan was one of the most important because it had a great role in the launching of Indian development after the Independence. Thus, it strongly supported agriculture production and it also launched the industrialization of the country (but less than the Second Plan, which focused on heavy industries). It built a particular system of mixed economy, with a great role for the public sector (with an emerging welfare state), as well as a growing private sector (represented by some personalities as those who published the Bombay Plan).

The total planned budget of Rs. 2069 crore was allocated to seven broad areas: irrigation and energy (27.2%), agriculture and community development (17.4%), transport and communications (24%), industry (8.4%), social services (16.64%), land rehabilitation (4.1%), and for other sectors and services (2.5%). The most important feature of this phase was active role of state in all economic sectors. Such a role was justified at that time because immediately after independence, India was facing basic problems—deficiency of capital and low capacity to save.

The target growth rate was 2.1% annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth; the achieved growth rate was 3.6% the net domestic product

went up by 15%. The monsoon was good and there were relatively high crop yields, boosting exchange reserves and the per capita income, which increased by 8%. National income increased more than the per capita income due to rapid population growth. Many irrigation projects were initiated during this period, including the Bhakra Dam and Hirakud Dam. The World Health Organization (WHO), with the Indian government, addressed children's health and reduced infant mortality, indirectly contributing to population growth.

At the end of the plan period in 1956, five Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) were started as major technical institutions. The University Grant Commission (UGC) was set up to take care of funding and take measures to strengthen the higher education in the country. Contracts were signed to start five steel plants, which came into existence in the middle of the Second Five-Year Plan. The plan was quasi successful for the government.

The Second Plan, particularly in the development of the public sector. The plan followed the Mahalanobis model, an economic development model developed by the Indian statistician Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis in 1953. The plan attempted to determine the optimal allocation of investment between productive sectors in order to maximise long-run economic growth. It used the prevalent state of art techniques of operations research and optimization as well as the novel applications of statistical models developed at the Indian Statistical Institute. The plan assumed a closed economy in which the main trading activity would be centred on importing capital goods.

Hydroelectric power projects and five steel plants at Bhilai, Durgapur, and Rourkela were established. Coal production was increased. More railway lines were added in the northeast.

The Tata Institute of Fundamental Research was established as a research institute. In 1957, a talent search and scholarship program was begun to find talented young students to train for work in nuclear power.

The total amount allocated under the Second Five-Year Plan in India was Rs.48 billion. This amount was allocated among various sectors: power and irrigation, social services, communications and transport, and miscellaneous. The target growth rate was 4.5% and the actual growth rate was 4.27%.

There was substantial industrial development.

Industry grew 7.0 per cent annually between 1950 and 1965 – almost trebling industrial output and making India the world's seventh largest industrial country. Nehru's critics, however, contended that India's import substitution industrialization, which was continued long after the Nehru era, weakened the international competitiveness of its manufacturing industries. GDP and GNP grew 3.9 and 4.0 per cent annually between 1950–51 and 1964–65. It was a radical break from the British colonial period. But, in comparison to other industrial powers in Europe and East Asia, the growth rates were considered anaemic at best. India lagged behind the miracle economies (Japan, West Germany, France, and Italy). State planning, controls, and regulations were argued to have impaired economic growth. While India's economy grew faster than both the United Kingdom and the United States—low initial income and rapid population increase—meant that growth was inadequate for any sort of catch-up with rich income nations.

AGRICULTURE POLICIES

Under Nehru's leadership, the government attempted to develop India quickly by embarking on agrarian reform and rapid industrialization. A successful land reform was introduced that abolished giant landholdings, but efforts to redistribute land by placing limits on landownership failed. Attempts to introduce large-scale cooperative farming were frustrated by landowning rural elites, who formed the core of the powerful right-wing of the Congress and had considerable political support in opposing the efforts of Nehru. Agricultural production expanded until the early 1960s, as additional land was brought under cultivation and some irrigation projects began to have an effect. The establishment of agricultural universities, modelled after land-grant colleges in the United States, contributed to the development of the economy. These universities worked with high-yielding varieties of wheat and rice, initially developed in Mexico and the Philippines, that in the 1960s began the Green Revolution, an effort to diversify and increase crop production. At the same time a series of failed monsoons would cause serious food shortages despite the steady progress and increase in agricultural production.

SOCIAL POLICIES

Jawaharlal Nehru was a passionate advocate of education for India's children and youth,

believing it essential for India's future progress. His government oversaw the establishment of many institutions of higher learning, including the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, the Indian Institutes of Technology, the Indian Institutes of Management and the National Institutes of Technology. Nehru also outlined a commitment in his five-year plans to guarantee free and compulsory primary education to all of India's children. For this purpose, Nehru oversaw the creation of mass village enrollment programmes and the construction of thousands of schools. Nehru also launched initiatives such as the provision of free milk and meals to children to fight malnutrition. Adult education centres, vocational and technical schools were also organized for adults, especially in the rural areas.

Under Nehru, the Indian Parliament enacted many changes to Hindu law to criminalise caste discrimination and increase the legal rights and social freedoms of women. A system of reservations in government services and educational institutions was created to eradicate the social inequalities and disadvantages faced by peoples of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Nehru also championed secularism and religious harmony, increasing the representation of minorities in government.

Most notably, Nehru allowed Muslims to keep their personal law in matters relating to marriage and inheritance. Also in the small state of Goa, a civil code based on the old Portuguese Family Laws was allowed to continue, and Muslim Personal law was prohibited by Nehru. This was the result of the annexation of Goa in 1961 by India, when Nehru promised the people that their laws would be left intact. This has led to accusations of selective secularism.

While Nehru exempted Muslim law from legislation and they remained un-reformed, he did pass the Special Marriage Act in 1954. The idea behind this act was to give everyone in India the ability to marry outside the personal law under a civil marriage. As usual the law applied to all of India, except Jammu and Kashmir (again leading to accusations of selective secularism). In many respects, the act was almost identical to the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955, which gives some idea as to how secularised the law regarding Hindus had become. The Special Marriage Act allowed Muslims to marry under it and thereby retain the protections, generally beneficial to Muslim women, that could not be found in the personal law. Under the act

polygamy was illegal, and inheritance and succession would be governed by the Indian Succession Act, rather than the respective Muslim Personal Law. Divorce also would be governed by the secular law, and maintenance of a divorced wife would be along the lines set down in the civil law.

Nehru led the faction of the Congress party which promoted Hindi as the lingua-franca of the Indian nation. After an exhaustive and divisive debate with the non-Hindi speakers, Hindi was adopted as the official language of India in 1950 with English continuing as an associate official language for a period of fifteen years, after which Hindi would become the sole official language. Efforts by the Indian Government to make Hindi the sole official language after 1965 were not acceptable to many non-Hindi Indian states, who wanted the continued use of English. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), a descendant of Dravidar Kazhagam, led the opposition to Hindi. To allay their fears, Nehru enacted the Official Languages Act in 1963 to ensure the continuing use of English beyond 1965. The text of the Act did not satisfy the DMK and increased their scepticism that his assurances might not be honoured by future administrations. The issue was resolved during the premiership of Lal Bahadur Shastri, who assured that English would continue to be used as the official language as long the non-Hindi speaking states wanted. The Official Languages Act was eventually amended in 1967 by the Congress Government headed by Indira Gandhi 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.

MILITARY CONFLICTS AND WARS

In 1961, after continual petitions for a peaceful handover, India invaded and annexed the Portuguese colony of Goa on the west coast of India.

❖ *Indo-China War (1962)*

India adopted a policy of friendship towards China from the very beginning. The Congress had been sympathetic to China's struggle against imperialism and had sent a medical mission to China in the thirties as well as given a call for boycott of Japanese goods in protest against Japanese occupation of China. India was the first

to recognize the new People's Republic of China on 1 January, 1950. Nehru had great hopes that the two countries with their common experience of suffering at the hands of colonial powers and common problems of poverty and under-development would join hands to give Asia its due place in the world. Nehru pressed for representation for Communist China in the UN Security Council, did not support the US position in the Korean War, and tried his best to bring about a settlement in Korea.

In 1950, when China occupied Tibet, India was unhappy that it had not been taken into confidence, but did not question China's rights over Tibet since at many times in Chinese history Tibet had been subjugated by China. In 1954, India and China signed a treaty in which India recognized China's rights over Tibet and the two countries agreed to be governed in their mutual relations by the principles of Panchsheel. Differences over border delineation were discussed at this time but China maintained that it had not yet studied the old Kuomintang maps and these could be sorted out later.

In 1959, however, there was a big revolt in Tibet and the Dalai Lama fled Tibet along with thousands of refugees. He was given asylum in India but not allowed to set up a government-in-exile and dissuaded from carrying on political activities. Soon after, in October 1959, Chinese opened fire on an Indian patrol near the Kongka Pass in Ladakh. China refused to accept the McMahon Line and Beijing laid claims to 50,000 square miles of territory in Sikkim and Bhutan. Chinese troops fire on an Indian patrol in the Aksai Chin area killing nine soldiers and capturing ten. Letters were exchanged between the two governments, but a common ground did not emerge. Then, Chou En-lai was invited for talks to Delhi in April 1960, but not much headway could be made and it was decided to let officials sort out the details first.

In June 1960, Chinese troops violate the Indian border near Shipki village in the northeast and China further occupies 12,000 sq. miles in the western sector. In October 1961, Chinese start aggressive border patrolling and establishes new military formations which start moving into Indian territory. India adopts the Forward Policy to stem the advancing Chinese frontier line by establishing a few border outposts.

China issues ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of the Indian frontier personnel from the border posts. In September 1962, Chinese forces cross the McMahon Line in the Thag La region in the east and open fire on an Indian post. Launch another intensified attack.

China launches a massive multi-pronged attack all along the border from Ladakh in the west to Arunachal Pradesh in the east. A massive Chinese attack on the eastern front. Tawang and Walong in the eastern sector over run, Rezang La and the Chushul airport in the west shelled. Chinese troops capture Bomdi La in the NEFA region. In 1962, China declares a unilateral ceasefire along the entire border and announces withdrawal of its troops to 20 km behind the LAC.

After the war, China retained de facto control of the Aksai Chin India stabilized along the Line of Actual Control. The war precipitated as well a massive diversion of funds from development to the military, which, neglected, had remained unchanged from the colonial era. The aftermath of the war saw sweeping changes in the Indian military to prepare it for similar conflicts in the future, and placed pressure on Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who was seen as responsible for failing to anticipate the Chinese attack on India. Indians reacted with a surge in patriotism and memorials were erected for many of the Indian troops who died in the war. Arguably, the main lesson India learned from the war was the need to strengthen its own defenses and a shift from Nehru's foreign policy with China based on his stated concept of "brotherhood". Because of India's inability to anticipate Chinese aggression, Prime Minister Nehru faced harsh criticism from government officials, for having promoted pacifist relations with China. The war also put an end to Nehru's earlier hopes that India and China would form a strong Asian Axis to counteract the increasing influence of the Cold War bloc super-powers.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

India's post-independence policymakers were acutely sensitive to the significance of the colonial legacy. Accordingly, they explicitly sought to forge a pathway that would keep India outside the ambit of the Cold War. Such a strategy was possible because anti-imperialist sentiments were widespread within the Indian polity across the political

spectrum. This strategy came to be known as non-alignment and Indian policymakers were at pains to distinguish it from “neutralism”.

The real architect of this policy was Prime Minister Nehru. Even though he was temperamentally a Western liberal, he was deeply skeptical of the United States. In part, his skepticism was the consequence of his highly Anglicized personal and professional background. In effect, he had come to share the British upper class disdain for the United States. His views toward the Soviet Union were more ambivalent. He was also cognizant of the horrors of Stalin’s collectivist enterprise though admiring of the achievements of the forced-draught industrialization program. His partiality toward the USSR also stemmed from his own social democratic predilections.

At least two factors can be adduced to explain Nehru’s adoption of non-alignment as the lodestar of India’s foreign policy. First, he was acutely concerned about the opportunity costs of defense spending. Any involvement with the two emerging blocs, he feared, would draw India into the titanic struggle and divert critical resources from economic development. Second, he was intent on maintaining India’s hard-won independence. Moving into the ambit of either superpower could compromise such freedom of maneuver.

THE PATHWAY TO 1962

From the time of independence to the disastrous border conflict with China, three key features characterized India’s foreign policy. First, India played a significant role in multilateral institutions and particularly in United Nations peacekeeping operations. Second, it also emerged as a critical proponent of the non-aligned movement. Third, as a leader of the non-aligned movement it also made a significant contribution toward the process of decolonization.

These three critical commitments, in turn, manifested themselves at global, regional and national levels. At a global level, India attempted to defuse Cold War tensions in a number of contexts regional and functional. To that end, India had emerged as one of the early proponents of a nuclear test ban treaty and in 1952 had introduced a draft resolution co-sponsored with Ireland to bring about a global ban on nuclear tests. In the event, thanks to the exigencies of Cold War politics, little or nothing came of this effort. Nevertheless,

this endeavor was a manifestation of India’s interest in forging a particular global order, one which would hobble the use of force in international affairs. India also sought to play a vital role in United Nations peacekeeping operations as well as the peaceful resolution of regional disputes. In pursuit of these ends India became involved in the International Control Commission in Vietnam along with Canada and Poland, it was a key member of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea and it also made a significant troop contribution in the United Nations Peacekeeping forces in the Belgian Congo. Also, India proved to be a tireless campaigner in the effort to bring about the end of decolonization. To that end, India’s diplomacy was carefully geared to the discussion of the issue at various international forum and especially in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

In the region, it referred the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan to the United Nations for possible resolution. To the dismay of its policymakers, the issue became quickly embroiled in the politics of the Cold War. As a consequence of the largely partisan discussions at the United Nations, India’s political leadership became increasingly disillusioned about the resolution of its bilateral territorial disputes through the mechanism of the United Nations. Not surprisingly, after extensive diplomatic discussion with the intransigent Salazar regime in Portugal produced a deadlock and Prime Minister Nehru faced increasing criticism from a group of Afro-Asian leaders, India chose to use force to oust the Portuguese from their colonial enclave in Goa in 1960.

Finally, at national level, the country’s commitment to nonalignment led to the adoption of particular set of significant policy choices. Specifically, one of the key elements of the doctrine of non-alignment was the limitation of high defense expenditures. To this end Indian military expenditures were drastically limited even when steady evidence about a possible security threat from the People’s Republic of China (PRC) continued to mount. Such a policy, unfortunately, proved to be extremely costly when the border negotiations with the PRC ultimately reached a cul-de-sac in 1960. Faced with this situation, India embarked upon a strategy of compellence designed to restore what it deemed to be the territorial status quo along the disputed Himalayan border. This policy, however, was singularly ill-conceived as it involved sending in lightly armed, poorly equipped and ill-prepared troops to high altitudes in “penny packets”. In

October 1962, when the People's Liberation Army (PLA) attacked with considerable force, the Indian military was grossly unprepared to face the onslaught. The PLA inflicted considerable losses on the Indian forces and then withdrew from some of the areas that they had entered. However, they did not vacate some 14,000 square miles that they had initially claimed. These territories and other still remain the subject of tortured and glacial border negotiations.

ASSESSMENT

While assertive in his Indianness, Nehru never exuded the Hindu aura and atmosphere clinging to Gandhi's personality. Because of his modern

political and economic outlook, he was able to attract the younger intelligentsia of India to Gandhi's movement of non-violent resistance against the British and later to rally them around him after independence had been gained. Nehru's Western upbringing and his visits to Europe before independence had acclimatized him to Western ways of thinking. Throughout his 17 years in office, he held up democratic socialism as the guiding star. With the help of the overwhelming majority that the Congress Party maintained in Parliament during his term of office, he advanced toward that goal. The four pillars of his domestic policies were democracy, socialism, unity, and secularism. He succeeded to a large extent in maintaining the edifice supported by these four pillars during his lifetime.



After the death of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964 Gulzarilal Nanda became interim Prime Minister for thirteen days. His term was uneventful, yet it was sensitive of period because of the potential danger to the country following Nehru's death soon after a war with China in 1962.

Lal Bahadur Shastri (born 1904) succeeded Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister of India in 1964. Though eclipsed by such stalwarts of the Congress party as Kamaraj (the Kingmaker) and Morarji Desai, Finance Minister in Nehru's government, Shastri emerged as the consensus candidate in the midst of party warfare. Accepting the limited character of his political mandate, Shastri did not make any major changes in Nehru's Cabinet, except for persuading Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter, to join it as Minister of Information and Broadcasting. Under him, the cabinet ministers functioned more autonomously. He also did not interfere in party affairs or with the working of the state governments. On the whole, he kept a low political profile except towards the end of his administration.

The problem of the official language of Hindi versus English, flared up in early 1965, but the central government failed to handle it effectively and allowed the situation to deteriorate. The problem was, however, finally resolved in early 1966. The demands for Punjabi Suba (state) and Goa's merger with Maharashtra were also allowed to simmer.

During his tenure the country was facing huge challenges. There was food shortage in the country and on the security front Pakistan was creating problems. In 1965, Pakistan tried to take advantage of India's vulnerability and attacked India. Mild-mannered Lal Bahadur Shastri rose to the occasion and led the country ably. To enthuse soldiers and farmers he coined the slogan of "Jai Jawan, Jai Kishan". In January 1966, to broke peace between India and Pakistan, Russia mediated a meeting between Lal Bahadur Shastri and Ayub Khan in Tashkent, Russia. India and Pakistan signed the

joint declaration under Russian mediation. Under the treaty India agreed to return to Pakistan all the territories occupied by it during the war. The joint declaration was signed on January 10, 1966 and Lal Bahadur Shastri died of heart attack on the same night.

ECONOMIC POLICIES

Shastri continued Nehru's socialist economic policies with central planning. He promoted the White Revolution – a national campaign to increase the production and supply of milk – by supporting the Amul milk co-operative of Anand, Gujarat and creating the National Dairy Development Board.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister of India, visited Anand on 31 October, 1964 for inauguration of the Cattle Feed Factory of Amul at Kanjari. As he was keenly interested in knowing the success of this co-operative and discusses his wish to Mr. Verghese Kurien, then the General Manager of Kaira District Co-operative Milk Producers' Union Ltd. (Amul) to replicate this model to other parts of the country for improving the socio-economic conditions of farmers. As a result of this visit, the National Dairy Development Board (NDDB) was established at Anand in 1965.

While speaking on the chronic food shortages across the country, Shastri urged people to voluntarily give up one meal so that the saved food could be distributed to the affected populace. He himself motivated the countrymen to maximize the cultivation of food grains by ploughing the lawn in his official residence in New Delhi.

Shastri hated the idea of going around with a begging bowl. So he hit upon a novel idea. He went on air to appeal to his countrymen to skip a meal a week. The response was overwhelming. Even restaurants and eateries downed the shutters on Monday evenings. Many parts of the country observed the "Shastri Vrat". First he implemented the system in his own family before appealing to the countrymen.

During the 22-day war with Pakistan in 1965, On October 19, 1965, Shastri gave the seminal 'Jai Jawan Jai Kishan' ("Hail the soldier, Hail the farmer") slogan at Urwa in Allahabad that became a national slogan.

Underlining the need to boost India's food production, Shastri also promoted the Green Revolution. Though he was a socialist, Shastri stated that India cannot have a regimented type of economy.

The Food Corporation of India was setup under the Food Corporation's Act 1964. Also the National Agricultural Products Board Act was passed during his tenure.

THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Third Five-year Plan stressed agriculture and improvement in the production of wheat, but the brief Sino-Indian War of 1962 exposed weaknesses in the economy and shifted the focus towards the defence industry and the Indian Army. In 1965–1966, India fought a War with Pakistan. There was also a severe drought in 1965. The war led to inflation and the priority was shifted to price stabilisation. 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 grass-root 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. The target growth rate was 5.6%, but the actual growth rate was 2.4%.

Due to miserable failure of the Third Plan the government was forced to declare "plan holidays" (from 1966–67, 1967–68, and 1968–69). Three annual plans were drawn during this intervening period. During 1966–67, there was again the problem of drought. Equal priority was given to agriculture, its allied activities, and industrial sector. The main reasons for plan holidays were the war, lack of resources, and increase in inflation.

MAJOR EVENTS

❖ *Second Indo-Pakistan War (1965)*

The 1965 war between India and Pakistan was the second conflict between the two countries over the status of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The clash did not resolve this dispute, but it did engage the United States and the Soviet Union in ways that would have important implications for subsequent superpower involvement in the region.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir, which had a predominantly Muslim population but a Hindu leader, shared borders with both India and West Pakistan. The argument over which nation would incorporate the state led to the first India-Pakistan War in 1947–48 and ended with UN mediation. Jammu and Kashmir, also known as "Indian Kashmir" or just "Kashmir," joined the Republic of India, but the Pakistani Government continued to believe that the majority Muslim state rightfully belonged to Pakistan.

Conflict resumed again in early 1965, when Pakistani and Indian forces clashed over disputed territory along the border between the two nations. Hostilities intensified that August when the Pakistani army attempted to take Kashmir by force. The attempt to seize the state was unsuccessful, and the second India-Pakistan War reached a stalemate. This time, the international politics of the Cold War affected the nature of the conflict.

The United States had a history of ambivalent relations with India. During the 1950s, U.S. officials regarded Indian leadership with some caution due to India's involvement in the non-aligned movement, particularly its prominent role at the Bandung Conference of 1955. The United States hoped to maintain a regional balance of power, which meant not allowing India to influence the political development of other states. However, a 1962 border conflict between India and China ended with a decisive Chinese victory, which motivated the United States and the United Kingdom to provide military supplies to the Indian army. After the clash with China, India also turned to the Soviet Union for assistance, which placed some strains on U.S.-Indian relations. However, the United States also provided India with considerable development assistance throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

U.S.-Pakistani relations had been more

consistently positive. The U.S. Government looked to Pakistan as an example of a moderate Muslim state and appreciated Pakistani assistance in holding the line against communist expansion by joining the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954 and the Baghdad Pact (later renamed the Central Treaty Organization, or CENTO) in 1955. Pakistan's interest in these pacts stemmed from its desire to develop its military and defensive capabilities, which were substantially weaker than those of India. Both the United States and the United Kingdom supplied arms to Pakistan in these years.

After Pakistani troops invaded Kashmir, India moved quickly to internationalize the regional dispute. It asked the United Nations to reprise its role in the First India-Pakistan War and end the current conflict. The Security Council passed Resolution 211 on September 20 calling for an end to the fighting and negotiations on the settlement of the Kashmir problem, and the United States and the United Kingdom supported the UN decision by cutting off arms supplies to both belligerents. This ban affected both belligerents, but Pakistan felt the effects more keenly since it had a much weaker military in comparison to India. The UN resolution and the halting of arms sales had an immediate impact. India accepted the ceasefire on September 21 and Pakistan on September 22.

The ceasefire alone did not resolve the status of Kashmir, and both sides accepted the Soviet Union as a third-party mediator. Negotiations in Tashkent concluded in January 1966, with both sides giving up territorial claims, withdrawing their armies from the disputed territory. Nevertheless, although the Tashkent agreement achieved its short-term aims, conflict in South Asia would reignite a few years later.

Shastri continued Nehru's policy of non-alignment but also built closer relations with the Soviet Union. In the aftermath of the Sino-Indian War of 1962 and the formation of military ties between the Chinese People's Republic and Pakistan, Shastri's government decided to expand the defence budget of India's armed forces.

In 1964, Shastri signed an accord with the Sri Lankan Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike regarding the status of Indian Tamils in the then Ceylon. This agreement is also known as the Srimavo-Shastri Pact or the Bandaranaike-Shastri pact.

Under the terms of this agreement, 600,000 Indian Tamils were to be repatriated, while 375,000 were to be granted Sri Lankan citizenship. This settlement was to be done by 31 October, 1981. However, after Shastri's death, by 1981, India had taken only 300,000 Tamils as repatriates, while Sri Lanka had granted citizenship to only 185,000 citizens (plus another 62,000 born after 1964). Later, India declined to consider any further applications for citizenship, stating that the 1964 agreement had lapsed.

In December 1965, Lal Bahadur Shastri made an official visit with his Family to Rangoon, Burma and re-established a cordial relation with the country's Military government of General Ne Win. India's relationship with Burma stained after the 1962 Military coup followed by Lakhs of Indian Family most of them are Tamils and Bengalis repatriate to India from 1964.

The Central Government in New Delhi monitored the overall process of repatriation and arranged for identification and then transportation of the Indian returnees from Burma back into India, it fell under the responsibilities of local governments to provide adequate facilities to shelter the repatriates upon



INDIRA GANDHI TENURE AND EMERGENCY (1969–1984)

After the death of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1966 Gulzarilal Nanda once again became interim Prime Minister for thirteen days.

On Shastri's sudden death in January 1966, Gandhi became leader of the Congress Party—and thus also prime minister—in a compromise between the right and left wings of the party. Her leadership, however, came under continual challenge from the right wing of the party, led by a former minister of finance, Morarji Desai. Indira Gandhi (November 19, 1917, Allahabad, India—died October 31, 1984, New Delhi) served as prime minister of India for three consecutive terms (1966–77) and a fourth term from 1980 until she was assassinated in 1984.

In 1967, the Congress Party won a reduced majority in the 1967 elections owing to widespread disenchantment over rising prices of commodities, unemployment, economic stagnation and a food crisis. Indira Gandhi had started on a rocky note after agreeing to a devaluation of the Indian rupee, which created much hardship for Indian businesses and consumers, and the import of wheat from the United States fell through due to political disputes.

Morarji Desai entered Gandhi's government as Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister, and with senior Congress politicians attempted to constrain Gandhi's authority. But following the counsel of her political advisor, P.N. Haksar, Gandhi resuscitated her popular appeal by a major shift towards socialist policies. She successfully ended the privy purse guarantee for former Indian royalty, and waged a major offensive against party hierarchy over the nationalisation of India's banks. Although resisted by Desai and India's business community, the policy was popular with the masses. When Congress politicians attempted to oust Gandhi by suspending her Congress membership, Gandhi was empowered with a large exodus of Members of Parliament to her own Congress (R). The bastion of the Indian freedom struggle, the Indian National Congress had split in 1969. Gandhi continued to govern with a slim majority.

In 1971, Indira Gandhi and her Congress (R) were returned to power with a massively increased majority. The nationalisation of banks was carried out, and many other socialist economic and industrial policies enacted. India intervened in Bangladesh Liberation War—a civil war taking place in Pakistan's Bengali half, after millions of refugees had fled the persecution of the Pakistani army. The clash resulted in the independence of East Pakistan, which became known as Bangladesh, and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's elevation to immense popularity. Relations with the United States grew strained, and India signed a 20-year treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union - breaking explicitly for the first time from non-alignment. In 1974, India tested its first nuclear weapon in the desert of Rajasthan. Meanwhile, in the Indian protectorate of Sikkim, a referendum was held that resulted in a vote to formally join India and depose the Chogyal. On 26 April, 1975, Sikkim formally became India's 22nd state.

In 1974, the Allahabad High Court found Indira Gandhi guilty of misusing government machinery for election purposes. Opposition parties conducted nationwide strikes and protests demanding her immediate resignation. Various political parties united under Jaya Prakash Narayan to resist what he termed Mrs. Gandhi's dictatorship. Leading strikes across India that paralysed its economy and administration, Narayan even called for the Army to oust Mrs. Gandhi. In 1975, Mrs. Gandhi advised President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed to declare a state of emergency under the Constitution, which allowed the Central government to assume sweeping powers to defend law and order in the nation. Explaining the breakdown of law and order and threat to national security as her primary reasons, Mrs. Gandhi suspended many civil liberties and postponed elections at national and state levels. Non-Congress governments in Indian states were dismissed, and nearly 1,000 opposition political leaders and activists were imprisoned and programme of compulsory birth control introduced. Strikes and public protests were outlawed in all forms.

India's economy benefited from an end to paralysing strikes and political disorder. India announced a 20-point programme which enhanced agricultural and industrial production, increasing national growth, productivity and job growth. But many organs of government and many Congress politicians were accused of corruption and authoritarian conduct. Police officers were accused of arresting and torturing innocent people. Indira's son and political advisor, Sanjay Gandhi was accused of committing gross excesses - Sanjay was blamed for the Health Ministry carrying out forced vasectomies of men and sterilisation of women as a part of the initiative to control population growth, and for the demolition of slums in Delhi.

JANATA PARTY

Gandhi's Congress Party called for general elections in 1977, only to suffer a humiliating electoral defeat at the hands of the Janata Party, an amalgamation of opposition parties. Morarji Desai became the first non-Congress Prime Minister of India. The Desai administration established tribunals to investigate Emergency-era abuses, and Indira and Sanjay Gandhi were arrested after a report from the Shah Commission.

But in 1979, the coalition crumbled and Charan Singh formed an interim government. The Janata party had become intensely unpopular due to its internecine warfare, and the fact that it offered no leadership on solving India's serious economic and social problems.

Indira Gandhi and her Congress party splinter group, Congress (Indira) party were swept back into power with a large majority in January 1980.

But the rise of an insurgency in Punjab would jeopardize India's security. In Assam, there were many incidents of communal violence between native villagers and refugees from Bangladesh, as well as settlers from other parts of India. When Indian forces undertaking Operation Blue Star, raided the hideout of self-rule pressing Khalistan militants in the Golden Temple - Sikhs' most holy shrine - in Amritsar, the inadvertent deaths of civilians and damage to the temple building inflamed tensions in the Sikh community across India. The Government used intensive police operations to crush militant operations, but it resulted in many claims of abuse of civil liberties. Northeast India was paralyzed owing to the ULFA's clash with Government forces.

On 31 October, 1984, the Prime Minister's own Sikh bodyguards assassinated her, and 1984 Anti-Sikh Riots erupted in Delhi and parts of Punjab.

ECONOMIC POLICY

Gandhi presided over three Five-Year plans as Prime Minister. All but one of them succeeding in meeting the targeted growth. There is considerable debate regarding whether Gandhi was a socialist on principle or out of political expediency. Regardless of the debate over her ideology or lack of thereof, Gandhi remains a left-wing icon. She has been described as the "arguably the greatest mass leader of the last century. Her campaign slogan, 'Garibi Hatao' (Remove Poverty), has become the iconic motto of the Indian National Congress.

Due to miserable failure of the Third Plan the government was forced to declare "plan holidays" (from 1966-67, 1967-68, and 1968-69). Three annual plans were drawn during this intervening period. During 1966-67 there was again the problem of drought. Equal priority was given to agriculture, its allied activities, and industrial sector. The main reasons for plan holidays were the war, lack of resources, and increase in inflation.

❖ *Green Revolution and the Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-1974)*

At this time Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister. Fiscal problems associated with the war with Pakistan in 1965, along with a drought-induced food crisis that spawned famines, had plunged India into the sharpest recession since independence. To deal with India's food problems, Gandhi expanded the emphasis on production of inputs to agriculture that had already been initiated by her father, Jawaharlal Nehru. The Green Revolution in India subsequently culminated under her government in the 1970s and transformed the country from a nation heavily reliant on imported grains and prone to famine to being largely able to feed itself, and become successful in achieving its goal of food security. The Indira Gandhi government nationalised 14 major Indian banks and the Green Revolution in India advanced agriculture. In addition, the situation in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) was becoming dire as the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971 and Bangladesh Liberation War took funds earmarked for industrial development. India also performed the Smiling Buddha underground nuclear test in 1974. The

target growth rate was 5.6%, but the actual growth rate was 3.3%.

❖ **Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-1979)**

The Fifth Five-Year Plan laid stress on employment, poverty alleviation (Garibi Hatao), and justice. The plan also focused on self-reliance in agricultural production and defence. The measures of the emergency regime was able to halt the economic trouble of the early to mid-1970s, which had been marred by harvest failures, fiscal contraction, and the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchanged rate; the resulting turbulence in the foreign exchange markets being further accentuated by the oil shock of 1973. The government was even able to exceed the targeted growth figure with an annual growth rate of 5.0–5.2% over the five-year period of the plan (1974–79). The economy grew at the rate of 9% in 1975–76 alone, and the Fifth Plan, became the first plan during which the per capita income of the economy grew by over 5%. In 1978 the newly elected Morarji Desai government rejected the plan. The Electricity Supply Act was amended in 1975, which enabled the central government to enter into power generation and transmission.

The Indian national highway system was introduced and many roads were widened to accommodate the increasing traffic. Tourism also expanded. It was followed from 1974 to 1979. The target growth rate was 4.4% and the actual growth rate was 5.0%.

❖ **Rolling Plan (1978-80)**

The Janata Party government rejected the Fifth Five-Year Plan and introduced a new Sixth Five-Year Plan (1978–1983). This plan was again rejected by the Indian National Congress government in 1980 and a new Sixth Plan was made. The earlier one was subsequently referred to as a rolling plan.

❖ **Sixth Five-Year Plan (1980-85)**

Although Gandhi continued professing socialist beliefs, the Sixth Five-Year Plan marked the beginning of economic liberalization. Populist programs and policies were replaced by pragmatism. Price controls were eliminated and ration shops were closed. This led to an increase in food prices and an increase in the cost of living. Family planning was also expanded in order to prevent

overpopulation. In contrast to China's strict and binding one-child policy, Indian policy did not rely on the threat of force. More prosperous areas of India adopted family planning more rapidly than less prosperous areas, which continued to have a high birth rate. There was an emphasis on tightening public expenditures, greater efficiency of the State Owned Enterprises (SOE), and in stimulating the private sector through deregulation and liberation of the capital market. The government subsequently launched Operation Forward in 1982, the first cautious attempt at reform. The Sixth Five-Year Plan was a great success to the Indian economy. The target growth rate was 5.2% and the actual growth rate was 5.4%.

DOMESTIC POLICY

❖ **Nationalisation**

Despite the provisions, control and regulations of Reserve Bank of India, most banks in India had continued to be owned and operated by private persons. In 1969, Gandhi moved to nationalise fourteen major commercial banks. After the nationalisation of banks, the branches of the public sector banks in India rose to approximate 800 per cent in deposits, and advances took a huge jump by 11,000 per cent. Nationalisation also resulted in a significant growth in the geographical coverage of banks; the number of bank branches rose from 8,200 to over 62,000, most of which were opened in the unbanked, rural areas. The nationalisation drive not only helped to increase household savings, but it also provided considerable investments in the informal sector, in small and medium-sized enterprises, and in agriculture, and contributed significantly to regional development and to the expansion of India's industrial and agricultural base. Having been re-elected in 1971 on a nationalisation platform, Gandhi proceeded to nationalise the coal, steel, copper, refining, cotton textiles, and insurance industries. Most of these nationalisations were made to protect employment and the interest of the organized labour. The remaining private sector industries were placed under strict regulatory control. In 1973, Indira Gandhi nationalised oil companies.

❖ **Administration**

In 1966, Punjab was reorganized on linguistic lines. The Hindi-speaking southern half of Punjab

became a separate state, Haryana, while the Pahari speaking hilly areas in the northeast were joined to Himachal Pradesh. In doing so, the intension was to ward off the growing political conflict between Hindu and Sikh groups in the region. However, a contentious issue that was considered unresolved by the Akali's was the status of Chandigarh, a prosperous city on the Punjab-Haryana border, which was a union territory to be shared as a capital by both the states.

Victory over Pakistan in 1971 consolidated Indian power in Kashmir. Gandhi indicated that she would make no major concessions on Kashmir. The most prominent of the Kashmiri separatists, Sheikh Abdullah, had to recognize India's control over Kashmir in light of the new order in South Asia. The situation was normalized in the years following the war after Abdullah agreed to an accord with Gandhi, by giving up the demand for a plebiscite in return for a special autonomous status for Kashmir. In 1975, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was declared as a constituent unit of India. The Kashmir conflict remained largely peaceful under Gandhi's premiership.

In 1972, Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura were granted statehood, while the North-East Frontier Agency was declared a union territory and renamed Arunachal Pradesh. The transition to statehood for these territories was successfully overseen by her administration. This was followed by the annexation of Sikkim in 1975.

The principle of equal pay for equal work for both men and women was enshrined in the Indian Constitution under the Gandhi administration. Gandhi questioned the continued existence of a privy purse for Indian monarchs. She argued the case for abolition based on equal rights for all citizens and the need to reduce the government's revenue deficit. The privy purse was abolished by the 26th Amendment to the Constitution of India.

❖ *Language policy*

Under the Indian Constitution of 1950, Hindi was to have become the official national language by 1965. This was not acceptable to many non-Hindi speaking states, who wanted the continued use of English in government. In 1967, Gandhi made a constitutional amendment that guaranteed the de facto use of both Hindi and English as official languages. This established the official government

policy of bilingualism in India and satisfied the non-Hindi speaking Indian states. Gandhi thus put herself forward as a leader with a pan-Indian vision.

❖ *National security*

In the late 1960s and 1970s, Gandhi had the Indian army crush militant Communist uprisings in the Indian state of West Bengal. The communist insurgency in India was completely suppressed during the state of emergency.

Gandhi considered the north-eastern regions important, because of its strategic situation. In 1966, the Mizo uprising took place against the government of India and overran almost the whole of the Mizoram region. Gandhi ordered the Indian army to launch massive retaliatory strikes in response. The rebellion was suppressed with the Indian Air Force even carrying out airstrikes in Aizawl; this remains the only instance of India carrying out an airstrike in its own civilian territory. The defeat of Pakistan in 1971 and the secession of East Pakistan as pro-India Bangladesh led to the collapse of the Mizo separatist movement. In 1972, after the less extremist Mizo leaders came to the negotiating table, Gandhi upgraded Mizoram to the status of a union territory. A small-scale insurgency by some militants continued into the late 1970s but was successfully dealt with by the government. The Mizo conflict was definitively resolved during the administration of Indira's son Rajiv Gandhi. Today, Mizoram is considered as one of the most peaceful states in the north-east. Responding to the insurgency in Nagaland, Gandhi "unleashed a powerful military offensive" in the 1970s. Finally, a massive crackdown on the insurgents took place during the state of emergency ordered by Gandhi. The insurgents soon agreed to surrender and signed the Shillong Accord in 1975. While the agreement was considered a victory for the Indian government and ended large-scale conflicts, there has since been spurts of violence by rebel holdouts and ethnic conflict amongst the tribes.

❖ *Nuclear Programme of India*

Gandhi contributed and further carried out the vision of Jawarharalal Nehru, former Premier of India to develop the program. Gandhi authorised the development of nuclear weapons in 1967, in response to the Test No.6 by People's Republic of China. Gandhi saw this test as Chinese nuclear

intimidation, therefore, Gandhi promoted the views of Nehru to establish India's stability and security interests as independent from those of the nuclear superpowers.

The program became fully mature in 1974, when Dr. Raja Ramanna reported to Gandhi that India had the ability to test its first nuclear weapon. In 1974, India successfully conducted an underground nuclear test, unofficially code named as "Smiling Buddha", near the desert village of Pokhran in Rajasthan.

FOREIGN POLICY DURING SHASTRI AND INDIRA GANDHI TENURE

❖ *"Modified Structuralism": the post-Nehru Era*

The military defeat in 1962 marked nothing short of a watershed in the structure and conduct of India's foreign and security policies. In the immediate aftermath of this military debacle, Nehru overcame his staunch objections to defense spending. In his final days, he oversaw a drastic re-appraisal of India's security policies and practices. Most importantly, India embarked on a substantial program of military modernization. It committed itself to the creation of a million man army with ten new mountain divisions equipped and trained for high altitude warfare, a 45 squadron airforce with supersonic aircraft and a modest program of naval expansion. However, even after Nehru's demise in 1964, his successors still could not formally abandon the stated adherence to a policy of non-alignment. Consequently, the rhetoric of non-alignment remained a staple of Indian foreign policy. India's foreign policy behavior, however, increasingly assumed a more Realist orientation.

Once again, global, regional and personal factors contributed to the major policy shift. Despite a fleeting moment of military cooperation with India in the aftermath of the 1962 war, the United States disengaged itself from South Asia after the second Indo-Pakistani conflict in 1965 as it became increasingly preoccupied with the prosecution of the Vietnam war. Barring a brief and unhappy interlude in 1966 when the Johnson administration chose to exert considerable economic pressure on India to temper its criticism of the Vietnam war, to reform its agricultural policies and to open up its domestic economy to foreign investment, the United States, for all practical purposes, lost interest in India.

Sensing an opportunity to expand their influence in the subcontinent, the Soviets brokered a peace agreement between India and Pakistan in the Central Asian city of Tashkent in 1966. With this American disengagement from the subcontinent, Pakistan sought to expand the scope of its security cooperation with China to balance Indian power contributing to a growing security nexus between India's two major adversaries.

At a regional level, India's misgivings about its security increased in the aftermath of the first Chinese nuclear test at Lop Nor in 1964. The political fallout from these tests was considerable. Some within India's parliament called for an abandonment of non-alignment and even urged that India acquire an independent nuclear weapons option. After considerable debate, the ruling Congress party and the new Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, reaffirmed the country's public commitment to non-alignment and eschewed any immediate plans to acquire nuclear weapons.

However, in 1966, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Shastri's successor, decided to seek a nuclear guarantee from the great powers. This effort, proved to be quite fruitless. In the aftermath of this failure, Prime Minister Gandhi authorized India's Subterranean Nuclear Explosions Project (SNEP) which culminated in India's first nuclear test of May 1974. Under Indira Gandhi, India's foreign policy sought to sustain two competing visions of world order. On the one hand, India still supported the cause of decolonization and continued to lead the charge on behalf of the weaker states in the international system. For example, it remained a staunch opponent of the apartheid regime in South Africa, it was an unyielding supporter of the Palestinian cause and it opposed the Portuguese presence in Angola and Mozambique.

On the other hand, it also came to accept the importance of defense preparedness and increasingly overcame its reservations about the use of force in international politics. Not surprisingly, when faced with several million refugees from East Pakistan as a consequence of the outbreak of a civil war, the country quickly forged a careful politico-diplomatic strategy to breakup Pakistan. Part of this strategy involved the acquisition of a tacit security guarantee from the Soviet Union to counter possible Chinese malfeasance. Accordingly, despite India's professed commitment to non-alignment it signed a twenty-year pact of

“peace, friendship and cooperation” with the Soviet Union in August 1971. With its northern flanks thereby protected, India had a free hand to intervene in East Pakistan. Fortunately, Pakistan’s attack on its northern air bases in early December gave it the *casus belli* to launch an attack on the eastern front. Within two weeks, the Indian army along with an indigenous Bengali rebel movement, the “*mukti bahini*” (literally “liberation force”) militarily prevailed against the demoralized Pakistani forces.

In the aftermath of the 1971 war, the concomitant break-up of Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh, India emerged as the undisputed dominant power within the subcontinent. Despite its new found status, the country was unable to transcend the region. Several factors account for this failure to emerge as a power of any consequence in the global order. Most importantly, thanks to its pursuit of a dubious strategy of state-led industrialization India’s economic growth remained anemic. Simultaneously, the country’s deep-seated export pessimism led it to shy away from integrating itself into the global economy. The failure to develop ties with the global economy contributed to a paucity of foreign investment, important technological lags, a lack of innovation and the stifling of entrepreneurship. In turn, these forces contributed to what the eminent Indian economist Raj Krishna mordantly referred to as the “Hindu rate of growth”.

India’s political choices at systemic and national levels also did very little to enhance its global stature. At a global level, in the wake of the first oil crisis of 1973, India chose to spearhead the Group of 77, a set of developing nations seeking to fundamentally alter the global economic order. Ironically, while it was a leader of this coalition it benefited little from the global spike in oil prices and failed to obtain any meaningful concessions as a resource-poor developing nation from the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Indeed the country’s economic weakness effectively prevented it from carrying through a viable nuclear weapons program even after it managed to successfully test a nuclear weapon in May 1974. Faced with widespread global diplomatic disapprobation and significant economic and technological sanctions, India’s policymakers chose not to carry out any further tests.

Throughout much of the decade of the 1970s thanks to its poor record of economic growth and

its diplomatic limitations India became a marginal player in the global order. Its influence remained confined to the South Asian region. Its insignificance was again underscored when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in December 1979. The United States paid scant attention to Indian sensibilities and concerns when it chose to forge a renewed strategic relationship with Pakistan almost immediately after the Soviet invasion. General Zia-ul-Haq even rebuffed India’s efforts at reassuring Pakistan in the aftermath of the invasion.

In its efforts to oust the Soviets from Afghanistan the United States came to rely heavily on Pakistan. General Zia-ul-Haq, the military dictator, quite astutely exacted a significant economic and military price for such cooperation. During his watch, the United States provided two packages of foreign assistance the first for five years of \$3.2 billion and the second for six years of \$4.02 billion. In an effort to maintain its military superiority over Pakistan, India entered into a tighter military cooperation relationship with the Soviet Union. This military relationship, however, exacted a significant diplomatic cost. India was forced to tacitly acquiesce in the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. For the remainder of the decade, barring some limited efforts on the part of the Reagan administration to improve relations with India as part of a strategy to reduce the country’s dependence on the Soviet Union, India remained of little consequence to the great powers.

MAJOR EVENTS

❖ *Indo-Pakistan War (1971) and Bangladesh*

The Indo-Pakistani conflict was sparked by the Bangladesh Liberation war, a conflict between the traditionally dominant West Pakistanis and the majority East Pakistanis.[14] The Bangladesh Liberation war ignited after the 1970 Pakistani election, in which the East Pakistani Awami League won 167 of 169 seats in East Pakistan and secured a simple majority in the 313-seat lower house of the *Majlis-e-Shoora* (Parliament of Pakistan). Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman presented the Six Points to the President of Pakistan and claimed the right to form the government. After the leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, refused to yield the premiership of Pakistan to Mujibur, President Yahya Khan called the military, dominated by West Pakistanis, to suppress dissent in East Pakistan.

Mass arrests of dissidents began, and attempts were made to disarm East Pakistani soldiers and police. After several days of strikes and non-cooperation movements, the Pakistani military cracked down on Dhaka on the night of 25 March, 1971. The Awami League was banished, and many members fled into exile in India. Mujib was arrested on the night of 25–26 March, 1971 at about 1:30 am (as per Radio Pakistan's news on 29 March, 1971) and taken to West Pakistan. The next action carried out was Operation Searchlight, an attempt to kill the intellectual elite of the east.[31]

On 26 March, 1971, Ziaur Rahman, a major in the Pakistani army, declared the independence of Bangladesh. In April, exiled Awami League leaders formed a government-in exile in Baidyanathtala of Meherpur. The East Pakistan Rifles, a paramilitary force, defected to the rebellion. Bangladesh Force namely Mukti Bahini consisting of Niyomito Bahini (Regular Force) and Gono Bahini (Guerilla Force).

India's Involvement

The Pakistan army conducted a widespread genocide against the Bengali population of East Pakistan, aimed in particular at the minority Hindu population, leading to approximately 10 million people fleeing East Pakistan and taking refuge in the neighbouring Indian states. The East Pakistan-India border was opened to allow refugees safe shelter in India. The governments of West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura established refugee camps along the border. The resulting flood of impoverished East Pakistani refugees placed an intolerable strain on India's already overburdened economy.

The Indian government repeatedly appealed to the international community, but failing to elicit any response, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on 27 March, 1971 expressed full support of her government for the independence struggle of the people of East Pakistan. The Indian leadership under Prime Minister Gandhi quickly decided that it was more effective to end the genocide by taking armed action against Pakistan than to simply give refuge to those who made it across to refugee camps. Exiled East Pakistan army officers and members of the Indian Intelligence immediately started using these camps for recruitment and training of Mukti Bahini guerrillas.

The mood in West Pakistan had also turned increasingly jingoistic and militaristic against East

Pakistan and India. By the end of September, an organised propaganda campaign, possibly orchestrated by elements within the Government of Pakistan, resulted in stickers proclaiming Crush India becoming a standard feature on the rear windows of vehicles in Rawalpindi, Islamabad and Lahore and soon spread to the rest of West Pakistan. By October, other stickers proclaimed Hang the Traitor in an apparent reference to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

By November, war seemed inevitable. Throughout November, thousands of people led by West Pakistani politicians marched in Lahore and across West Pakistan, calling for Pakistan to Crush India. India responded by starting a massive buildup of Indian forces on the border with East Pakistan. The Indian military waited until December, when the drier ground would make for easier operations and Himalayan passes would be closed by snow, preventing any Chinese intervention. On 23 November, Yahya Khan declared a state of emergency in all of Pakistan and told his people to prepare for war.

On the evening of 3 December, Sunday, at about 5:40 pm, the Pakistani Air Force (PAF) launched a pre-emptive strike on eleven airfields in north-western India.

In an address to the nation on radio that same evening, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi held that the air strikes were a declaration of war against India and the Indian Air Force responded with initial air strikes that very night. These air strikes were expanded to massive retaliatory air strikes the next morning and thereafter which followed interceptions by Pakistanis anticipating this action.

This marked the official start of the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered the immediate mobilisation of troops and launched a full-scale invasion. This involved Indian forces in a massive coordinated air, sea, and land assault. Indian Air Force started flying sorties against Pakistan from midnight. The main Indian objective on the western front was to prevent Pakistan from entering Indian soil. There was no Indian intention of conducting any major offensive into West Pakistan.

India's grip on what had been East Pakistan tightened. Hostilities officially ended on 17 December, after the fall of Dacca on 15 December. India claimed large gains of territory in West Pakistan (although pre-war boundaries were

recognised after the war), and the independence of Pakistan's East wing as Bangladesh was confirmed.

Surrender of Pakistani forces in East Pakistan

Faced with insurmountable losses, the Pakistani military capitulated in less than a fortnight. On 16 December, the Pakistani forces stationed in East Pakistan surrendered. The Instrument of Surrender of Pakistani forces stationed in East Pakistan was signed at Ramna Race Course in Dhaka at 16.31 IST on 16 December, 1971, by Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora, General Officer Commanding-in-chief of Eastern Command of the Indian Army and Lieutenant General A. A. K. Niazi, Commander of Pakistani forces in East Pakistan. As Aurora accepted the surrender, the surrounding crowds on the race course began shouting anti-Niazi and anti-Pakistan slogans.

India took approximately 90,000 prisoners of war, including Pakistani soldiers and their East Pakistani civilian supporters. With the end of the war Bangladesh became an independent nation, the world's fourth most populous Muslim state. Mujibur Rahman was released from a West Pakistani prison, returning to Dhaka on 10 January, 1972 and becoming the first President of Bangladesh and later its Prime Minister.

United States and Soviet Union

The Soviet Union sympathised with the Bangladeshis, and supported the Indian Army and Mukti Bahini during the war, recognising that the independence of Bangladesh would weaken the position of its rivals—the United States and China. The USSR gave assurances to India that if a confrontation with the United States or China developed, it would take counter-measures. This assurance was enshrined in the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty signed in August 1971.

The United States supported Pakistan both politically and materially. President Richard Nixon and his Secretary of State Henry Kissinger feared Soviet expansion into South and Southeast Asia. Pakistan was a close ally of the People's Republic of China, with whom Nixon had been negotiating a rapprochement and where he intended to visit in February 1972. Nixon feared that an Indian invasion of West Pakistan would mean total Soviet domination of the region, and that it would seriously undermine the global

position of the United States and the regional position of America's new tacit ally, China. The Nixon administration also ignored reports it received of the "genocidal" activities of the Pakistani Army in East Pakistan. Then-US ambassador to the United Nations George H.W. Bush—later 41st President of the United States—introduced a resolution in the UN Security Council calling for a ceasefire and the withdrawal of armed forces by India and Pakistan. It was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The following days witnessed a great pressure on the Soviets from the Nixon-Kissinger duo to get India to withdraw, but to no avail.

When Pakistan's defeat in the eastern sector seemed certain, Nixon deployed Task Force 74 led by the aircraft carrier USS Enterprise into the Bay of Bengal. The Enterprise and its escort ships arrived on station on 11 December, 1971. On 6 and 13 December, the Soviet Navy dispatched two groups of cruisers and destroyers and a submarine armed with nuclear missiles from Vladivostok; they trailed US Task Force 74 into the Indian Ocean from 18 December, 1971 until 7 January, 1972. The Soviets also had a nuclear submarine to help ward off the threat posed by USS Enterprise taskforce in the Indian Ocean.

❖ China

As a long-standing ally of Pakistan, the People's Republic of China reacted with alarm to the evolving situation in East Pakistan and the prospect of India invading West Pakistan and Pakistani-controlled Kashmir. Believing that just such an Indian attack was imminent, Nixon encouraged China to mobilise its armed forces along its border with India to discourage it. The Chinese did not, however, respond to this encouragement, because unlike the 1962 Sino-Indian War when India was caught entirely unaware, this time the Indian Army was prepared and had deployed eight mountain divisions to the Sino-Indian border to guard against such an eventuality. China instead threw its weight behind demands for an immediate ceasefire.

When Bangladesh applied for membership to the United Nations in 1972, China vetoed their application because two United Nations resolutions regarding the repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war and civilians had not yet been implemented. China was also among the last countries to recognise independent Bangladesh, refusing to do so until 31 August, 1975.

❖ **Simla Agreement**

In 1972, the Simla Agreement was signed between India and Pakistan, the treaty ensured that Pakistan recognised the independence of Bangladesh in exchange for the return of the Pakistani POWs. India treated all the POWs in strict accordance with the Geneva Convention, rule 1925. It released more than 90,000 Pakistani POWs in five months.

The accord also gave back more than 13,000 km² of land that Indian troops had seized in West Pakistan during the war, though India retained a few strategic areas. But some in India felt that the treaty had been too lenient to Bhutto, who had pleaded for leniency, arguing that the fragile democracy in Pakistan would crumble if the accord was perceived as being overly harsh by Pakistanis and that he would be accused of losing Kashmir in addition to the loss of East Pakistan.

❖ **State of Emergency (1975–1977)**

The Government cited threats to national security, as a war with Pakistan had recently been concluded. Due to the war and additional challenges of drought and the 1973 oil crisis, the economy was in bad shape. The Government claimed that the strikes and protests had paralysed the government and hurt the economy of the country greatly. Her Cabinet and government then recommended that President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed declare a state of emergency because of the disorder and lawlessness following the Allahabad High Court decision. Accordingly, Ahmed declared a State of Emergency caused by internal disorder, based on the provisions of Article 352(1) of the Constitution, on 25 June, 1975.

Within a few months, President's Rule was imposed on the two opposition party ruled states of Gujarat and Tamil Nadu thereby bringing the entire country under direct Central rule or by governments led by the ruling Congress party. Police were granted powers to impose curfews and indefinitely detain citizens and all publications were subjected to substantial censorship by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Finally, impending legislative assembly elections were indefinitely postponed, with all opposition-controlled state governments being removed by virtue of the constitutional provision allowing for a dismissal of a state government on recommendation of the state's governor.

❖ **Laws, Human Rights and Elections**

Elections for the Parliament and state governments were postponed. Gandhi and her parliamentary majorities could rewrite the nation's laws, since her Congress party had the required mandate to do so - a two-thirds majority in the Parliament. And when she felt the existing laws were 'too slow', she got the President to issue 'Ordinances' - a law making power in times of urgency, invoked sparingly - completely bypassing the Parliament, allowing her to rule by decree. Also, she had little trouble amending the Constitution that exonerated her from any culpability in her election-fraud case, imposing President's Rule in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu, where anti-Indira parties ruled (state legislatures were thereby dissolved and suspended indefinitely), and jailing thousands of opponents. The 42nd Amendment, which brought about extensive changes to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, is one of the lasting legacies of the Emergency.

A fallout of the Emergency era was - the Supreme Court laid down that, although the Constitution is amenable to amendments (as abused by Indira Gandhi), changes that tinker with its basic structure cannot be made by the Parliament. (Kesavananda Bharti case).

Criticism and accusations of the Emergency-era may be grouped as:

- ❖ Detention of people by police without charge or notification of families.
- ❖ Abuse and torture of detainees and political prisoners.
- ❖ Use of public and private media institutions, like the national television network Doordarshan, for government propaganda.
- ❖ Forced sterilisation.
- ❖ Destruction of the slum and low-income housing in the Turkmen Gate and Jama Masjid area of old Delhi.
- ❖ Large-scale and illegal enactment of laws (including modifications to the Constitution).

The Emergency years were the biggest challenge to India's commitment to democracy, which proved vulnerable to the manipulation of powerful leaders and hegemonic Parliamentary majorities.

OPERATION BLUE STAR

In the 1977 elections, a coalition led by the Sikh-majority Akali Dal came to power in the northern Indian state of Punjab. In an effort to split the Akali Dal and gain popular support among the Sikhs, Indira Gandhi's Congress helped bring the orthodox religious leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale to prominence in Punjab politics. Later, Bhindranwale's organization Damdami Taksal became embroiled in violence with another religious sect called the Sant Nirankari Mission, and he was accused of instigating the murder of the Congress leader Jagat Narain. After being arrested in this matter, Bhindranwale disassociated himself from Congress and joined hands with the Akali Dal. In July 1982, he led the campaign for the implementation of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, which demanded greater autonomy for the Sikh-

majority state. Meanwhile, a small section of the Sikhs including some of Bhindranwale's followers, turned to militancy in support of the Khalistan movement, which aimed to create a separate sovereign state for the Sikhs. In 1983, Bhindranwale and his militant followers headquartered themselves in the Golden Temple, the holiest shrine of the Sikhs, and started accumulating weapons. After several futile negotiations, Indira Gandhi ordered the Indian army to enter the Golden temple in order to subdue Bhindranwale and his followers. In the resulting Operation Blue Star, the shrine was damaged and many civilians were killed. The State of Punjab was closed to international media, its phone and communication lines shut. To this day the events remain controversial with a disputed number of victims; Sikhs seeing the attack as unjustified and Bhindranwale being declared the greatest Sikh martyr of the 21st century by Akal Takht (Sikh Political Authority) in 2003.



THE RAJIV GANDHI'S TENURE AND ERA OF COLIATION (1984-1991)

The Congress party chose Rajiv Gandhi, Indira's older son as the next Prime Minister. Rajiv had been elected to Parliament only in 1982, and at 40, was the youngest national political leader and Prime Minister ever. But his youth and inexperience was an asset in the eyes of citizens tired of the inefficacy and corruption of career politicians, and looking for newer policies and a fresh start to resolve the country's long-standing problems. The Parliament was dissolved, and Rajiv led the Congress party to its largest majority in history (over 415 seats out of 545 possible), reaping a sympathy vote over his mother's assassination.

Rajiv Gandhi initiated a series of reforms - the license raj was loosened, and government restrictions on foreign currency, travel, foreign investment and imports decreased considerably. This allowed private businesses to use resources and produce commercial goods without government bureaucracy interfering, and the influx of foreign investment increased India's national reserves. As Prime Minister, Rajiv broke from his mother's precedent to improve relations with the United States, which increased economic aid and scientific co-operation. Rajiv's encouragement of science and technology resulted in a major expansion of the telecommunications industry, India's space programme and gave birth to the software industry and information technology sector.

In December 1984, gas leaks out at Union Carbide pesticides plant in the central Indian city of Bhopal. Thousands were killed immediately, many more subsequently died or were left disabled.

India in 1987 brokered an agreement between the Government of Sri Lanka and agreed to deploy troops for peacekeeping operation in Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict lead by the LTTE. Rajiv sent Indian troops to enforce the agreement and disarm the Tamil rebels, but the Indian Peace Keeping Force, as it was known, became entangled in outbreaks of violence - ultimately ending up fighting the Tamil rebels itself, and becoming a target of attack from Sri Lankan nationalists. V.P. Singh

withdrew the IPKF in 1990, but thousands of Indian soldiers had died. Rajiv's departure from Socialist policies did not sit well with the masses, who did not benefit from the innovations. Unemployment was a serious problem, and India's burgeoning population added ever-increasing needs for diminishing resources.

Rajiv Gandhi's image as an honest politician was shattered when the Bofors scandal broke, revealing that senior government officials had taken bribes over defence contracts by a Swedish guns producer.

ECONOMIC POLICY

He increased government support for science and technology and associated industries, and reduced import quotas, taxes and tariffs on technology-based industries, especially computers, airlines, defence and telecommunications. In 1986, he announced a National Policy on Education to modernise and expand higher education programs across India. He founded the Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya System in 1986 which is a Central government based institution that concentrates on the upliftment of the rural section of the society providing them free residential education from 6th till 12 grade. His efforts created MTNL in 1986, and his public call offices, better known as PCOs, helped spread telephones in rural areas. He introduced measures significantly reducing the Licence Raj, in post-1990 period, allowing businesses and individuals to purchase capital, consumer goods and import without bureaucratic restrictions.

The Seventh Five-Year Plan marked the comeback of the Congress Party to power. The plan laid stress on improving the productivity level of industries by upgrading of technology.

The main objectives of the Seventh Five-Year Plan were to establish growth in areas of increasing economic productivity, production of food grains, and generating employment.

As an outcome of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, there

had been steady growth in agriculture, controls on the rate of inflation, and favourable balance of payments which had provided a strong base for the Seventh Five-Year Plan to build on the need for further economic growth. The Seventh Plan had strived towards socialism and energy production at large. The thrust areas of the Seventh Five-Year Plan were: social justice, removal of oppression of the weak, using modern technology, agricultural development, anti-poverty programs, full supply of food, clothing, and shelter, increasing productivity of small- and large-scale farmers, and making India an independent economy.

Based on a 15-year period of striving towards steady growth, the Seventh Plan was focused on achieving the prerequisites of self-sustaining growth by the year 2000. The plan expected the labour force to grow by 39 million people and employment was expected to grow at the rate of 4% per year.

Under the Seventh Five-Year Plan, India strove to bring about a self-sustained economy in the country with valuable contributions from voluntary agencies and the general populace. The target growth rate was 5.0% and the actual growth rate was 6.01%.

FOREIGN POLICY

Rajiv Gandhi began leading in a direction significantly different from his mother's socialism. He improved bilateral relations with the United States – long strained owing to Indira's socialism and friendship with the USSR—and expanded economic and scientific cooperation.

SECURITY POLICY

Rajiv authorised an extensive police and army campaign to contain terrorism in Punjab. A state of martial law existed in the Punjab state, and civil liberties, commerce and tourism were greatly disrupted. There are many accusations of human rights violations by police officials as well as by the militants during this period. It is alleged that even as the situation in Punjab came under control, the Indian government was offering arms and training to the LTTE rebels fighting the government of Sri Lanka. The Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord was signed by Rajiv Gandhi and the Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene, in Colombo on 29 July, 1987. The very next day, on 30 July, 1987, Rajiv Gandhi was assaulted on the head with a rifle butt by a young Sinhalese naval cadet while receiving the honour guard.

JANATA DAL

General elections in 1989 gave Rajiv's Congress a plurality, a far cry from the majority which propelled him to power.

Power came instead to his former finance and Defence minister, V.P. Singh of Janata Dal. Singh had been moved from the Finance ministry to the Defence ministry after he unearthed some scandals which made the Congress leadership uncomfortable. Singh then unearthed the Bofors scandal, and was sacked from the party and office. Becoming a popular crusader for reform and clean government, Singh led the Janata Dal coalition to a majority. He was supported by BJP and the leftist parties from outside. Becoming Prime Minister, Singh made an important visit to the Golden Temple shrine, to heal the wounds of the past. He started to implement the controversial Mandal commission report, to increase the quota in reservation for low caste Hindus. The BJP protested these implementations, and took its support back, following which he resigned. Chandra Shekhar split to form the Janata Dal (Socialist), supported by Rajiv's Congress. This new government also collapsed in a matter of months, when congress withdrew its support.

ISSUES

❖ Sikh Riots and Terrorism in Punjab

Indira Gandhi was assassinated by two Sikh members of her security guard. Earlier she had rejected her security chief's suggestion that all Sikhs be removed from her security staff. The assassination of the popular prime minister led to a wave of horror, fear, anger and communal outrage among people all over the country, especially among the poor. This anger took an ugly and communal form in Delhi and some other parts of North India, where anti-Sikh riots broke out as soon as the news of the assassination spread. For three days from the evening of 31 October, mobs took over the streets of Delhi and made Sikhs targets of violence. There was complete failure of the law and order machinery in giving protection to Sikhs and their property. The three-day violence in Delhi resulted in the death of more than 2,500 Sikhs. The slums and resettlement colonies of Delhi were the main scenes of carnage.

Finally, in August 1985, Rajiv Gandhi and Longowal signed the Punjab Accord. The

government conceded the major Akali demands. It was agreed that Chandigarh would be transferred to Punjab and a commission would determine which Hindi-speaking terrorists would be transferred from Punjab to Haryana. The river water dispute was to be adjudicated by an independent tribunal. On 20 August, Longowal announced that the Akalis would participate in the elections. He was assassinated by the terrorists on same day. The Akalis secured an absolute majority in the state assembly for the first time in their history.

There was a resurgence in terrorists activities. The militant groups regrouped taking advantage of policies of the Barnala government where the state government was riven with factionalism and thus was unable to contain them. Soon, the central government dismissed the Barnala ministry and imposed President's Rule in Punjab in May 1987. Despite this, terrorism in Punjab went on growing.

After 1985 terrorism begun to be openly funded and supported by Pakistan.

A hard policy towards terrorism was followed from mid-1991 onwards by the Narasimha Rao government. In February 1992 elections, congress came into power led by Beant Singh in Punjab. The police became increasingly effective in its operations. By 1993, Punjab had been virtually freed of terrorism. Last political heavyweight to sacrifice his life for peace in Punjab was Beant Singh.

Former Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh was assassinated in a human bomb attack. Dilawar Singh was the human bomb: A Special Police Officer (SPO) with the Punjab Police, he was assigned the task of assassinating Beant Singh. He was wearing an explosive belt underneath his uniform, reached Beant Singh when the CM had just stepped to his car outside assembly and pressed the trigger. Jagtar Singh Hawara, a member of the Babbar Khalsa International (BKI) terrorist group headed by Wadhawa Singh, was the mastermind behind the whole operation.

❖ **Bofors scandal**

Rajiv Gandhi's finance minister, V.P. Singh, uncovered compromising details about government and political corruption, to the consternation of Congress leaders. Transferred to the Defence ministry, Singh uncovered what became known as the Bofors scandal, involving tens of millions of dollars – concerned alleged payoffs by the Swedish Bofors arms company through Italian

businessman and Gandhi family associate Ottavio Quattrocchi, in return for Indian contracts. Upon the uncovering of the scandal, Singh was dismissed from office, and later from Congress membership. Rajiv Gandhi himself was later personally implicated in the scandal. This shattered his image as an honest politician; he was posthumously cleared over this allegation in 2004.

Opposition parties united under Singh to form the Janata Dal coalition. In the 1989 election, the Congress suffered a major setback. With the support of Indian communists and the Bharatiya Janata Party, Singh and his Janata Dal formed a government. Rajiv Gandhi became the Leader of the Opposition, while remaining Congress president. While some believe that Rajiv and Congress leaders influenced the collapse of V.P. Singh's government in October 1990 by promising support to Chandra Shekhar, a high-ranking leader in the Janata Dal, sufficient internal contradictions existed, within the ruling coalition, especially over the controversial reservation issue, to cause a fall of government. Rajiv's Congress offered outside support briefly to Chandra Shekhar, who became Prime Minister. They withdrew their support in 1991, and fresh elections were announced.

❖ **Sri Lanka policy**

Then Sri Lankan Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa opposed the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord, but accepted it due to pressure from then President Junius Richard Jayewardene. In January 1989, Premadasa was elected President and on a platform that promised that the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) will leave within three months. In the 1989 elections, both the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and United National Party wanted the IPKF to withdraw, and they got 95 per cent of the vote.

The police action was unpopular in India as well, especially in Tamil Nadu, as India was fighting the Tamil separatists. Rajiv Gandhi refused to withdraw the IPKF, believing that the only way to end the civil war was to politically force Premadasa and militarily force the LTTE to accept the accord. Gandhi had concluded a visit to Sri Lanka; this was just after the Indian Peace Keeping Force (a contingent of India armed forces sent to Sri Lanka to help with their battle against Tamil insurgents) had been recalled and there was a good deal of resentment that Indian troops had been deployed there.

In December 1989, Singh was elected Prime Minister and completed the pullout. The IPKF operation killed over 1100 Indian soldiers, 5000 Tamil civilians and cost over 100 billion.

❖ **Shah Bano case**

In 1985, the Supreme Court of India ruled in favour of Muslim divorcee Shah Bano, declaring that her husband should give her alimony. A section of Muslims in India treated it as an encroachment in Muslim Personal Law and protested against it. Gandhi agreed to their demands. In 1986, the Congress (I) party, which had an absolute majority in Parliament at the time, passed an act that nullified the Supreme Court's judgement in the Shah Bano case. This was viewed in India that it is against the fundamental rule of the constitution that the law does treat everyone equal and was seen as a strategy to appease Muslims and garner their votes.

❖ **Gorkhaland Territorial Administration**

In 1986, the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) was organized under the leadership of Subhash Gheising. It started an agitation in the hill district of Darjeeling in West Bengal around the demand for a separate Gorkha state. After negotiations between GNLF and the central and state governments, a tripartite accord was signed in Calcutta in August 1988, under which the semi-autonomous Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council came into being. The Council had wide control over finance, education, health, agriculture and economic development.

Lately Bimal Gurung's GJM has emerged as the main political force in the area. A tripartite agreement paving the way for the setting up of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA), an elected body for the Darjeeling hills, has been signed. West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee and GJM president Bimal Gurung and central government were 3 Parties concerned. The new set-up will have 50 members: 45 of them will be elected and the rest nominated.

As large numbers of Gorkhas sang and danced at the site to celebrate the signing of the accord, there was a complete shutdown in the nearby town of Siliguri and parts of the Dooars and Terai regions on the plains of north Bengal. Mr. Gurung has reiterated the demand for the inclusion, under the GTA, of the Terai and Dooars regions. A committee set up for the inclusion of areas in the Dooars and the Terai has recommended for meager areal

inclusion and this may provide flash point in future. The government will also have to pay attention to this issue.

The long-running agitation for a Gorkhaland state in the hills was propelled by ethnic and linguistic passions. A lesson the West Bengal Government appears to have picked up from history is that these passions can often turn disruptive unless adequately addressed. Hence there is a need to amend Article 371 to provide a constitutional guarantee to the DGHC rather than continue to accept its functioning under a State Act. There is also a need to formulate an approach paper at the political level seeking to safeguard the interests of the Gorkhas as a dominant ethnic community with a distinctive social and linguistic identity.

❖ **Janata Dal and Beginning of Coalition Era**

General elections in 1989 gave Rajiv's Congress a plurality, a far cry from the majority which propelled him to power.

Power came instead to his former finance and Defense minister, V.P. Singh of Janata Dal. Singh had been moved from the Finance ministry to the Defence ministry after he unearthed some scandals which made the Congress leadership uncomfortable. Singh then unearthed the Bofors scandal, and was sacked from the party and office. Becoming a popular crusader for reform and clean government, Singh led the Janata Dal coalition to a majority. He was supported by BJP and the leftist parties from outside. Becoming Prime Minister, Singh made an important visit to the Golden Temple shrine, to heal the wounds of the past. V.P. Singh held office for slightly less than a year, from 2 December, 1989 to 10 November, 1990. After state legislative elections in March 1990, Singh's governing coalition achieved control of both houses of India's parliament. During this time, Janata Dal came to power in five Indian states under Om Prakash Chautala (Banarsi Das Gupta, Hukam Singh), Chimanbhai Patel, Biju Patnaik, Laloo Prasad Yadav, and Mulayam Singh Yadav, and the National Front constituents in three more under M. Karunanidhi, N.T. Rama Rao, and Prafulla Kumar Mahanta. The Janata Dal also shared power in Kerala under E.K. Nayanarand in Rajasthan under Bhairon Singh Shekhawat (supporting the Bharatiya Janata Party government from outside).

He started to implement the controversial Mandal commission report, to increase the quota in reservation for low caste Hindus. The BJP protested these implementations, and took its

support back, following which he resigned. Chandra Shekhar split to form the Janata Dal (Socialist), supported by Rajiv's Congress. This new government also collapsed in a matter of months, when congress withdrew its support.

ECONOMIC EVENTS

❖ Annual Plans (1990-1992)

The Eighth Plan could not take off in 1990 due to the fast changing political situation at the centre and the years 1990-91 and 1991-92 were treated as Annual Plans. The Eighth Plan was finally launched in 1992 after the initiation of structural adjustment policies.

FOREIGN POLICY

V.P. Singh decided to end the Indian army's unsuccessful operation in Sri Lanka where Rajiv Gandhi, his predecessor, had sent it to combat the Tamil separatist movement.

V.P. Singh faced his first crisis within few days of taking office: terrorists kidnapped the daughter of his Home Minister, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed (former Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir). His government agreed to the demand for releasing militants in exchange; partly to end the storm of criticism that followed, he shortly thereafter appointed Jagmohan Malhotra, a former bureaucrat, as Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, on the insistence of the Bharatiya Janata Party.

In Punjab, Singh replaced the hardline Siddhartha Shankar Ray as Governor with another former bureaucrat, Nirmal Kumar Mukarji, who moved forward on a timetable for fresh elections. Singh himself made a much-publicized visit to the Golden Temple to ask forgiveness for Operation Blue Star and the combination of events caused the long rebellion in Punjab to die down markedly in a few months. V.P. Singh also thwarted the efforts of Pakistan under Benazir Bhutto to start a border war with India.

MANDAL COMMISSION REPORT

Singh himself wished to move forward nationally on social justice-related issues, which would in addition consolidate the caste coalition that supported the Janata Dal in northern India, and accordingly decided to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission which

suggested that a fixed quota of all jobs in the public sector be reserved for members of the historically disadvantaged so-called Other Backward Classes. This decision led to widespread protests among the upper caste youth in urban areas in northern India. OBC reservation (less creamy layer) was upheld by the Supreme Court in 2008.

RAM TEMPLE ISSUE AND THE FALL OF THE COALITION

Meanwhile, the Bharatiya Janata Party was moving its own agenda forward. In particular, the Ram Janmabhoomi agitation, which served as a rallying cry for several radical Hindu organizations, took on new life. The party president, L.K. Advani, with Pramod Mahajan as aide, toured the northern states on a rath – a bus converted to look like a mythical chariot – with the intention of drumming up support. Before he could complete the tour by reaching the disputed site in Ayodhya, he was arrested on Singh's orders at Samastipur on the charges of disturbing the peace and fomenting communal tension. The kar-seva (demolition of the mosque and construction of the temple) proposed by Advani on 30 October, 1990 was prevented by stationing troops at the site. This led to the Bharatiya Janata Party's suspension of support to the National Front government.

THE CHANDRA SHEKHAR GOVERNMENT

Chandra Shekhar immediately seized the moment and left the Janata Dal with several of his own supporters. Although Chandra Shekhar had a mere 64 MPs, Rajiv Gandhi the leader of the Opposition, agreed to support him on the floor of the House; so he won a confidence motion and was sworn in as Prime Minister. He lasted only a few months before Congress withdrew support and fresh elections were called.

Rajiv Gandhi, who was rounding off one phase of campaigning with a late-night meeting in Sriperumbudur, forty kilometres from Madras, was blown to pieces when a young woman, who came forward to greet him, triggered off a bomb that she had strapped to her waist. Widely believed, and later proven, to be the handiwork of LTTE militants. The killing of the forty-six-year-old Rajiv generated a sympathy wave strong enough to give Congress 232 seats and the status of the single largest party.

ECONOMY IN 80S: THE WATERSHED YEARS

Beginning in the late 1970s, successive Indian governments sought to reduce state control of the economy. Progress toward that goal was slow but steady, and many analysts attributed the stronger growth of the 1980s to those efforts. The realization started occurring to country that a situation as usual approach might have to be changed, but country needed a shock to do the course correction, which came in early 1990s.

The rate of growth improved in the 1980s. A high rate of investment was a major factor in improved economic growth. Investment went from

about 19 per cent of GDP in the early 1970s to nearly 25 per cent in the early 1980s. India, however, required a higher rate of investment to attain comparable economic growth than did most other low-income developing countries, indicating a lower rate of return on investments. Part of the adverse Indian experience was explained by investment in large, long-gestating, capital-intensive projects, such as electric power, irrigation, and infrastructure. However, delayed completions, cost overruns, and under-use of capacity were contributing factors. Private savings financed most of India's investment, but by the mid-1980s further growth in private savings was difficult because they were already at quite a high level. As a result, during the late 1980s India relied increasingly on borrowing from foreign sources.



P.V. Narasimha Rao formed what was initially a minority Congress government on 21 June, 1991 but which gradually achieved a majority, and lasted a full five-year term. In the elections, Congress (Indira) won 244 parliamentary seats and put together a coalition, returning to power under the leadership of P.V. Narasimha Rao. This Congress-led government, which served a full 5-year term, initiated a gradual process of economic liberalisation and reform, which has opened the Indian economy to global trade and investment. India's domestic politics also took new shape, as traditional alignments by caste, creed, and ethnicity gave way to a plethora of small, regionally-based political parties.

But India was rocked by communal violence between Hindus and Muslims that killed over 10,000 people, following the Babri Mosque demolition by Hindu extremists in the course of the Ram Janmabhoomi dispute in Ayodhya in 1992.

Suffice it to say that Narasimha Rao's regime, despite its many achievements which are likely to be placed in a more favourable light with a longer historical perspective, tended to lose steam in the last two years, with a slowing down of economic reforms, surfacing of corruption charges and the 'hawala' scandal which led to charges, later found to be almost entirely unsustainable, of bribes and foreign exchange violations against many Congress and opposition leaders.

ECONOMIC CRISIS AND INITIATION OF LIBERALIZATION

❖ Eighth Five Year Plan (1992–1997)

1989–91 was a period of economic instability in India and hence no five-year plan was implemented. Between 1990 and 1992, there were only Annual Plans. In 1991, India faced a crisis in foreign exchange (forex) reserves, left with reserves of only about US \$1 billion. Thus, under pressure, the country took the risk of reforming the socialist economy. P.V. Narasimha Rao was the ninth Prime Minister of the Republic of India and head

of Congress Party, and led one of the most important administrations in India's modern history, overseeing a major economic transformation and several incidents affecting national security. At that time Dr. Manmohan Singh (former Prime Minister of India) launched India's free market reforms that brought the nearly bankrupt nation back from the edge. It was the beginning of privatization and liberalisation in India.

Modernization of industries was a major highlight of the Eighth Plan. Under this plan, the gradual opening of the Indian economy was undertaken to correct the burgeoning deficit and foreign debt. Meanwhile India became a member of the World Trade Organization on 1 January, 1995. This plan can be termed the Rao and Manmohan model of economic development. The major objectives included, controlling population growth, poverty reduction, employment generation, strengthening the infrastructure, institutional building, tourism management, human resource development, involvement of Panchayati Raj, Nagar Palikas, NGOs, decentralisation and people's participation.

❖ Economic reforms

Rao decided that India, which in 1991 was on the brink of bankruptcy, would benefit from liberalising its economy. He appointed an economist, Dr. Manmohan Singh, a former governor of the Reserve Bank of India, as Finance Minister to accomplish his goals. This liberalization was criticized by many socialist nationalists at that time.

Adopted to avert impending 1991 economic crisis, the reforms progressed furthest in the areas of opening up to foreign investment, reforming capital markets, deregulating domestic business, and reforming the trade regime. Rao's government's goals were reducing the fiscal deficit, Privatization of the public sector and increasing investment in infrastructure. Trade reforms and changes in the regulation of foreign direct investment were introduced to open India to foreign trade while stabilising external loans. Rao wanted I.G. Patel as his Finance Minister. Patel was an official who

NATIONAL SECURITY, FOREIGN POLICY AND CRISIS MANAGEMENT

helped prepare 14 budgets, an ex-governor of Reserve Bank of India and had headed The London School of Economics and Political Science. But Patel declined. Rao then chose Manmohan Singh for the job. Manmohan Singh, an acclaimed economist, played a central role in implementing these reforms.

Major reforms in India's capital markets led to an influx of foreign portfolio investment. The major economic policies adopted by Rao include:

- ❖ Abolishing in 1992 the Controller of Capital Issues which decided the prices and number of shares that firms could issue.
- ❖ Introducing the SEBI Act, 1992 and the Security Laws (Amendment) which gave SEBI the legal authority to register and regulate all security market intermediaries.
- ❖ Opening up in 1992 of India's equity markets to investment by foreign institutional investors and permitting Indian firms to raise capital on international markets by issuing Global Depository Receipts (GDRs).
- ❖ Starting in 1994 of the National Stock Exchange as a computer-based trading system which served as an instrument to leverage reforms of India's other stock exchanges. The NSE emerged as India's largest exchange by 1996.
- ❖ Reducing tariffs from an average of 85 per cent to 25 per cent, and rolling back quantitative controls. (The rupee was made convertible on trade account.)
- ❖ Encouraging foreign direct investment by increasing the maximum limit on share of foreign capital in joint ventures from 40 to 51% with 100% foreign equity permitted in priority sectors.
- ❖ Streamlining procedures for FDI approvals, and in at least 35 industries, automatically approving projects within the limits for foreign participation.

The impact of these reforms may be gauged from the fact that total foreign investment (including foreign direct investment, portfolio investment, and investment raised on international capital markets) in India grew from a minuscule US \$132 million in 1991-92 to \$5.3 billion in 1995-96. Rao began industrial policy reforms with the manufacturing sector. He slashed industrial licensing, leaving only 18 industries subject to licensing. Industrial regulation was rationalised.

Rao energised the national nuclear security and ballistic missiles program, which ultimately resulted in the 1998 Pokhran nuclear tests. He increased military spending, and set the Indian Army on course to fight the emerging threat of terrorism and insurgencies, as well as Pakistan and China's nuclear potentials. It was during his term that terrorism in the Indian state of Punjab was finally defeated. Also scenarios of aircraft hijackings, which occurred during Rao's time ended without the government conceding the terrorists' demands. He also directed negotiations to secure the release of Doraiswamy, an Indian Oil executive, from Kashmiri terrorists who kidnapped him, and Liviu Radu, a Romanian diplomat posted in New Delhi in October 1991, who was kidnapped by Sikh terrorists. Rao also handled the Indian response to the occupation of the Hazratbal holy shrine in Jammu and Kashmir by terrorists in October 1993. He brought the occupation to an end without damage to the shrine. Similarly, he dealt with the kidnapping of some foreign tourists by a terrorist group called Al Faran in Kashmir in 1995 effectively. Although he could not secure the release of the hostages, his policies ensured that the terrorists demands were not conceded to, and that the action of the terrorists was condemned internationally, including Pakistan.

Rao also made diplomatic overtures to Western Europe, the United States, and China. He decided in 1992 to bring into the open India's relations with Israel, which had been kept covertly active for a few years during his tenure as a Foreign Minister, and permitted Israel to open an embassy in New Delhi. He ordered the intelligence community in 1992 to start a systematic drive to draw the international community's attention to alleged Pakistan's sponsorship of terrorism against India and not to be discouraged by US efforts to undermine the exercise. Rao launched the Look East foreign policy, which brought India closer to ASEAN. He decided to maintain a distance from the Dalai Lama in order to avoid aggravating Beijing's suspicions and concerns, and made successful overtures to Tehran. The 'cultivate Iran' policy was pushed through vigorously by him. These policies paid rich dividends for India in March 1994, when Benazir Bhutto's efforts to have a resolution passed by the UN Human Rights

Commission in Geneva on the human rights situation in Jammu and Kashmir failed, with opposition by China and Iran.

Rao's crisis management after the 12 March, 1993 Bombay bombings was highly praised. He personally visited Bombay after the blasts and after seeing evidence of Pakistani involvement in the blasts, ordered the intelligence community to invite the intelligence agencies of the US, UK and other West European countries to send their counter-terrorism experts to Bombay to examine the facts for themselves.

❖ **Handling of separatist movements**

Rao has successfully decimated the Punjab separatist movement and neutralised Kashmir separatist movement. It is said that Rao was 'solely responsible' for the decision to hold elections in Punjab. Rao's government introduced the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA), India's first anti-terrorism legislation, and directed the Indian Army to eliminate the infiltrators. Despite a heavy and largely successful Army campaign, the state descended into a security nightmare. Tourism and commerce were largely disrupted.

❖ **BABRI MASJID DEMOLITION**

A mosque was built by a governor of Babur at Ayodhya (in Uttar Pradesh) in the early sixteenth century. Some Hindus claimed in the nineteenth century that it was built over a site which was the place where Ram was born and where a Ram temple had existed. Issue came to forefront in December 1949 when a district magistrate permitted a few Hindus to enter the mosque and install idols of Sita and Ram there. Sardar Patel, as the Home Minister, and Jawaharlal Nehru condemned the district magistrate's action, but the Uttar Pradesh government felt that it could not reverse the decision. However, it locked the mosque. The situation was more or less accepted by all as a temporary solution for the period of the dispute in the court.

In 1983, VHP started a public campaign demanding the 'liberation' of the Ram Janmabhoomi, which would entail the demolition of the mosque and the erection of a Ram temple in its place. Many political parties and groups did not do anything to counter the campaign; they just ignored it. On 1 February, 1986, the district judge reopened the mosque, gave Hindu priests its possession, and permitted Hindus to worship there.

The Hindu communalists demanded the demolition of the mosque and the construction of a Ram temple on its site.

In 1989, the VHP, keeping in view the impending Lok Sabha elections, organized a massive movement to start the construction of a Ram temple at the site where the Babri mosque stood. As a part of that objective, it gave a call for the collection of bricks, sanctified by water from the river Ganges, from all over the country to be taken to Ayodhya.

To popularize the objective, it organized in 1990 an all-India rath yatra headed by its President, L.K. Advani. The yatra aroused fierce communal passions and was followed by communal riots in large number of places. Thousands of BJP-VHP volunteers gathered at Ayodhya at the end of October 1990, despite the Uttar Pradesh government, headed by Mulayam Singh Yadav, banning the rally. To disperse the volunteers and to prevent them from harming the mosque, the police opened fire on them, killing and injuring over a hundred persons. The BJP-VHP organized a huge rally of over 200,000 volunteers at the site of the mosque on 6 December, 1992, with the major leaders of the two organizations being present.

To allay the fears of injury to the mosque, Kalyan Singh BJP chief minister of UP, gave an assurance to the Supreme Court that the mosque would be protected. In spite of the assurance, the volunteers set out to demolish the mosque with hammer blows, while government looked on. The entire country was shocked. Communal riots broke out in many parts of the country, the worst hit being Bombay, Calcutta and Bhopal. The riots in Bombay lasted for nearly a month. In all more than 3,000 people were killed in the riots all over India.

❖ **MUMBAI RIOTS and 1993 BLASTS**

It is 20 years since two cataclysmic events shook Bombay now Mumbai. First—the communal carnage spread over two months—Second, the serial blasts of March 12, 1993, with which terror came home to the city and claiming innocent lives. The Srikrishna Commission, in its final report, said the riots appeared to have been a causative factor for the bomb blasts. Supreme Court has finally disposed of appeals by death row convicts and actor Sanjay Dutt in the March 12, 1993 serial blasts case on March 21, 2013.

❖ **Latur earthquake**

In 1993, a strong earthquake in Latur, Maharashtra killed nearly 10,000 people and

displaced hundreds of thousands. Rao was applauded by many for using modern technology and resources to organize major relief operations to assuage the stricken people, and for schemes of economic reconstruction.

CORRUPTION CHARGES AND ACQUITTAL

In July 1993, Rao's government was facing a no-confidence motion, because the opposition felt that it did not have sufficient numbers to prove a majority. It was alleged that Rao, through a representative, offered millions of rupees to members of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM), and possibly a breakaway faction of the Janata Dal, to vote for him during the confidence motion. Before his death, Rao was acquitted of all the cases charged against him.

In the 1996 general elections, Rao's Congress Party was badly defeated and he had to step down as Prime Minister. He retained the leadership of the Congress party until late 1996 after which he was replaced by Sitaram Kesri. Suffice it to say that Narasimha Rao's regime, despite its many achievements which are likely to be placed in a more favourable light with a longer historical perspective, tended to lose steam in the last two years, with a slowing down of economic reforms, surfacing of corruption charges and the 'hawala' scandal which led to charges, later found to be almost entirely unsustainable, of bribes and foreign exchange violations against many Congress and opposition leaders. The elections held in 1996 led to Congress winning only 140 seats and BJP increasing its tally to 161 from 120 in 1991. A short-lived BJP government lasted from 16 May to 1 June, but failed to get majority support. A United Front government followed this with H.D. Deve Gowda as Prime Minister supported by Congress and CPM in which CPI joined as a partner and India got her first Communist home minister in Indrajit Gupta. Congress withdrew support on 30 March, 1997, failed to form a government, and again supported a United Front government, this time with L.K. Gujral as Prime Minister. The support was withdrawn again and fresh elections held in February 1998 that led to the formation of BJP-led government with Atal Behari Vajpayee as Prime Minister, as BJP, with 182 seats had the support of parties like the TDP, AIADMK and Trinamul Congress. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) emerged

from the May 1996 national elections as the single-largest party in the Lok Sabha but without enough strength to prove a majority on the floor of that Parliament. Under Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the BJP coalition lasted in power 13 days. With all political parties wishing to avoid another round of elections, a 14-party coalition led by the Janata Dal emerged to form a government known as the United Front. A United Front government under former Chief Minister of Karnataka, H.D. Deve Gowda lasted less than a year. The leader of the Congress Party withdrew his support in March 1997. Inder Kumar Gujral replaced Deve Gowda as the consensus choice for Prime Minister of a 16-party United Front coalition. In November 1997, the Congress Party again withdrew support for the United Front. New elections in February 1998 brought the BJP the largest number of seats in Parliament (182), but this fell far short of a majority.

GUJRAL DOCTRINE

The Gujral Doctrine is a set of five principles to guide the conduct of foreign relations with India's immediate neighbours, notably Pakistan, as spelt out by Gujral. The United Front Government's neighbourhood policy stood on five basic principles: First, with the neighbours like Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka, India does not ask for reciprocity but gives all that it can in good faith and trust. Secondly, no South Asian country will allow its territory to be used against the interest of another country of the region. Thirdly, none will interfere in the internal affairs of another. Fourthly, all South Asian countries must respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. And finally, settling all their disputes through peaceful bilateral negotiations.

The logic behind the Gujral Doctrine was that since India had to face two hostile neighbours in the north and the west, so it had to be at 'total peace' with all other immediate neighbours in order to contain Pakistan's and China's influence in the region.

Following a series of attacks attributed by the Indian media and government to originating from and planned in Pakistan throughout the 2000s, culminating with the 2008 Mumbai attacks, the Gujral Doctrine was criticised by the Indian media. However, it was also praised in the media.



In November 1997, the Congress Party again withdrew support for the United Front. New elections in February 1998 brought the BJP the largest number of seats in Parliament (182), but this fell far short of a majority. On 20 March, 1998, the President inaugurated a BJP-led coalition government with Vajpayee again serving as Prime Minister. On 11 and 13 May, 1998, this government conducted a series of underground nuclear weapons tests which caused Pakistan to conduct its own tests that same year. India's nuclear tests prompted President of the United States Bill Clinton and Japan to impose economic sanctions on India pursuant to the 1994 Nuclear Proliferation Prevention Act and led to widespread international condemnation.

In the early months of 1999, Prime Minister Vajpayee made a historic bus trip to Pakistan and met with Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and signed the bilateral Lahore peace declaration.

In April 1999, the coalition government led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) fell apart, leading to fresh elections in September. In May and June 1999, India discovered an elaborate campaign of terrorist infiltration that resulted in the Kargil War in Kashmir, derailing a promising peace process that had begun only three months earlier when Prime Minister Vajpayee visited Pakistan, inaugurating the Delhi-Lahore bus service. Indian forces killed Pakistan-backed infiltrators and reclaimed important border posts in high-altitude warfare.

Soaring on popularity earned following the successful conclusion of the Kargil conflict, the National Democratic Alliance - a new coalition led by the BJP - gained a majority to form a government with Vajpayee as Prime Minister in October 1999. End of the millennium was devastating to India, as a cyclone hit Orissa, killing at least 10,000 under Vajpayee Government.

In 2000 May, India's population exceeded 1 billion. President of the United States Bill Clinton made a groundbreaking visit to India to improve ties between the two nations. In January, massive earthquakes hit Gujarat state, killing at least 30,000.

Prime Minister Vajpayee met with Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf in the first summit between Pakistan and India in more than two years in middle of 2001. But, the meeting failed without a breakthrough or even a joint statement because of differences over Kashmir region

Following the 11 September attacks, the United States lifted sanctions which it imposed against India and Pakistan in 1998. The move was seen as a reward for their support for the War on Terror. India and Pakistan agreed to resume direct air links and to allow overflights and a groundbreaking meeting was held between the Indian government and moderate Kashmir separatists. The Golden Quadrilateral project aimed to link India's corners with a network of modern highways.

ECONOMIC POLICY

❖ Ninth Five-Year Plan (1997-2000)

The Ninth Five-Year Plan came after 50 years of Indian Independence. Atal Bihari Vajpayee was the Prime Minister of India during the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The Ninth Five-Year Plan tried primarily to use the latent and unexplored economic potential of the country to promote economic and social growth. It offered strong support to the social spheres of the country in an effort to achieve the complete elimination of poverty. The satisfactory implementation of the Eighth Five-Year Plan also ensured the states' ability to proceed on the path of faster development. The Ninth Five-Year Plan also saw joint efforts from the public and the private sectors in ensuring economic development of the country. In addition, the Ninth Five-Year Plan saw contributions towards development from the general public as well as governmental agencies in both the rural and urban areas of the country. New implementation measures in the form of Special Action Plans (SAPs) were evolved during the Ninth Five-Year Plan to fulfil targets within the stipulated time with adequate resources. The SAPs covered the areas of social infrastructure, agriculture, information technology and Water policy.

❖ Budget

The Ninth Five-Year Plan had a total public sector plan outlay of Rs. 8,59,200 crores. The Ninth Five-Year Plan also saw a hike of 48% in terms of plan expenditure and 33% in terms of the plan outlay in comparison to that of the Eighth Five-Year Plan. In the total outlay, the share of the centre was approximately 57% while it was 43% for the states and the union territories.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan focused on the relationship between the rapid economic growth and the quality of life for the people of the country. The prime focus of this plan was to increase growth in the country with an emphasis on social justice and equity. The Ninth Five-Year Plan placed considerable importance on combining growth oriented policies with the mission of achieving the desired objective of improving policies which would work towards the improvement of the poor in the country. The Ninth Five-Year Plan also aimed at correcting the historical inequalities which were still prevalent in the society.

Objectives

The main objective of the Ninth Five-Year Plan was to correct historical inequalities and increase the economic growth in the country. Other aspects which constituted the Ninth Five-Year Plan were:

- ❖ Population control.
- ❖ Generating employment by giving priority to agriculture and rural development.
- ❖ Reduction of poverty.
- ❖ Ensuring proper availability of food and water for the poor.
- ❖ Availability of primary healthcare facilities and other basic necessities.
- ❖ Primary education to all children in the country.
- ❖ Empowering the socially disadvantaged classes like Scheduled castes, Scheduled tribes and other backward classes.
- ❖ Developing self-reliance in terms of agriculture.
- ❖ Acceleration in the growth rate of the economy with the help of stable prices.

Strategies

- ❖ Structural transformations and developments in the Indian economy.

- ❖ New initiatives and initiation of corrective steps to meet the challenges in the economy of the country.
- ❖ Efficient use of scarce resources to ensure rapid growth.
- ❖ Combination of public and private support to increase employment.
- ❖ Enhancing high rates of export to achieve self-reliance.
- ❖ Providing services like electricity, telecommunication, railways, etc.
- ❖ Special plans to empower the socially disadvantaged classes of the country.
- ❖ Involvement and participation of Panchayati Raj institutions/bodies and Nagar Palikas in the development process.

Performance

- ❖ The Ninth Five-Year Plan achieved a GDP growth rate of 5.4% against a target of 6.5%.
- ❖ The agriculture industry grew at a rate of 2.1% against the target of 4.2%.
- ❖ The industrial growth in the country was 4.5% which was higher than that of the target of 3%.
- ❖ The service industry had a growth rate of 7.8%.
- ❖ An average annual growth rate of 6.7% was reached.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan looks through the past weaknesses in order to frame the new measures for the overall socio-economic development of the country. However, for a well-planned economy of any country, there should be a combined participation of the governmental agencies along with the general population of that nation. A combined effort of public, private, and all levels of government is essential for ensuring the growth of India's economy.

The target growth was 7.1% and the actual growth was 6.8%.

NATIONAL HIGHWAY PROJECT, FOREIGN POLICY AND ECONOMIC REFORMS

During his administration, Vajpayee introduced many domestic economic and infrastructural reforms, including encouraging the private sector

and foreign investments, reducing governmental waste, encouraging research and development and privatisation of some government owned corporations. Vajpayee's pet projects were the National Highway Development Project and Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana.

In March 2000, Bill Clinton, the President of the United States, paid a state visit to India. His was the first state visit to India by a U.S. President in 22 years. President Clinton's visit to India was hailed as a significant milestone in the relations between the two countries. Since the visit came barely two years after the Pokhran tests, and one year after the Kargil invasion and the subsequent coup in Pakistan, it was read to reflect a major shift in the post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy. The Indian Prime Minister and the U.S. President discussed strategic issues, but the major achievement was a significant expansion in trade and economic ties. The Historic Vision Document on the future course of relations between the two countries was signed by Prime Minister Vajpayee and President Clinton during the visit.

Vajpayee promoted pro-business, free market reforms to reinvigorate India's economic transformation and expansion that were started by the former PM Narasimha Rao but stalled after 1996 due to unstable governments and the 1997 Asian financial crisis. Increased competitiveness, extra funding and support for the information technology sector and high-tech industries, improvements in infrastructure, deregulation of trade, investments and corporate laws—all increased foreign capital investment and set in motion an economic expansion.

These couple of years of reform however were accompanied by infighting in the administration and confusion regarding the direction of government. Vajpayee's weakening health was also a subject of public interest, and he underwent a major knee-replacement surgery at the Breach Candy Hospital in Mumbai to relieve great pressure on his legs.

Vajpayee again broke the ice in the Indo-Pak relations by inviting Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf to Delhi and Agra for a joint summit and peace talks. His second major attempt to move beyond the stalemate involved inviting the man who had planned the Kargil invasions. But accepting him as the President of Pakistan, Vajpayee chose to move forward. But after three days of much fanfare, which included Musharraf visiting

his birthplace in Delhi, the summit failed to achieve a breakthrough as President Musharraf declined to leave aside the issue of Kashmir.

In 2001, the Vajpayee government launched the famous Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, which aimed at improving the quality of education in primary and secondary schools.

❖ Nuclear tests (Operation Shakti)

In May 1998, India conducted five underground nuclear tests in Pokhran desert in Rajasthan, 24 yrs after India conducted its first nuclear test Pokhran-I in 1974. This test was called Pokhran-II. The tests were held just a month after the government had been in power. Two weeks later, Pakistan responded with its own nuclear tests making it the newest declared nation with nuclear weapons.

While some nations, such as Russia and France, endorsed India's right to defensive nuclear power, others including the United States, Canada, Japan, Britain and the European Union imposed sanctions on information, resources and technology to India. In spite of the intense international criticism and the steady decline in foreign investment and trade, the nuclear tests were popular domestically. Effectively the international sanctions failed completely in swaying India's decision to weaponize their nuclear capability, something that was planned for and anticipated by the Vajpayee administration.

❖ The Lahore summit

In late 1998 and early 1999, Vajpayee began a push for a full-scale diplomatic peace process with Pakistan. With the historic inauguration of the Delhi-Lahore bus service in February 1999, Vajpayee initiated a new peace process aimed towards permanently resolving the Kashmir dispute and other conflicts with Pakistan. The resultant Lahore Declaration espoused a commitment to dialogue, expanded trade relations and mutual friendship and envisaged a goal of denuclearised South Asia. This eased the tension created by the 1998 nuclear tests, not only within the two nations but also in South Asia and the rest of the world.

❖ Kargil War

Even during his previous governmental experience as the external affairs minister of India, Vajpayee had sought to redefine India's relation with its neighbors. As the prime minister of India he made similar attempts that ultimately proved

futile. In order to improve the relationship with Pakistan, Vajpayee embarked upon a historic bus journey that was to take him to Lahore. On crossing the Wagah border post, he was given a warm Reception by the then Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif. The mask of love and brotherhood that Pakistan wore that day had a much deeper meaning, since Pakistani establishment was more interested in riding a bus to Kargil than the bus of friendship.

The two countries signed, what became known as Lahore declaration. Emphasis was laid on solving the disputes between them through negotiations. Hopes were seen of a bright future, visions were created. But all the euphoria led nowhere, ultimately Lahore proved to be the biggest blunder in Vajpayee's career.

An extremely cold place, Kargil is often termed as a no-mans land. With very little human habitation what could be seen there is snow-tipped mountainous terrain and Indian army trucks criss-crossing Kargil on its way to Ladakh. Strategically Kargil is highly important for India, as it is the only road connection between the Kashmir valley and Ladakh. For Indian army it is the supply route for all the essential items needed to survive in Ladakh and Siachen. Siachen has been the bone of contention between both India and Pakistan. Overlooking Karakoram pass, which connects Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) with China, Siachen has been under Indian occupation since 80s. Repeated attempts by Pakistan to capture the glacier have failed. Kargil was an attempt by Pakistan, to cut supply routes to Siachen and ultimately wrest it from India. It was a carefully thought out strategy of the Pakistani military establishment. Using Afghani and Sudanese mercenaries, backed by the regular Pakistani army, it infiltrated and captured the heights near the Srinagar-Leh national highway. The plan was to use these heights to capture the highway, ultimately cutting off the supply routes to Siachen and Ladakh. The infiltration was a slow process in order to prevent Indian armed forces from detecting it. It started soon after the Lahore bus journey of Vajpayee. By April 1999, the infiltration had reached dangerous proportions. Government was taken by surprise when few army men on routine mission of touring the checkposts in the bordering areas of Kargil went missing. Soon aerial surveys for the missing revealed huge illegal bunkers created in hilltops. It was clear that Pakistan had again backstabbed and all the hard works of Lahore had

been in vain. Vajpayee Government had in the meanwhile been reduced to the status of a caretaker government by the whims of Sonia Gandhi and Jayalalitha. After losing the majority in the floor of the house by just one vote, Vajpayee had resigned. But repeated attempts by combined opposition to form a government proved futile. Ultimately Lok Sabha was dissolved and elections were to be held under Vajpayee's caretaker government. But unexpected events of Kargil forced the election commission to postpone the elections for the time being. What seemed to ordinary Indians as a routine attempt by Pakistani Army to push in militants in Kashmir valley, turned out to be a full-scale war when Indian Air Force started carrying out repeated air raids over the hillocks of Kargil.

Afghani mercenaries, who had become rugged and war-crazy after so many years of successful struggle against the Russians in Afghanistan had camped over large number of strategically placed hills in and around Kargil region. Removing them using conventional methods would have been impossible, finding no other alternatives Prime Minister Vajpayee ordered lightening air raids over those bunkers. The air raids were followed by military push. Guns like Bofors were used for the first time by the armed forces.

Heavy bombardment both by the Indian Army and the Air Force destroyed the capabilities of the Afghani mercenaries and also dashed the hopes of Pakistan, which dreamt of repeating Afghanistan in Kashmir too.

❖ Indian Airlines hijack

A national crisis emerged in December 1999, when Indian Airlines flight IC-814 from Kathmandu to New Delhi was hijacked by five terrorists and flown to Taliban-ruled Afghanistan. The hijackers made several demands including the release of certain terrorists like Maulana Masood Azhar from prison. Under extreme pressure, the government ultimately caved in. Jaswant Singh, the Minister for External Affairs at the time, flew with the terrorists to Afghanistan and exchanged them for the passengers.

❖ Attack on Indian Parliament

The 2001 Indian Parliament attack was a high-profile attack on the Parliament of India, housing in New Delhi by Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed terrorists. The attack led to the death of a dozen people, including one civilian and to increased tensions between India and Pakistan,

resulting in 2001–2002 India-Pakistan standoff. On 13 December, 2001, five terrorists infiltrated the Parliament House in a car with Home Ministry and Parliament labels. While both the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha had been adjourned 40 minutes prior to the incident, many Members of Parliament (MPs) and government officials were believed to have still been in the building at the time of the attack.

One gunman's suicide vest exploded when he was shot dead; the other four gunmen were also killed. Five policemen, a Parliament security guard, and a gardener were killed, and 18 others were injured. The ministers and MPs escaped unhurt.

Indian Government initially accused Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed to be involved in this attack. However, Lashkar-e-Taiba denied any involvement in the incident. In December 2002, four JeM members were caught by Indian authorities and put on trial. All four were found guilty of playing various roles in the incident, although the fourth, Afsan/Navjot Sandhu, wife of Shaukat Hussain (one of the accused) was found guilty of a minor charge of concealing knowledge of conspiracy. One of the accused, Afzal Guru, was

sentenced to the death penalty for the incident.

❖ **Godhra Train Burning and Gujrat Riots**

The story began on the morning of 27 February at Godhra town in Gujarat, where a boggy of the Sabarmati Express caught fire. 58 people, including 15 women and 20 children, were burnt to death in the fire. The victims were all Hindus, Karsevaks or volunteers returning from participating in a yagya or religious ceremony at Ayodhya.

On 28 February began a wave of communal riots that continued for almost three months. The police and administration allegedly looked the other way or even connived and helped. Many observers have remarked that what distinguished the events of 2002 was that, unlike a typical riot situation in which two groups engage in, usually spontaneous, violence, the assault was one-sided, premeditated, brutal, and supported or facilitated by the state. The Gujarat events shook the conscience of the nation. Many high profile cases are being fought in courts and it is believed by many that judiciary alongwith certain well-known faces are fighting the seemingly eternal fight against the biggest enemy of State i.e., Communalism.

MANMOHAN SINGH TENURE (UPA I & II)

In January 2004, Prime Minister Vajpayee recommended early dissolution of the Lok Sabha and general elections. The Congress Party-led alliance won in elections held in May 2004. Manmohan Singh became the Prime Minister. The Congress formed a coalition called the United Progressive Alliance with Socialist and regional parties, and enjoyed the outside support of India's Communist parties. Manmohan Singh became the first Sikh and non-Hindu to date to hold India's most powerful office. Mr. Singh continued economic liberalisation, although the need for support from Indian Socialists and Communists forestalled further privatisation for some time.

By the end of the year 2004, India began to withdraw some of its troops from Kashmir. And by middle next year the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad Bus Service was inaugurated, the first in 60 years to operate between Indian-administered and Pakistani-administered Kashmir.

In 2006 February, the United Progressive Alliance government launched India's largest-ever rural jobs scheme, aimed at lifting around 60 million families out of poverty.

United States and India signed a major nuclear co-operation agreement during a visit by United States President George W. Bush in 2006 March. According to the nuclear deal, the United States will give India access to civilian nuclear technology while India agrees to greater scrutiny for its nuclear programme. Later United States approved a controversial law allowing India to buy their nuclear reactors and fuel for the first time in 30 years. In 2008 July, the United Progressive Alliance survived a vote of confidence brought after left-wing parties withdraw their support over the nuclear deal. After the vote, several left-wing and regional parties form new alliance to oppose government, saying it has been tainted by corruption. Within three months, following approval by the American Congress, George W. Bush signed into law a nuclear deal with India, which ended a three-decade ban on American nuclear trade with Delhi.

In 2007, India got its first female sworn in

President, Pratibha Patil. In 2008 October, India successfully launched its first mission to the moon, the unmanned lunar probe called Chandrayaan-1. In the previous year, India had launched its first commercial space rocket, carrying an Italian satellite.

In November 2008, Mumbai attacks took place and India blamed militants from Pakistan for the attacks and announced "pause" in the ongoing peace process. In the Indian General Election in 2009, the United Progressive Alliance won a convincing and resounding 262 seats, with Congress alone winning 206 seats. In mid-2011, Anna Hazare, a prominent social activist, staged a 12-day hunger strike in Delhi in protest at state corruption, after government proposals to tighten up the anti-graft legislation which fell short of his demands.

Despite all this, India showed great promise with a higher growth rate in Gross domestic product. In January 2011, India assumed a non-permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council for the 2011-12 term. In 2004, India had launched an application for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council alongwith Brazil, Germany and Japan.

However, 21st century India is facing the Naxalite-Maoist rebels, in the words of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, India's greatest internal security challenge and other terrorist tensions. India in the new millennium, improved relations with many countries and foreign unions including the United States, the European Union, Israel and the People's Republic of China.

ECONOMIC POLICY

Following the advice of International Monetary Fund in 1991, Singh as Finance Minister, freed India from the Licence Raj, source of slow economic growth and corruption in the Indian economy for decades. He liberalised the Indian economy, allowing it to speed up development dramatically. During his term as Prime Minister, Singh continued

to encourage growth in the Indian market, enjoying widespread success in these matters. Singh, along with the former Finance Minister, P. Chidambaram, have presided over a period where the Indian economy has grown with an 8–9% economic growth rate. In 2007, India achieved its highest GDP growth rate of 9% and became the second fastest growing major economy in the world.

Singh's government has continued the Golden Quadrilateral and the highway modernisation program that was initiated by Vajpayee's government. Singh has also been working on reforming the banking and financial sectors, as well as public sector companies. The Finance ministry has been working towards relieving farmers of their debt and has been working towards pro-industry policies. In 2005, Singh's government introduced the value added tax, replacing sales tax. In 2007 and early 2008, the global problem of inflation impacted India.

● Tenth Plan (2002-2007)

The main objectives of the Tenth Five-Year Plan were:

- Attain 8% GDP growth per year.
- Reduction of poverty rate by 5% by 2007.
- Providing gainful and high-quality employment at least to the addition to the labour force.
- Reduction in gender gaps in literacy and wage rates by at least 50% by 2007.
- 20-point program was introduced.
- Target growth: 8.1%-growth achieved: 7.7%
- Expenditure of Rs. 43,825 crores for tenth five years
- Eleventh Plan(2007–2012)
 - i) Emphasis on social sector and delivery of service therein.
 - ii) Empowerment through education and skill development.
 - iii) Reduction of gender inequality.
 - iv) Environmental sustainability.
 - v) To increase the growth rate in agriculture, industry and services to 4%, 10% and 9% respectively.

● Healthcare and education

In 2005, Prime Minister Singh and his government's health ministry started the National Rural Health Mission, which has mobilised half a million community health workers. This rural health initiative was praised by the American economist, Jeffrey Sachs. In 2006, his Government implemented the proposal to reserve 27% of seats in All India Institute of Medical Studies (AIIMS), Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), the Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs) and other central institutions of higher education for Other Backward Classes which led to 2006 Indian anti-reservation protests.

Eight more IIT's were opened in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Orissa, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. The Singh government also continued the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan programme. The programme includes the introduction and improvement of mid-day meals and the opening of schools all over India, especially in rural areas, to fight illiteracy.

SECURITY AND HOME AFFAIRS

Singh's government has been instrumental in strengthening anti-terror laws with amendments to Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA). National Investigation Agency (India) (NIA) was also created soon after the Nov 2008 Mumbai terror attacks, as need for a central agency to combat terrorism was realised. Also, Unique Identification Authority of India was established in February 2009, an agency responsible for implementing the envisioned Multipurpose National Identity Card with the objective of increasing national security and facilitating e-Governance.

Singh's administration initiated a massive reconstruction effort in Kashmir to stabilise the region but after some period of success, insurgent infiltration and terrorism in Kashmir has increased since 2009. However, the Singh administration has been successful in reducing terrorism in Northeast India.

LEGISLATIONS

The important National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and the Right to Information Act were passed by the Parliament in

2005 during his tenure. While the effectiveness of the NREGA has been successful at various degrees, in various regions, the RTI act has proved crucial in India's fight against corruption.

FOREIGN POLICY

Manmohan Singh has continued the pragmatic foreign policy that was started by P.V. Narasimha Rao and continued by Bharatiya Janata Party's Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Singh has continued the peace process with Pakistan initiated by his predecessor, Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Exchange of high-level visits by top leaders from both countries have highlighted his tenure. Efforts have been made during Singh's tenure to end the border dispute with People's Republic of China. In November 2006, Chinese President Hu Jintao visited India which was followed by Singh's visit to Beijing in January 2008. A major development in Sino-Indian relations was the reopening of the Nathula Pass in 2006 after being closed for more than four decades. As of 2010, the People's Republic of China is the second biggest trade partner of India.

Relations with Afghanistan have also improved considerably, with India now becoming the largest regional donor to Afghanistan. During Afghan President Hamid Karzai's visit to New Delhi in August 2008, Manmohan Singh increased the aid package to Afghanistan for the development of more schools, health clinics, infrastructure, and defence. Under the leadership of Singh, India has emerged as one of the single largest aid donors to Afghanistan.

Singh's government has worked towards stronger ties with the United States. He visited the United States in July 2005 initiating negotiations over the Indo-US civilian nuclear agreement. This was followed by George W. Bush's successful visit to India in March 2006, during which the declaration over the nuclear agreement was made, giving India access to American nuclear fuel and technology while India will have to allow IAEA inspection of its civil nuclear reactors. After more than two years for more negotiations, followed by approval from the IAEA, Nuclear Suppliers Group and the U.S. Congress, India and the U.S. signed the agreement on 10 October, 2008 with Pranab Mukherjee representing India.

Singh had the first official state visit to the White House during the administration of U.S. President Barack Obama. The visit took place in November

2009, and several discussions took place, including on trade and nuclear power.

Relations have improved with Japan and European Union countries, like the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. Relations with Iran have continued and negotiations over the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline have taken place. New Delhi hosted an India-Africa Summit in April 2006 which was attended by the leaders of 15 African states. Relations have improved with other developing countries, particularly Brazil and South Africa. Singh carried forward the momentum which was established after the "Brasilia Declaration" in 2003 and the IBSA Dialogue Forum was formed.

Singh's government has also been especially keen on expanding ties with Israel. Since 2003, the two countries have made significant investments in each other and Israel now rivals Russia to become India's defence partner. Though there have been a few diplomatic glitches between India and Russia, especially over the delay and price hike of several Russian weapons to be delivered to India, relations between the two remain strong with India and Russia signing various agreements to increase defence, nuclear energy and space cooperation.

15TH LOK SABHA

India held general elections to the 15th Lok Sabha in five phases between 16 April, 2009 and 13 May, 2009. The results of the election were announced on 16 May, 2009. Once again the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) form the new government under the incumbent Singh, who became the first Prime Minister since Jawaharlal Nehru in 1962 to win re-election after completing a full five-year term. The Congress and its allies were able to put together a comfortable majority with support from 322 members out of 543 members of the House.

The 2009 Indian general election was the largest democratic election in the world held to date, with an eligible electorate of 714 million. Last two years of his tenure were marred by various scams like CWG scam, Coal Gate scam, 2G scam, etc. and policy paralysis.

After 30 years the BJP was able to gain majority of its own and became the largest party in 16th Lok Sabha and ended a collation era. The NDA

formed the government under the leadership of Narendra Damodardas Modi.

Narendra Modi was sworn in as prime minister on 26 May, 2014 at the Rastrapati Bhavan. He is India's first Prime Minister born after the country's independence. In a first of its kind, Modi invited all SAARC leaders to attend his swearing-in ceremony; the attendees included Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif, Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa, Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai, Bhutan Prime Minister Tshering Tobgay, Nepal Prime Minister Sushil Koirala, Maldives President Abdulla Yameen Abdul Gayoom and speaker of Bangladesh Shirin Sharmin Chaudhury and Prime Minister Navin Ramgoolam of Mauritius (SAARC observer).

MUMBAI TERRORIST ATTACK (2008)

The 2008 Mumbai attacks were twelve coordinated shooting and bombing terrorist attacks lasting four days across Mumbai, India's largest city, by members of Lashkar-e-Taiba. Ajmal Kasab, the only attacker who was captured alive, later confessed upon interrogation that the attacks were conducted with the support of Pakistan's ISI. The attacks, which drew widespread global condemnation, began on Wednesday, 26 November and lasted until Saturday, 29 November, 2008, killing 164 people and wounding at least 308.

Eight of the attacks occurred in South Mumbai: at Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus, the Oberoi Trident, the Taj Mahal Palace & Tower, Leopold Cafe, Cama Hospital (a women and children's hospital), the Nariman House Jewish community centre, the Metro Cinema, and in a lane behind the Times of India building and St. Xavier's College. There was also an explosion at Mazagaon, in Mumbai's port area, and in a taxi at Vile Parle. By the early morning of 28 November, all sites except for the Taj hotel had been secured by Mumbai Police and security forces. On 29 November, India's National Security Guards (NSG) conducted Operation Black Tornado to flush out the remaining attackers; it resulted in the deaths of the last remaining attackers at the Taj hotel and ending all fighting in the attacks.

Ajmal Kasab disclosed that the attackers were members of Lashkar-e-Taiba, considered a terrorist organization by India, Pakistan, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the United Nations, among others. The Government of India said that

the attackers came from Pakistan, and their controllers were in Pakistan. On 7 January, 2009, Pakistan's Information Minister Sherry Rehman officially accepted Ajmal Kasab's nationality as Pakistani. On 12 February, 2009, Pakistan's Interior Minister Rehman Malik asserted that parts of the attack had been planned in Pakistan. A trial court on 6 May, 2010, sentenced Ajmal Kasab to death on all the 86 charges for which he was convicted. On his appeal against this verdict, Bombay High Court on 21 February, 2011, and Supreme Court of India on 29 August, 2012, upheld his death sentence. Kasab was executed by hanging at Yerwada Jail in Pune on 21 November, 2012.

Mumbai attacks once again proved Indian stand right that Pakistan is directly involved in propagating terrorism in India.

COMMONWEALTH GAMES (2010)

The 2010 Commonwealth Games, officially known as the XIX Commonwealth Games, were held in Delhi, India, from 3 to 14 October, 2010. A total of 6,081 athletes from 71 Commonwealth nations and dependencies competed in 21 sports and 272 events, making it the largest Commonwealth Games to date. It was also the largest international multi-sport event to be staged in Delhi and India, eclipsing the Asian Games in 1951 and 1982. The opening and closing ceremonies were held at the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium, the main stadium of the event. It was the first time that the Commonwealth Games were held in India and the second time it was held in Asia after Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia in 1998.

ANTI-CORRUPTION MOVEMENT BY ANNA HAZARE

The 2011 Indian anti-corruption movement was a series of demonstrations and protests across India intended to establish strong legislation and enforcement against perceived endemic political corruption. The movement gained momentum from 5 April, 2011, when anti-corruption activist Anna Hazare began a hunger strike at the Jantar Mantar in New Delhi. The chief legislative aim of the movement was to alleviate corruption in the Indian government through introduction of the Jan Lokpal Bill. Another aim, spearheaded by Ramdev, was the repatriation of blackmoney from Swiss and other foreign banks.

Grievances of mass protesters focussed on legal and political issues, including political corruption, kleptocracy, and other forms of corruption. The movement was primarily one of non-violent civil resistance, featuring demonstrations, marches, acts of civil disobedience, hunger strikes, marches and rallies, as well as the use of social media to organise, communicate, and raise awareness. The protests were nonpartisan and most protesters were hostile to attempts made by political parties to use them to strengthen their own political agendas.

THE LOKPAL AND LOKAYUKTAS ACT, 2013

The historic Lokpal and Lokayuktas Act, 2013 was passed by Indian Parliament paving the way for establishment of an Lokpal (Ombudsman) to fight corruption in public offices and ensure accountability on the part of public officials, including the Prime Minister, but with some safeguards.

Lokpal will consist of a chairperson and a maximum of eight members, of which 50% will be judicial members 50% members of Lokpal shall be from SC/ST/OBCs, minorities and women. Selection of chairperson and members of Lokpal through a selection committee consisting of PM, Speaker of Lok Sabha, leader of opposition in Lok Sabha, Chief Justice of India or a sitting Supreme Court judge nominated by CJI. Eminent jurist to be nominated by President of India on basis of recommendations of the first four members of the selection committee "through consensus". Lokpal's jurisdiction will cover all categories of public servants. All entities (NGOs) receiving donations from foreign source in the context of the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA) in excess of Rs. 10 lakh per year are under the jurisdiction of Lokpal Centre will send Lokpal bill to states as a model bill, states have to set up Lokayuktas through a state law within 365 days.

- Lokpal will have power of superintendence and direction over any central investigation agency including CBI for cases referred to them by the ombudsman.
- A high-powered committee chaired by the PM will recommend selection of CBI director. The collegium will comprise PM, leader of opposition in Lok Sabha and Chief Justice of India PM has been brought under

purview of the Lokpal, so also central ministers and senior officials.

- Directorate of prosecution will be under overall control of CBI director. At present, it comes under law ministry.
- Appointment of director of prosecution to be based on recommendation of the Central Vigilance Commission.
- Director of prosecution will also have a fixed tenure of two years like CBI chief.
- Transfer of CBI officers investigating cases referred by Lokpal with the approval of watchdog.
- Bill incorporates provisions for attachment and confiscation of property acquired by corrupt means, even while prosecution is pending.
- Bill lays down clear timelines for preliminary enquiry and investigation and trial. Provides for special courts Public servants will not present their view before preliminary enquiry if the case requires 'element of surprise' like raids and searches.
- Bill grants powers to Lokpal to sanction prosecution against public servants.
- CBI may appoint a panel of advocates with approval of Lokpal, CBI will not have to depend on govt advocates.

NIRBHAYA CASE AND THE CRIMINAL LAW (AMENDMENT) ACT, 2013

The 2012 Delhi gang rape case involved a rape and fatal assault that occurred on 16 December 2012 in Delhi when a 23-year-old female physiotherapy intern was beaten and gang raped in a private bus in which she was travelling with a male friend. There were six others in the bus, including the driver, all of whom raped the woman and beat her friend. The woman died from her injuries thirteen days later while undergoing emergency treatment in Singapore. The incident generated widespread national and international coverage and was widely condemned, both in India and abroad. Subsequently, public protests against the state and central governments for failing to provide adequate security for women took place in New Delhi, where thousands of protesters clashed

with security forces. Similar protests took place in major cities throughout the country.

The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013, an Indian legislation was passed by the Lok Sabha on 19 March, 2013, and by the Rajya Sabha on 21 March, 2013, which provides for amendment of Indian Penal Code, Indian Evidence Act, and Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 on laws related to sexual offences. The Bill received Presidential assent on 2 April, 2013 and deemed to come into force from 3 February, 2013. It was originally an Ordinance promulgated by the President of India, Pranab Mukherjee, on 3 February, 2013, in light of the protests in the 2012 Delhi gang rape case.

CREATION OF TELANGANA STATE

On 2 June, 2014, Telangana became the 29th state of India, consisting of the ten north-western districts of Andhra Pradesh. The city of Hyderabad will serve as the joint capital of Telangana and the successor state of Andhra Pradesh for upto ten years.

Telangana is bordered by the states of Maharashtra to the north and north-west, Karnataka to the west, Chhattisgarh to the north-east, and Andhra Pradesh to the south and east. Telangana has an area of 114,840 square kilometres (44,340 sq. mi), and a population of 35,286,757 (2011 census). Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Warangal, Karimnagar and Nizamabad are the major cities in



ECONOMIC & FOREIGN POLICY SINCE 1991

Until 1991, India's policy makers followed misguided policies that closed the economy to international trade, erected inefficient industries under state guidance, riddled the private sector with extraordinarily cumbersome and detailed regulations, and suffocated private economic activity with controls and bureaucratic impediments. Then in 1991, the big breakthrough happened. Spurred by a balance of payments crisis, Indian policy makers turned to technocrats such as Manmohan Singh, who promptly began the process of liberalizing the economy. Trade barriers were slashed, foreign investment was welcomed, the License Raj was dismantled, and privatization began. The economy started to boom, with software exports and call centers leading the way.

Foreign lending had virtually dried up, the government was forced to sell 20 tonnes of gold to the Union Bank of Switzerland in March 1991 to tide over its immediate transactions. By July 1991 foreign exchange reserves were down to a mere two weeks' import cover despite loans from the IMF. The country was at the edge of default.

New Economic Policy of 1991 was a Structural Adjustment Program that allowed India to qualify for aid from the World Bank and IMF. In 1990, India faced an economic crisis and was on the brink of default on its debts. Within weeks of announcing the reform package, the government devalued the rupee by 23 per cent (The devaluation of the rupee had been advocated by the World Bank since October 1990, when it recommended a 20 per cent devaluation), raised interest rates, and effected sharp cuts in subsidies on food and fertilizers and transfers to public enterprises. Over the next six months, it abolished the complex system of industrial and import licensing, liberalized trade policy, and introduced measures to strengthen capital markets and institutions.

Among other measures, the new policies announced by Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao

in July 1991 included allowing foreign firms to own a 51 per cent stake in joint ventures in India instead of the previous 40 per cent. The government also eliminated requirements for some 7,500 licenses, eliminated financial support for in form of export subsidies, and allowed exporters to keep 30 per cent of their net foreign exchange earnings (an increase from 5-10 per cent).

On December 5, 1991, the World Bank made its largest Structural Adjustment Loan to date: \$500 to India. The watershed reforms contained in the first budget the new Narasimha Rao government submitted in June excited the Bank, and fast track negotiations began. Initially, India was to receive \$300 million, followed by the remaining \$200 million a year later if the structural adjustment policies it agreed to remained in place.

Before 1991, India was a nation with political independence but no economic freedom. If the license and permit tied India down, they also stifled individual aspirations. In the early 1990s, India's post independence development pattern of strong centralized planning, regulation and control of private enterprise, state ownership of many large units of production, trade protectionism, and strict limits on foreign capital was increasingly questioned not only by policy makers but also by most of the intelligentsia. During this period, considerable progress was made in loosening government regulations, especially in the area of foreign trade. Many restrictions on private companies were lifted, and new areas were opened to private capital. However, India remains one of the world's most tightly regulated major economies. Many powerful vested interests, including private firms that have benefited from protectionism, labor unions, and much of the bureaucracy, opposed liberalization. Besides, many analysts agree that the poor suffered most from the increased inflation rate and reduced growth rate.

India's economic performance during the first three decades since independence was christened the "Hindu" rate of growth, a term connoting a disappointing but not disastrous outcome. That cliché, of course, is gradually lapsing into disuse,

thanks to the remarkable transformation in India during the last two decades. Since 1980, its economic growth rate has more than doubled, rising from 1.7 per cent (in per-capita terms) in 1950-1980 to 3.8 per cent in 1980-2000. Shackled by the socialist policies and the “license-permit-quota raj” (to use Rajaji’s memorable phrase) of the past, India used to serve as the exemplar of development strategies gone wrong. It has now become the latest poster child for how economic growth can be unleashed with a turn towards free markets and open trade. India has yet to catch up to China’s growth rates, but thanks to its solid democratic institutions and impressive performance in information technology, the country is increasingly vying with, if not displacing, China as the country of the future in the eyes of many knowledgeable observers.

By the early 1990s, economic changes led to the growth in the number of Indians with significant economic resources. About 10 million Indians are considered upper class, and roughly 300 million are part of the rapidly increasing middle class. Typical middle-class occupations include owning a small business or being a corporate executive, lawyer, physician, white-collar worker, or land-owning farmer. In the 1980s, the growth of the middle-class was reflected in the increased consumption of consumer durables, such as televisions, refrigerators, motorcycles, and automobiles. In the early 1990s, domestic and foreign businesses hoped to take advantage of India’s economic liberalization to increase the range of consumer products offered to this market.

As India moved into the mid-1990s, the economic outlook was mixed. Most analysts believed that economic liberalization would continue, although there was disagreement about the speed and scale of the measures that would be implemented. It seemed likely that India would come close to or equal the relatively impressive rate of economic growth attained in the 1980s, but that the poorest sections of the population might not benefit.

By the mid-1990s, the number of sectors reserved for public ownership was slashed, and private-sector investment was encouraged in areas such as energy, steel, oil refining and exploration, road building, air transportation, and telecommunications. An area still closed to the private sector in the mid-1990s was defense industry. Foreign-exchange regulations were liberalized, foreign

investment was encouraged, and import regulations were simplified. The average import-weighted tariff was reduced.

Despite these changes, the economy remained highly regulated by international standards. Moreover, although import duties had been lowered substantially, they were still high compared to most other countries. Political successes in the mid-1990s by nationalist-oriented political parties led to some backlash against foreign investment in some parts of India. In early 1995, official charges of serving adulterated products were made against a KFC outlet in Bangalore, and Pepsi-Cola products were smashed and advertisements defaced in New Delhi. The most serious backlash occurred in Maharashtra in August 1995 when the Bharatiya Janata Party led state government halted construction of a US \$2.8 million 2,015-megawatt gas-fired electric-power plant being built near Bombay (Mumbai in the Marathi language) by another United States company, Enron Corporation. However these incidents remained more of an aberration.

It is important to characterize appropriately this attitudinal change that took place in the early 1980s. A distinction need to be made between a pro-market and a pro-business orientation. The former focuses on removing impediments to markets, and aims to achieve this through economic liberalization. It favors entrants and consumers. A pro-business orientation, on the other hand, is one that focuses on raising the profitability of the established industrial and commercial establishments. It tends to favor incumbents and producers. Easing restrictions on capacity expansion for incumbents, removing price controls, and reducing corporate taxes (all of which took place during the 1980s) are examples of pro-business policies, while trade liberalization (which did not take place in any significant form until the 1990s) is the archetypal market-oriented policy.

Two decades of liberalization in India had a favorable impact on the overall growth rate of the economy. This is major improvement given that India’s growth rate in the 1970’s was very low at 3% and GDP growth in countries like Brazil, Indonesia, Korea, and Mexico was more than twice that of India. Though India’s average annual growth rate almost doubled in the eighties to 5.9%, it was still lower than the growth rate in China, Korea and Indonesia. The pickup in GDP growth has helped improve India’s global position. Consequently India’s position in the global economy

has improved from the 8th position in 1991 to 4th place in 2001; when GDP is calculated on a purchasing power parity basis. The slowdown experienced by the Indian economy in the late 1990s, partially due to the East Asian and Southeast Asian crisis and a global slowdown, continued at the turn of the century. The first few years of the new millennium were turbulent with oil price hikes, the 9/11 terrorist attack in the US and a further global slowdown. Despite this, the Ninth Plan period, 1996-97 to 2000-01, experienced an average GDP growth of 5.5 per cent per annum against the target of 6.5 per cent. This demonstrated the post-reform Indian economy's ability to ride through crisis years, maintaining growth rates well above the 'Hindu rate' of 3 to 3.5 per cent

However, despite the low GDP growth in the first year of the Tenth Plan and the poor performance of agriculture in the Plan period, 2002-03 to 2006-07 growth rate was slightly below the Plan target of 8 per cent. It was a big achievement. A critical aspect in this connection is the savings and investment generated by the economy. Consistently increasing rate of Gross Domestic Savings and Investment as a proportion of GDP in the new millennium led to this type of growth rates. 'Demographic dividend' in the form of high savings rate was going to continue as the already high proportion of the Indian population in the working age group. To ensure fiscal responsibility in view of higher growth rates, a step was taken with the passing of the Fiscal Reforms and Budget Management Act (FRBMA) in August 2003. The Act was aimed at ensuring fiscal prudence. The rules of the Act was aimed at ensuring that revenue deficits be reduced by half per cent or more of the GDP every year and be eliminated altogether by 31 March, 2009. The fiscal deficit was to be reduced by 0.3 per cent or more of the GDP every year and by 31 March, 2009 it was to be no more than 3 per cent of GDP.

The economy growth rates were unprecedented 7.7% per year in the Tenth Plan period. However even at the end of plan, many people in the country still lacked the basic requirements for a decent living in terms of nutrition standards, access to education and basic health, and also to other public services such as water supply and sewerage. Disadvantaged groups, especially the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the minorities had benefited less than they should have. Faster, inclusive and sustainable growth has to be the mantra of government in such conditions. Eleventh Five-Year

Plan (2007-2012) began in very favourable circumstances. But midway in the plan period worst economic disaster (since 1930 recession) hit the world and Indian economy also. The government scaled down the annual average growth rate of 9 per cent envisaged in the 11th Plan to 8.1 per cent in view of the global economic meltdown that began in 2008. According to official estimates, India achieved an economic growth rate of around 8 per cent during the 11th Five Year Plan period (2007-12). Though, economic growth has slipped to decades' low of 5 per cent in 2012-13, the first year of the 12th Five-Year Plan, due to poor performance of farm, manufacturing and mining sectors, fundamentals of economy are strong and return of Indian growth story is expected sooner. Despite the global economic crisis that engulfed the whole world Indian economy only slowed down and did not go into a declining phase. That shows the resilience and inner strength of Indian Economy.

A hard landing to the discussion is being made here, because the current economic situation will need some time to settle down and only after the present turmoil is over, one would be able to give an account of present developments in a non passionate historical way.

LPG

India's leaders believed that industrialization was the key to economic development. This belief was all the more convincing in India because of the country's large size, substantial natural resources, and desire to develop its own industries. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 gave government a monopoly in armaments, atomic energy, and railroads, and exclusive rights to develop minerals, the iron and steel industries, aircraft manufacturing, shipbuilding, and manufacturing of telephone and telegraph equipment. Private companies operating in those fields were guaranteed at least ten years more of ownership before the government could take them over. Some still operate as private companies. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, greatly extended the preserve of government. There were seventeen industries exclusively in the public sector. The government took the lead in another twelve industries, but private companies could also engage in production. This resolution covered industries producing capital and intermediate goods. As a result, the private sector was relegated primarily to production of consumer goods.

The public sector also expanded into more services. In 1956, the life insurance business was nationalized, and in 1973 the general insurance business was also acquired by the public sector. Most large commercial banks were nationalized in 1969. Over the years, the central and state governments formed agencies, and companies engaged in finance, trading, mineral exploitation, manufacturing, utilities, and transportation. The public sector was extensive and influential throughout the economy, although the value of its assets was small relative to the private sector.

Controls over prices, production, and the use of foreign exchange, which were imposed by the British during World War II, were reinstated soon after independence. The Industries (Development and Regulation) Act of 1951 and the Essential Commodities Act of 1955 (with subsequent additions) provided the legal framework for the government to extend price controls that eventually included steel, cement, drugs, nonferrous metals, chemicals, fertilizer, coal, automobiles, tires and tubes, cotton textiles, food grains, bread, butter, vegetable oils, and other commodities. By the late 1950s, controls were pervasive, regulating investment in industry, prices of many commodities, imports and exports, and the flow of foreign exchange.

Export growth was long ignored. The government's extensive controls and pervasive licensing requirements created imbalances and structural problems in many parts of the economy. Controls were usually imposed to correct specific problems but often without adequate consideration of their effect on other parts of the economy. For example, the government set low prices for basic foods, transportation, and other commodities and services, a policy designed to protect the living standards of the poor. However, the policy proved counterproductive when the government also limited the output of needed goods and services. Price ceilings were implemented during shortages, but the ceiling frequently contributed to black markets in those commodities and to tax evasion by black-market participants. Import controls and tariff policy stimulated local manufacturers toward production of import-substitution goods, but under conditions devoid of sufficient competition or pressure to be efficient.

India's current economic reforms began in 1985 when the government abolished some of its licensing regulations and other competition-

inhibiting controls. Since 1991, more "new economic policies" or reforms have been introduced. Reforms include currency devaluations and making currency partially convertible, reduced quantitative restrictions on imports, reduced import duties on capital goods, decreases in subsidies, liberalized interest rates, abolition of licenses for most industries, the sale of shares in selected public enterprises, and tax reforms. Although many observers welcomed these changes and attributed the faster growth rate of the economy in the late 1980s to them, others feared that these changes would create more problems than they solved. The growing dependence of the economy on imports, greater vulnerability of its balance of payments, reliance on debt, and the consequent susceptibility to outside pressures on economic policy directions caused concern. The increase in consumerism and the display of conspicuous wealth by the elite exacerbated these fears.

But forces of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation were not only strengthened with time, but also the horizontal spread of area under these forces increased at a faster rate. Promotion of FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) by means of raising the cap, constitution of Competition Commission of India in place of MRTP act, liberal act on foreign currency violations, easy sanction for FDI and FII (Foreign Institutional Investors), etc. point towards the above mentioned fact.

FOREIGN POLICY SINCE 1991

Few events, barring the shock of the 1962 Sino-Indian border war, has had as much of an impact on India's foreign and security policies as the collapse of the Soviet Union and the concomitant end of the Cold War. The Soviet collapse and the transformation of the global order forced India's policymakers to make drastic changes in India's foreign policy at multiple levels. At a global level, non-alignment ceased to have much meaning. As a former Indian foreign and subsequently Prime Minister, Inder Kumar Gujral, quite succinctly stated, "It is a mantra that we have to keep repeating, but who are you going to be non-aligned against?" With the end of non-alignment for all practical purposes, India's foreign policy was suddenly bereft of a grand strategic vision.

At another level, the country was also confronted with an unprecedented fiscal crisis partly as a consequence of the first Gulf War of 1991. Three factors contributed to this crisis. First,

anticipating a spike in oil prices because of Saddam Hussein's invasion and occupation of Kuwait, India had purchased considerable amounts of petroleum on the spot market thereby draining its treasury of much-needed foreign exchange. Second, the government of India was forced to repatriate over a hundred thousand workers from the Persian Gulf at short notice. Third, it lost the very substantial remittances that the workers from the Gulf had contributed to the Indian exchequer. The confluence of these three factors placed the country in dire financial straits. Faced with his extraordinary crisis and also confronting the loss of the vast East European market as a consequence of the Soviet collapse, India's policymakers, most notably the then Finance Minister Manmohan Singh, chose to dramatically alter India's domestic and international economic policies. These involved abandoning the country's historic commitment to import-substituting industrialization, unbundling, though fitfully at best, its vast public sector and dismantling a labyrinthine set of regulations, licenses, permits and quotas which had largely stifled economic growth.

Drastic changes were also undertaken in the political arena. As argued earlier, India's commitment to non-alignment had already eroded in practice, if not in rhetoric, in the post-Nehru era. Now its policymakers sought to forge a new vision for the country. However, the country lacked a leader of the stature and intellectual proclivities of Jawaharlal Nehru. Yet, the Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao, possessed a sufficient grasp of international affairs to recognize the necessity of charting a new course for the country in both domestic and international arenas. Accordingly, he sought to chart a new course for the country's foreign policy.

This effort to alter the country's foreign policy orientation toward the emergent, sole superpower, the United States ran into an important hurdle for three compelling reasons. First, at a global level, the United States had few significant interests in India barring non-proliferation. This issue, of course, put the two sides on a collision course as India was a staunch opponent of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) and categorically refused to accede to its expectations. The US, especially, under the Clinton administration, was committed to its indefinite and unconditional extension at the Review Conference in 1995. Not surprisingly, their fundamental differences put the two countries at odds.

Second, at a regional level, even though the US Department of Commerce had anointed India as one of the world's "big emerging markets", American investment in and trade with India was so negligible that the nonproliferation issue overshadowed other interests.

"Third and finally, at a bureaucratic level in both countries the "shadow of the past" weighed heavily on all deliberations. Most Indian foreign policy bureaucrats looked were dubious about American goals and interests in South Asia and there was lingering distrust of India in both the State and Defense departments in the United States. These mutual misgivings hobbled the growth of the relationship even though some small progress had been made in the last days of Indira Gandhi and her son and successor Rajiv Gandhi. As a consequence of these three factors, improvements in relations were, at best fitful, and frequently hostage to minor, episodic differences. For example, the Assistant Secretary of State Robin Raphael's careless remark about Kashmir's accession to India at a press briefing in Washington, D.C. became a major diplomatic contretemps.

However, Indian policymakers managed to move with somewhat greater dexterity on other fronts. To that end, they ended country's reflexive support for the Arab position on Israel and the Palestinian question. Historically, since the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 India had adopted for reasons of both domestic politics and national ideology, a mostly frosty approach toward the Jewish state. At home Indian policymakers were attentive to the sentiments of the Muslim population. At an ideological level they had viewed the creation of Israel as the continuation of a colonial policy. In 1992, in the wake of the Oslo Accord between Israel and the Palestinians, India upgraded its diplomatic relations with Israel to the ambassadorial level.

Simultaneously, India also directed its gaze toward South-East Asia after a long span of neglect. During much of the Cold War Indian policymakers had shunned the states of South-East Asia, with the critical exception of Vietnam. Now as part and parcel of the opening of its markets to foreign investment and seeking to develop a viable export sector, the country embarked upon a "Look East policy".

Closer to home, the Narasimha Rao regime efforts continued to improve relations with China,

a process that had been initiated during the Rajiv Gandhi regime in the late 1980s. Even though the two sides forged two important confidence-building measures (CBMs) in 1993 and 1996 designed to reduce tensions along the Line of Actual Control, little or no progress was made in resolving the border dispute.

Finally, relations with Pakistan, India's long-standing adversary remained contentious as ever. In considerable part the relationship with Pakistan deteriorated because of the outbreak of an ethno religious insurgency in the dispute state of Jammu and Kashmir in December 1989. The origins of this insurgency were mostly indigenous could be traced to a process of growing political mobilization against a backdrop of steady institutional decay. However, with the outbreak of the insurgency Pakistan's policymakers quickly stepped into the fray and helped transform a largely internal uprising into an ideologically charged, sanguinary, extortion racket.

In an attempt to suppress the insurgency India resorted to a time-honored counterinsurgency strategy. This involved the substantial use of force against the insurgents but with the promise of free and fair elections once they proved willing to abandon their secessionist agenda. As with other counter insurgency operations, this strategy has met with some success. However, while it has reduced the insurgency to manageable proportions, it has not been able to eliminate it altogether. Continued Pakistani logistical support for the insurgents, the provision of sanctuaries in Pakistan-controlled Kashmir and a porous border has prevented India from successfully suppressing the insurgency.

CROSSING THE NUCLEAR RUBICON AND BEYOND

Pakistan's needling of India in Kashmir was and remains susceptible to management through India's conventional military capabilities. Nor does Pakistan's conventional capabilities pose an especially compelling threat to India's security. The conventional military capabilities, the persistence of the border dispute and the PRC's nuclear weapons posed an altogether different order of threat to India's security. Indeed it was the long-term security threats that the PRC posed to India proved to be the most compelling underlying factor that drove India's nuclear weapons program. The specific timing of the program, contrary to much

polemical writing had little to do with the ascendance of the right-of-center Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to power. Instead it was closely tied to the successful extension of the NPT in 1995 and the seeming inexorable efforts of the Clinton administration to conclude a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. Fearful that the test ban treaty was all but inevitable Indian policymakers chose to exercise the nuclear option before ineluctable pressures were brought to bear on India to accede to the regime.

Despite the initial burst of hostility from the United States and the other great powers, the international community has come to grudgingly accept India as a de facto nuclear weapons state. In large part this came about as a consequence of extended bilateral negotiations between the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Strobe Talbott and Jaswant Singh, the Indian Minister for External Affairs. Also their alarmist claims and fears about a possible nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan have not materialized. Pakistan's feckless attempt to revive the Kashmir issue through its incursion in the Kargil region did contribute to a limited war between the two states in 1999. However, despite the Pakistani provocation India exercised remarkable restraint and a large-scale war was effectively avoided. Similarly, in the aftermath of the terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament in December 2001 India resorted to a strategy of coercive diplomacy albeit with mixed results. However, it is important to note that neither of these two crisis culminated in a full-scale war between the two long-standing adversaries.

In the aftermath of the 2001-2002 crisis, India and Pakistan embarked upon a peace process. The results from this process have been limited though it had resulted in some de-escalation of tensions on the Kashmir front. However, in August 2008, tensions once again came to the fore with Indian allegations about a Pakistani violation of the ceasefire agreement. Matters worsened considerably after India (and the United States) alleged that Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI-D) was behind the attack on the Indian Embassy in Kabul in July 2008.

While relations with Pakistan remain quite fraught, Indo-US relations now seem to be on a very secure footing. The Bush administration's willingness to exempt India from the expectations of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (which India had never acceded to in the first place) and

pursue a civilian nuclear agreement provided a sound foundation for the relationship. After protracted bilateral (and internal) negotiations the Congress-led regime of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh withstood a parliamentary vote of no-confidence in July 2008. There is little question that this agreement can make a meaningful contribution toward alleviating India's energy needs. However, once consummated, its larger significance will lie

in ending India's thirty-odd years of nuclear isolation from the global order. Since the United States had been one of the principal protagonists in creating and bolstering these global arrangements, the shift in American policy, which made an exception for India, was nothing short of revolutionary. Consequently, the American concession on this critical issue must be construed as recognition of India's emerging potential as a great power in Asia and beyond.



TIME LINE SINCE 1947

A summary of the key events in India according to since independence in 1947.

1947

- Aug. 15 – India's First Independence Day
- Oct. 22 – Armed tribals supported by Pakistan invade Kashmir to dislodge Maharaja Hari Singh and secure Kashmir for Pakistan.
- Oct. 26 – Hari Singh accedes Kashmir to India in return for military help to ward off the tribal invasion.

1948

- Jan. 1 – India takes the Kashmir issue to the UN.
- Jan. 30 – Mahatma Gandhi assassinated.

1949

- Nov. 26 – Constituent Assembly adopts the finished constitution.

1950

- Jan. 26 – Constitution comes into power, Republic Day.

1952

- Apr. 17 – The First Lok Sabha constituted by the first General Elections.
- Dec. 15 – Potti Sriramulu dies, 58 days into his fast to get a Telugu speaking province of Andhra Pradesh. Eventually leads to all states being reorganized on the basis of language.

1953

- Aug. 8 – Sheikh Abdullah imprisoned by the Nehru Government.

1955

- Hindu Marriage Act passed by the Parliament.

1956

- Mar. 22 – Angami Zapu Phizo declares the formation of a "Naga Central Government". Full scale war between Naga rebels and the army by the middle of 1956. War subsides by December.

1957

- Apr. 5 – EMS Namboodripad becomes CM of Kerala after the victory of CPI in the assembly elections.

1962

- Oct. 20 – India China War over border dispute begins (till November 21).

1964

- May 27 – Death of Jawaharlal Nehru.

1965

- Aug. 15 – Second Indo-Pak war hostilities begin.
- Sep. 23 – Ceasefire ends second Indo-Pak war.

1966

- Jan. 10 – Tashkent Agreement signed between Lal Bahadur Shastri and Ayub Khan.
- Jan. 11 – Lal Bahadur Shastri dies a mysterious death at Tashkent.

1971

- Dec. 16 – Surrender of Eastern command of Pakistan Military in the 1971 war.

1975

- Jun. 12 – Allahabad High Court upholds Raj Narain's accusations of electoral fraud against Indira Gandhi (Rae Bareilly constituency, 1971 General Elections) and disqualifies her from contesting Lok Sabha elections for six years.
- Jun. 25 – Indira Gandhi imposes emergency.

1977

- Mar. 24 – Morarji Desai of the Janata Party becomes the first non-Congress PM of India.

1980

- Jan. 14 – Indira Gandhi becomes Prime Minister again.

1984

- Providing Jun. 3 – Operation Blue Star to flush out extremists from the Harimandir Sahib.
- Oct. 31 – Indira Gandhi assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards; Hindu-Sikh riots ensue. Her son Rajiv Gandhi becomes Prime Minister.
- Dec. 2/3 – Bhopal Gas Tragedy.

1985

- Jun. 23 – Air India Kanishka plane bombing.

1990

- Aug. 7 – V.P. Singh plans to implement the Mandal Commission report favoring reservations for SCs, STs and OBCs.
- Sep. 25 – L.K. Advani begins his rath yatra from the Somnath Temple in Gujarat to Ayodhya.

1991

- May 21 – Rajiv Gandhi assassinated.
- June 21 – P.V. Narsimha Rao appoints Manmohan Singh as his finance minister; start of economic reforms and liberalization.

1992

- Dec. 6 – Babri Masjid demolished, Hindu-Muslim riots ensue.

1999

- May 26 – Operation Vijay launched to fight Pakistani incursion in Kargil.
- Dec. 24 – Indian Airlines flight IC-814 hijacked to Qandahar by terrorists.

2000

- Dec. 22 – Terror attack on the Red Fort by LeT.

2001

- Dec. 13 – Attack on Indian Parliament by LeT and JeM terrorists.

2002

- Feb. 27 – Godhra train carnage, Hindu-Muslim riots ensue.

2005

- Jun. 15 – Right to Information Act passed by the Parliament.

2008

- Apr. 10 – Supreme Court upholds the 27% OBC quota, taking reservation in IITs and IIMs to a whopping 49.5%.
- Nov. 26 – Terror attacks in Mumbai at Hotels Taj and Oberoi, CST train terminal and other places.

2009

- May – United Progressive Alliance formed Government for second term.

2010

- Oct – Commonwealth Games, officially known as the XIX Commonwealth Games, were held in Delhi.

2011

- April 5 – The anti-corruption movement intended to establish strong legislation and enforcement against perceived endemic political corruption under the leadership of anti-corruption activist Anna Hazare.

2012

- Dec. 16 – Horrific Nirbhya Case and all over India protest for women safety.

2013

- Lokpal Bill passed in Parliament.

2014

- May 16 – BJP attains clear majority in 16th Lok Sabha Elections.
- May 26 – Narendra Modi was sworn in as Prime Minister of India.
- June 2 – Telangana became the 29th state of India.

