

MAHIS 1.5



M.A. HISTORY
SEMESTER - I

**(REVISED SYLLABUS
AS PER NEP 2020)**

**MAKERS OF INDIA IN
THE 20TH CENTURY**

Prof. Ravindra Kulkarni

Vice-Chancellor,
University of Mumbai,

Prin. Dr. Ajay Bhamare

Pro Vice-Chancellor,
University of Mumbai,

Prof. Shivaji Sargar

Director,
CDOE, University of Mumbai,

Programme Co-ordinator	: Anil R. Bankar Associate Professor of History and Head, Faculty of Humanities, CDOE, University of Mumbai.
Course Co-ordinator	: Shivdas Changdeo Ghadge Assistant Professor, Dept. of History, CDOE, University of Mumbai.
Editor	: Dr. Pradeep Waghmare Associate Professor and Head, Dept. of History, Ramnarain Ruia Autonomous College, Matunga, Mumbai.
Course Writer	: Dr. Bina Sengar Associate Professor, Dept. of History & AIC, School of Social Science, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, Chhatrapati Sambhajinagar. : Dr. Kavita Pandey Alkesh Dinesh Modi Institute, University of Mumbai. : Dr. Krishna Gaikwad Associate Professor, Dept. of History, L.J.N.J. College, Vile Parle (E). Mumbai. : Dr. Seema Mamata Minz Assistant Professor, Dept. of Tribal Studies, Central University Jharkhand, Cheri-Manatu, P.O. Kanke, Dist. Ranchi, Jharkhand.

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Programme Name: M.A. Sem- I Elective: 50514 Makers of India in the 20th Century

Total Credits: 04

Total Marks: 100

Semester End Assessment: 50

Internal Continuous Assessment: 50

Course outcomes:

- a) To create awareness about the contribution of the Makers of modern India to nation building.
- b) To evaluate the role played by the leaders in bringing about social change.
- c) To analyze the impact of these leaders on modern India and to enable students to understand their legacy in contemporary times.

MODULE I: (2 Credits)

Unit 1: Mahatma Gandhi

- a) Early life and Education
- b) Contribution to national life
- c) Impact on the nation

Unit 2: Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

- a) Early life, Education, Vision of Democracy
- b) Contribution to national life
- c) Indian Constitution and Impact on Nation

MODULE II: (2 Credits)

Unit 3: Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

- a) Early life and Education
- b) Contribution to national life
- c) Impact on the nation

Unit 4: Mrs. Indira Gandhi

- a) Early life and Education
- b) Contribution to national life
- c) Impact on the nation

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MAHATMA GANDHI

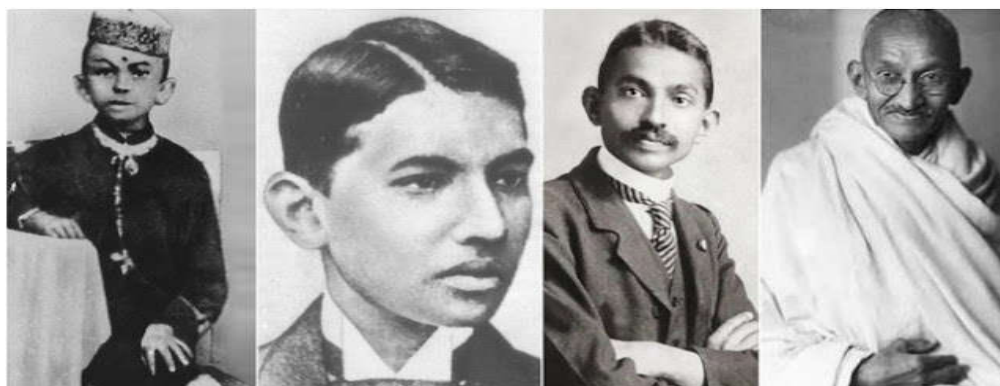
Unit Structure :

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Mahatma Gandhi as the Main Personality in Indian History
- 1.3 Early Life of Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1893)
- 1.4 The Making of Mahatma Gandhi: From South Africa to India (1893-1916)
- 1.5 Mahatma Gandhi in the Spirit of Indian Nationalist Movement (1916-1948)
- 1.6 Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi
- 1.7 Summary
- 1.8 Questions
- 1.9 Additional Reading

1.0 OBJECTIVES

- To review the nationalist movement of India and makers of Modern India.
- To understand the role played by the Mahatma Gandhi in the Nationalist Movement of India.
- To analyze the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi.
- To study the course of life and major learnings of Mahatma Gandhi.
- To assess the impacts of Gandhian Legacy in the Indian Culture.

1.1 INTRODUCTION



Mahatma Gandhi remains one of the most revered and unique leader of Indian history and politics. An Indian lawyer, politician, social activist, and writer, he became the leader of the nationalist movement and is considered to be one of the greatest leaders of world in the twentieth century. He is considered to be the father of India. Gandhi is internationally esteemed for his doctrine of nonviolent protest 'Satyagraha' which he used to achieve political and social justice and progress. His ideals were embraced by leaders like Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, Sundarlal Bahuguna, and Sonam Wangchuk. His ability to withstand the opposition while maintaining his faith in truth and non-violence remarkably define his unique strategy of political transition for human and nature's wellbeing.

For people of India, Mahatma Gandhi remains one of the greatest soul. His ideals and life have garnered unthinking adoration from the Indian population. Few men in their lifetime aroused stronger emotion or touched deeper chords of humanity than Gandhi did. 'Generations to come it may be' wrote Einstein of Gandhi in July 1944 "The woes of the Mahatmas," he wrote, "are known only to the Mahatmas." His fame spread worldwide during his lifetime and only increased after his death. The name Mahatma Gandhi is now one of the most universally recognized on earth.

1.2 MAHATMA GANDHI: AS THE MAIN PERSONALITY IN THE INDIAN HISTORY

Mahatma Gandhi-The Revered Personality of the India History

As part of his nonviolent non-cooperation campaign for home rule, Gandhi stressed the importance of economic independence for India. He particularly advocated the revival and rebuilding India through its handloom weaving and revival of 'Khadi'. If we could understand this vision of 'Khadi' then we get to know that India prior to Industrial revolution imposed by the British was known as the fabric maker of the world. Revival of 'Indian Handlooms' was intricately linked with the "Gandhian Economics". In order to replace imported textiles from Britain and revive the erstwhile thriving pre-colonial economy.

Colonisation of India brought severe poverty and deprivation in India. In 1916, after arrival in India from his long stay in England and later South Africa, Gandhi went on a nationwide tour with his wife Kasturba Gandhi, and longtime friend Charles Andrews. He was advised by his political mentors, Gopal Krishna Gokhale to travel India via Brotoosh – controned railways. Mohandas Karamchand's tryst with true India, its deprivation and colossal sorrow in the rural and urban areas brought him into churning of thoughts, and started relinquishing his western norms of life and livelihood patterns. He began experimenting to revive methods through which he could build a solution-based method for people of India and their well-being. Eventually Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi adopted eloquence and embraced an ascetic lifestyle based on prayer, fasting, and meditation which earned him the reverence of his followers, who called him Mahatma

(Sanskrit for “the great-souled one”). Invested with all the authority of the Indian National Congress (INC or Congress Party), Gandhi turned the independence movement into a massive organization, leading boycotts of British manufacturers and institutions representing British influence in India, including legislatures and schools.

Throughout his political career in India from 1916 to 1948, Mahatma Gandhi motivated several political and social movements. His methods were primarily significant because of their non-violent approach. Gandhi’s firm belief that changing people’s mindset and approach is more important than eliminating the opposition. His idealism was fairly close to Mahatma Gautam Buddha, where he believed in, ‘eliminating the animosity than the perceived enemy’. His significant political resistance occurred in Ahmedabad, where for the rightn of Ahmedabad Mill Workers rights. Thereafter, he went to Erstwhile United Provinces, to a place called Champaran, where he ceaselessly worked for the wages and working rights of Indigo labourers. Both his early movements were greatly susscessful in advocating for workers and farmer’s rights, he was eventually approached by the Indian National Congress to be part of the Nationalist struggle. His endeavors brought two opposing factions of Extremists and Moderates to come together again in the Lucknow Congress 1916 after their split in 1907 Surat Congress split over issue of Separate Electorate under Indian Council Act-III.

The arrival of Mahatma Gandhi in the Indian National Congress was a huge breakthrough, it entirely changed the dynamics of the Indian National Congress, and eventually many factions also emerged because of the various political ideologies which became evident in transparency. It could be endowed to Mahatma Gandhi’s spirit of transparency in ideologies. What we say as *‘Kathni aur Karni Mein Samyata’*, which could be understood as ‘honesty in thoughts and actions’. This ideological honesty and determined faith in truth and non-violence brought sea change in which Indian National Congress worked from 1916-1948. Mahatma Gandhi remained ardent follower of Truth and Non-Violence, and he used to believe that Truth and Non- Violence are two sides of same coin.

1.3 EARLY LIFE OF MAHATMA GANDHI (1869-1893)

Gandhi (right) with his eldest brother Laxmidas, in 1886



Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, known as Mahatma Gandhi, was born in Porbandar to Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi also known as Kaba Gandhi and his wife Putlibai on 2nd October 1869. Mohandas came from a family with an ancestral legacy of aristocrats. The family's religious background was eclectic. Mohandas was born into a Gujarati Hindu Modh Bania family. Gandhi's father, Karamchand was Hindu and his mother Putlibai was from a Pranami Vaishnava Hindu family. Gandhi's father was of Modh Baniya caste in the varna of Vaishya. His mother came from the his mother came from the medieval Krishna Bhakti based Pranami tradition, whose religious texts include the Bhagavad Gita, the *Bhagavata Purana*, and a collection of 14 texts with teachings that the tradition believes to include the essence of the Vedas, the Quran, and the Bible. Gandhi was deeply influenced by his mother, an extremely pious lady who "would not think of taking her meals without her daily prayers... she would take the hardest vows and keep them without flinching. To keep two or three consecutive fasts was nothing to her."

At age 9, Gandhi entered the local school in Rajkot, near his home. There, he studied the rudiments of arithmetic, history, the Gujarati language, and geography. At the age of 11, he joined the High School in Rajkot, Alfred High School. He was an average student, won some prizes, but was a shy and tongue tied student, with no interest in games; his only companions were books and school lessons.

In May 1883, the 14-year-old, Mohandas, was married to 14-year-old Kasturbai Gokuldas Kapadia (her first name was usually shortened to "Kasturba", and affectionately to "Ba") in an arranged marriage, according to the custom of the region at that time. In the process, he lost a year at school but was later allowed to make up by accelerating his studies. His wedding was a joint event, where his brother and cousin were also married. Recalling the day of their marriage, he once said, "As we didn't know much about marriage, for us it meant only wearing new clothes, eating sweets and playing with relatives." As was the prevailing tradition, the adolescent bride was to spend much time at her parents' house, away from her husband.

Although, in his autobiography, Mahatma Gandhi hilariously says, 'perhaps my ancestors were provision merchants.' After few years of services in Porbandar, Mahatma Gandhi went to Rajkot for his high school studies Mohandas joined the Samaldas College in Bhavnagar, where he found the studies difficult and the atmosphere uncongenial. meanwhile, his father had died in 1885. A friend of the family suggested that if the young Gandhi hoped to take his father's place in the state service, he had better become a barrister, which he could do in England in three years. Mohandas was indeed eager to continue his family legacy of aristocracy and therefore, opted to go for studies in England for law.

In his autobiography, Mohandas Gandhi elaborately explains how his decision to go to England for higher studies in law was objected by his mother and how she made him take three vows, which were as follows:

Gandhi's mother's objection to his going abroad was overcome by her son's solemn vow not to touch wine, women, and meat.

Gandhi went to Bombay to take the boat for England. In Bombay, his community people, who looked upon crossing the ocean as contamination, threatened to excommunicate him if he persisted in going abroad. Yet, Gandhi stood with his decision and went to London for his higher studies. Undeterred, he sailed on September 4, 1888, for Southampton, at the age of eighteen. A few months earlier Kasturbai his wife had borne him a son.

In his autobiography Mahatma Gandhi further writes about his initial years in England. He said; "The first few days in London were miserable. I would continually think of my home and country. . . Everything was strange-the people, their ways and even their dwellings. I was a complete novice in the matter of English etiquette, and continually had to be on my guard. There was the additional inconvenience of the vegetarian vow. Even the dishes that I could eat were tasteless and insipid."

Gandhi had vowed to his mother that he will not eat meat, so initially it was difficult for him to find a pure vegetarian place to eat. Later, the food difficulty was solved when one day he chanced upon a vegetarian restaurant in Farringdon Street where he also bought a copy of Henry Salt's book 'A Plea for Vegetarianism,' and was greatly impressed by it. Hitherto, he had been a vegetarian because of the vow he had taken. From now on, he became a vegetarian by choice. He read many more books on vegetarianism and diet, and was delighted to discover modern science confirming the practice of his forefathers. Hence for, speaking vegetarianism became his mission, as he put it.

During the early period of his stay in England Gandhi went through a phase which he has described as aping the English gentleman. He got new clothes made, purchased a silk hat costing nineteen shillings, "wasted ten pounds on an evening dress suit made in Bond Street," and flaunted a double watch-chain of gold. He took lessons in French and in elocution and spent three guineas to learn ball-room dancing. But he soon realized-and here is foreshadowed the real Gandhi-that if he could not become a gentleman by virtue of his character, the ambition was not worth cherishing.

Towards the end of his second year in London, he came across two theosophist brothers who introduced him to Sir Edwin Arnold's translation in English verse of the Gita, The Song Celestial priceless worth. He was deeply impressed. "The book struck me as one of priceless worth. This opinion of the Gita has ever since been growing on me, with the result that I regard it today as the supreme book for knowledge of Truth. It has afforded me invaluable help in my moments of gloom."

About the same time, a Christian friend whom he had met in a vegetarian boarding house introduced him to the Bible. He found it difficult to wade through the Old Testament which put him to sleep, but he fell in love with the New Testament and especially with the Sermon on the Mount. He also read Sir Edwin Arnold's rendering of 'Buddha's life, The light of

Asia', as well as the chapter on the Prophet of Islam in Carlyle's Heroes and Hero Worship. The attitude of respect for all religions and the desire to understand the best in each one of them was, thus, planted in his mind early in life.

Having passed his examinations, Gandhi was called to the Bar on June 10, 1891, and sailed for India two days later.

1.4 THE MAKING OF MAHATMA GANDHI: SOUTH AFRICA TO INDIA (1893-1916)

The Making of Mahatma Gandhi: South Africa to India (1893-1916)

After returning from England in 1891, Gandhi attempted to practice law in different parts of Gujarat and Bombay Presidency, but to his dismay he didn't turn out as a successful lawyer or legal counsel. Thus, Gandhi started seeking other opportunities which came from South Africa, another colony of British Empire. Gandhi arrived in Durban, Natal (now Kwa Zulu - Natal - KZN) in 1893 to serve as legal counsel to a merchant Dada Abdulla. In June, Dada Abdulla asked him to undertake a rail trip to Pretoria, in Transvaal, a journey which first took Gandhi to Pietermaritzburg, Natal. There, Gandhi was seated in the first-class compartment, as he had purchased a first-class ticket. A White person who entered the compartment hastened to summon the White railway officials, who then ordered Gandhi to relocate to the van compartment, since 'coolies' (a racist term for Indians) and non-whites were not permitted in first-class compartments. Gandhi protested and showed his ticket, but was warned that he would be forcibly removed if he did not make a gracious exit. As Gandhi refused to comply with the order, a White police officer pushed him out of the train, and his luggage was tossed out onto the platform. As the train steamed away, Gandhi withdrew to the waiting room. "It was winter," Gandhi was to write in his autobiography, and "the cold was extremely bitter. My overcoat was in my luggage, but I did not dare to ask for it lest I should be insulted again, so I sat and shivered". He says he began to think of his "duty": ought he to stay back and fight for his "rights", or should he return to India? His own "hardship was superficial", "only a symptom of the deep disease of colour and racial prejudice."

The next evening, he continued the train journey, this time without a mishap. But a bigger mishap awaited him on the journey from Charlestown to Johannesburg, which had to be covered by stagecoach. He was compelled to sit with the coachman on the box outside, while the white conductor sat inside with the white passengers. Gandhi pocketed the insult silently, tearing off missing the coach altogether. On the way, the conductor who wanted smoke, spread a piece of dirty sackcloth on the footboard and ordered Gandhi to sit there so that the conductor could have Gandhi's seat and smoke. Gandhi refused. In response the conductor swore and rained blows on him, trying to throw him down. Gandhi clung to the brass rails of the coach box, refusing to yield and unwilling to retaliate. Some of the White passengers protested at this cowardly assault and the conductor was obliged to stop beating Gandhi, who remained his seat.

The position of Indians in the Transvaal was worse than in Natal. They were compelled to pay a poll tax of £3; they were not allowed to own land, except in specially allotted locations, (a kind of ghetto). They lacked the right to vote, and were not allowed to walk on the pavement or move out of doors after 9 p.m. without a special permit. One day Gandhi, who had received a letter from the State Attorney, granting him to be out of doors all hours. When he was having his usual walk, he passed near President Kruger's house, a policeman on duty, suddenly and without any warning, pushed him off the pavement and kicked him into the street. A Mr. Coates, an English Quaker, who knew Gandhi, happened to pass by and saw the incident. He advised Gandhi to proceed against the man and offered himself as a witness. But Gandhi declined the offer saying that he had made it a rule not to go to court in respect of a personal grievance.

During his stay in Pretoria, Gandhi read about 80 books on religion. He came under the influence of Christianity but refused to embrace it. During this period, Gandhi attended Bible classes. Within a week of his arrival there, Gandhi delivered his first public speech, focusing on the importance of truthfulness in business his theme. The meeting was called to awaken the Indian residents about the oppression they faced. He took up the issue of discrimination against Indians in regard to first-class travel in railways. As a result, an assurance was given that first and second-class tickets would be issued to Indians "who were properly dressed". This narded a partial victory. These incidents led Gandhi to develop the concept of Satyagraha. He united the Indians from different communities, languages, and religions, who had settled in South Africa. By the time Gandhi arrived in South Africa, the growing nationalism perpetuated by the White ruling authorities and the majority of the White citizenry along with their anti-Indian attitude, had spread to Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal). The first discriminatory legislation directed at Indians, Law 3 of 1885, was passed in the South African Republic, or the Transvaal. The right to self-government had been granted to Natal in 1893, and politicians were increasing pressure to pass legislation aimed at contioning the 'merchant [Indian] menace'.

Two bills were passed in the following two years, reverely restricting the freedom of Indians. The Immigration Law Amendment Bill stated that any Indian had to return to India at the end of a five-year indenture period, or had to be re-indentured for a further two years. If they refused, an amount of £3 annual tax had to be paid. The bill came into law in 1895. A Franchise Amendment Bill was introduced in 1894. It was designed to limit the franchise to Indians who had the vote. Although, there were only 300 of them, in comparison to 10,000 white voters, the Bill caused outrage among Indian leadership. They decided to contest the measure by any means available to them. Having completed his work in Pretoria, Gandhi returned to Durban and prepared to sail home. At a farewell dinner, in April 1894, given in his honour someone showed him a news item in the Natal Mercury that the Natal Government proposed to introduce a bill to disfranchise Indians. Gandhi immediately understood the ominous implications of this bill which, as he said, "is the first nail into our coffin" and advised his compatriots to resist it by concerted action. But they

pleaded their helplessness without him and begged him to stay on for another month. He agreed little realizing that this one month would grow into twenty years.

Gandhi immediately turned the farewell dinner into a meeting and an action committee was formed. This committee then drafted a petition to the Natal Legislative Assembly. Volunteers came forward to make copies of the petition and to collect signatures - all during the night. The petition received much favourable publicity in the press the following morning. The bill was, however, passed. Undeterred, Gandhi set to work on another petition to Lord Ripon, the Secretary of State for Colonies. Within a month, the mammoth petition with ten thousand signatures was sent to Lord Ripon, and a thousand copies were printed for distribution. Even The Times admitted the justice of the Indian claim, and for the first time, the people in India became aware of the oppressive conditions faced by their compatriots in South Africa.

Gandhi insisted that if he had to extend his stay in South Africa he would accept no remuneration for his public services, and since he still thought it necessary to live as befitted a barrister, he needed about £300 to meet his expenses. He therefore enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal. On 25 June 1894, at the residence of Sheth Abdulla, with Sheth Haji Muhammad, the foremost Indian leader of Natal in the chair, a meeting of Indians was held and it was resolved to offer opposition to the Franchise Bill. Here, Gandhi outlined his plan of action to oppose this bill. Gandhi played a prominent role in the planned campaign. As a talented letter-writer and meticulous planner, he was assigned the task of compiling all petitions, and arranging meetings with politicians and addressing letters to newspapers. He also campaigned in India and made an initially successful appeal to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Ripon. He was instrumental in the formation of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) on 22 August 1894, which marked the birth of the first permanent political Organisation to strive to maintain and protect the rights of Indians in South Africa.

By 1896, Gandhi had established himself as a political leader in South Africa. In this year, he undertook a journey to India to launch a protest campaign on behalf of Indians in South Africa. It took the form of letters written to newspapers, interviews with leading nationalist leaders, and a number of public meetings. His mission caused great uproar in India and consternation among British authorities in England and Natal. Gandhi embarrassed the British Government enough to cause it to block the Franchise Bill in an unprecedented move, which resulted in anti-Indian feelings in Natal reaching dangerous new levels. While in India, an urgent telegram from the Indian community in Natal obliged him to cut short his stay. He set sail for Durban with his wife and children on 30 November, 1896. Gandhi did not realize that while he had been away from South Africa, his pamphlet of Indian grievances, known as the Green Pamphlet, had been exaggerated and distorted. When the ship reached Durban harbour, it was held for 23 days in quarantine. The European community, misled by garbled versions of Gandhi's activities in India and

by a rumour that he was bringing shiploads of Indians to settle in Natal, were wild with anger and threatened to drown all the passengers.

Mahatma Gandhi

News of this cowardly assault received wide publicity, and Joseph Chamberlain, the British Secretary of States for the Colonies, cabled an order to Natal to prosecute all those who were responsible for the attempted lynching. However, Gandhi refused to identify and prosecute his assailants, saying that they were misled and he was sure that when they came to know the truth they would be sorry for what they had done. It was during this second period in South Africa that Gandhi underwent a gradual change. Previously, he was anxious to maintain the standard of an English barrister. Now he began, to methodically reduce his wants and his expenses. He began to do his own laundry and clean out his own chamber pots, and often those of his guests as well. Not satisfied with self-help, despite his busy practice as a lawyer and demand of public work, free service for two hours a day at a charitable hospital. He also he volunteered undertook the education at home of his two sons and a nephew. He read books on nursing and midwifery and in fact, served as a midwife when his fourth and last son was born in Natal.

In 1899, the Second Anglo-Boer (South African War) war broke out. Though Gandhi's sympathies were with the Boers who were fighting for their independence, he advised the Indian community to support the British cause, on the grounds that since they claimed their rights as British subjects, it was their duty to defend the Empire when it was threatened. He organized and, with the help of Dr. Booth, trained an Indian Ambulance Corps of 1,100 volunteers and offered its services to the Government. The corps under Gandhi's leadership, rendered valuable service and was mentioned in dispatches. In 1901, at the end of the war, Gandhi wanted to return to India. His professional success in South Africa might he feared that this turn him into a "money-maker". With great difficulty, he persuaded his friends to let him go and promised to return, should the community need him within a year? He reached India in time to attend the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress and had the satisfaction of seeing his resolution on South Africa, pass with acclamation. He was however disappointed with the congress. He felt that Indian politicians talked too much but did little. Hardly had he set up in practice in Bombay when a cablegram from the Indian community in Natal recalled him. He had given them his word that he would return if needed. Leaving his family in India, he sailed again.

He had been called to put the Indian case before Joseph Chamberlain, who was visiting South Africa. But the Colonial Secretary who had come to receive a gift of thirty-five million pounds from South Africa had no intention to alienate the European community. Gandhi failed in his mission to win Chamberlain's sympathy and discovered in the process that the situation in the Transvaal had become ominous for the Indians. He therefore, decided to stay in Johannesburg and enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court. Though he stayed on specifically to challenge White arrogance and to resist injustice, he harbored no hatred in his heart and was, in fact, always ready to help when they were in distress. It was this

rare combination of readiness to resist wrong and capacity to love his opponent which baffled his enemies and compelled their admiration. When the Zulu rebellion broke out, he again offered his help to the Government and raised an Indian Ambulance Corps. He was happy that he and his men had to nurse the sick and dying Zulus, whom the White doctors and nurses were unwilling to touch. Gandhi was involved in the formation of British Indian Association (BIA), in 1903. The movement was to prevent proposed evictions of Indians in the Transvaal under British leadership. According to Arthur Lawley, the newly appointed Lieutenant Governor Lord Alfred Milner said that, Whites were to be protected against Indians in what he called a 'struggle between East and West for the inheritance of the semi-vacant territories of South Africa'.

SATYAGRAHA

Influenced by the Hindu religious book, the Bhagavad Gita, Gandhi wanted to purify his life by following the concepts of *aparigraha* (non-possession) and *samabhava* (equability). A friend gave him the book, 'Unto This Last', by John Ruskin; Gandhi became excited about the ideals proffered by Ruskin. The book inspired Gandhi to establish a communal living community called Phoenix Settlement just outside of Durban in June 1904. The Settlement was an experiment in communal living, a way to eliminate one's needless possessions and to live in a society with full equality. Gandhi moved his newspaper, "the Indian Opinion," established in June 1903, and its workers to the Phoenix Settlement as well as his own family a bit later. Besides a building for the press, each community member was allotted three acres of land on which to build a dwelling made of corrugated iron. In addition to farming, all members of the community were to be trained and expected to help with the newspaper.

In 1906, believing that family life was taking away from his full potential as a public advocate, Gandhi took the vow of *brahmacharya* (a vow of abstinence against sexual relations, even with one's own wife). This was not an easy vow for him to follow, but one that he worked diligently to keep for the rest of his life. Thinking that one passion fed others, Gandhi decided to restrict his diet in order to remove passion from his palate. To aid him in this endeavour, Gandhi simplified his diet from strict vegetarianism to foods that were non-spiced and usually uncooked, with fruits and nuts being a large portion of his food choices. Fasting, he believed, would also help still the urges of the flesh. Gandhi believed that his taking the vow of *brahmacharya* had allowed him the focus to come up with the concept of Satyagraha in late 1906. In the very simplest sense, Satyagraha is passive resistance. However, Gandhi believed the English phrase "passive resistance" did not represent the true spirit of Indian resistance since passive resistance was often thought to be used by the weak and was a tactic that could potentially be conducted in anger.

Needing a new term for the Indian resistance, Gandhi chose the term "Satyagraha" which literally means "truth force." Since Gandhi believed that exploitation was only possible if both the exploited and the exploiter

accepted it, if one could see above the current situation and see the universal truth, then one had the power to make change. (Truth, in this manner, could mean "natural right," a right granted by nature and the universe that should not be impeded by man). In practice, Satyagraha was a focused and forceful nonviolent resistance to a particular injustice. A Satyagrahi (a person using Satyagraha) would resist injustice by refusing to follow an unjust law. In doing so, he would not be angry, would put up freely with physical assaults on his person and the confiscation of his property, and would not use foul language to smear his opponent. A practitioner of Satyagraha also would never take advantage of an opponent's problems. The goal was not for there to be a winner and loser of the battle, but rather, that all would eventually see and understand the "truth" and agree to rescind the unjust law.

On 28 December 1907, the first arrests of Indians refusing to register were made, and by the end of January 1908, 2,000 Asians had been jailed. Gandhi had also been jailed several times, but many key figures in the movement fled the colony rather than be arrested. The first time Gandhi officially used Satyagraha was in South Africa beginning in 1907 when he organised opposition to the Asiatic Registration Law (the Black Act). In March 1907, the Black Act was passed, requiring all Indians – (young and old, men and women) - to get fingerprinted and to keep registration documents on them at all times. Gandhi advised the Indian community to refuse to submit to this indignity and to court imprisonment by defying the law. Indians refused to get fingerprinted and picketed the documentation offices. Mass protests were organised, miners went on strike, and masses of Indians travelled illegally from Natal to the Transvaal in opposition to the Black Act. Many of the protesters were beaten and arrested. In January 1908, he was arrested and sentenced to two months simple imprisonment. He was followed by other Satyagrahis. This was the first time Gandhi was jailed and he would be jailed many more times in his life. It took seven years of protest before the Black Act was repealed in June 1914. Gandhi had proved that nonviolent protest could be immensely successful.

The Indians made a bonfire of their registration certificates and decided to defy the ban on immigration to the Transvaal. Jails began to be filled. Gandhi was arrested a second time in September 1908 and sentenced to two months' imprisonment, this time hard labour. The struggle continued. In February 1909, he was arrested a third time and sentenced to three months' hard labour. He made such good use of his time in jail with study and prayer that he was able to declare that "the real road to ultimate happiness lies in going to jail and undergoing sufferings and privations there in the interest of one's own country and religion. Before the prison term was over General Jan Smuts sent him an emissary proposing that if the Indians voluntarily registered themselves, he promised to repeal the Act. Gandhi and the leader of the Chinese population in South Africa, Leung Quin, agreed to the compromise. He always believed in trusting the opponent, but other Indians were not so trusting. One burly Indian, a Pathan, even accused Gandhi of being saying them and threatened to kill him if he registered. On the day Gandhi went out to register, he was waylaid and attacked by Pathans and others, resulting in severe injuries. When he

recovered and was told that his assailants had been arrested, he insisted on them being released.

Gandhi registered, but his disappointment was great when Smuts went back on his word and refused to repeal the Black Act. While also denying the promises that had been made. The Indians made a bonfire of their registration certificates and decided to defy the ban. In June 1909, he left for London after having defended his position as leader of the Transvaal merchant community.

The year 1909 remains significant for his entire life, because while returning from London, he wrote his philosophical treatise 'Hind Swaraj'. This text of him remained of foundation of his philosophy throughout his political and public welfare living. As it directed him to proceed with his philosophy guiding him to stay true to his principles regardless of the any circumstances at home or in public use.

Gandhi returned to South Africa in December 1909 to find that members of the NIC were openly plotting against him. He was fighting for his political survival and withdrew to Tolstoy a farm which he had purchased in 1910 to support the families of jailed passive resisters. He was accused of preventing opponents of his policies from speaking with the visitor, and finally, on 26 April 1913, Gandhi and his rivals in the NIC went their separate ways.

Gandhi only came under the public eye in South Africa again in 1912, as a result of a visit to South Africa by Indian statesman Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Gokhale later turned out to be political guru of Gandhi and because of him Gandhi decided to join Indian nationalist movement.

In 1911, a provisional settlement of the Asiatic question in the Transvaal brought about a suspension of the Satyagraha campaign. In the following year, Gokhale visited South Africa and on the eve of his departure assured Gandhi that the Union Government had promised to repeal the Black Act, to remove the racial bar from the immigration law, and to abolish the £3 tax. But Gandhi had his fears which were soon borne out. The Union Government went back on its promise, and to this fire was added a very powerful fuel when a judgment of the Supreme Court ruled that only Christian marriages were legal in South Africa, in one stroke, reducing all wives to the status of concubine. This injustice provoked Indian women, including, Kasturbai, to join the struggle. It was illegal for the Indians to cross the border from the Transvaal into Natal, and vice versa, without a permit. Indian women from the Tolstoy Ashram, which Gandhi set up in the Transvaal, crossed the border without permits and proceeded to Newcastle to persuade the Indian miners there to strike. They succeeded and were arrested. The strike spread and thousands of miners and other Indians, under Gandhi's leadership prepared, to march to the Transvaal border in a concerted act of non-violent defiance.

On 29 October 1913, hundreds of men, women, and children led by Gandhi marched from Newcastle, Natal Colony (now KwaZulu Natal), into the Transvaal to purposefully defy the Immigrants Regulation Act of

1913 (Act no. 22). Gandhi was followed by two parties led by Thambi Naidoo and Albert Christopher. This marked one of the greatest episodes in South African history. He was arrested the following day at Palmford. Prior to this march, Thambi Naidoo mobilized the Indian community at Newcastle to start the Satyagraha Campaign (Passive Resistance Campaign). Gandhi made strict rules for the conduct of the Satyagrahis, who were to submit patiently and without retaliation to insult, flogging, or arrest. While leading a march on 6 November 1913, which included 127 women, 57 children, and 2037 men, Gandhi was arrested. He was released on bail, rejoined the march and was re-arrested. The Indian Relief Bill was finally scrapped.

At one time, there were about fifty thousand indentured labourers on strike and several thousand other Indians in jail. The Government tried repression and even shooting, and many lives were lost. "In the end", as an American biographer has put it, "General Smuts did what every Government that ever opposed Gandhi had to do - he yielded." A spontaneous strike by Indians in Natal altered the situation radically. Here, violent confrontation ruled and several strikers were killed and injured in clashes with the police and more protesters joined as tension escalated. By the end of November 1913, produce markets in Durban and Pietermaritzburg had come to a standstill, sugar mills were closed, and hotels, restaurants and homes were left without domestic workers. Reports in India, relating to the arrest of Gandhi and police brutality caused uproar and the British government was forced to negotiate with the strikers. Gandhi was released in order to negotiate with Smuts over the Indian Relief Bill, a law that scrapped the £3 tax on ex-indentured workers. The law was scrapped. Gandhi was released and, in January 1914, a provisional agreement was arrived at between him and General Smuts and the main Indian demands were conceded. Gandhi's work in South Africa was now over and, in July 1914, he sailed with his wife for England. Before sailing, he sent a pair of sandals he had made in jail to General Smuts as a gift. Recalling the gift twenty-five years later, the General wrote: "I have worn these sandals for many a summer since then, even though I may feel that I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man."

1.5 MAHATMA GANDHI IN THE SPIRIT OF THE INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT (1916-1948)

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi by the end of 1910s had become a global public figure with his methods of 'Satyagraha', he was renowned and respected in global politics for colonial people's championing the rights of nations of people. His methods of resistance and standing for people's rights prompted Indian nationalists also to reach out to him. In that path, Gopal Krishna Gokhale went to South Africa in 1912 and convinced Gandhi to come to India. Thereafter, after securing dignity for Indians in South Africa and initiating a strong Satyagraha Movement, he sailed to India.

Return to India from South Africa and Beginning of Sabarmati Ashram and Satyagraha Movement in India

Having spent more than twenty years in South Africa, advocating against discrimination, Gandhi decided it was time to return to India. On his way home, Gandhi was scheduled to make a short stop in England. However, when World War I broke out during his journey, Gandhi decided to stay in England and form another ambulance corps of Indians to help the British. When the British air caused Gandhi to fall ill, he sailed to India in January 1915. Gandhi's struggles and triumphs in South Africa had been reported in the worldwide press. By the time he reached home in India, he was a national hero. Although, he was eager to begin reforms in India, a friend advised him to wait a year and spend the time travelling around India to acquaint himself with the people and their tribulations. Yet, Gandhi soon found his fame getting in the way of accurately seeing the conditions that the poorer people lived in day to day. In an attempt to travel more anonymously, Gandhi began wearing a loincloth (dhoti) and sandals (the average dress of the masses) during this journey. If it was cold, he would add a shawl. This became his wardrobe for the rest of his life. During this year of observation, Gandhi founded community settlements, this time in Ahmadabad. Initially, he started the Kocharab Ashram and later started his second settlement besides the bank of river Sabarmati, which came to be known as 'Sabarmati Ashram.' Gandhi lived in the Ashram for the next sixteen years, along with his family and several members who had once been part of the Phoenix Settlement.



Gandhiji and Sub-Inspector Qurban Ali in Champaran (1917)

Champaran Satyagraha (1916-17): The methods of Satyagraha for nationalist movement in India continued to be virtues of Gandhi in India as well. However, for that he had to struggle and transform the methodology of Indian National Congress, which was already divided into 'Extremists' and 'Moderates'. Gandhi situated himself neither of categories and his method of 'Satyagraha', along with his vision of 'Hind Swaraj', was altogether a different model to pursue. For this he initiated

various grassroots model on which he worked himself. The method of Satyagraha, which was literally translated into English as passive resistance, soon started gaining acceptance as he began with 'Champaran Satyagraha.' The Champaran Satyagraha of 1917 was the first Satyagraha movement led by Gandhi in India and is considered a historically important revolt in the Indian Independence Movement. It was a farmer's uprising that took place in Champaran district of Bihar, India, during the British colonial period. The farmers were protesting against having to grow indigo with barely any payment for it. When Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1915, and saw peasants in northern India oppressed by indigo planters, he tried to use the same methods that he had used in South Africa to organize mass uprisings by people to protest against injustice. The Champaran Satyagraha gave direction to India's youth and freedom struggle, which was tottering between moderates who prescribed Indian participation within the British colonial system, and the extremists from Bengal who advocated the use of violent methods to topple the British colonialists in India.

Indian National Congress and the Ideology of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi: 1916-1948

With the successful Champaran Satyagraha, Gandhi became an accepted leader who could bring the common masses in the nationalist struggle against British regime. This success also elevated him to higher leadership position in the Indian National Congress party, which in those days was highly acclaimed party against the British regime in India for the Nationalist struggle. The Champaran movement also motivated Indian National Congress which was divided into Moderates and Extremists, to come together to a great extent. Thus, in the Lucknow session of 1916, both the groups united together and strengthened the party for the cause of Indian independence. The Lucknow Pact of 31st session of Indian National Congress from 29 to 31 December 1916. brought together several factions advocating political autonomy and resistance within the fold of Indian National Congress. To a great extent, this success was because of Gandhi.

Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Indian National Congress grew further and became truly a nationalist organization both in the British territories of India and in areas of dominion status under the princely states of India. By 1914, the World War-I began and British started seeking the support of Indian politicians to participate in the war, initially under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Indian politicians did give their support. Infact, before returning to India, Mahatma Gandhi had already gave his support to British attempts in World War during his stay in England after returning from South Africa. Along with when Indian National Congress was seemingly united and doing well for the Indian independence cause from 1916 onwards, it became vivid for many that India will soon be free from the British regime. However, things changed dramatically when by the end of the World War-I British brought the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms as Government of India Act 1919, and along with it they brought the Marshall Law-1918 and the Rowlett Act (1919).

The title 'Mahatma': It was during his first year back in India that Gandhi was given the honorary title of Mahatma ("Great Soul"). Many credit Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, winner of the 1913 Nobel Prize for Literature, for both awarding Gandhi this name and publicizing it. The title represented the feelings of the millions of Indian peasants who viewed Gandhi as a holy man. However, Gandhi never liked the title because it seemed to mean he was special, while he viewed himself as ordinary. However, other sources claim, it was Nagar Sheth of Jetpur, Shri Nautamlal B. Mehta (Kamdhar), who was the first to use and bestow "Mahatma" for Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi on 21 January 1915 at Kamri Bai School, Jetpur, India. From then on, Gandhi was known as Mahatma Gandhi. It is commonly believed that Rabindranath Tagore first bestowed the name. However, this is incorrect.

Contrarily to it Gandhi was working ceaselessly to improvise the divided Indian National Movement under the single umbrella of the Indian National Congress. After Champaran Satyagraha, he engaged himself in the Ahmedabad Mill Workers Satyagraha (1916), and thereafter he initiated the Kheda Satyagraha (1918), where Vallabhbhai Patel, who later came to be known as Sardar Patel, also joined him.

Government of India Act-1919 and Beginning of Non-Cooperation Movement

The Government of India Act came as a jolt to Indian Nationalist movement, especially after 1916-1918, when many efforts and positive changes were taking place in Indian nationalist struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The Government of India Act-1919, well known as Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, had the following significant features:

The main provisions were the following:

1. The secretary of state would control affairs relating to Government of India.
2. The Imperial Legislative Council would comprise two chambers : the Council of State and the Central Legislative Assembly.
3. The Imperial Legislative Council was empowered to enact laws on any matter for the whole of India.
4. The Governor General was given powers to summon, prorogue, dissolve the Chambers, and to promulgate Ordinances.
5. The number of Indians in Viceroy's Executive Council would be three out of eight members.
6. Establishment of bicameral Provincial Legislative councils.
7. Dyarchy in the Provinces.
 - a) Reserved subjects like Finance, Law and Order, Army, Police etc.

- b) Transferred subjects like Public Health, Education, Agriculture, Local Self-government etc.
- 8. There would henceforth be direct elections and an extension of Communal franchise.
- 9. A Council of Princes was also set up with 108 members to allow princes to debate on importance matters. But it had no power and some princes didn't even bother to attend what was little more than a 'talking shop'.

The Government of India Act 1919 was not well received by the Indian nationals and politicians. Many Indians had fought with the British in the First World War and expected much greater concessions. Mahatma Gandhi and Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore returned their war gallantry awards in protest. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League had recently come together, demanding self-rule. The 1919 reforms did not satisfy political demands in India. The British repressed opposition, and restrictions on the press and on movement were re-enacted through the Rowlatt Acts introduced in 1919. These measures were rammed through the Legislative Council despite the unanimous opposition of the Indian members. Several members of the council, including Jinnah, resigned in protest. These measures were widely seen throughout India as a betrayal of the strong support given by the population for the British war effort. Mahatma Gandhi launched a nationwide protest against the Rowlatt Acts, with the strongest level of protest in Punjab. At the same time, with the Khilafat movement going on in Turkey and the former Ottoman empire, Mahatma Gandhi also supported Khilafat Movement by 1919. The time was ripe, and so the Non-Cooperation movement started against the atrocities and “unfair policies” of British government in India. With the beginning of Non-Cooperation Movement, a nationwide movement began against the unfair policies of Britishers in India. It was because of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, that the entire movement remained non-violent, and people protested in the ideals of Satyagraha throughout India.

Jallianwala Bagh incident and Non-Cooperation Movement (NCM) gaining further momentum:

On 13th April 1919, on the day of Baisakhi in Amritsar, a gathering of some 2000 persons was peacefully protesting against the Rowlatt Act (1919) and arrest of Dr. Saifuddin Kichlew and Dr. Satya Pal. General R.E.H. Dyer ordered a brutal open fire. The incident caused death of approximately 1200 people, with several injured. Yet, in the entire mayhem of Jallianwala Bagh incident, not a single Indian took to arms, and the resistance from the Indian side remained non-violent. The incident jolted entire India and caused global uproar against the Brutal British regime in India. This incident further gave immense motivation to the Non-Cooperation movement, and there was even increase in the enrolment in Indian National Congress. In the Nagpur Session of Indian National Congress in the 1920, the fees to be part of Indian National Congress was minimized by four annas or twenty-five (25) paise, which made many

rural and suburban people become part of the Indian National Congress (hereafter INC), as this suggestion was given by Mahatma Gandhi. With INC becoming more of the people's party, the NCM gained great momentum. Soon, NCM spread across entire British Indian territories and also in the Princely state areas of British dominion. The urban – focused political movement for the first time became a massive nationwide people's movement. However, soon the non-violent movement started facing violent opposition from the Indian side from 1921 onwards. With small skirmishes showing a violent streak, especially with repressive control of Khilafat movement by the British government and fragmentation of Khilafat movement within its leadership. Moplah or Malabar rebellion remains part of the legacy of Non-cooperation movement too.

Chauri-Chaura Incident (1922) and end of the Non-Cooperation Movement:

The Chauri Chaura Incident took place on 4 February 1922 at Chauri Chaura in the Gorakhpur district of United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). in British India. The police there fired upon a large group of protesters participating in the Non-cooperation movement. In retaliation, the demonstrators attacked and set fire to a police station, which killed all of its occupants. The incident led to the death of three civilians and 23 policemen. Mahatma Gandhi halted the Non-Cooperation Movement on the national level on 12 February 1922 as a direct result of the incident. 19 arrested demonstrators were sentenced to death and 14 to life imprisonment by the British colonial authorities.

In response to the killing of policemen in the Chauri Chaura incident, the British colonial authorities declared martial law in and around Chauri Chaura. Several raids were conducted and hundreds of people were arrested. Appalled at the outrage, Gandhi went on a five-day fast as penance for what he perceived as his culpability in the bloodshed. In reflection, Gandhi felt that he had acted too hastily in encouraging people to rebel against the British colonial government without sufficiently emphasizing the importance of *ahimsa* (non-violence) and without adequately training the people to exercise restraint in the face of attack. He decided that the Indian people were ill-prepared and not yet ready to undertake what was necessary to achieve independence. Gandhi was also arrested and sentenced to six years of imprisonment but was later released in February 1924, due to his poor health.

On 12 February 1922, the Indian National Congress halted the non-cooperation movement on the national level as a direct result of the Chauri Chaura incident. Jawaharlal Nehru and most of the workers of the Congress, who were in prison, felt that this was a hasty and incorrect decision at a time when the nation was reaching the epoch of support for the Indian independence movement. On March 10, 1922, the colonial government arrested Gandhi and put him in jail, but later released because of his ill health.

Mahatma Gandhi and Gandhian Political Strategy for Nationalism (1922-1927)

Mahatma Gandhi

After the secession of Non-Cooperation Movement Mahatma Gandhi started the 'Gram-Swaraj' and Satyagraha movement for the people of India first. He strongly believed that Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movement, and Indian people were not ready for the non-violent struggle in a massive scale. He was supported in this thought by Charles Andrews his longtime friend and ally since his struggling and movement days in South Africa. During the times of Non-Cooperation movement itself Gandhi realised that revival of 'Charkha' (Spinning Wheel) and 'Khadi' (Coarse cotton cloth) and Gram Swaraj (Village emancipation) movement will be answer to the unrest and violent streak in the Indian masses. Therefore, after 1924 he extensively travelled in the British Indian and Princely states regions of India, and started promoting the ideals of Khadi, and Charkha, and Gram Swaraj. For which he was now extensively supported by the new band of idealists called 'Gandhians', who believed in the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi and his principles of 'Truth' and 'Non-Violence'. Hence farth Mahatma Gandhi and his ardent followers 'Gandhians' started various ashrams as in lines of Sabarmati ashram in different parts of India, and spearheaded the ideals of *Khadi*, *Charkha* and *GramSwaraj* in various parts of India. It's believed that by the 1930s, more than five hundred ashrams or community settlements were actively working in entire India, which spread the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi for truth and non-violence for India's emancipation.

Mahatma Gandhi and Civil Disobedience Movement (1927-1931)

By 1927, India started experiencing different political turmoil, Britishers although quelled the Non-cooperation movement and Khilafat movement successfully, and also implemented the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms or Government of India Act-1919. Yet, they were apprehensive about the retaliation from the Indian masses, therefore, in 1927 they sent Simon Commission in India to evaluate the impacts of Mont-Ford reforms in Indian political order. Based on the recommendations of Simon Commission, they were planning to implement dyarchy with extended contents for the legislature in India. However, a vast number of Indian politicians opposed Simon Commission because there was not a single Indian member in the commission, and also there were limitations in the Commission which were against the autonomous status for India. Thus, in the Calcutta Session of Indian National Congress in December, 1928, the socialist wing of the INC demanded boycott of Simon Commission and also for complete independence from the British rule. Mahatma Gandhi too agreed for the demands of Calcutta Congress. The events in the Calcutta Session of INC initiated massive protests throughout India against the Simon Commission. Prior to it already, Lala Lajpat Rai became martyr while protesting against the Simon Commission on 17th November, 1927. Henceforth, the entire year of 1928-29 remained in protects against the repressive policies of the British regime. There were already protests and some organizations were in support of the Simon commission and Mont-Ford reforms.

In 1929, during the Lahore session of Indian National Congress, the Socialist, wing led by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Subhash Chandra Bose, and many other leaders demanded for the Poorna Swaraj or complete independence from the British rule. Infact, at midnight on 31 December 1929, the INC (Indian National Congress) raised the tricolor color flag of India on the banks of the Ravi at Lahore. These episodes prompted and tostered for a nation-wide struggle against the British regime. Simultaneously, the extremist nationalist in India were already actively working and protesting against the British regime. Members of the Hindustan Socialist Republic Association (HSRA), namely Durga Bhabhi, Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekhar Azad, Batukeshwar Dutt, Asfaqullah Khan and many more were already engaged inresisting the British rule in India. These incidents, were indeed strong enough to proceed for a nationwide movement under Indian National Congress. However, during the Lahore Session Mahatma Gandhi was keenly intent on ensuring that movement for freedom not to be violent, yet the episodes of emancipation were going out of hands.

Salt March (1930):

With the given instances of agitation and momentum for the nationalist struggle under Indian National Congress, perhaps to give a certain organised way Mahatma Gandhi began his famous “Salt March of Dandi”. Protests against Simon Commission, which began in 1927 onwards were turning into mayhem of violent and disorganized events. As a result, it was desired that the movement against British policies and their follies should be given an adequate shape, therefore, on 12th March, 1930 Mahatma Gandhi started with seventy-eight (78) of his fellow community members of Sabarmati ashram to proceed to Dandi, under which they decided to break the Salt law. Thereafter, the movement, knownas Civil Disobedience Movement, under which people of India were encouraged to break various British laws under the calling of ‘Satyagraha’. Salt March of Dandi was a huge success, it began on 12th March, and Gandhi reached Dandi on 6th April, 1930 and there after raising a fist of salt, he broke the Salt law. Following this event, throughout the India various British laws on commodities and people were broken. Civil Disobedience Movement now became a huge success and throughout India people participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement. The movement continued to work through 1934, while the three round table conference and famous Mahatma Gandhi-Dr. Ambedkar discourse of Poona Pact happened. However, after 1934 the movement fizzled into various micro movements. Yet, the movement had a huge impact on the Indian nationalist struggle. More than thirty years later, Satyagraha and the March to Dandi strongly influenced on American civil rights activist Martin Luther King Jr., and his fight for civil rights for blacks in the 1960s:



Mahatma Gandhi in Dandi on 6th April 1930 breaking Salt Law.

- ***Marthin Lutheri king on Mahatma Gandhi***

“Like most people, I had heard of Gandhi, but I had never studied him seriously. As I read, I became deeply fascinated by his campaigns of nonviolent resistance. I was particularly moved by his Salt March to the Sea and his numerous fasts. The whole concept of Satyagraha (Satya is truth which equals love, and agraha is force; Satyagraha, therefore, means truth force or love force) was profoundly significant to me. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi, my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time its potency in the area of social reform.”

Gandhi–Irwin Pact (1931) :

The **Gandhi–Irwin Pact** was a political agreement signed by Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India, on 5 March 1931 before the Second Round Table Conference in London. At this time, Lord Irwin headed the repression of Indian nationalism, but did not relish the role, with British-run Indian Civil Service and the commercial community then favoring even harsher measures. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald and William Benn, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, were eager for peace so long as it didn't weaken the position of the Labour government. As such, they wished for the success of the Round Table Conference and knew that it would carry little weight without the presence of Gandhi. In January 1931, at the closing session of the Round Table Conference, Ramsay MacDonald expressed hope that the Congress would be represented at the next session. The Viceroy, taking the hint from Gandhi's demands, promptly ordered the unconditional release of Gandhi and all members of the Congress Working Committee. In response, Gandhi agreed to meet the Viceroy. Gandhi and Lord Irwin had eight time. Although Gandhi was impressed by Irwin's sincerity, the terms of the pact

clearly fell short of the minimum of those Gandhi had prescribed for a truce. Gandhi managed to secure the release of over 90,000 political prisoners under the Gandhi–Irwin Pact. Many British officials in India, and in Britain, were outraged by the idea of Gandhi–Irwin Pact with a party whose avowed purpose was the destruction of the British Raj. Winston Churchill publicly expressed his disgust as follows:

“...at the nauseating and humiliating spectacle of this one-time Inner Temple lawyer, now seditious fakir, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceroy’s palace, there to negotiate and parley on equal terms with the representative of the King Emperor.”

Under the Act, the following demands of Mahatma Gandhi were agreed upon:

- Withdraw all ordinances and end prosecutions
- Release all political prisoners, except those guilty of violence
- Permit peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops
- Restore confiscated properties of the *satyagrahis*
- Permit free collection or manufacture of salt by persons near the sea-coast
- Lift the ban on the Congress

However, Mahatma Gandhi’s following requests were denied:

- *Congress’ demand of enquiring into police excesses.*
- *Mahatma Gandhi’s request commute the death penalty of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev to a lesser punishment.*

Mahatma Gandhi and II Round Table Conference :

After the Gandhi Irwin pact of 1931, later that year Gandhi attended the second session (September–December) of the Round Table Conference in London. On August 29, 1931, Gandhi sailed for England in the SS Rajputana to attend the Second Round Table Conference. He went as the sole representative of the Indian National Congress. All the delegates were nominees of the British Government; while some were able individuals, most of them were drawn from the princely order, the landlords, the titled gentry and the leaders of communal groups and vested interests. The British Government controlled the conference, which sidetracked its energies into secondary issues, particularly the communal problem. Gandhi was prepared to give a "blank cheque" to Muslims and other minorities to remove their legitimate fears, provided they were willing to support the national demand for freedom. However, most of the Hindu delegates were not ready for this gesture, and the Muslim nationalists were not represented at the conference. Gandhi pleaded for an honourable and equal partnership between Britain and India, held not by force but *"by the silken cord of love"*. He found the odds against him. There was a financial

crisis and a change of government in Britain; in the new Ministry, the Conservatives were heavily represented. The British public was preoccupied with domestic issues; for it, the financial crisis was a more urgent issue than the details of an Indian Constitution. Inevitably, even if imperceptibly, there was a shift in emphasis. Sir Samuel Hoare, the new Secretary of State, told Gandhi that he sincerely believed that Indians were unfit for complete self-government.

Poona Pact and Harijan Sevak Sangh (1932) :

Poona Pact, signed on September 24, 1932, was an agreement between Hindu leaders in India granting new rights to Dalits (low-caste Hindu groups then often labeled “untouchables”). The pact, signed at Poona (now Pune, Maharashtra), resulted from the Communal Award of August 4, 1932, a proposal by the British government which would allot seats in the various legislatures of India to the different communities in an effort to resolve the various tensions between communal interests. Dalit leaders, especially Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, supported the proposal, believing it would allow Dalits to advance their interests. Mahatma Gandhi, however, objected to the provision of an electorate for the Dalits separate from the Hindu electorate, which in his view would weaken India’s bid for independence. Despite being in prison, Gandhi announced a fast unto death, which he began on September 18, 1932. Ambedkar refused to abandon his support for separate electorates until Gandhi was near death. He and the Hindu leaders then agreed to the pact, which rejected separate electorates but gave increased representation to the Dalits within the Hindu electorate for a 10-year period. Ambedkar complained of blackmail, but the pact marked the start of the movement against “untouchability” within the Indian nationalist movement. Soon after, when Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had Poona Pact on September, 24th 1932, the Harijan Sevak Sangh was established on 30th September, 1932. The HSS also known as *All India Anti Untouchability League*, aimed to eliminate untouchability in the society, which later renamed as Harijan Sevak Sangh ("Servants of Harijan Society"). At the time industrialist Ghanshyam Das Birla was its founding president with Amritlal Thakkar as its secretary.

Sewagram Ashram, Sarvodaya Movement and Grassroot works by Mahatma Gandhi, 1932-1942:

From 1934 till 1942 Mahatma Gandhi more or less focused on the grassroot works. After the Civil Disobedience Movement, he left his ashram, the of Gujarat-Sabarmati Ashram and relocated himself to live in the Sewagram ashram Wardha, in the Central Provinces. Since Gandhiji wanted to live like a simple peasant and to serve the nation through constructive work focused on the rural development and rural reconstruction work. He emphasized the need of Ashram where the workers could be trained for bringing his dreams into reality. He had been thinking of moving to a village in order to engage himself directly in the work of rural reconstruction. In the meantime, Jinnalal Bajaj suggested him for establishing the Ashram in a village, about four miles from Wardha. Most

of the land of this village belonged to Jamnalal Bajaj Gandhiji accepted the proposal and decided to move to Sewagram from Maganwadi. The Ashram was set up under the direction of Bapu in the village "Segaon" in 1936, which was later been named as "Sewagram Ashram" (Service village). It was suggested that his shifting to Sewagram during the summer heat may be postponed for a few months so that a few huts may be constructed in the meantime. But Gandhiji was adamant and decided to walk to Sewagram on 30th April, 1936 along with Mahadev Desai and Jamnalal Bajaj and other associates, like Shriman Narayan and Balwant Sinha. There was no road, only a cart track to the village. Since there was no cottage on the proposed site of the Ashram, Gandhiji rested under an improvised bamboo hut in the midst of guava trees near a well. A cottage, now called "Adi Niwas," was soon constructed by Jamnalal Bajaj for Gandhiji. For several months, one corner of the cottage was occupied by him, the second by Kasturba, the third by Mahadev Desai, and the fourth by an important guest who happened to be in Segaon to meet Gandhiji. Badshah Khan stayed in this fourth corner for several months. It was only after a year or two that a separate cottage was constructed for Kasturba. Subsequently, Gandhiji also shifted to another hut which was originally prepared by Miraben for her own use in the village. This hut is now known as Bapu Kutir, where Gandhiji lived most of the time till 1946 when he left for Noakhali and never returned to Sewagram. In fact, many fateful decision which affected the destiny of India was taken in this little hut of Gandhiji at Sewagram Ashram, as was aptly expressed by the late Shri J. C. Kumarappa, "the de facto capital of India since service of the country is the function of a capital city". The original name of the village was Segaon. After about a year, it was changed into 'Sewagram' by the Government due to practical difficulty. There was another town called Shegaon in Khandesh, Maharashtra, on the main Bombay-Nagpur Railway line caused confusion, as a good number of letters addressed to Gandhiji were mistakenly sent by postal authorities to Shegaon instead of Segaon, near Wardha. The Government informally consulted Gandhiji about the new name, which literally means 'the village of service' (Sewagram).

From 1934-1942, Mahatma Gandhi extensively traveled and worked for the upliftment of the depressed classes and villages in India. His works were further expanded through his ardent followers, well-known as Gandhians. Meanwhile, as two INC episodes, he attended the sessions where he opposed the growth of extremism in INC. Yet, his primary focus remained on the elevation of village constructive programs, for which he elaborately wrote in his books "Hind Swaraj" and "Gram Swaraj" (Village Self Rule).

Quit India Movement and aftermath (1942-1946)

In 1939, the second world war broke out and England was one of the major war places. In the given world war-II crisis, British empire was in dire need of support from Indian National Congress, which by now was the biggest political organization in India. Thus, to negotiate the India's cooperation in 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps came to India. After the British failed to secure Indian support for the British war effort with the Cripps

Mission, Gandhi made a call to *Do or Die* in his Quit India speech delivered in Bombay on 8 August 1942 at the Gowalia Tank Maidan. Viceroy Linlithgow remarked the movement to be "by far the most serious rebellion since 1857".

The All-India Congress Committee launched a mass protest demanding what Gandhi called "An Orderly British Withdrawal" from India. Even though Britain was at war, it was prepared to act. Almost the entire leadership of the Indian National Congress was imprisoned without trial within hours of Gandhi's speech. Most spent the rest of the war in prison and out of contact with the masses. The British had the support of the Viceroy's Council, the All-India Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the princely states, the Indian Imperial Police, the British Indian Army, and the Indian Civil Service. Many Indian businessmen profiting from heavy wartime spending did not support the Quit India Movement. The major outside support came from the Americans, as President Franklin D. Roosevelt pressured Prime Minister Winston Churchill to give in to some of the Indian demands.

The Quit India movement continued to shake the roots of British empire in India. At the same time, the problematic of partition of India also started brewing. Mahatma Gandhi was not satisfied with the direction of the Indian independence discourse. To address the matter, the Shimla conference was held in 1945. In the conference, Mahatma Gandhi also participated, which was initiated by Lord Wavell's to discuss the proposal for a new executive council and a new constitution for India after the war. Master Tara Singh represented the Sikh community at the Shimla Conference. The Conference failed due to Jinnah's insistence that the Muslim League alone had the right to nominate Muslim representatives on the Executive Council. The failure of the Conference made the general elections of 1945–6 even more important. The general elections resulted in a large degree of polarization between the Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. The Muslim League obtained Muslim mandate from favour of Pakistan. The Congress received a mandate of Hindus and a considerable proportion of the Sikhs for independence without partition. The Akalis got support of the large majority of the Sikhs for an independent political entity of the Sikhs. This polarization was crucial for the future. Thus, in 1946 British sent another commission called as Cabinet Mission to discuss the autonomy and complete independence of India. However, this mission also miserably failed and partition of India became inevitable. In the face of the worsening situation, Wavell drew up a breakdown plan that provided for a gradual British exit, but his plan was considered fatalistic by the Cabinet. When he insisted on his plan, he was replaced with Lord Mountbatten as new viceroy of British India.

Mountbatten Plan (1947) and Partition of India and Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi:

The 3rd June 1947 Plan was also known as the Mountbatten Plan. The British government proposed a plan, announced on 3 June 1947, that included these following principles:

- a) Principle of the partition of British India was accepted by the British Government.
- b) Successor governments would be given dominion status.

With Mountbatten plan partition of India became inevitable, although Mahatma Gandhi attended meetings of Mountbatten Plan, yet he was immensely disheartened by the proposition of partition of India. On the eve of 14th August and 15th August 1947 when both India and Pakistan celebrated their respective independence, Mahatma Gandhi was in riot-stricken areas of Bengal and was raising prospects for peace in Calcutta (now Kolkata). During the testing years of 1946 and 1947 he spent his entire time in spreading peace in the riot-stricken areas of Bengal and Bihar, mainly in Noakhali and south of Bihar. He stayed there in the years of extreme polarization for the partition and spread the message of peace. After partition and independence of India, Mahatma Gandhi spent his entire time from 15th August 1947 till 30th January, 1948 for village upliftment, depressed classes well being and peace between two nations India and Pakistan.

On 30 January 1948, Gandhi hurriedly went up the few steps of the prayer ground in a large park in Delhi. He had been detained by a conference with the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and was late by a few minutes. He loved punctuality and was worried that he had kept the congregation waiting. "I am late by ten minutes," he murmured. "I should be here at the stroke of five." He raised his hands and touched the palms together to greet the crowd that was waiting. Everyone returned the greeting. Many came forward wanting to touch his feet. They were not allowed to do so, as Gandhi was already late. But a young Hindu from Poona, Nathuram Vinayak Godse, forced his way forward and while seeming to do obeisance fired three point-blank shots from a small automatic pistol aimed at the heart. Gandhi fell, his lips uttering the name of God (He Ram). Before medical aid could arrive, the heart had ceased to beat. Mahatma Gandhi died with three words as his last sermon... "*Hey Ram, Hey Ram, Hey Ram.*"

1.6 LEGACY OF MAHATMA GANDHI (1869-1948)

The ideas of Mahatma Gandhi are gaining increasing relevance on a global scale. People all around the world are seeking solutions to their problems by turning to Gandhi's teachings. It has become clear that wars do not offer any solutions to problems, and violent revolutions have proven to be ineffective. Over time, it has become evident that **Satyagraha** (the practice of nonviolent resistance) and **Non-violence** are the most effective paths to follow.

- Master key of Peace
- Gandhi's Environment Perspective
- Gandhi's concept of Environmental Sustainability

Whether it is individuals, institutions, or nations, there is now a growing belief that there are better alternatives and more humane ways to express dissent and register protest for the welfare of the human race.

Mahatma Gandhi

Master key of Peace

- Gandhi, indeed, considered “Economic Equality” as the “Master-Key” to non-violent world order. Peace must have its roots in fraternity rather than in fear. He regarded that global peace could not be possible unless the present world social order is replaced by a new social order that would be committed to non-violence and exploitation free social order.

Gandhi’s Environment Perspective

- Environmental protection is increasingly becoming a top priority in the world. Intellectuals and activists around the world are taking to the streets in response to the worsening environmental conditions and climate change. Although the term “Environment” was not in vogue during Mahatma Gandhi’s lifetime, he expressed concerns about the future. Gandhi believed that –

“There is enough on earth for everybody’s need but not enough for everybody’s greed.”

- In his article, “Swasthya ki Kunji,” or “Key to Health” he shared his views on the importance of clean air. Gandhi stated that while air, water, and food are all essential natural resources but clean air holds the utmost importance. He further inspired Indians “to spin yarn” using the charkha and wear hand-woven clothes. This objective aimed not only to foster a sense of swadeshi (self-reliance) but also to reduce overall waste, particularly from textile mills.

Gandhi’s concept of Environmental Sustainability

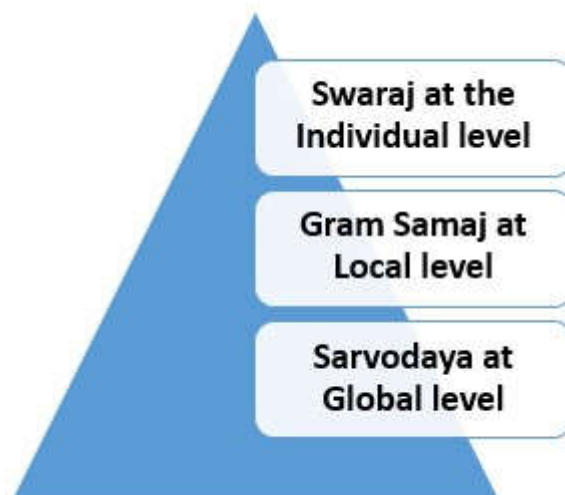
- Gandhi was an economist for the masses and an environmentalist without any structured model. Although he did not give structured model of environmental conservation and sustainable development, by interlinking all his thoughts, environmentalist can drive a logically built up environmentally sustainable development model.
- His sustainable development is based on a holistic paradigm which lays stress on all-round development of individual and society in relation to nature. This entire thinking was based upon the ethical vision in which the individual occupies a central position.
- “In Hind Swaraj” 1909, he talked about the dangers of unplanned and reckless industrialization. Further, the growth oriented theory must be replaced by theories of sustainable development that will not damage but will guarantee harmonious co-existence of man and the ecosystem.

- Sustainable development is an ideology, drawn at the global level, showing that human beings are interrelated with the ecosphere. It is a movement as it suggests a way of life. It involves the active participation of all the members of society. Self-help, self-reliance, decentralization of industries and labour intensive technology are the qualitative goals of satisfying meaningful life.
- Gandhi used the phrase, 'Economy of Nature' which brings out the sensitivity and deeper understanding of human actions vis-a-vis ecology.

Humanity: (Principal of Sarvodaya)

- Gandhi believed in Sarvodaya, and therefore the welfare of all was the basis of his thinking. Hence, his community centred approach towards sustainability emphasized on "betterment of human life" and "ensuring fulfilment of basic needs of all human needs". Welfare of the human beings the ultimate goal by avoiding all sorts of exploitations. Gandhi felt that human dignity needs to be established.

Gandhi pleaded for decentralization of power in society. He visualized



He believed that power resided in the people. A mutually interdependent cooperative working at the world level helps in making, noble environment with human well-being.

- His trusteeship concept is for Sarvodaya. Every member of the society is the trustee of the wealth generated out of the collective efforts of all. Thus, it denies individual pursuit and collection of wealth and converts it into the wealth of all for a better society. He expected that the trusteeship will result into non-violent and non-exploitative socio-economic relations and development models based on production systems centered around the preservation of nature.

Gandhi on Women

- Gandhiji called women as the noble sex. He said that if she is weak in striking, she is strong in suffering. Gandhi described woman "as the

embodiment of sacrifice and ahimsa.” He further states “A daughter’s share must be equal to that of a son. The husband’s earnings are a joint property of husband and wife as he makes money by her assistance.”

- In 21st century, it is the call of the time to realize that discrimination, crime against women, and gender bias would always lead to the violation of the human rights of women and become barriers to women’s empowerment.
- Hence, it is high time to follow and remember the golden words of Mahatma Gandhi. If his principle of non-violence is followed by all nations, the discrimination against women will be reduced. Where there is no discrimination, there won’t be any need to empower women. And this would automatically lead to the creation of a just society based on equality and justice.

Collectivism – World as one family

- For Gandhi, the interests of the group are of high importance. He believed that the needs of the community and the service of the poor should always supersede every selfish or individual interest.
- Although, its relevance can be seen in India’s G20 presidency where India sees the world as one family, not as disparate entities defined by geographical boundaries, bound by a goal towards the greater common good. When the family progresses, each member also advances, leaving no one behind.

Gandhi successfully demonstrated to a world, weary with wars and continuing destruction that adherence to Truth and Non-violence is not meant for individual behaviour alone but can be applied in global affairs too. To the Indian people, Gandhi gave a nation. To the world, he gave Satyagraha, arguably the most revolutionary idea of a long and ravaged century. He drew this lesson from his readings of the “Bible” and “Tolstoy” and the “Bhagavad-Gita”, and he taught it to many world leaders and countless other leaders who would follow his example in the years to come. In some sense, Gandhi’s greatest achievement lay in his legacy; for his ideals, and the example he provided in living them out inspired, and continue to inspire, people of all nations to take up the peaceful struggle for freedom from oppression.

1.7 SUMMARY

The life and works of Mahatma Gandhi remain epitome of truth and non-violence. Throughout his life, he gave message of love and harmony for people and stood for dignity of common masses against the power and statism. His philosophy of life and truth were extensively written and elaborately explained in his writings through *Hind Swaraj*, *Gram Swaraj* and also through his autobiography *My Experiments with The Truth*. Mahatma Gandhi remains a living legend of Indian history and personalities of his caliber are the pride of India.

1.8 QUESTIONS

- 1) Discuss the life of Mahatma Gandhi in your words.
- 2) What were the three vows that the mother of Mahatma Gandhi gave to him?
- 3) Write short note on Satyagraha.
- 4) Discuss experiences of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa.
- 5) Write an essay on Civil Disobedience Movement.
- 6) Write a detailed note on Quit India Movement.

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DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR: EARLY LIFE, EDUCATION AND VISION OF DEMOCRACY

Unit Structure :

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Early Life of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
- 2.3 Education and Career of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
- 2.4 Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Experience of Untouchability
- 2.5 Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and his Vision of Democracy
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 Questions
- 2.8 Additional Reading

2.0 OBJECTIVES

- To explain the early life of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.
- To review the education of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.
- To analyze the vision of democracy of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar popularly known as Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, was a Constitutional luminary, the Doyen of Economics, a Sociologist, an authority on religion, a legal expert, a Philosopher. In addition, he made significant contributions to the field of history. His knowledge of history and history writing was comparable to that of first-grade historian. As an M.A. student (1913-15), he wanted to work on the problem of 'Ancient Indian Commerce' and submit his dissertation to Columbia University of U.S.A. He submitted 'Administration and Finance of the East India Company' dissertation to the Columbia University and obtained his M.A. degree in 1915. Dr. Ambedkar's resilience, determination, and intellectual prowess enabled him to become one of the most influential figures in India's struggle for social justice and equality. Let's discuss about his early life, education and vision of democracy.

2.2 EARLY LIFE OF DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR

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Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar born into a Mahar (Dalit) family on April 14, 1891, in the town of Mhow- (Military Headquarter of War) in the Central Provinces of British India (now in the state of Madhya Pradesh). His family belonged to the Mahar caste, which was considered one of the lowest in the Hindu social hierarchy at the time. His father, Ramji Maloji Sakpal, served in the British Indian Army as a Subedar. He held a deep interest in education and encouraged his children to pursue learning despite their social and economic circumstances. His mother, Bhimabai Sakpal, passed away when he was just five years old. During childhood, Bhimrao was known as 'Bhiva'. He had several siblings, including three brothers and two sisters. They grew up in a household marked by poverty and social discrimination due to their caste identity.

Bhimrao's (Bhiva) early life was characterized by struggle and hardship. His family faced social ostracization and economic deprivation because of their caste. Despite these challenges, Bhiva displayed exceptional intelligence and a keen interest in learning from a young age. Bhiva married Ramabai in 1906 in the vegetable mandi of Byculla. Ramabai supported Bhiva throughout his life and played a significant role in his personal and professional endeavours. They had several children together, including sons and daughters.

2.3 EDUCATION AND CAREER OF DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR

Bhiva completed his elementary education from Satara School (Maharashtra) in 1902. He matriculated in the year 1907, from Elphinstone It should be high scholl, with proper spacing, Mumbai, with Persian as his principal subject. He was the first person from the Maharcommunity to clear matriculation therefore he was fecilitted at a function. The chief guest of the function was Krishnaji Arjun Keluskar, a Bhandari, presented a book on Buddha to Bhimrao Ambedkar. In 1909, he passed his Intermediate from Elphinstone College with Persian and English as a specialisation. In 1913, he was awarded his Bechelor degree (B.A.) from Elphinstone College, affiliated to University of Mumbai, with Economics and Political Science as specialisation. Even today, seeking a degree from abroad is dream of many students, but Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar made it possible in 1915.

The longing for further education took him to Columbia University, New York, for M.A. and Ph.D. in 1915 and 1917 respectively. He also did M.Sc. in 1921 from London School of Economics. He presented his research titled 'Provincial Decentralisation of Imperial Finance in British India'. After that, he secured degree of Bar-at-Law (Barrister) from Grey's Inn, London. He also spent some time from 1922-23 for reading economics in the University of Bonn, Germany. He has been the first Indian to achieve the degree of D.Sc. from the London School of Economics in 1923. For this degree, his thesis was titled "The Problem of

Rupee-Its Origin and Its Solution”. He was honoured with the degree of LL.D. (Honoris Causa) on 5th June 1952 by the Columbia University and D.Litt. (Honoris Causa) on 12th January 1953 by the Osmania University, Hyderabad. The Columbia University has honoured Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar as a “Symbol of Knowledge” and one of the best Student of that University in 200 years. The Columbia University has also installed a bust of Dr. Ambedkar on its premises, which inspires the students of that American University.

Despite facing discrimination, Ambedkar pursued education with determination and became one of the most prominent scholars and leaders of his time. He earned multiple degrees, including a doctorate from the University of London, and dedicated his life to advocating for the rights and dignity of marginalized communities in India.

Throughout his life, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar drew upon his experiences of social discrimination and marginalization to become a leading figure in the struggle for social justice and equality. His legacy continues to inspire millions of people across the world who fight against caste-based discrimination and oppression. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's life was profoundly shaped by his experiences with the caste system, which dominated Indian society during his time. As a member of the Dalit community, historically marginalized and oppressed within the Hindu social hierarchy, Ambedkar faced discrimination, exclusion, and humiliation from a young age.

Dr. Ambedkar's resilience, determination, and intellectual prowess enabled him to become one of the most influential figures in India's struggle for social justice and equality. His efforts played a crucial role in shaping modern India's democratic principles and institutions, and his legacy continues to inspire movements for social change around the world.

2.4 DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR AND EXPERIENCE OF UNTOUCHABILITY

There is an autobiography of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar titled ‘Waiting for a Visa’, in which he has written about the plights that he faced due to caste discrimination. It seems this must be known by each and everyone, because even a common human being can not tolerate such kind of treatment. However, a great man like Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had faced it, and after that, he stood as one of the tallest figure in the world, shining like “the gold that glitters after its fired”.

He narrates:

“Our family came originally from Dapoli Taluka of the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. From the very commencement of the rule of the East India Company my fore-fathers had left their hereditary occupation for service in the Army of the Company. My father also followed the family tradition and sought service in the Army. He rose to the rank of an officer and was a Subhedar when he retired. On his

retirement my father took the family to Dapoli with a view to settling down there. But for some reasons my father changed his mind. The family left Dapoli for Satara where we lived till 1904.”

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Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar narrates first incident that he remembered, which occurred in 1901 when they were at Satara, Military Camp. His mother was then passed away during that time. Ramji Babawas away on service as a cashier at a place called Goregaon in Khatav Taluka in the Satara District, where the Government of Bombay had started the work of excavating a tank for providing employment to famine-stricken people who were dying in a large numlder. When Ramji Baba went to Goregaon. he left Bhimrao, his brother who was older than him and two sons of his eldest sister who was dead, in the care of his aunt and some kind neighbours. His aunt was the kindest soul he knew, but she was of no help to them. She was somewhat of a dwarf and had some trouble with her legs, which made it very difficult for her to move about without the aid of somebody. Often times, she had to be lifted. She had sisters, who were married and living with their families. Cooking their food became a problem, especially as their aunty could not manage it due to her helplessness. Four of them went to school and they also cooked their food. They could not prepare bread, so, they lived on Pulav (Khichdi), which they found to be the easiest dish to prepare, requiring nothing more than mixing rice and mutton.

Being a cashier, Ramji Baba could not leave his station to come to Satara to see the children, therefore he wrote to them to come to Goregaon and spend their summer vacation with him. The children were thoroughly excited over the prospect, especially since none of them had seen a railway train up to that time.

Great preparations were made. New shirts of English make, bright bejewelled caps, new shoes, and new silk-bordered dhoties were ordered for the journey. Ramji Baba had given them all particulars regarding their journey and had told them to inform him on which day they were starting so that he would send his peon to the Railway Station to meet them and to take them to Goregaon. According to this arrangement, Bhimrao, his brother, and his sister's sons left Satara, with their aunt remaining in care of their neighbours who promised to look after her. The Railway Station was 10 miles distant from their place and a tonga (a one-horse carriage) was engaged to take them to the Station. They were dressed in the new clothing specially made for the occasion and they left their home full of joy but amidst the cries of their aunt, who was almost prostrate with grief at their parting.

When they reached the station, his brother bought tickets and gave him and his sister's sons two annas each as pocket money to be spent at their pleasure. They at once began their career of riotous living and each ordered a bottle of lemonade at the start. After a short while, the train whistled in, and they boarded it as quickly as they could for fear of being left behind. They were told to detrain at Masur, the nearest railway station for Goregaon.

The train arrived at Masur at about 5 p.m., and they got down with their luggage. in a few minutes. All the passengers who had got down from the train had gone away to their destination. The four children remained on the platform looking out for Ramji Baba or his servant, whom he had promised to send. They wait for a long time but no one turned up. An hour elapsed and the station-master came to inquire. He asked them for their tickets and they showed them to him. He asked them why they tarried. They told him that they were bound for Goregaon and that they were waiting for father or his servant to come but that neither had turned up and that they did not know how to reach Goregaon. They were well dressed children. From their dress or talk, no one could make out that theywere children of the untouchables. Indeed, the station-master was quite sure, they were Brahmin children and was extremely touched by the plight in which he found them. As is usual among the Hindus, the station-master asked them who they were. Without a moment's thought, Bhimrao blurted out that they were Mahars (Mahar is one of the communities which are treated as untouchables in the Bombay Presidency). Station-master was stunned, and his face underwent a sudden change. They could see that he was overpowered by a strange feeling of repulsion. As soon as he heard Bhimrao's reply, he went away to his room, and children stood where they were. Fifteen to twenty minutes elapsed; the sun was almost setting. Ramji Baba had not turned up, nor had he sent his servant, and now the station-master had also left them. They were quite bewildered and Hyphen are useful to connect words, nation this case the joy and happiness which they felt at the beginning of the journey gave way to the feeling of extreme sadness.

After half an hour the station-master returned and asked the children what they proposed to do. They said that if they could get a bullock-cart on hire they would go to Goregaon, and if it was not very far,they would like to start straightway. There were many bullock-carts available for hire. However Bhimrao's reply to the station-master that they were Mahars had spread among the cartmen and none of them was willing to eassy passenger of the untouchable classes. they were prepared to pay double the fare but they found that money did not work. The station-master, who was negotiating on their behalf, stood silent, not knowing what to do. Suddenly, a thought seemed to have entered his head, and he asked them, " Can you drive the cart? " Feeling that he was finding a solution of their difficulty they shouted, "Yes, we can". With that answer, he went and proposed on their behalf that they were to pay the cartman double the fare and drive the cart, and that he should walk on foot along with the cart on their journey. One cartman agreed, as it gave him an opportunity to earn his fare and also saved him from being polluted.

It was about 6.30 p.m., when the children were ready to start. But they were anxious not to leave the station until they were assured that they would reach Goregaon before it was dark. They therefore questioned the cartman about the distance and the time it would take to reach Goregaon. He assured them that it would be not more than 3 hours. Believing in his word, the children put their luggage in the cart, thanked the station-master

and got into the cart. One of them took the reins and the cart started with the man walking by their side.

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Not very far from the station, there flowed a river. It was quite dry except at places where there were small pools of water. The owner of the cart proposed that the children should halt there and have their meal as they might not get water on their way, they agreed. He asked them to give a part of his fare to enable him to go to the village and have his meal. Bhimrao's brother gave him some money and he left promising to return soon. The Children were very hungry and were glad to have had an opportunity to have a bite. Bhimrao's aunty had pressed their neighbours' women folk into service and had prepared some nice food for them to take on their way. They opened tiffin basket and started eating. They needed water to wash things down. One of them went to the pool of water in the river basin, nearby. But the water really was no water; was thick with mud and urine from cows and buffaloes who went to the pool for drinking. In fact, that water was not intended for human use. At any rate, the stink of the water was so strong they could not drink it. They therefore had to close their meal before they were satisfied and wait for the arrival of the cartman. He did not come for a longtime, and all that they could do was to look for him in all directions. Ultimately, he came and they started on their journey. For some four or five miles, they drove the cart and he walked on foot. Then he suddenly jumped into the cart and took the reins from their hand. They thought this to be rather a strange conduct on the part of a man who had refused to let the cart on hire for fear of pollution, to have set aside all his religious scruples and to have consented to sit with them in the same cart but they dared not ask him any questions on the point. They were anxious to reach Goregaon, their destination as quickly as possible. For some time, they were interested in the movement of the cart only. But soon there was darkness all around them. There were no street lights to relieve the darkness. There were no men or women or even cattle passing by to make them feel that they were in their midst. They became fearful of the loneliness which surrounded them. Their anxiety was growing. They mustered all the courage they possessed. They had travelled far from Masur. It was more than three hours, but there was no sign of Goregaon. A strange thought arose within them. They suspected that the cartman intended treachery and that he was taking them to some lonely spot to kill them. They had lot of gold ornaments on them, which strengthen their suspicion. They started asking him how far Goregaon was, why they were so late in reaching it. He kept on saying, " It is not very far; we shall soon reach it ". It was about 10:00 at night when finding that there was no trace of Goregaon the children started crying and abusing the cartman. Their lamentations and wailings continued for long. The cartman made no reply. Suddenly, they saw a light burning at some distance. The cartman said, "Do you see that light? That is a light of the toll-collector. We will rest there for the night." The children felt some relief and stopped crying. The light was distant, but they could never seem to reach it. It took them two hours to reach the toll-collector's hut. The interval increased their anxiety, and they kept on asking the cartman all

sorts of questions, such as why there was delay in reaching the place, whether they were going on the same road, etc.

Ultimately, by mid-night the cart reached the toll-collector's hut. It was situated at the foot of a hill, but on the other side of the hill. When they arrived, they saw a large number of bullock-carts there, all resting for the night. They were extremely hungry and wanted very much to eat. But again, there was the question of water. So, they asked their driver whether it was possible to get water. He warned them that the toll-collector was a Hindu and that there is no possibility of them getting water if they speak the truth and say that they are Mahars. He said, " Say you are Mohammedans and try your luck ". On his advice, Bhimrao went to the toll-collector's hut and asked him if he would give them some water. "Who are you?", he inquired. Bhimrao replied that they were Musalmans. Bhimrao conversed with him in Urdu which he knew very well, so as to leave no doubt that he was a real Musalman. But the trick did not work and his reply was very curt. "Who has kept water for you? There is water on the hill, if you want to go and get it, I have none." With this he dismissed Bhimrao. Bhimrao returned to the cart and conveyed to his brother the reply of the toll collector.

The bullocks had been unyoked, and the cart was placed sloping down on the ground. They spread their beds on the bottom planks inside the cart, and laid down their bodies to rest. Now, they had come to a place of safety, they did not mind what happened. But their minds could not help turning to the latest event. There was plenty of food with them. There was hunger burning within them; yet they slept without food; that was because they could get no water and it was because they were untouchables. Such was the last thought that entered their minds. Bhimrao said, they had come to a place of safety. Evidently, his elder brother had his misgivings. He said it was not wise for all four of them to go to sleep. Anything might happen. He suggested that at one time two should sleep and two should keep watch. So, they spent the night at the foot of that hill.

Early at 5 a.m., their cartman came and suggested that they should start for Goregaon. They flatly refused. They told him that they would not move until 8 o'clock. They did not want to take any chance. He said nothing. So, they left at 8 and reached Goregaon at 2 p.m. Ramji Baba was surprised to see them and said that he had received no intimation of their coming. They protested that they had given intimation. He denied the fact. Subsequently, it was discovered that the fault was of Ramji Baba's servant. He had received their letter but failed to give it to Ramji Baba.

This incident has a very important place in the life of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. He was a boy of nine when it happened, but it has left an indelible impression on his mind. Before this incident occurred, he knew that he was an untouchable and that untouchables were subjected to certain indignities and discriminations. For instance, he knew that in the school he could not sit in the midst of his class students according to his rank, but that he was to sit in a corner by himself. He knew that in the school he was to have a separate piece of gunny cloth for him to squat on

in the class room, and the servant employed to clean the school would not touch the gunny cloth used by him. He was required to carry the gunny cloth home in the evening and bring it back the next day. While in the school, he knew that children of the touchable classes, when they felt thirsty, could go out to the water tap, open it, and quench their thirst. All that was necessary was the permission of the teacher. But his position was separate. He could not touch the tap and unless it was opened for it by a touchable person, it was not possible for him to quench his thirst. In his case, the permission of the teacher was not enough. The presence of the school peon was necessary, he was the only person whom the class teacher could use for such a purpose. If the peon was not available, Bhimrao had to go without water. The situation can't be summed up in the statement—No Peon, No Water. At home, he knew that the work of washing clothes was done by his sisters. Not that there were no washermen in Satara. Not that they could not afford to pay the washermen. Washing was done by his sisters because they were untouchables, and no washerman would wash the clothes of an untouchable. The work of cutting the hair or shaving the boys, including himself was done by their elder sister who had become quite an expert barber by practising the art on them. Not that there were no barbers in Satara, not that we could not afford to pay the barber. The work of shaving and hair cutting was done by his sister because they were untouchables and no barber would consent to shave an untouchable. All this he knew, but this incident gave him a shock such as he had never received before, and it made him think about untouchability which, before this incident happened, was with him a matter of course, as it is with many touchable as well as the untouchables.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar played a key role in drafting the Indian constitution and in reforming the Indian society through the promotion of greater equality and rights for both the poor and women. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was also a prolific scholar, he attended university in Mumbai, New York, and London, specializing in law, economics, and political science, and made a significant contributions to Indian economic thought.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar later explained how he was not allowed to take water during his school days and also in the Baroda Office of Chhatrapati Gaikwad Maharaj. This was an example of the discrimination and exclusion, that untouchables often faced. The discrimination and segregation of being born into the Mahar caste had a lasting influence on Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's outlook on Indian society and political life.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was a professional economist until 1922. He wrote an influential paper to the Hilton Young Commission, which formed the basis of the Reserve Bank of India, (RBI). In his 1923 thesis titled '*The Problems of Rupee, its Origin and Solution*', he studied the importance of price stability to the value of the Rupee. He also investigated how the Indian economy could be successfully developed.

In 1917, he returned to India to serve in the Baroda State Military Department. However, his military career didn't last very long. But due to caste-based discrimination, he quit and found work as a private tutor. He

also tried to set up an investment consulting business, but soon lost clients when they found out about his 'untouchable' status.

In 1918, he became Professor of Political Economy at Sydenham College in Bombay. He also went on to serve as a lawyer. In the 1920s, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar became increasingly concerned and active about the plight of his fellow caste members. He became a high-profile figure within Indian politics. He sought to improve education for the 'outcastes'. In 1924, he founded the Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha, an organisation dedicating to improving the welfare of outcastes. Its founding motto was '*Educate, Agitate and Organize.*'

He also founded a newspaper called "Mook Nayak" (Leader of the Dumb). It did not mean that the people were really dumb in the true sense of the term. They were silent because of the caste restrictions that did not allow them to speak for their problems for centuries.

During 1920s, he became more active in organising protests against discrimination. He inspired mass protests against 'untouchability' and for the right to draw water from the main public tank. He attacked elements of orthodox Hinduism, i.e., burning copies of Manusmriti (Laws of Manu), which justified caste discrimination. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar said, "For a successful revolution, it is not enough that there is enough discontent. What is required is a profound and thorough conviction of justice, necessity and importance of political and social rights."

2.5 DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR AND HIS VISION OF DEMOCRACY

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, a towering figure in Indian history, was indeed a visionary of democracy. His contributions to shaping India's democratic institutions and his relentless advocacy for social justice have left an indelible mark on the nation's consciousness. His vision of democracy can be elaborated from the following points:

- 1. Architect of the Indian Constitution:** Perhaps Dr. Ambedkar's most significant contribution to Indian democracy was his pivotal role in drafting the Indian Constitution. As the Chairman of the drafting Committee, he ensured that the Constitution enshrined principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, drawing from various sources including the Constitution, of several western democracies, as well as from India's own cultural and historical heritage.
- 2. Advocate for Social Justice:** Dr. Ambedkar was a tireless advocate for the rights of marginalized communities, particularly Dalits (formerly known as untouchables). He fought against the caste system, untouchability, and social discrimination, striving to create a more inclusive and egalitarian society. His efforts led to the inclusion of provisions in the Constitution aimed at uplifting the socio-economic status of marginalized groups.

3. **Champion of Human Rights:** Ambedkar's vision of democracy extended beyond the political realm to encompass fundamental human rights. He emphasized the importance of education, economic empowerment, and political representation for all sections of society. His belief in the dignity and equality of all individuals laid the groundwork for an equitable society.
4. **Emphasis on Education:** Dr. Ambedkar understood the transformative power of education in empowering individuals and communities. He advocated for free and compulsory education for all, particularly for those from marginalized backgrounds. His efforts laid the foundation for educational reforms aimed at promoting social mobility and reducing disparities.
5. **Democratic Values and Institutions:** Dr. Ambedkar's vision of democracy was deeply rooted in democratic values such as freedom, equality, and justice. He emphasized the importance of democratic institutions in safeguarding these values and ensuring the rule of law. His insistence on constitutional mechanisms for protecting minority rights and ensuring social justice remains relevant today.
6. **Legacy of Social Reform:** Dr. Ambedkar's legacy as a visionary of democracy extends far beyond his lifetime. His ideas continue to inspire social reform movements and advocacy efforts aimed at addressing systemic inequalities and injustices. His emphasis on the transformative potential of democracy serves as a guiding light for those striving to build a more inclusive and equitable world.

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Democracy, being a comprehensive philosophy and movement, deals with the political life of the people and takes cognizance of all the political issues, problems, and developments of social importance. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Justice are the underlying principles of democracy conceptualised by Dr. Ambedkar, did not borrow from the French Revolution, as someone may say, but traced in the philosophy of Buddhism. "More than political or religious, man is a social animal. He may not have, need not have, religion; he may not have, need not have, politics. He must have society; he cannot do without society," said Dr. Ambedkar." To him, "An ideal society should be mobile, should be full of channels for conveying a change taking place in one part to other parts..... In other words, there must be social endosmosis which is not possible without an attainment of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." These principles are not the mere guiding principles of political democracy but as a matter of fact, are the values of life, leading the human society towards an ideal life.

With an ardent faith in democracy, Dr. Ambedkar warns the people to ensure that democracy does not vanish from the earth as a governing principle of human relationships. Democracy is generally understood in terms of politics, political liberty, political equality, political fraternity, and political justice are assumed to be its popular slogans. However, democracy can never merely be political; it is also economic and social.

Dr. Ambedkar regards democracy a way of life, a mode of associated living, the roots of which are to be searched in socio-economic relationship between the people who form the society. Political Democracy cannot succeed where there is no social and economic democracy, rightly observes Dr. Ambedkar. To Dr. Ambedkar, Democracy was not merely a form of government but also a form of social organization and economic set-up. He, therefore, desired that the socio-economic and political relationship should also be based on the principles of parliamentary system of democracy. He says, "Political Democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in a sense that to divorce one from other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Liberty cannot be divorced from equality; equality cannot be divorced from liberty. Nor can liberty and equality be divorced from fraternity. Without equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things."

In favour of Parliamentary Democracy, Dr. Ambedkar advocated a Parliamentary system of government in preference to the Presidential form of the American model. To some, parliamentary system of government suffers from instability, whereas a strong and stable government is needed for a country like India with political, religious, and cultural diversities, to control all the fissiparous tendencies. The safest and, parliamentary form of government may thus prove to be unsuitable for the country. Dr. Ambedkar said that a democratic executive must be stable as well as responsible. Justifying his stand in the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar said, "You can have a system which can give you more stability but less responsibility, or you can have a system which gives you more responsibility but less stability.....Parliamentary Executive being more dependent upon a majority in Parliament becomes more responsible". "Earlier, in his draft plan he submitted to the Constituent Assembly titled as 'States and Minorities', he pleaded for a non-parliamentary Executive (not removable before the term of the legislature) of American pattern and claimed that, "American form of Executive is an equally good type of democratic and responsible form of government". At the time, he was of the opinion that British type of parliamentary government rests on the premise that the majority is a political majority but in India, it was a communal majority, and, if adopted, it would make the majority community a governing class and the minority community a subject race; it would be full of menace to the life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness of the minorities in general and of the Untouchables in particular. It was a surprise to the members of the Constituent Assembly, who did not expect such a change in the attitude of Dr. Ambedkar towards a parliamentary executive. This might be because his brochure, 'States and Minorities' mainly contained the demands and expressed the proposals of the minorities, but now as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the

Constitution, he had to think not of a minority or a group of people but of the country as a whole. Moreover, he did not have a full and free hand in the making of the Constitution; he had his own limitations. Ultimately, Dr. Ambedkar justified the parliamentary system with a removable executive.

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According to Dr. Ambedkar, Political Democracy rests on the following four premises:

- (i) The individual is an end in himself. Dimensions of Ambedkarism. 31
- (ii) The individual has certain inalienable rights which must be guaranteed to him by the Constitution.
- (ii) The individual shall not be required to relinquish any of his constitutional rights as a condition precedent to the receipt of a privilege.
- (iv) The state shall not delegate powers to private persons to govern others.

Provided with these premises an individual is guaranteed liberty, dignity, and constitutional safeguards.

"The soul of democracy is the doctrine of 'one man, one value', said Dr. Ambedkar, and further observed that, "unfortunately, democracy has attempted to give effect to this doctrine only so far as the political structure is concerned by adopting the rule of one man, one vote". Dr. Ambedkar maintained that it was equally essential to prescribe the shape and form of the economic structure of society, if democracy is to live up to its principle of "one man, one value." An individual being an end in himself, means an individual should not be looked upon as a 'vote' for political elections but be treated and regarded having intrinsic value in both life social value as well as economic value life, social value as well as both an economic value. For the purpose, his interests should be protected by law and safeguards should be provided under the Constitution.

Parliamentary Democracy is certainly desirable but, it is a problem as to how to protect an individual's Fundamental Right to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. Dr. Ambedkar answers, "useful remedy adopted by democratic countries is to limit the power of government to impose arbitrary restraints in political domain and to invoke the arbitrary power of the legislature to restrain the more powerful individual from imposing arbitrary restraints on the less powerful in the economic field".

Communism, as a form of government, could not at all appeal to Dr. Ambedkar, as to him, it is another name of 'Dictatorship of the Proletariats'. Communism has no place for constitutional methods of democracy to change a government; the only method it knows is to forcibly suppress the opponents and capture the machinery of the state by violent means. Here, Dr. Ambedkar differs with communism very sharply and advocates parliamentary democracy.

2.6 SUMMARY

In conclusion, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's vision of democracy was grounded in principles of social justice, human rights, and inclusivity. His contributions to the Indian Constitution and his lifelong commitment to fighting inequality and discrimination make him a towering figure in the history of democracy not only in India but also globally.

2.7 QUESTIONS

- 1) Discuss the early life of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.
- 2) Review the education of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.
- 3) Explain the experiences of untouchability to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in your words.
- 4) Analyze the vision of democracy of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

2.8 ADDITIONAL READING

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DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR'S CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL LIFE

Unit Structure :

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3.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To analyze the concept of Dalit Movement in relation to national movement.
2. To explain the concept of Nationalism of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.
3. To evaluate the contribution of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to the national life through various Committees and reforms as a Labour Minister.
4. To understand the contribution of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to national progress, and his role in shaping the nation's development.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Indian National Movement, as studied from 1885 with the foundation of the Indian National Congress, often overlooks the parallel Dalit movement. Despite the national movement gaining momentum, the integral role of the Dalit movement spearheaded by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and others is often sidelined. This oversight is unjust considering that both movements aimed at liberation from British oppression and the caste-based discrimination faced by Dalits. When we are discussing here about the contribution of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to National life, we must understand his concept first to the Dalits and the majority of Indians that were subjected to casteism.

The Dalit category in India consistently faces marginalization and discrimination based on caste throughout the country. Dalits are often subjected to suppression and oppression by the higher caste Hindus or Savarnas, treated as sub-human and relegated to the status of outcasts.

3.2 DALIT MOVEMENT AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's movement, in relation to the Indian National Movement, highlights the parallel struggle of Dalits for their rights within the broader context of India's fight against British colonial rule. This movement raised fundamental questions, challenging the treatment of untouchables as sub-human by both Hindus and the British government:

1. Why are untouchables denied basic humanity?
2. Why do fellow Hindus treat their brethren as inferior to animals?
3. Why did the British government neglect the progress and upliftment of untouchables?
4. Why did Indian nationalist leaders ignore the plight of untouchables in their agenda?
5. How can someone not treated as human participate in the national movement?
6. If the indigenous people are not accepted as human, how can they fight for their land?
7. How can a community marginalized by both the British and caste Hindus fight against them?
8. Dual dominance forces the community to reject one oppressor and strive for liberation from centuries-old chains.
9. Despite differing concepts of nationalism, the community should embrace the nation as its own and dedicate itself to its cause.

10. Dr. Ambedkar's subsequent movement aimed to redefine nationalism and fight against both British rule and caste Hindu oppression, aligning himself with India's interests.

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The Indian National Movement, that traced its origins from 1885 with the founding of the Indian National Congress, saw various phases such as the Non-cooperation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement, and Quit India Movement, among others. Dr. Ambedkar's efforts for human rights and equality paralleled the movements led by the Indian National Congress, as he fought against both British colonial rule and caste-based discrimination perpetrated by the Hindu elite.

The analysis raises questions about whose freedom the Indian National Congress was truly fighting for and whether it adequately represented the interests of all segments of Indian society? The skepticism regarding the Congress's commitment to the upliftment of the Depressed Classes underscores the importance of critically examining the motivations and actions of political parties in the broader context of India's freedom struggle.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's Concept of Nationalism and His Contribution to the Nation

Dr. Ambedkar's conceptualization of nationalism diverged from the conventional notion, primarily focused on external political sovereignty. He emphasized the need to address internal oppression and social injustices as integral components of nationalism. Dr. Ambedkar argued that true nationalism should transcend barriers and strive for the upliftment and empowerment of all members of society, particularly those marginalized and oppressed.

Dr. Ambedkar's perspective on nationalism incorporated principles of reason, rationality, and education as essential tools for nation-building. In contrast to the Indian National Congress's focus on achieving geographical independence, Dr. Ambedkar's perspective primarily focused on addressing social, cultural and other issues faced by Dalit community or marginalized Hindu population. He criticized the Congress and other nationalists for overlooking the plight of marginalized communities, arguing that true nationalism must encompass the rights and dignity of all individuals.

Dr. Ambedkar's activism encompassed dual fronts: challenging British colonial rule and advocating for the rights of the oppressed within Indian society, particularly the Dalits. His vision of nationalism sought to create a society free from internal oppression, where all individuals could enjoy equal rights and opportunities regardless of their social or religious background. Through his relentless efforts, Dr. Ambedkar contributed significantly to shaping the discourse on nationalism and social justice in India.

Dr. Ambedkar's contribution to national life must be studied and acknowledged through the representation he made to British Government

fearlessly, advocating for the inclusiveness of all the sections of the society with recognizing their human rights and without compromising the national spirit. He wanted his community to be treated with equality and to be made part of the national struggle. Otherwise, when their own brethren are not treating them equally, how can we expect the foreigners to do so. Therefore, we have to keep in mind the Egalitarian approach of Dr. Ambedkar while studying his contribution to national life.

3.3 DR. AMBEDKAR BEFORE SOUTHBOROUGH COMMITTEE

Dr. Ambedkar's written statement before the Southborough Committee in 1919 reflects his early advocacy for inclusive and representative governance in India. Despite his young age at the time, his insights and arguments demonstrate a keen understanding of political and social dynamics in Indian society.

Firstly, Dr. Ambedkar emphasized the *principle of government by the people*, highlighting the importance of ensuring that no individual is excluded from participation in governance. His assertion resonates with the democratic ideals of popular sovereignty and inclusion, urging the Committee to consider the interests and voices of all Indian nationals.

This argument underscored his belief in India's capacity for democratic governance and his rejection of paternalistic views that deemed Indians incapable of self-rule.

Here, one thing must be noted, that the Indian national movement was aiming the Indians to be aranted just the self-rule, which the British did not grant till 1945 due to their belief in the incapability of indians.

3.4 DR. AMBEDKAR IN BOMBAY LEGISLATURE

Dr. Ambedkar's tenure in the Bombay Legislative Council (BLC) marked a significant period in his advocacy for the rights and interests of marginalized communities, including the untouchables, peasants, and common masses. Despite being nominated by the British Government, Dr. Ambedkar did not hesitate to criticize government policies and actively participated in debates and discussions on various issues affecting the people.

It is noteworthy that Dr. Ambedkar's nomination to the BLC by the British Government did not discourage him from challenging government policies or aligning himself with the government's position. Unlike many nominated members, who typically supported the government, Dr. Ambedkar consistently voiced his dissent and advocated for the welfare of the masses.

During his tenure in the BLC, which lasted from February 1927 to the end of 1928, Dr. Ambedkar actively engaged in discussions on various matters, including the budget. He critically analysed the budget

allocations, particularly highlighting the significant portion of the budget that was pre-determined by the Union Government without the approval of the BLC. Dr. Ambedkar fearlessly criticized such practices and offered constructive suggestions to address the issues raised.

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Critique of British Taxation System and Support of Peasants

Dr. Ambedkar's critique of the taxation system, particularly in relation to land revenue, highlighted the injustice faced by the peasant classes. He argued that the government's taxation policies were unfair, as they imposed taxes on peasants regardless of whether their crops yielded profits or not. He emphasized the need for a progressive tax system that took into account the farmer's ability to pay and the actual production and profit from the land.

Dr. Ambedkar's advocacy for a fair and progressive taxation system resonated with the common man and the Indian nationalist sentiment. His speeches and arguments reflected his commitment to addressing the socio-economic inequalities prevalent in society and advocating for the rights and interests of the marginalized and oppressed sections, including the poor farmers.

Liquor Ban and Excise Revenue

Dr. Ambedkar's expressed concern about the issue of alcoholism, he criticized the government's policy of promoting liquor shops to increase revenue, recognizing that this disproportionately affected the poorer segments of society, who often turned to alcohol as a coping mechanism.

His advocacy for diverting government funds from excise duties towards education and moral reforms demonstrated his commitment to addressing the root causes of social problems rather than merely focusing on revenue generation.

His statement also conveyed a broader message about the allocation of government resources and the priorities of governance. Dr. Ambedkar emphasized that he was willing to cooperate with initiatives aimed at national development, but he questioned the legitimacy of taxes collected solely to support the stability of the British government rather than benefiting the Indian populace.

Push for public reforms, Health care and Irrigation access

Dr. Ambedkar's emphasis for public reforms, including access to health care and irrigation facilities for the common masses, reflected his concern for the well-being and empowerment of marginalized communities. By urging the government to prioritize schemes such as dispensaries and the appointment of doctors, he emphasized the importance of providing essential services that were otherwise inaccessible to many due to financial constraints.

Furthermore, his call for improved irrigation facilities for peasants highlighted the vital role of agricultural development in uplifting rural communities.

His critique of the government's approach to taxation and revenue generation, particularly in relation to increased water tax rates, reflected a broader concern about the equitable distribution of resources and the accountability of government policies.

Educational Reforms

Dr. Ambedkar's emphasis on compulsory education for all children, regardless of their socio-economic background, exhibits his commitment to promoting equality and social justice through education. His critique of the dropout rate and the commercialization of education revealed his deep concern for the quality and accessibility of schooling, particularly for marginalized communities such as the Depressed Classes and Hill tribes. Dr. Ambedkar's call for equitable distribution of educational resources and government expenditure reflected his belief that education is a fundamental right that should be available to all, regardless of their social or economic status.

3.5 DR. AMBEDKAR ON STARTE COMMITTEE

Dr. Ambedkar's involvement in the Starte Committee and his advocacy for the rights of the Depressed Classes and tribal communities exemplify his dedication to social reform and the upliftment of marginalized groups within Indian society. As a member of the committee, he played a key role in investigating and addressing the social, economic, and educational grievances faced by these communities, paving the way for concrete reforms and initiatives aimed at their development.

3.6 DR. AMBEDKAR AND THE SIMON COMMISSION

As a member of the BLC, Dr. Ambedkar submitted memoranda to the Simon Commission highlighted the need for educational reforms, political representation, and safeguards against discrimination. Dr. Ambedkar's meticulous attention to detail and logical arguments in these memoranda reflected his dedication to addressing the systemic injustices faced by Dalits in Indian society.

His dissent note to the Commission's report emphasized the urgent need for adequate representation of the Depressed Classes in all spheres of governance and public service. This dissent reflected his unwavering conviction in the principle of equality, and his determination to challenge systemic discrimination and oppression.

3.7 DR. AMBEDKAR ON DYARCHY

Dr. Ambedkar's critique of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the implementation of dyarchy revealed his keen understanding of governance

and his concern for the equitable distribution of resources and priorities. He highlighted the failure of the reforms to prioritize subjects that promote progress over those focused solely on maintaining law and order.

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By analysing the expenditure trends from 1921 to 1928, Dr. Ambedkar pointed out that the reforms did not lead to a shift in favour of subjects aimed at societal advancement. Instead, he noted an increase in expenditure on maintaining law and order, exemplified by the expansion of the police force. He cynically remarked on the irony of investing additional funds in the police force, which historically had been used to suppress the national movement and oppress the people.

3.8 THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY AMENDMENT BILL, 1930

Dr. Ambedkar's involvement in the Select Committee for the Bombay University Amendment Bill, showcased his commitment to advancing education and promoting intellectual excellence. His aspiration to model the university after London University, reflected his vision for higher education that emphasized academic discipline and innovation.

Dr. Ambedkar's criticism of the prevailing educational system, particularly regarding the workload of college teachers, highlighted his concern about the quality of instruction and the lack of emphasis on research and originality. By pointing out the mechanical nature of teaching due to excessive workload, he emphasised the need for reforms that would foster a conducive environment for scholarly exploration and creativity.

His questioning of the efficacy of post-graduation programs in producing genuine knowledge and conducting meaningful research indicated his belief in the transformative power of education. Dr. Ambedkar's advocacy for educational reforms aimed to cultivate a culture of intellectual inquiry and scholarly pursuit within the university, thereby contributing to the advancement of knowledge and the development of a well-rounded academic community.

Faculty and Student Exchange Suggestion like Choice Based System

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's proposal to pool resources and lectures among multiple colleges for subjects like History & Political Economy demonstrates his innovative approach to improving higher education. By advocating for collaboration among professors from different institutions, he aimed to enhance the quality and efficiency of university education.

Pooling lectures from multiple professors not only allows for a more diverse and comprehensive curriculum but also provides students with access to varied perspectives and teaching styles. This approach promotes intellectual growth and critical thinking, by exposing students to a broader range of ideas and methodologies.

Furthermore, Dr. Ambedkar's suggestion to allow students from different colleges to attend lectures across institutions fosters a more dynamic and

interactive learning environment. Students benefit from exposure to different academic environments and can engage with peers and professors from diverse backgrounds, enriching their educational experience.

Dr. Ambedkar's work through Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha, participating in the Mahad Satyagraha, Temple Entry Satyagraha, and newspaper articles needs to be studied separately from the point of Human rights for the Indians especially the untouchables who have been the large chunk of the Indian populace.

3.9 THE WORK IN THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES (RTC)

The Round Table Conferences (RTC) held between 1930 and 1933, were significant forums for discussing constitutional reforms in India. During the first RTC, convened from November 12, 1930, to January 19, 1931, Dr. Ambedkar made bold demands for replacing the existing government with a government truly representative of the people, echoing the principles of democracy. His impassioned plea for a government "of the people, for the people, and by the people" resonated strongly with the ideals of nationalism and democratic governance.

In the Second Round Table Conference, Dr. Ambedkar fearlessly advocated for the rights and representation of the Depressed Classes, challenging both the British government and Indian political leaders. He articulated his arguments based on constitutional provisions from various countries, highlighting the need for autonomy in India's political system.

Dr. Ambedkar's speeches and arguments left a strong impression on the British Premier and garnered respect from English leaders and the press. He was recognized as a true Indian nationalist by the English press, despite his criticisms of British policies and demands for Indian autonomy.

Dr. Ambedkar's speeches and interventions at conferences demonstrated his pragmatism and firm resolve in challenging existing power structures. He rejected romanticized notions of nationalism and instead focused on practical measures to dismantle monopolies and ensure equality for all. Fearlessly, he confronted British authorities, criticizing their policies and demanding independence for India. His bold stance earned him recognition as a true nationalist, not only among Indian communities but also in the eyes of the British press, as evidenced by the acknowledgment in the "Sunday Chronicle." His speeches at the Round Table Conferences and advocacy for the rights of marginalized communities earned him recognition from Mahatma Gandhi, who acknowledged him as a great patriot with unwavering values.

3.10 DR. AMBEDKAR EXPOSED THE BRITISH ECONOMIC POLICY

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Being a true nationalist, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar exposed British economic policy in India and held them responsible for the poverty of Indians. He cited the statistics of the famines during the British rule and how many Indians were succumbed to them, nothing that British could not control them.

Dr. Ambedkar delivered his Presidential address at The All-India Depressed Classes Congress, Nagpur dated on 8-9th August 1930, in which his analysis of British economic policy that resulted in poverty in India is very significant from the point of view that just participating the national movement by following the political leaders, not the only nationalist character but not supporting the rulers and criticizing them of their policies is too a nationalist character. As we know, economic nationalism was raised by Dadabhai Naoroji and Romesh Chandra Dutt, who attacked the policy of East India Company and the subsequent British Government that exploited the Indian economy.

Dr. Ambedkar was also not afraid to criticize the British government. While discussing on the financial misappropriation by the British government, he criticized it as the costliest government in the world. "He cited figures of famine deaths during 19th Century British rule. In the first quarter of the 19th century, there were five famines with an estimated loss of 1,000,000 lives; the second quarter these uses two famines with an estimated mortality of 400,000 lives; the third quarter, six famines with a recorded loss of life of 5,000,000 lives; and during the last quarter eighteen famines, with an estimated mortality ranging from 15,000,000 to 26,000,000. This does not include the many more millions (over 6,000,000) in a single year kept alive by government doles."

He blamed this as a deliberate British policy to discourage the growth of trade and industry in this country. It is this policy which has made India the land of chronic poverty.

He also ridiculed the modern physical public facilities generated by the British in India and said, "You can't keep on singing the praise of a bureaucracy because it has given improved roads, constructed canals on more scientific principles, effected transportation by rail, contrived to carry letters by penny post and flash messages by lightning, has stabilized currency, regulated weights and measures, corrected the prevalent notions of theology, geography, astronomy and medicine and stopped our internal quarrels. All praise is due to this achievement in the field of law and order. But gentlemen, we must not forget that people including the Depressed Classes do not live on law and order; what they live on is bread and butter."

He proposed that only a government which is of the people, for the people and by the people in other words, only the Swaraj Government that will make this possible.

He continued to harangue the untouchables of their poor conditions before and after the arrival of the British in India. He said, “Consider the question from your own narrow point of view. Before the British, you were in the loathsome condition due to your untouchability. Has the British Government done anything to remove your untouchability? Before the British you could not draw water from the village well. Has the British government secured you the right to the well? Before the British you could not enter the temple. Can you enter now? Before the British you were denied entry into the police force. Does the British Government admit you in the force? Before the British you were not allowed to serve in the military. Is that now open to you? Gentleman, to none of these questions you can give an affirmative answer.

The British government was keeping watch on the speakers through its spying system and the Home Department Special. Nonetheless, Dr. Ambedkar knew it and he did not worry of the consequences. Instead, he described the British policy like a ‘Chinese Tailor’ and said, “So far as you are concerned the British government has accepted the arrangements as it found them and has preserved them faithfully in the manner of the Chinese tailor who, when given an old coat as a pattern, produced with pride an exact replica, rents, patches and all.”

By advocating for uniform labour legislation and stressing the significance of effective dispute resolution mechanisms, Dr. Ambedkar demonstrated his commitment to promoting labour rights and fostering a conducive environment for industrial peace and productivity, even amidst the challenges posed by wartime conditions.

3.11 CONTRIBUTION OF DR. AMBEDKAR TO NATIONAL PROGRESS

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's appeal to the labour class of India, broadcasted on the All India Radio on 9th November 1942, highlighted the critical role of labour during World War II. He emphasized the global conflict between the Allied nations and the forces of Fascism and Nazism, framing it as a decisive moment in history.

Dr. Ambedkar asserted that the outcome of the war would determine whether Nazism would prevail, or whether the British would emerge victorious. Given the British rule in India, he argued that Indian labourers had a responsibility to support the British war effort.

He also addressed the discriminatory beliefs held by the Germans, who sought to deny Indians education and liberty, both political and economic. He said that by aligning with the British against Fascism, and Nazism, Indian labourers were not only contributing to the war effort but also resisting oppressive ideologies that threatened their rights and freedoms.

Dr. Ambedkar's appeal aimed to mobilize Indian labourers in support of the Allied cause, by highlighting their participation in the war effort was

crucial for protecting democracy, liberty, and human dignity from oppressive regimes.

Here in this section, one thing to be noted that during the second World War, three approaches strongly prevailed and they were Gandhian “Quit India Movement” in which he appealed the labourers to stop production, Azad Hind Sena and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, who were fighting war with the help of the Japanese and the Germans against the British. Thirdly, Dr. Ambedkar appealed the labourers to assist the British and not to stop production till the British defeat the forces of Nazism and Fascism. Three of these leaders promised the Indians that post war they will get independence. Noteworthy is that the labourers did not stop the production at the appeal of Dr. Ambedkar. later when the War was ended in the victory of the Allied powers in 1945, the British declared the dates of independence and the creation of Constituent Assembly. Here, the foresightedness of Dr. Ambedkar is needs to be studied.

In conclusion, Dr. Ambedkar urged the labours to support the British government in its wastime activities and to continue industrial activities, aligning with the broader goal of defeating Nazism and securing a just and equitable peace for all.

Therefore, the Indian industrial activites had been increased during the wartime campared to the pre-war years as shown in the following table.

Table: Index of Industrial Activity in India based on Index of year 1935-36 as 100

Year	Index
1938-39	113.1
1939-40	114.0
1940-41	117.3
1941-42	123.7
1942-43	108.8
1943-44	(approx.108)
January 1944	113.7

In March 1943, Dr. Ambedkar presented the **Indian Tea Control (Amendment) Bill**, which led to a debate in the legislative assembly. During this debate, Mr. N. M. Joshi, a member of the Legislative Assembly, raised concerns regarding the Tea Control Act. As the Labour Member, Dr. Dr. Ambedkar responded by addressing the labour conditions in tea plantations, particularly in Assam and Bengal.

During the 3rd meeting of the Standing Labour Committee at the Bombay Secretariat on May 7th, 1943, Dr. Ambedkar presided over

discussions on two crucial proposals. Firstly, the establishment of Joint Labour Management Committees in factories and industrial units engaged in war work, modelled after similar committees in the United States and the United Kingdom. Secondly, the creation of Employment Exchanges to ensure that skilled and semi-skilled labourers, as well as technicians trained under efficient schemes, could find suitable employment opportunities and not be left unemployed.

Dr. Ambedkar introduced '**The Indian Boilers (Amendment) Bill**' in the Central Legislative Assembly on July 29th, 1943, with the objective of empowering Boiler Inspectors to inspect both steam and feeder pipes. This amendment was prompted by a boiler accident that occurred on February 23rd, 1942, at a mill in Bombay.

Dr. Ambedkar introduced the **Motor Vehicles (Drivers) Amendment Bill**, which aimed to address the issue of employment rights for motor vehicle drivers whose services were requisitioned by the government. Prior to the amendment, there were no provisions obligating employers to re-employ drivers after their services were no longer needed by the government authority that had requisitioned them.

Dr. Ambedkar made provisions of Maternity Benefits by passing the **Mines Maternity Benefits Amendments Bill** in July 1943. This Act provided for the women working in the mines-

- i) Four weeks preceding delivery full pay leave.
- ii) Four weeks succeeding delivery full pay leave.
- iii) Four weeks preceding delivery will be optional rest for the woman where she may work and get full wages but succeeding four weeks are compulsory for her to take, and it is unlawful and criminal for her to work.
- iv) The words 'absent from work' were ambiguous and were removed from previous Act and added them as 'for everybody during the four weeks preceding delivery the woman would be entitled to maternity benefit with regards to the days on which she chooses to.'

Thus, women were provided eight weeks maternity leave with eight annas per day.

On September 6, 1943 Dr. Ambedkar delivered the speech during the session of the "Plenary Labour Conference" from the President's Chair. The agenda he put before was very important from the point of view of Employees, Employment, and the Central Government which was as follows :

- i) Involuntary unemployment due to shortage of coal, raw material etc.
- ii) Social security and minimum wages.
- iii) Principle of fixing dearness allowance.
- iv) Provisions for Standing Orders on the lines of the provisions in the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, in large industrial concerns.
- v) Adoption of the rules of procedure for the Plenary Conference.
- vi) Setting up Tripartite organizations in provinces.
- vii) Representation of labour in the legislatures and other bodies.

- viii) Model rules for Provident Fund.
- ix) Dr. Ambedkar mainly focused on two points i.e., Social Security and representation of labour. He also pointed out the contradictions between fabulous wealth and abject poverty those who do not work and those who do, respectively. Furthermore, he mentioned about politics of equality and economics of inequality. In India, “one man, one vote, one value is our political maxim, but the maxim we followed in economics is a negation of it.”

On 9th December 1943, during a visit to coal mines in Dhanbad, Dr. Ambedkar personally interacted with the workers, even descending 400 feet below the surface to understand their working conditions and discuss their concerns with them.

Dr. Ambedkar also introduced the **Factories (Amendment) Bill**, which required the occupiers of factories to provide specific details to factory inspectors. These details included provisions for water and washing places within the factories, the installation of fire escapes, and regulations on the hours of work for children and women in factories.

Furthermore, in January 1944, Dr. Ambedkar played a role in appointing an Advisory Committee for the **Coal Mines Welfare Fund**, demonstrating his commitment to improving the welfare and working conditions of laborers across various sectors.

Dr. Ambedkar's legislative efforts continued with the presentation of the **Indian Trade Union (Amendment) Bill**, which aimed to compel employers to recognize trade unions and impose specific conditions for their reorganization. **The Coal Mines Labour Welfare Ordinance, 1944** was also passed under his leadership, indicating his commitment to improving the welfare of laborers in the coal mining industry.

In February 1944, Dr. Ambedkar took a significant step by lifting the **ban on the employment of women in underground work in coal mines**, thereby expanding opportunities for female laborers.

Furthermore, the **Coal Mines Safety (Studying) Amendment Bill** was introduced on April 20, 1944, demonstrating Dr. Ambedkar's focus on enhancing safety measures in coal mines. Additionally, he sent a delegation comprising representatives from the judiciary, employers, and workers to the International Labour Conference in Philadelphia, USA, showcasing his efforts to engage with international labor standards and practices.

In April 1944, Dr. Ambedkar proposed an amending bill advocating for **holidays with pay for industrial workers** employed in perennial factories. He emphasized the government's stance on preventing labor exploitation and ensuring that industries prioritize the interests of their workers. This approach reflected Dr. Ambedkar's vision for a fair and just industrial sector that prioritized the welfare of laborers.

In July 1945, Dr. Ambedkar addressed the **Students' Union of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences**, where he advocated for the continuation of compulsory conciliation or arbitration as a beneficial practice for labor. He expressed his desire to establish this principle as a permanent feature of the labor code. Additionally, he emphasized the importance of retaining all Technical Training Schools initiated by the Government of India as integral components of the country's educational system.

3.12 DR. AMBEDKAR ON NEW WATER POLICY

Indeed, Dr. Ambedkar's contributions spanned across numerous fields, showcasing his multifaceted expertise and commitment to various aspects of society and governance. From his pivotal role in drafting the Indian Constitution to his endeavours in sociology, history, philosophy, and beyond, Dr. Ambedkar's impact is felt in diverse spheres.

In particular, his tenure as a member of the Viceroy's Council, where he held the Labour portfolio, allowed him to implement significant reforms aimed at enhancing labor rights and welfare. Additionally, his efforts in areas such as electric power and water conservation were instrumental in laying the groundwork for all-India policies in these domains. Dr. Ambedkar's role in formulating policy and action, plans for the development of water and power resources in India was indeed significant. Despite the challenges posed by the distribution of powers between the Central and Provincial Governments, Dr. Ambedkar's leadership and expertise contributed to the advancement of policies related to irrigation and hydro-electric power. His efforts helped to establish a framework for cooperation and coordination among different regions, ensuring the optimal utilization of these vital resources for national development. The policy statement outlined several key points regarding the planning and execution of water and irrigation projects.

Dr. Ambedkar's support and advocacy for the Damodar Valley and Sone River Valley projects were instrumental in their realization and laid the foundation for the concept of multipurpose river valley development in India. His vision encompassed not only flood control but also the generation of electricity, water supply for irrigation, navigation, and industrial use, reflecting a comprehensive approach to water resource management.

By emphasizing the need for multipurpose projects and advocating for the inclusion of various uses of water, Dr. Ambedkar demonstrated foresight and a holistic understanding of the potential benefits of river valley development. His insistence on considering the welfare of displaced populations and ensuring their welfare highlighted his commitment to social justice and inclusive

The Hirakud Project

Dr. Ambedkar's insights into the water management challenges faced by Orissa reflected a deep understanding of the multifaceted nature of the

problem. Rather than simplifying the issue as merely a flood problem, he recognized it as a complex web of interconnected challenges, including drought, famine, health issues, and underdevelopment. During the Conference on developing Orissa's rivers, Dr. Ambedkar emphasized the need for a visionary approach to address these challenges. He highlighted Orissa's substantial natural resources, particularly its water wealth, as a key asset that could be leveraged for the state's development.

Dr. Ambedkar criticized previous committees for their inadequate approach to the flood problem. He argued that viewing excess water as inherently negative and allowing it to flow into the sea without proper utilization was a misconception. Instead, he advocated for a more nuanced understanding of water management that would utilize excess water for the benefit of the people.

The correspondence between Dr. Ambedkar and Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, regarding the laying of the foundation stone for the “Hirakud Dam”, highlights differing priorities. While Wavell was focused on the symbolic act of laying the foundation stone before his term ended, Dr. Ambedkar prioritized ensuring a firm commitment to executing the dam project. His emphasis on tangible progress and the fulfilment of promises underscored his dedication to the project's successful implementation. Ultimately, the Hirakud Dam, a testament to Dr. Ambedkar's vision and perseverance, was completed in 1957. Its completion marked a significant milestone in Orissa's development journey, fulfilling Dr. Ambedkar's aspirations for utilizing water resources to drive progress and prosperity in the state.

Sone River Valley Project

“The Sone River Valley” multipurpose Project in United Province was also initiated by the Labour Department under Dr. Ambedkar. The Labour Department treated the “Sone Valley” Project as a multipurpose river management scheme covering not only the potentialities for irrigation by canals and perennial hydel power for the area but also for increased irrigation utilization of such power for pumping from the tube wells or from the river, and increased fertility by the dewatering in water logged area. Provision of cheap power for industrial development, improved supply of water for navigation on the Ganga and improved flood control were other important considerations.

Around the middle of November 1944, the Government of the United Provinces drew the attention of the Labour Department to the potentialities of the Development of Sone River. The Department responded favourably in its letter dated December 8, 1944, it observed that the potentialities for multipurpose development and management scheme on the River Sone were immense. The Labour Department immediately organized an Inter-Provincial Conference in Delhi on March 10, 1945, to make the preliminary investigation.

Dr. Ambedkar's scientific and rational outlook, combined with his profound scholarship and humanitarian ethos, left an indelible mark on India's water policy. His efforts paved the way for the establishment of River Valley Authorities and mechanisms for adjudicating inter-state water disputes, setting a precedent for collaborative and inclusive water resource management in the country.

3.13 DR. AMBEDKAR ON ELECTRICITY POWER GRID SYSTEM AT NATIONAL LEVEL

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 designated electricity as a Provincial subject, leading to challenges in financing crucial initiatives, like the Hydrographic Survey for supplying electrical power in India. Recognizing the importance of addressing post-war development issues related to electric power, the Reconstruction Policy Committee convened a meeting in New Delhi on October 25, 1943, with Dr. B.R. Dr. Ambedkar, Member for Labour, Government of India, presiding over the discussions.

Dr. Ambedkar, in his role as the Chair of the Committee, raised several critical questions for consideration:

1. **Ownership:** Should electricity infrastructure be privately owned or state-owned?
2. **Regulation:** If it is privately owned, what conditions must be imposed to protect the public interest?
3. **Responsibility:** Should the responsibility for the development of electricity lie with the Central Government or the Provincial Governments?
4. **Administration:** If the responsibility lies with the Central Government, what is the most effective method of administration to ensure cheap and abundant electricity supply and prevent resource wastage?
5. **Coordination:** If the responsibility lies with the provinces, should their administration be subordinate to an Inter-Provincial Board with advisory and coordination powers?

These questions highlighted the complexities and policy considerations surrounding the development and administration of electric power in India. Dr. Ambedkar's engagement with these issues underscored his commitment to addressing crucial challenges in infrastructure development and governance, ensuring that the interests of the public were safeguarded and that resources were utilized efficiently for the benefit of the nation.

Dr. Ambedkar highlighted the importance of regional development in the electricity sector during the conference. He referenced the proposed introduction of the "Grid" system in the Bombay Presidency and

emphasized the need for a regional approach to electricity development to ensure affordable and efficient services for both producers and consumers. This triple program formed the foundation of the "Grid" system, which had been operational in the U.K. since 1926. Dr. Ambedkar expressed hope that adopting such a scheme of regional development in India would soon bring the significant benefit of power supply to the nation. Dr. Ambedkar's vision for regional electricity development reflected his commitment to ensuring equitable access to essential services and promoting industrial and agricultural growth across different regions of the country.

3.14 SUMMARY

The contribution of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to national life of India needs to be studied from the point of view that he was a true nationalist. At one occasion, he had said that "He is Indian First and the Indian Last". He always thought of the modern India, but at the same time, he was of the opinion that the independence should not be for the few selected people of the society. Therefore, the large chunk of the society should be participated in national movement, and thus, time Depressed Classes should get their share as well as humane treatment by their own Hindu brothers. He, at many occasions, interacted with British Officers and fearlessly brought to their notice their wrong policies i.e. false taxation system, wrong education, liquor policy, public works department, labour reforms and so on. Therefore, his contribution in the field of economics, industry, labouring classes, water policy, women's rights, downtrodden classes, electricity are the key contributions for the nation of India to be studied.

3.15 QUESTIONS

- 1) Describe the contribution of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to national progress.
- 2) Explain the concept of Nationalism of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.
- 3) Evaluate the contribution of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to the national life through various Committees and reforms as a Labour Minister.
- 4) Write short note on Electricity Power Grid System and Dr. Ambedkar.
- 5) Write an essay on Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and New Water Policy.

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DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR: INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND IMPACT ON NATION

Unit Structure:

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Dr. Ambedkar's induction in the Constituent Assembly
- 4.3 Preamble of Constitution for the Impact on Nation
- 4.4 'India That Is Bharat' As Nomenclature of Our Nation
- 4.5 Fundamental Rights
- 4.6 Directive Principles of State Policy
- 4.7 Partly Rigid and Partly Flexible
- 4.8 Longest Written Constitution in the World
- 4.9 Popular Sovereignty
- 4.10 Judicial Review
- 4.11 Equality, Liberty and Fraternity in Constitution
- 4.12 India - Secular, Socialist, Democratic, Republic
- 4.13 One Person-One Vote, One Vote-One Value
- 4.14 Summary
- 4.15 Questions
- 4.16 Additional Reading

4.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the contribution of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in the making of Constitution of India.
2. To analyze preamble of the Constitution and its impact on nation.
3. To evaluate fundamental rights enshrined in the constitution.
4. To review various features of Indian Constitution that impact our nation.
5. To analyze the vision and philosophy of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar as reflected in the Constitution of India.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar:
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Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's appointment as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution marked a significant milestone in his illustrious career. Dr. Ambedkar's expertise, dedication, and vision were recognized by his peers. Before his appointment to this crucial role, Dr. Ambedkar had already established himself as a prominent figure in Indian politics and governance. His contributions to various sub-committees of the Constitution, particularly from his position as the Labour Member, showcased his deep understanding of constitutional matters and his commitment to social justice and welfare. His vision and philosophy is reflected in the various provisions of Constitution of India which seeks to establish Indian society as an egalitarian society.

4.2 DR. AMBEDKAR'S INDUCTION IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Even during his tenure in the Viceroy's Executive Council as the Labour Minister, Dr. Ambedkar left a lasting impact on British officers and the British Parliament through his advocacy for the welfare of Indian subjects and the nation as a whole. Despite facing challenges and opposition, he remained steadfast in his mission to uplift the marginalized sections of society and to contribute to the development of equitable constitutional framework for India.

In pointing out the sequence of events that led to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's presence in the Constituent Assembly. Jogendranath Mandal's resignation from his seat provided the opportunity for Dr. Ambedkar to be elected to the Constituent Assembly. However, it's important to clarify that while there were tensions and disagreements between Dr. Ambedkar's Scheduled Caste Federation and the Indian National Congress, the claim that Sardar Patel made a statement about shutting the doors and windows of Parliament for Dr. Ambedkar needs to be verified.

There may have been political differences and conflicts between various political factions during that time, but it's essential to rely on verified historical sources to accurately understand the dynamics of those relationships. Additionally, while there might have been disagreements between Dr. Ambedkar and some leaders of the Indian National Congress, including Gandhi and Nehru, it's crucial to examine the broader context of their interactions and the complexities of Indian politics during the pre-Independence period.

It's not uncommon for political leaders and parties to engage in tactics aimed at undermining their opponents or competitors, even within marginalized communities. The incident is mentioned to highlights the political strategies and attempts to sway the allegiance of the untouchable community away from Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and towards the Indian National Congress.

It's important to recognize that political rivalries and strategies are often driven by a desire for power, influence, and control over certain constituencies. In this case, the Indian National Congress may have sought to consolidate its support base among the untouchable community by unclerming Dr. Ambedkar and his Scheduled Caste Federation.

While there may have been efforts to undermine Dr. Ambedkar's leadership and influence, particularly by the Indian National Congress, it's also evident that Dr. Ambedkar had a significant following and support within the untouchable community. This was demonstrated by an incident where anti-social elements intended to attack him but were moved by his presence and bowed down before him.

Regarding Dr. Ambedkar's seat in the Constituent Assembly, it's likely that his election to the Assembly was more a result of the political dynamics and circumstances at that time, rather than direct support or approval from the Indian National Congress. As it is mentioned earlier, his presence in the Constituent Assembly was facilitated by Jogendranath Mandal's resignation, rather than direct support from the Congress.

Another incident took place prior to the formation of the Constituent Assembly. On 3rd February 1946, at Delhi Junction, Gandhi Maidan, All India Scheduled Caste Federation had organized a public meeting to oppose the proposal of Sir Stafford Cripps and Lord Emery (Cripps Mission). During those days the Congress activists tried to disrupt the conference and they were caught by the Samata Sainik Dal (SSD) there. Before, the first Session of the Constituent Assembly on 9th December, 1946, this had happened.

How the Indian National Congress could accommodate Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in the Assembly? That was the period when all the senior leaders of the Indian National Congress were neglecting the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. Therefore, during the communal riots in Noakhali in Bengal, Gandhiji had left there to pacify them. He had not time to recommend the name of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar for the Constituent Assembly.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Inducted in Ministry and Constituent Assembly

The relationship between Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and the Indian National Congress was indeed fraught with tension and disagreement. Despite his significant contributions to the upliftment of the untouchable community and his active advocacy for their rights, Dr. Ambedkar often found himself in conflict with the Congress leadership.

The incident involving Lord Mountbatten, likely reflects the political maneuvering and power struggles that were characteristic of the time. While the Congress claimed to represent the interests of all Indians under the leadership of figures like Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Ambedkar's

insistence on asserting himself as the leader of the untouchables and his advocacy for separate political representation for them challenged the Congress's narrative.

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Dr. Ambedkar's efforts, such as the temple entry movement and the Mahad Chowdar tank movement, aimed challenging caste-based discrimination and securing social justice for the untouchable community. However, his actions often put him in odds with the Congress leadership, which may have viewed his advocacy as a challenge to their own authority and agenda.

The fact, that Dr. Ambedkar was not included in the Interim Government of 1946 and instead Babu Jagjivan Ram was awarded a ministerial position reflects the political dynamics of the time, where competing interests and power struggles influenced decisions regarding appointments and representation within the government.

Overall, the relationship between Dr. Ambedkar and the Congress was complex, marked by ideological differences, political maneuvering, and competing visions for India's future.

The incident at Jagannath Puri Temple involving Lord Mountbatten and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is a well-known episode highlighting the discrimination faced by untouchables in India. Mountbatten's visit to the temple with Dr. Ambedkar provided him with a first-hand experience of the systemic caste-based discrimination prevalent in Indian society. Dr. Ambedkar's suggestion to visit the temple was a practical way to illustrate the challenges and prejudices faced by untouchables, and Mountbatten's experience played a role in sensitizing him to the plight of the marginalized communities in India.

Mountbatten's efforts to convince Gandhi, Nehru, and Patel to recognize Dr. Ambedkar, as the leader of the untouchables and address their demands underscored the importance of acknowledging and addressing caste-based discrimination in the context of India's struggle for independence.

Ultimately, Dr. Ambedkar's inclusion in the Interim Government as the Law Minister and his subsequent appointment as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution were significant milestones in recognizing his leadership and ensuring the representation of the marginalized sections in the nation-building process.

4.3 PREAMBLE OF CONSTITUTION FOR THE IMPACT ON NATION

This significant of the Indian constitution lies in its provisions designed to serve the interest of the people, which ultimately shapes its impact on the nation. The provisions for the welfare state of India have been thoroughly discussed and passed with majority and sometimes unanimously by the Constituent Assembly. For this provision to be just, Dr. Ambedkar had to debate and argue before all the members of the Constituent Assembly.

The Preamble of the Indian Constitution stands as a testament to the vision and ideals of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and the founding fathers of independent India. It reflects the aspirations of the Indian people and outlines the fundamental principles on which the nation is built.

The Preamble declares India to be a sovereign, socialist, secular, and democratic republic, highlighting the core values of the Indian state. These principles were essential in guiding the drafting of the Constitution and shaping the future trajectory of the nation. Dr. Ambedkar's role as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee was pivotal in ensuring that the Constitution reflected the principles of justice, equality, and fraternity. His deep understanding of social issues and commitment to empowering the marginalized sections of society is evident in various provisions of the Constitution that aimed at promoting social justice and equality.

The Preamble, with its emphasis on justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity, serves as a guiding light for the Indian state and its citizens. It reflects the collective aspirations of the people of India for an, inclusive, and progressive society. In summary, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's contribution to the architecture of the Indian Constitution is profound and enduring, and his vision continues to inspire generations of Indians striving for more equitable and just society.

The Preamble is as follows:

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens JUSTICE, Social, Economic and Political; LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation; IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November 1949, do Hereby ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar played a significant role in ensuring that the Indian Constitution enshrined principles of social justice, equality, and human rights. The provisions within the Constitution reflect a commitment to ensuring the welfare and rights of all Indian citizens, regardless of their background or identity. The addition of the words "Socialist" and "Secular" to the Preamble through the 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1976, further reinforced India's commitment to socialist principles and secularism, ensuring that the state remains impartial towards all religions and promotes social justice and equality.

4.4 'INDIA THAT IS BHARAT' AS NOMENCLATURE OF OUR NATION

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar debated this resolution in the Constituent Assembly that the nomenclature of our nation should be all inclusive and should not be based on the religious name, so that every citizen, deposite

belonging to multi-cultural background will find that this country also belong to them as well.

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"India, that is Bharat," is a phrase that appears in the preamble of the Indian Constitution and mentioned in Article 1 of the Constitution. It signifies the dual identity of the country, recognizing both its ancient cultural heritage and its modern political entity.

The phrase "India, that is Bharat" acknowledges the two names by which the country has been historically known. "India" is derived from the river Indus, which was home to one of the world's oldest civilizations, while "Bharat" is derived from ancient Sanskrit texts that refers to a legendary emperor mentioned in Hindu scriptures such as the Mahabharata and the Puranas. By using both names, the preamble reflects the diverse and multi-dimensional nature of the Indian identity. It honors India's rich historical and cultural legacy while also affirming its status as a modern, democratic nation-state. This dual nomenclature symbolized of the continuity between India's ancient past and its contemporary existence, highlighting the country's unity in diversity and the continuity of its civilization across millennia.

Overall, "India, that is Bharat" serves as a reminder of India's deep-rooted heritage and its ongoing journey towards progress, unity, and inclusive development.

4.5 FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

The Constitution guarantees fundamental rights to all citizens, including the rights to equality, freedom, and justice. It prohibits discrimination based on caste, creed, sex, religion, or any other criteria, and ensures that all citizens have equal opportunity and receive fair treatment under the law.

Moreover, the Constitution establishes India as a parliamentary democracy and a republic, where the ultimate authority rests with the people themselves. This underscores the importance of democratic principles and the rule of law in governing the nation.

Additionally, the Constitution emphasizes the importance of fraternity among citizens, promoting a sense of unity and dignity for all individuals. This reflects a commitment to fostering a harmonious and inclusive society where every citizen's rights and dignity are respected.

Overall, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's contributions in drafting the Indian Constitution have left a lasting legacy, ensuring that the foundational principles of justice, equality, and human rights are enshrined in the nation's guiding document.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's role as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee was pivotal in shaping the Indian Constitution. Despite facing health challenges, he displayed immense dedication and perseverance in his work. Indeed, the Provision of Fundamental rights has definitely had positive impact on the people of our Indian nation.

The Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Indian Constitution are a set of rights that guaranteed to all citizens of India. They are considered fundamental because they are essential for the development of the individual and necessary for the full expression and realization of human potential. These rights are justiciable, meaning can be enforced by courts if violated by the state or any other entity. The Fundamental Rights are outlined in Part III (Articles 12 to 35) of the Indian Constitution. Here are the key Fundamental Rights:

1. **Right to Equality (Articles 14-18):** This includes equality before the law, prohibition of discrimination on the basis of religion of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth, and equality of opportunity in matters of public employment.
2. **Right to Freedom (Articles 19-22):** This includes freedom of speech and expression, freedom to assemble peacefully without arms, freedom to form associations or unions, freedom to move freely throughout the territory of India, freedom to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India, and freedom to practice any profession, or to continue any occupation, trade or business.
3. **Right against Exploitation (Articles 23-24):** This prohibits trafficking in human beings, forced labor, and employment of children in hazardous industries or factories.
4. **Right to Freedom of Religion (Articles 25-28):** This includes freedom of conscience and free profession, practice, and propagation of religion. It also ensures freedom from religious instructions in educational institutions fully maintained by the state.
5. **Cultural and Educational Rights (Articles 29-30):** This provides for the protection of the interests of minorities, right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice, and right of all sections of citizens to conserve their culture, language or script.
6. **Right to Constitutional Remedies (Article 32):** This enables citizens to approach the Supreme Court or the High Courts for the enforcement of their Fundamental Rights. It acts as a guarantee of the enforcement of Fundamental Rights and is regarded as the 'heart and soul' of the Constitution by Dr. Ambedkar. Ambedkar called Article 32 as the most important article of the Constitution 'an Article without which this constitution would be a nullity. It is the very soul of the Constitution and the very heart of it.'

These Fundamental Rights collectively ensure the protection and promotion of individual liberties, equality, and justice. They are crucial aspect of India's democratic framework, providing citizens with legal safeguards against any form of arbitrary state action or infringement of their rights.

4.6 DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY

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The Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) in the Indian Constitution are outlined in Part IV (Articles 36 to 51). Unlike Fundamental Rights, which are justiciable, DPSPs are non-justiciable in nature, meaning they are not enforceable by courts. However, they serve as guidelines for the government while formulating policies and legislation. The DPSPs are inspired by the socio-economic philosophy of the Indian freedom struggle and aim to establish a welfare state based on social justice, equality, and the well-being of its citizens. Here are the key guiding principles:

1. **Promotion of Welfare of the People (Article 38):** The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as possible, a social order in which justice, both social, economic as well as political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.
2. **Securing Social Justice (Article 38(2)):** The State shall, in particular, strive to minimize income inequalities, and endeavor to eliminate disparities in status, facilities, and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also among different groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different occupations.
3. **Equality of Opportunity (Article 39):** The State shall direct its policy towards securing:
 - Equal pay for equal work for both men and women.
 - A decent standard of living and economic well-being for all citizens.
 - Distribution of ownership and control of the material resources of the community to serve the common good.
 - Prevention of concentration of wealth and means of production.
4. **Uniform Civil Code (Article 44):** The State shall endeavor to secure a Uniform Civil Code for all citizens throughout the territory of India.
5. **Provision for free and compulsory education for children (Article 44):** The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they reach the age of fourteen years.
6. **Promotion of Education and Economic Interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Weaker Sections (Article 46):** The State shall promote the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and, particularly Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It will also protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.
7. **Protection of Environment and Wildlife (Article 48A):** The State shall endeavor to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wildlife of the country.

- 8. Promotion of International Peace and Security (Article 51):** The State shall endeavor to promote international peace and security, maintain honorable relations between nations, foster respect for international law and treaty obligations, and encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

These Guiding Principles of State Policy provide a framework for the government to strive towards an, equitable, and inclusive society. While they are not legally enforceable, they reflect the aspirations of the Indian Constitution to create a society based on social, economic, and political justice.

4.7 PARTLY RIGID AND PARTLY FLEXIBLE

The terms "partly rigid" and "partly flexible" are often used in the context of the Indian Constitution to describe its nature regarding the ease or difficulty of amendment.

- 1. Rigid Aspects:** Certain provisions of the Indian Constitution are termed as "rigid" because they can only be amended by a special procedure, which typically involves a larger majority of the parliament or a separate constituent assembly. For example, amendments to provisions related to the federal structure of the government, Fundamental Rights, and certain other key aspects require a special majority of the Parliament (i.e., a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting, and a majority of the total membership of each house) as well as ratification by at least half of the state legislatures.
- 2. Flexible Aspects:** On the other hand, certain provisions of the Constitution are considered "flexible" because they can be amended by a relatively simpler process, usually involving a simple majority of the Parliament. For example, provisions related to the administration and control of territories, the establishment of new states, can be amended by a simple majority of the Parliament.

So, the Indian Constitution is described as "partly rigid and partly flexible" because it incorporates both rigid and flexible amendment procedures. This balance allows for necessary changes to be made to the Constitution while also ensuring that certain fundamental aspects remain stable and protected from hasty or arbitrary modifications.

4.8 LONGEST WRITTEN CONSTITUTION IN THE WORLD

The Indian Constitution is often cited as the "longest written constitution" in the world. When it was drafted, it consisted of 395 Articles, 22 Parts and 8 schedules. As per latest updates, it contains a detailed framework for governance and comprises 448 articles, divided into 25 parts, along with 12 schedules and 5 appendices. The American Constitution had only 7 Articles and 21 sub-Articles and the Russian

Constitution had 146 Articles. England does not have a single written constitution.

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The length of the Indian Constitution is notable for several reasons:

1. **Comprehensive Scope:** The Constitution covers a wide range of topics, including fundamental rights, directive principles of state policy, federal structure, citizenship, judiciary, executive, legislature, and more. This extensive coverage reflects the complex nature of India's diverse society and governance system.
2. **Elaborate Detail:** The Constitution provides detailed provisions on various aspects of governance, rights, duties of citizens, responsibilities of the government, and mechanisms for implementation and enforcement. This level of detail is necessary for ensuring clarity and precision in the functioning of the government and the protection of individual liberties.
3. **Historical Context:** The drafting of the Indian Constitution took place over several years, with input from various stakeholders and experts. The framers drew upon experiences from other constitutions around the world while also addressing the specific needs and challenges of post-independence India. This historical context contributed to the elaborateness of the document.
4. **Evolution and Amendments:** Over the years, the Indian Constitution has undergone numerous amendments to adapt the change in societal, political, and economic realities. While the core principles remain intact, these amendments have added to the length of the Constitution as new provisions are introduced or existing ones are modified.

Overall, the length of the Indian Constitution reflects its status as a comprehensive legal document that serves as the supreme law of the land, providing the framework for governance, protecting fundamental rights, and guiding the development of the nation.

4.9 POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

Popular sovereignty is a fundamental principle underlying the Indian Constitution. While the term "popular sovereignty" may not be explicitly mentioned in the Constitution itself, its essence is reflected in various provisions and features of India's constitutional framework. The popular sovereignty is reflected in our constitution through the preamble, democratic republic, universal adult suffrage, representative democracy, fundamental rights and directive principles for the citizens of India, judicial review and many more provisions of the constitution.

This means that the Indian Constitution is not imposed by any external authority but is framed and adopted by the people themselves, reflecting the idea of popular sovereignty. The term "democratic" highlights the

importance of popular sovereignty, indicating that the government is based on the will of the people, who exercise their sovereignty through elected representatives. Article 326 of the Indian Constitution guarantees the right to vote to every adult citizen without any discrimination based on caste, religion, gender, or economic status. This provision ensures that the people have the opportunity to participate in the electoral process and express their will through voting. India follows a system of representative democracy, where citizens elect their representatives to the Parliament, state legislatures, and local bodies through periodic elections. These elected representatives are entrusted with the responsibility of making laws and governing on behalf of the people, thereby reflecting the principle of popular sovereignty.

4.10 JUDICIAL REVIEW

Judicial review in the Indian Constitution is a pivotal concept that empowers the judiciary to review the actions of the legislative and executive branches of government to ensure they follow the Constitution. The Indian Constitution, adopted on January 26, 1950, established the framework for the country's governance and included provisions for judicial review as a means of upholding the supremacy of the Constitution.

Key aspects of judicial review in the Indian Constitution include:

- 1. Supremacy of the Constitution:** The Constitution of India is the supreme law of the land, and all laws and governmental actions must conform to its provisions. The judiciary, through judicial review, ensures that laws and actions are consistent with the Constitution.
- 2. Article 13:** This article of the Indian Constitution declares that any law enacted by the legislature that is inconsistent with or clininiches fundamental rights shall be void. It provides the basis for the judiciary to strike down laws that violate fundamental rights.
- 3. Article 32 and Article 226:** These articles empower the Supreme Court and High Courts, respectively, to issue writs for the enforcement of fundamental rights. This includes the power to strike down laws or actions of the government that infringe upon fundamental rights.
- 4. Separation of Powers:** Judicial review acts as a check on the powers of the legislature and the executive, ensuring that they do not exceed their constitutional authority. It helps maintain the balance of power among the three branches of government.
- 5. Judicial Activism:** Over the years, Indian courts have actively intervened in matters of public interest, even without specific legal provisions. This judicial activism has expanded the scope of judicial review beyond traditional notions, allowing the courts to address issues such environmental protection, corruption, and social justice.

- 6. Doctrine of Basic Structure:** In the landmark case of *Kesavananda Bharati v. State of Kerala* (1973), the Supreme Court of India established the doctrine of basic structure, which holds that certain core principles of the Constitution are immutable and cannot be amended by the Parliament. This doctrine acts as a limit on the amending power of the Parliament and reinforces the role of judicial review in safeguarding the Constitution.

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Thus, judicial review plays a crucial role in upholding the rule of law, protecting fundamental rights, and maintaining the constitutional balance of power in India.

4.11 EQUALITY, LIBERTY AND FRATERNITY IN CONSTITUTION

Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity are foundational principles enshrined in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution, which reflects the aspirations and values of the people of India. These principles guide the entire constitutional framework and are further elaborated upon in various provisions throughout the Constitution.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Indian Constitution, played a pivotal role in shaping its principles, including those of equality, liberty, and fraternity. He articulated his thoughts on these principles during the Constituent Assembly debates and in various speeches and writings. Here's an overview of Dr. Ambedkar's views on each of these concepts as they relate to the Indian Constitution. He also presented in the Constituent Assembly that we have not borrowed the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity from French revolution but were inherent to Indian principles drawn from Buddhist Philosophy.

- 1. Equality:** Dr. Ambedkar staunchly advocated for equality as a fundamental principle of the Indian Constitution. He emphasized the need to eradicate caste-based discrimination and ensure equal rights and opportunities for all citizens, regardless of their social background. Ambedkar believed that true equality could only be achieved by abolishing the caste system and providing affirmative action measures to uplift marginalized communities. He was a key proponent of the reservation system, which aimed to rectify historical injustices and promote social justice.
- 2. Liberty:** Dr. Ambedkar recognized the importance of liberty in fostering individual dignity and self-expression. He championed the cause of civil liberties and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of speech, expression, and conscience. Ambedkar believed that liberty was essential for the development of a democratic society and the empowerment of citizens. However, he also underscored the need for responsible exercise of liberty, as excessive freedom could lead to chaos and undermine the collective welfare of society.

3. **Fraternity:** While fraternity is not explicitly mentioned in Dr. Ambedkar's speeches or writings, his vision for social reform and nation-building embodied the spirit of brotherhood and solidarity among all citizens. Ambedkar sought to create a society based on mutual respect, cooperation, and empathy, where every individual had a sense of belonging and shared responsibility. He emphasized the importance of social cohesion and unity in diversity, rejecting divisive forces that perpetuated discrimination and inequality.

In this way, Dr. Ambedkar's contributions to the Indian Constitution reflect his unwavering commitment to the principles of equality, liberty, and fraternity. He viewed the Constitution as a transformative instrument for social change and justice, designed to safeguard the rights and dignity of all citizens, particularly the oppressed and marginalized sections of society. Ambedkar's legacy continues to inspire movements for social justice and equality in contemporary India.

These principles collectively embody the ideals of justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity, which are the foundation of Indian constitutional democracy. They guide the interpretation and implementation of laws and policies, ensuring that the rights and dignity of every individual are protected and upheld.

4.12 INDIA - SECULAR, SOCIALIST, DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLIC

The phrase "India- Secular, Socialist, Democratic Republic" encapsulates the core principles and foundational values of the Indian state as outlined in its Constitution. Here's an explanation of each component:

1. **Secular :** India is a secular nation, which means that the state maintains equal distance from all religions. It respects the freedom of individuals to practice and propagate their religion of choice without discrimination. The Indian Constitution ensures the separation of religion and state and prohibits the establishment of any official religion. Secularism in India fosters a spirit of inclusivity, tolerance, and respect for all faiths.
2. **Socialist :** The term "socialist" was added to the Preamble of the Indian Constitution by the 42nd Amendment in 1976. It reflects the commitment of the Indian state to the principles of social justice, economic equality, and the welfare of its citizens. Socialism in the Indian context aims to address socio-economic disparities through policies that promote equitable distribution of wealth, opportunities, and resources. It advocates for the upliftment of marginalized and disadvantaged sections of society through measures such as land reforms, public ownership of key industries, and social welfare programs.

3. **Democratic** : India is a democratic nation, where the ultimate authority lies with the people. The democratic principles of the Indian Constitution ensure that citizens have the right to participate in the governance of the country through free and fair elections, freedom of speech and expression, the rule of law, and an independent judiciary. India's democratic system includes a parliamentary form of government with regular elections at the national, state, and local levels, where elected representatives are accountable to the people.
4. **Republic** : India is a republic, which means that it is a sovereign state where the head of state is elected rather than being a hereditary monarch. The President of India, the titular head of the country, is elected by an electoral college comprising elected members of both houses of Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies of the states. The concept of republicanism emphasizes the principles of popular sovereignty, rule of law, and accountability in governance.

Together, the principles of secularism, socialism, democracy, and republicanism form the bedrock of the Indian polity, guiding its governance and shaping its identity as a diverse, inclusive, and progressive nation. These principles are enshrined in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution and are upheld through its various provisions and institutions.

4.13 ONE PERSON-ONE VOTE, ONE VOTE-ONE VALUE

Our constitution provides for adult suffrage without any discrimination. Previously, the right to vote was based on income and only those who paid income tax were only eligible to exercise his right to vote. Dr. Ambedkar long back in 1930s, had appealed the British government to make this right based on the adult suffrage. Finally, our constitution has enshrined it ensuring that person whether lay a man or an industrialist-billionaire, will have only one vote, with its value being equal for everyone.

"One person-one vote, one vote- one value" is a democratic principle that emphasizes the equality of each individual's vote in an electoral system. It suggests that every eligible citizen, regardless of their social, economic, or demographic background, should have an equal right in choosing their representatives and shaping the course of governance. This principle stresses the notion of political equality, meaning that every citizen's vote should carry the same weight and significance as any other citizen's vote. It ensures that no individual or group receives unfair treatment or advantage in the electoral process based on factors such as wealth, status, or privilege.

In practical terms, "One person-one vote, one vote-value" implies that electoral districts should be drawn in a manner that ensures roughly equal representation for each voter. It opposes gerrymandering, which is

the manipulation of electoral boundaries to favor a particular political party or group. This principle is fundamental to the functioning of democratic societies and is enshrined in the electoral systems of many countries around the world, including India. It upholds the principle of fairness and ensures that the democratic process reflects the will all citizens.

4.14 SUMMARY

There are numerous principles enshrined in our constitution, which has long lasting impact on Indian nation. The nation is not a personality but an entity of its people and ultimately, the people of India have experienced about the constitutional provisions for example Fundamental rights, rights against exploitation, secularism, equality, liberty, freedoms, right to adult franchise etc. These provisions taken our India to the rank of largest democracy in the world. The superior courts, such as High Courts and Supreme courts have taken a *Suo Motu* cognizance of the popular grievances and has proven that the legislature and the executive can not make provisions by arbitrary resolutions. A recent supreme court verdict on 15th February, 2024, string down the Electoral Bond as unconstitutional has been proven by Judicial activism. Thus, the Indian constitution has been had its favourable impact on the Indian nation.

4.15 QUESTIONS

- 1) Discuss the contribution of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in the making of Constitution of India.
- 2) Analyze the impact of the preamble of the constitution on the nation.
- 3) Write short note on fundamental rights.
- 4) Describe the vision and philosophy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar reflected in the Constitution of India.
- 5) Review the various features of Indian Constitution that impacted our nation.

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PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Unit Structure :

- 5.1 Objectives
- 5.2 Introduction
- 5.3 Birth and Early life of Jawahrlal Nehru
- 5.4 Nehru's admiration for his father Barrister Motilal Nehru
- 5.5 Nehru and Anand Bhawan
- 5.6 Early influence in Nehru's Life
- 5.7 Nehru and his Foreign Education
- 5.8 Nehru and his return to India
- 5.9 Gandhi and Nehru
- 5.10 Conclusion
- 5.11 Summary
- 5.12 Questions
- 5.13 Additional Reading

5.1 OBJECTIVES

After reading the Unit, the learner will be able to understand :

- The early life of Nehru and his ideology.
- Brief about his education and formative period.
- His interest towards active politics and India's freedom movement.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

Pandit Nehru, the first Prime Minister of free India, is widely recognized as the architect of modern India and one of the country's most refined fervours. He was an apostle of peace and universal brotherhood, a model of humanism, true democrat, a beloved leader of the Indian masses, an arbiter of the destinies of men, a master of English language, a historian, a thinker-politician, a devotee of science, a supreme secularist, and above all, an emancipator of human race.

There is a very interesting story narrated by Pandit Nehru about himself. His surname as 'Nehru' in his autobiography "*Towards Freedom*". He documented about his family ancestors and their departure from Kashmir to Imperial Capital in 1716, after the decline of Mughal Empire and

Farukhsiar became the emperor. Mr. Raj Kaul, a Sanskrit and Persian scholar in Kashmir, was their ancestor. He received a Jagir with a house near the canal bank (Nahar, a canal). As a result Nehru became attached to his name. later on, Kaul surname was dropped out and they became simply Nehrus, (p. 1).

Check your progress :

How Nehru Surname was attached to the Kaul Family? Write in brief.

5.3 AN AMAZING STORY ABOUT THE BIRTH OF JAWAHARLAL AND HIS EARLY LIFE

Mr. N. B. Sen in his book (*Glorious thoughts of Nehru edited by N.B. Sen page 16*) in his article published in the “Sunday issue” of the 30th June, 1957 Amrit Bazaar Patrika, Calcutta narrated a story related with the birth of Jawaharlal Nehru. It stated that when Motilal Nehru went to Rishikesh with Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and Pandit Din Dayal Shastri, they noticed a Yogi with a long hairs practicing penance, sitting on the top of a tree. The Yogi with his supreme meditation and Karm yogic powers, blessed Pandit Moti Lal to fulfil his desire for a son after imparting all the fruits of his Tapasya to Moti Lal. After ten months, Moti Lal was blessed with a son named Jawaharlal. His two sisters, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Krishan Hutheesingh were born after 11 years of his birth. Therefore, it was mentioned that the extreme love of his parents was spoiled him too in a princely way.

5.4 NEHRU AND HIS ADMIRATION TOWARDS HIS FATHER BARRISTER MOTILAL NEHRU

Nehru was greatly influenced by his father. He had an immense admiration and desire to be like him - a man who embodied strength, courage and cleverness. In the opinion of Dom Moraes (Ref. “A hundred years of Nehru”, published in the issue of the Tribune dated November 12, 1989), stated that Motilal was a paradoxical man. He was very Indian, but through his efforts as the lawyer of wealthy Zamindars, he became rich himself and he cultivated the friendship of the Englishmen who lived around in Allahabad. Motilal seemed naturally addicted to certain aspects of English culture. He drank, rode horses, bought western wardrobe in London, and sent his beloved son to Harrow and Cambridge, traditional bastions of education for the English upper Classes. At the same time, he insisted that Jawaharlal Nehru should have an arranged marriage, and took it upon himself to arrange it. On one side, Nehru admired, loved, feared, and acquired an intense pride throughout his life He had no fear of his mother, Swarup Rani Nehru, who belonged to an orthodox family, and had little formal education. She was a spiritual person. Nehru recalled one of his earliest memories of his father’s temper of which he was a victim. At the age of 5 or 6, he noticed two fountain pens on his father’s office table. Assuming that his father did not need two fountain pens, he picked up one for himself. Later, a mighty search started at his office. Pandit Nehru, out

of fear did not confess. When pen was discovered, he was punished very harshly due to his father's anger and received a tremendous thrashing. He rushed to his mother with agony, and for several days, various creams and anointments were applied for healing. Nehru found his mother always obedient to her husband and Nehru could confide in her as she forgave and overlooked all his faults. While in 1920, when Mr. Motilal and Nehru participated in Gandhiji's non-cooperation movement, she also gave up many comforts and joined in the fray, even to the extent of participating in demonstrations and courting arrest. Nehru further admitted that even though, he faced his father's anger, he had no ill-will towards his father because of the punishment. He felt that it was just a punishment, though perhaps overdone.

Check Your Progress :

Describe briefly about Jawaharlal Nehru and Motilal Nehru's father-son relationship. Do you think, it impacted the early life of Pandit Nehru?

5.5 NEHRU AND ANAND BHAWAN

Nehru recalled his childhood a sheltered and an uneventful one. From his cousins, he used to listen to the talk of discrimination and apathy of the British towards Indians. There was a discrimination in courts, railways, parks etc. Nehru also mentioned that, though he was resented with the presence and behaviour of the British, he had no ill-feelings toward any Englishmen. At home, he had English governesses and saw his father's English friends visiting him.

In 1899, Motilal Nehru purchased a palatial home with 45 rooms near Bhardwaj Ashram at Allahabad and named it "Anand Bhavan" (Abode of Happiness). The Bhawan was made with modern amenities. The house's garden and swimming pool was a great source of joy to Nehru. The children of Motilal had a very colourful life in Anand Bhawan. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit once wrote that "Anand Bhawan was unique in many ways, in terms of its structure, size, amenities, courtyard, fountain, dining room etc." It was also enlivened by Motilal's own family, nephews, their wives and children, numerous guests, and above all, his own resonant voice and the sound of laughter. Frank Moraes, the biographer of Jawaharlal stated that "Motilal's laughter swept like a gale in the house; otherwise, he was fierce and inflammable."

Anand bhavan was a modern house with the latest gadgets, reflected Motilal's zest for life and his craze for procuring the latest and the best in Europe. In Allahabad, it was the first house to have an indoor swimming pool, electricity, and its own waterworks. In the course of his visits to Europe in 1899, 1900, 1905, and 1909, the elder Nehru spent a lot of money and time in purchasing furnishings and fittings for Anand Bhawan. From 1904 to 1909, he bought in Europe at least four cars, including a Fiat and a Lancia. Anand Bhawan had a number of carriages and a fair-sized stable of Arabian horses. An excellent rider himself, he taught riding to his son Jawaharlal and his daughters. Infact, his children learnt to ride as soon

as they learnt to talk. Apart from being a modern house with modern amenities, Anand Bhawan was associated with many important events, meetings and campaigns in the course of India's struggle for freedom. The first association of Anand Bhawan with Indian political life dates back to 1916 when the Joint Congress League Committee evolved its scheme to find a solution to the Hindu-Muslim question. Mr. Kamlesh Mohan in his article which was published in 1989, reported that the plan for the non-co-operation movement was finalised in 1920 by Mahatma Gandhi, who made a number of speeches in the spacious laws of Anand Bhawan. From 1920 onwards, Anand Bhawan became an eloquent witness to the bustle of Congress meetings, campaigns, police searches, confiscations, and arrests. After the sudden suspension of the non-co-operation movement by Mahatma Gandhi in February 1922, following the Chauri-Chaura incident, Anand Bhawan became once again the venue of the Civil Disobedience, Enquiry Committee appointed to make a nation-wide assessment of public opinion and also to suggest ways and means of reviving the movement. Additionally, Anand Bhawan, became an ideological centre for Indian women's movement. Anand Bhawan also served as a training centre for a larger number of Congress workers, including the Nehru family, its resident cousins, and their children. The old Anand Bhawan, renamed as "Swaraj Bhawan," was actually gifted to the nation on April 9, 1930, the day on which Gandhiji inaugurated the unique phase of non-violent struggle by picking up contraband salt on the Dandi beach. Swaraj Bhawan remained the headquarters of the Indian National Congress until 1946, when it was shifted to Delhi. In 1949, Swaraj Bhawan became the loving foster home for orphan children. It has now got converted into a national museum, the first museum of its type in the country has computer-based light and sound shows on the freedom movement and events involving the Nehru family. The new Anand Bhawan became a national monument when Indira Gandhi donated it to the Nehru Memorial Committee in 1970.

Check Your Progress :

Q.1) What was Anand Bhawan and how it has influenced Jawaharlal Nehru's early life formation?

5.6 EARLY INFLUENCE IN NEHRU'S LIFE

Nehru in his early life as a child was shy, reticent and lonely boy who was protected by his father. At the age of 11, a tutor which was recommended by Mrs. Annie Besant, Ferdinand T. Brooks, greatly influenced Nehru. Books was a devout follower of Theosophy. He cultivated the habit of reading in him. Nehru read many novels of Scott and Dickens. The novel "*Three Men in a Boat*" written by Jerome K. Jerome was his favourite one. Apart from reading novels, his second interest was poetry. He also read Bhagwad Gita and the Upanishads. The victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war filled him with the nationalistic ideas, and his love for the nation was only multiplied. He always dreamt to fight for India's freedom.

5.7 NEHRU AND HIS FOREIGN EDUCATION

At the age of 15, he went to England with his family. He got admission in Harrow school, where his favourite subject was general knowledge. During his school days, the early growth of aviation influenced him. The events of India's freedom movement agitated him but he had no one there to talk about it. At the age of 17, he went to the Cambridge and enrolled at the Trinity college in October 1907. Trinity was known as the training ground of the Prime Ministers. His stay at Trinity widened his intellectual horizon. Apart from pure sciences subjects such as Chemistry, Geology, and Botany, he also read few books on literature, history, politics, and economics.

At that time, as stated in the book of Mr. Madnpotra (1994) *that the life for him was pleasant both physically and intellectually. Work, games and amusements filled his life.* (p. 10). The Indians in Cambridge had started a society called "Majlis" to discuss the political problems. Nehru, due to his shyness could not participated in the discussions, for which he had to pay fine for over three years. There were few renowned politicians of that period, i.e., Bipin Chandra Pal, Lajpat Rai and G.K. Gokhale, who visited Cambridge. Nehru was impressed by Lalaji's speech. During his harrow days, Nehru also met Lala Hardyal once or twice.

Nehru left Cambridge in 1910, after obtaining his degree with second class honours in the "Natural Sciences Tripos". He pursued his further degree in Law at the Inner Temple in London. His law studies transformed his personality. It was also the period when Nehru had a mixed experience of living a life with leisure and developed an interest in various social movements, such as "Ireland's women suffrage movement".

Check Your Progress :

Write in brief about Nehru's early education? Critically analyse the reason for his influence in western education.

5.8 NEHRU AND HIS RETURN TO INDIA

After spending almost seven years in England, he was called to the Bar in 1912. Nehru at that time was more like an 'Englishman than an Indian'. It was also the time when his father Motilal Nehru was very active in politics and joined the Moderates, became the president of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee. As Congress was a moderate party, the influence of Motilal Nehru in the party's ideology was also visible. He disliked many social customs and was greatly influenced by Western progress, which him to support a strong association with England. The return of Nehru was a strategic decision because the scenario at that time in India was witnessing the political freedom fight against the British. Tilak was in jail, and moderate movement was passive. Nehru formed an impression towards Congress as an English knowing upper class affair without any political excitement. Nehru was impressed by Gokhale's earnestness.

Nehru, in India, found the contrast in his habits and ideas which was developed in England but were not fitting well. Even though he practiced law and joined the high court, he was dissatisfied with both his profession and politics. On one hand, he was looking for aggressive stand against foreign rule, on the other hand, he was connected with the idea of practicing laws and followed the policies of moderates. Though, he took part in the indentured labour agitation in Fiji and worked as a secretary for a fund drive for Indians in South Africa, which was temporary in nature. As a lawyer, he remained junior to his father and he rarely pleaded a case on his own.

The First World War was a time of introspection and further developments in Moderate's ideology. The release of Lokmanya Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant's Home Rule League attracted Jawaharlal Nehru. He worked with her and became the joint secretary of its Allahabad branch. The Home Rule Leagues became the idea of attraction and exploration among the old extremist groups, moderate leaders and the middle classes. Motilal Nehru also started drifting away from the Moderate philosophy and underwent a complete change in his life after Jallianwala Bagh tragedy and arrival of Gandhiji in India's politics. This was also the time when Nehru got married to Kamala Kaul, a daughter of a rich Kashmiri businessman on the day of Vasanta Panchami in February 1916, at Delhi, at the age 26, which was chosen by his father. However, before getting married to Smt. Kamala Nehru, Nehru wrote a letter to his father and mother on December 22, 1911, from England and expressed his desire to meet her once before they get married.

Nehru, in his book the *Discovery of India* recalled memory of his wife, Smt. Kamala Nehru. Ms. Kamala came from an orthodox family, 17 years old, tall, slim, and healthy at the time of her marriage. Though at the initial years of their marriage, she was shy, and a person to be groomed. Later, she became a strong pillar in the life of Pandit Nehru. Kamala Nehru had a great influence on Nehru's temperament and personality. It was only after marriage that the political activities of Jawaharlal Nehru began and he started developing interest in the nationalist activities, engaging himself for the cause. The couple spent some months in Kashmir and Indira Gandhi was born on 19th November 1917. The symptoms of Mrs. Nehru's fatal, disease tuberculosis, were discovered, at that time.

5.9 GANDHI AND NEHRU

Gandhiji, after his early education in Rajkot, went to London at Inner Temple in 1889 to pursue his Law degree. He returned to India in 1891, whereas Nehru returned to India in 1912. After spending a few years at the Bar, he again went to South Africa and stayed there for about 20 years. His experience at South Africa, a country that did not respect Indians, gave him self-realization. As a result, he used a political weapon, named Satyagraha. He returned to India in 1915, after leading the successful demonstration, and protecting the civil rights of Indians in South Africa. He became the silent spectator for the next three years by refusing not to take part in Congress or national politics. His fight against the injustice in

local struggles at Champaran, Kheda, and Ahmedabad consecutively in 1917, 1918, and 1919 prepared the ground for the freedom movement and tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh added fuel to the fire, which led to the freedom movement in India. Jawaharlal was greatly influenced by Gandhiji's political insight which was presented by Gandhiji in the court of the British judge Mr. Broomfield with me quote, "the Punjab crime was whitewashed, and most culprits went not only unpunished but remained in service and some continued to draw pensions from the Indian revenue and in some cases were even rewarded". (p.15)

For Jawaharlal, the Punjab tragedy was a great insult to the national honour, pride and self-respect. During the Punjab enquiry, Jawaharlal was deputed to accompany and assist Deshbandhu Das who took the Amritsar areas under his charge. The events in Punjab and inquiry moved Motilal Nehru from his old moderate position. This was the time when Jawaharlal Nehru stepped forward and began working for the nation's fight.

Check Your Progress :

In what ways, Jawaharlal Nehru was influenced by Gandhiji's thoughts? Discuss in brief.

5.10 CONCLUSION

Therefore, considering the great personality and leading figure of his age, Jawaharlal Nehru was not only the first Prime minister of Independent India, but also was endowed with an alert and profound mind. His temperament was calm and reflected in his culture and learning. He could think clearly, foresee the problems from multiple perspectives, and took the strong decision. His education and support system which he received in his early days of life shaped his intellect and personality, which favoured the nation and gave the courage to fight against the British domination. Nehru's temperament and mental make-up were developed and moulded by his early education, family upbringing, and support received from his family.

5.11 SUMMARY

Pandit Nehru, India's first Prime Minister after independence is widely regarded as the architect and the most cultivated personality of India. His family's migration from Kashmir, taking the surname of Nehru, admiring his father, elder son of his parents, foreign education, early influences and many more shaped his thinking process. In spite of being close to the Britishers, his love for nation was very admiring. He stood against the British rule and participated in the struggle for India's independence. The history of Japanese war, and the First World war greatly influenced him.

Thus, while studying the early life and education of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, should consider possible connection between his experiences and insights into the complexity of human mind, as well his position between two cultures i.e. western and Indian. Grouching up Anand Bhawan and in

large family which became increasingly westernised, the young Jawaharlal developed an independent way of thinking at an early stage. His relation towards his parents was quite normal, in terms of being frank to his mother and humble to his father. Like, every other Indian family, it was quite normal in this case too.

In his childhood, Jawaharlal has no feelings of remorse against Englishmen. At home, he had English governesses and his father's English friend visitors. Even, during his study at Harrow, Cambridge and Trinity, it is observed through his writings that he was not an unhappy individual. Infact, he felt sad while leaving the foreign places. When he came back to India after his formative years of education abroad, he had a feeling of being intruder; however, he later admitted that after few years of difficulty, a strong bond was developed between India and him. He stated that India was in his blood. Therefore, he made all the possible attempts to connect to roots such as travelling to Indian villages during the political campaigns, going on prison journeys with Indian friends, and engaging in political struggle together with Gandhi, which gave him a taste of Indian life.

5.12 QUESTIONS

- 1) Do you think, it is relevant to know about Nehru's early life and education? Elaborate.
- 2) Nehru, due to his foreign education, had great friendship with many his foreign friends. Does it impact on his participation in India's freedom struggle? Justify your answer.
- 3) Write briefly about Nehru and his father's relationship?

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PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: CONTRIBUTION TO THE NATIONAL LIFE AND IMPACT ON THE NATION

Unit Structure :

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6.1 OBJECTIVES

After reading the chapter, the readers will know:

- Nehru's contribution to national life.
- The key decision taken by Nehru and his team for building a modern India post-independence, particularly in the areas of education, science, technology etc.
- The impact of Nehruvian policies on the nation.
- Analysis of Nehruvian policies for nation's growth and development

6.2 INTRODUCTION

No one is perfect. the background of India's independence and chaotic situation in nation was a time when many things were happening in the society that were not planned. At that time, being the first Prime Minister of India, was definitely not an easy choice. However, Nehru did it. There is no doubt that his contribution for building a modern India is supreme but there are critics who documented his professional and personal life in the minor lens. Sometimes, he was misunderstood by his own friends and his decisions were considered blunders. However, Mr. Prem Bhatia urges

us to remember Nehru which was published in the issue of “The Tribune” dated August 11, 1989 quote:

“What made Nehru truly great was not only his emphasis on non-alignment and co-existence and his anxiety to take India industrially forward into the realm of maximum self-reliance or to strengthen our democratic structure, but also his insistence on the maintenance of certain values and norms in public and private life. Isn’t it a bit surprising that no one in Nehru’s lifetime ever referred to him as “Mr. Clean”, which he unquestionable was? The reason? Because his cleanliness was taken for granted and did not need to be proclaimed from the housetops.

He further states that, *“This is a part of the unremembered Nehru. After his unremembered qualities include such present-day rarities as decency in human relationships (even when the relationship involves political enemy) and civilised language. Among the few peripheral examples of bad language, I can recall was an argument on the floor of the Lok Sabha in the fifties between Nehru as Prime Minister and the late Bal Krishna Sharma (Naveen) as a front bench member of the ruling party. In a fit of displeasure Nehru had described Sharma as ignorant, to which the latter responded with the retort: “You are arrogant”. And the matter ended. The two were still friends when they left the House.”* (Madnpoetra p.322).

Thus, the contribution of Nehru for nation’s development and human civilisations can be summed up from one of the quotations which Nehru liked most from the book *How the Steel was Tempered* (Ostrovsky) which says,

“Man’s dearest possession in his life, and since it is given to him to live but once, he must so live as not to be seared with the shame of a cowardly and trivial post, so live as not be tortured for years without purpose that dying cant’s say: ‘All my life and my strength were given to the first cause in the world.....the liberation of mankind.’” (Madnpoetra p.326)

Jawaharlal Nehru was a multi-faceted personality. He had a sort of dynamism, an inner grace and left his mark on every aspect of national life. Lots of volumes have been written about him detailing his strength, vision, weaknesses, and mistakes. However, it is difficult to make a point that Nehru did not make a unique contribution to the freedom movement and to the building of free India. His contribution to National life and impact on the nation could be seen through his efforts undertaken in a free nation to deal with the challenges related to education, defence, communalism, and many more. We shall study one by one to understand its totality.

Nehru saw India, as he mentioned in his book *“The Discovery of India”* as a civilisation of mixed proportions of linguistic, cultural and moral texture. Therefore, to understand the civilisation of India as a nation, it was necessary to understand it from its multiple constituents through interaction and creative interplay between various systems of thought. Therefore, he put his all efforts into creating a civilisation which was

embedded more in the social and cultural fabric of society than in political and bureaucratic institutions till 18th and 19th centuries.

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6.3 JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENCE

There are two excellent documents of Jawaharlal Nehru's *writings and speeches* on Science and Society published in 1986 and 1988 respectively, edited by the late Baldev Singh. These documents are now preserved by "National Memorial Museum" and Library. Bhargava P. M. (2003) said that "Nehru was a dreamer and science was an integral part of his dreams but, as I hope to show, he never forgets to live. (p.18)".

In his letter to Indira, which he wrote on July 13, 1934, from Dehra Dun Jail, he made a positive affirmation for a modern world to possess technical knowledge based on science and technical appliances. He further stated that a person is known as educated only if knows something of science, economics, and technology. In his own words, he further observed

"Physics is the oldest of sciences, the basic one. Then comes chemistry, and then biology which is popular now. We should know something of all these three of these and we can specialise it later." (Bhargava P.M. 2003, p.24). He understood the subject hierarchy very well. He had always been progressive while discussing about country's progress related to science and technology. In 1943, he could not preside the 30th session of the Indian Science Congress in Calcutta. Presided and inaugurated however, he regularly the Indian Science Congress from its inception until his death in 1964.

Nehru made multiple attempts to advance India in science and technology. The passing of 1958 Scientific Policy resolution revealed his perception of the intimate relationship between science and society. The establishment of Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR) in Bombay on January 1, 1954, provided an opportunity for teaching and fundamental research in civil services both governmental and industrial, and defence science. The establishment of the National Institute of Sciences (now the Indian National Science Academy) in New Delhi on December 31, 1960, explored the understanding of fundamental research and the practical applications of scientific research. By 1950, two more scientific agencies got established, i.e., Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in 1942 and the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), precursor of the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE), in 1948. The CSIR laboratories, under the presidentship of Pandit Nehru, set up around 29 laboratories, and he was also instrumental in setting up DRDO (Défense Research and development Organisation) in 1958. Apart from all of these, Nehru also talked about various aspects of agriculture and medicine on many forums and occasions such as:

Veterinary College of Madras at the occasion of its Golden Jubilee Celebration on January 17, 1955;

- Delivered convocation address of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) on April 2, 1955;
- Medical Association of India, the association of Physicians of India, and the Association of Surgeons of India.
- Establishment of the Cancer Research Institute at Madras on October 10, 1952;
- Setting up of B C Roy Polio Clinic in Calcutta on November 3, 1954;
- Visted Radium Institute and cancer hospital in Hyderabad on December 8, 1955;
- Inauguration of the institute of Postgraduate Medical Education and Research in Calcutta on November 16, 1957;
- Visit of National Tuberculosis Institute in Bangalore on September 16, 1960; and
- Setting up Electronics Committee in 1963 under Homi Bhabha, which later set up Department of Electronics;
- Setting up the Indian National Committee for Space Research (INCOSPAR) in 1962 later developed into the Department of Space;
- Delivered the convocation address of the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences in New Delhi on April 15, 1964.

His interest towards science and technology development for nation only grew despite the country's own challenges in post-independence. India he provided a budget of Rs. 1.1 crore for scientific research in 1948-49, which rose to 85.06 crore in 1965-66. He was also aware that India would only develop scientifically if it provides them an opportunity to grow scientifically and technologically through interacting with the rest of the world. He encouraged scientists and technologists in international meetings, conferences, and other ventures. The Indian Science Congress Association invited many leading scientists from all over the world to its annual meetings. The CSIR and DAE explored the foreign scientific temperament during his period.

Check your Progress :

Assess Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's contribution on Science and Technology in India post-independence.

6.4 JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: ARCHITECT OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Nehru took active interest in international relations during inter-war period between 1918 and 1939. During his early days, he was actively involved in the freedom movement of Ireland; Spain's leftist moment; and influenced by both communist and socialist thought due to his Fabian socialism association since his college days and contacts with the leaders of the Soviet Union in Moscow between 1927 and 1939.

However, post-world war II, and onset of the Cold World War changes his foreign relations orientations out of which during his tenure as prime minister, he took the charge of the portfolio of foreign affairs and started a

structural foreign policy which endowed with current continuity at fundamental level. He was convinced that political contradictions and economic inequalities are universal problems which impact on the entire international community. He was thoughtful not indulging in any value judgement and firm to have India's own political and socio-economic aspirations, based on its own methods to meet objectives. The central aim of his foreign policy was to democratise external relations to make it a prosperous phenomenon. Even before independence, the Indian National Congress actively responded at international politics such as boycott of Japanese goods against its aggression on China, sending a medical mission to China under Dr. Kotnis; visit of Nehru in China in 1939 and many more. He was continuously advocated for educating Indian public opinion to work for the freedom of the world and for the peace of the world. He was well aware of the fact that India's geographical size, the demographic, and natural resources of India and its geostrategic location put India in a strategic position in Asia and the world. While formulating India's foreign policy, he was of the view to form its basis of Indian influence which rooted in commitment to democracy predicted on safeguarding diversity and individual freedom. Considering the rich history of nation, Nehru had an aspiration to position India as a catalyst to establish as a country which advocates peace and cooperation all over the globe. India must be respected not only in terms of its economic or political strength but also in terms of its historical and civilisational orientations of socio-economic, political, and cultural values. India was determined to play a role in international affairs to eradicate imperialism, colonialism, and all forms of discrimination.

As India's prime minister and Foreign Minister, India provided support to Indonesia, South-East Asian countries to support liberation struggles and oppose all forms of external domination.

After becoming a free nation's prime minister, Nehru's foreign policy was as follows: -

- India played a leading role in first creating the Afro-Asian collectively to the Bandung conference in 1955 which ultimately evolved into the Non-Aligned Movement in 1962, with Panchsheel policy under which India decided neither to be anyone's foe or ally.
- As a result, India played a pioneering role against colonialism and racial discrimination. India also had a leading and influential voice at the United Nations and other multi-lateral forums.
- The period between 1956 and 1962 was a watershed in the evolution of the Nehruvian world view. That was the time when France, England, and Israel invaded Egypt and captured the Suez Canal in 1956. India opposed the invasion of the Suez Canal and supported the Egyptian government. Nehru visited the Soviet Union, marking the beginning of the close political, technological and defence cooperation. They had also given categorical and unqualified support to India on the Kashmir issue which led India to not to be over critical

of the Soviet intervention, in Hungary. The proximity of Pakistan with the United States and signing to a bilateral defence cooperation agreement raised awareness of the non-moral, political, strategic and security considerations which had an impact on international relations. The United Nations, under the influence of the United States did not decide on Kashmir issue based on the complaint made by India which shattered Nehru's the idealistic world view.

- During the period from 1956 to 1962, was another development which strained relations between India and China when Chinese built the road across Aksai Chin in Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir, and started claiming large parts of Indian territory on the Chinese border, particularly in the north-east in Arunachal Pradesh. This led to Nehru's disappointment, especially in the context of his agreement to the restoration of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. The Sino-Indian war of 1962 was a huge blow on Nehru's ideological and intellectual foreign policy. Nehru, in his writings between 1962 and 1964, realised his mistakes and came of the view that India's interests cannot be safeguarded purely on the basis of India's moral influence and idealistic approach to international relations. He later understood the power of military strength and consider it an essential policy for nation's strength. During the time of his death in 1964, he was disappointed and disillusioned.
- After the death of Nehru, India faced a certain amount of domestic uncertainty and found herself in a more complex and tense international environment. India was left in an atmosphere of tension and ferment in both regional and global relations, which Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi had to deal in the decade of the 60s and the 70s.

Check Your Progress :

Critically analyse the Nehru's foreign policy and its impact on nation?

6.5 NEHRU'S DEFENCE POLICY; INTERNATIONAL LAW AND RELATIONS

Nehru's defence policy could be analysed while understanding his view of the world and world view. He had a very good understanding of the foreign affairs and was able to analyse positioning of India which was ultimately connected to its neighbours and have the resources and capacity to stand on its own feet. Before independence, he also correctly interpreted the developing bipolarity in the international system. Therefore, he was clear from that time only to follow the policy of non-alignment. The policy of non-alignment was a sensible policy for India. It helped India to get the PL-480 aid from the US, arms and equipment supplies from UK, US, and France and atoms for peace resistance from the US throughout the 1950s. The strenght of the Indian Army rose from 280,000 to 5,50,000 during his 17 years of stewardship. The entire Indian Navy and Air Force were built up during that time. During in his period, 14 destroyers and

frigates, 2 cruisers and one air-craft carrier were acquired. The Air Force expanded from 7 to 18 combat squadrons. Apart from these, many other aircrafts were produced in India including 236 vampire aircraft for the Air force from UK 104 Toofani Aircraft from France, and 182 Hunter fighter bombers from UK. He started the development of the first Indian supersonic aircraft in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory, in Bangalore. He also focused to build Navy and purchased 180 Sherman tanks from US in the early 50s for the army. Additionally, the required weapons were purchased from other countries also, like Sweden, France, and other parts of the world. However, his assessment and disappointment arose critically when the relations between neighbouring countries became sour and problems started on surface. National security in Nehru's world was less complicated. Today, there are multiple challenges in dealing with the defence policy.

To make sure that India stands with its strategic move, after independence, he called the Asian Relations conference for unity and collaboration against the European imperialism. Two years later, he organised another emergency conference of Asian states in Delhi to bring pressure upon the Dutch and the United Nations and supported Indonesia independence. Nehru as an idealist also waited for 14 long years to liberate Goa from the Portuguese. But when there was no ray of hope, India used minimal force on 17 December 1961 to vacate Portuguese from Goa.

Thus, India during the period of Nehru acted more or less as a spokesperson for the newly independent countries. Many African and Asian states (post-independence), had a desire to join the United Nations as sovereign and equal members of the international community. Nehru believed in universal membership of the United Nations. However, due to the Cold War tension, both the power blocs stopped the entry of various states to the United Nations as they were suspecting of their affiliations. During the visit of Chairman Krushchev and Prime Minister Bulganin of the Soviet Union, Nehru disagreed with the Soviet veto on the admission of eighteen countries to the United Nations. Considering India's importance, Soviet leaders agreed to withdraw the Soviet veto and permit the entry of all except Mongolia and Japan. It is praiseworthy to note that after 1955, almost every country of Asia, Africa and other parts of the world became the members of the United Nations. These countries came together and form a consortium within the United Nations, "Group of 77". This international forum provided them an opportunity and scope for concerted action, enhanced their power, and helped them to pursue their purpose.

Check your Progress :

Study in brief Nehru's defence policy and international relations.

6.6 NEHRU AND SECULARISM

Bhiku Parekh observed that Nehru was secular in terms of his view of the world and relation between the state and religion. He was an agnostic. He

differentiated between religious way of thinking and institutionalised religion. For him, there was no god other than humanity and no religion other than social service. Thus, in sum up, it could be stated that Nehru visioned a secular state which pursues secular interests and takes decisions on secular grounds along with a spiritual and moral dimension. The national motto, “Satyameva Jayate” expressed its belief in the ultimate triumph of good over evil, and the consequent aspiration that the Indian state should base its actions on moral norms rather than the traditional doctrine of statecraft. The wheel of the Indian flag depicts the righteousness, and three lions carry a deep cultural meaning. The national anthem *Vandemataram* has a profound spiritual significance. The composition of national anthem in Bengali elaborates the diverse, natural, and ethnic landscape and India’s destiny to be a supreme power (*Bharat Bhagya Vidhata*). The secular outlook was very well summarised in the constitution of India, which proclaimed and restored the dignity of human life and provided all its individual with a sense of dignity and self-expression.

6.7 NEHRU AND EDUCATION IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

Suma Chitnis (2003) observed that India’s education system is the largest and has technically and professionally trained manpower. India has made advances in industry, and technology in many fields. India has an excellent reputation and track record as technologists and professionals in various fields all over the world. The constitution of India promises for universal elementary education to all children up to the age of 14 alongwith facilities for school and university education, with a commitment of a welfare state. Further, to make sure that the education should reach to the disadvantaged communities, the Indian government adopted a policy of reservation and quota for admission at all state funded institutions for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Apart from these, the setting up of IIMs, IITs, national level research institutions, and progress in science and technology were all the efforts undertaken during Nehru’s tenure. Though, the pioneer who explored the idea of setting up these institutions were different such as, IITs were conceived in the 1940s by the Sarkar Committee (1946), and the recommendations were accepted by Sir Ardeshir Dalal. It was in the period of Nehru, a special act of Parliament (1961), amended in 1963, which was expected to provide scientists and technologists of the higher calibre to engage in research, design and development to help the nation towards self-reliance in its technological needs. Also, the initial stages of the educational development with the collaborations of some of the foremost institutions in the USSR (Bombay), Germany (Madras), USA (Kanpur), and UK (Delhi). The TIFR conceived by Dr. Homi Bhabha, was set up in 1945 with the help of a massive grant from the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust. For its subsequent growth, it owed a great deal to Pandit Nehru. He encouraged Dr. Bhabha and provided him with all the help required. The quality of scientists, infrastructure, and capabilities are generally the product of these apex institutions. The contribution of Pandit Nehru is immense for raising

such institutions for India's growth and development. However, there are also stark contrast in terms of his achievements, such as failure of universal elementary education in 1961 as promised, reducing expenditure on elementary school education and increased expenditure on higher education. During the first five-year plan (1951-56), the expenditure on elementary school education constituted 56 % of the Government's total expenditure, as compared to university education which was only 9 %. However, during the second plan period (1956-61), the expenditure on school education dropped to 35 % and higher education doubled up to 18%. Even, in the third plan period (1961-66), the expenditure on elementary school education again dropped slightly, up to 34 %. These statistics proved that the elementary education suffered a lot during his tenure as he was either not advised properly by his team members or he was highly ambitious to expand facilities for higher education. It was only after the World Bank studies that the task for universalisation of primary education was taken up seriously, as it was found absolutely critical to economic and social development of the country. The finding of these studies also highlighted that the schooling for people have a highly positive impact on the receptivity of programs that aimed for community development, birth control, and addressing other diseases. In 1961, Theodore Schultz conducted interesting research on the concept of human capital and education as an instrument for human capital formation. The study revealed the importance of primary education, in shaping child's development and social perspective.

Pandit Nehru was a committed socialist, but the perception of the Government or the bureaucracy that spoke for the Government, appears to be very middle and upper class. It was further studied that during 1964, the urban aspirations for young children created dissatisfaction for village life. The mushrooming of education at that point of time was not aligned with philosophically and ideological principles. As a social institution, education is sustained by local communities, local markets, local environment, and in the local language. However, it was not reflected in the design of education system in India as it seemed that Pandit Nehru trusted for the tested models from the west, and he believed that education had served as an instrument of colonial government in British India and it would be possible to adapt the education system, inherited from the British regime, to serve independent India. However, amidst all the uncertainties and challenges, it's undeniable that Pandit Nehru's tenure saw the implementation of centralization and state welfarism. His scientific temper, commitment to modernisation and industrialization, and focus on higher education put the country on roadmap for development. However, it had added many challenges in school education.

Check your Progress :

Education in the tenure of Nehru's period was a mix of development and challenges. Do you agree? Discuss.

6.8 NEHRU AS A POLITICAL EXECUTIVE

Nehru, due to his background, was considered as the most important person in the Indian political figure. He was a well-known internationalist, an expert in foreign affairs, a mass leader, an intellectual, and an accomplished author in English language. When he became the vice president and member in charge of the External Affairs of the Interim government in November 1946, he with his team, started working on various aspects building a free India. On 15th August 1947, he became the first prime minister of India till 1964. The first few years after independence, politically and internally, India was going through the turbulent phase. The impact of partition, and rehabilitation of people was a daunting task. Country has seen a major bloodshed rather than peace and admiration. At the age of Nehru 58, was determined to work for free India, with his fellow workers. The key features of administrative context of his phase have been visualised in three broad categories : structural, political, and social (Pradhan R. D. p.531). We shall analyse these one by one.

- Structurally post-independence, the administrative apparatus got suffered in terms of both quantity and quality. The number of trained Indian Civil Service officers due to partition and shifting to the U.K and Pakistan, integration of princely states, was a major serious challenge in the country.
- Politically to align the bureaucracy with effective political and stable leadership is crucial for understanding meaningful policy initiatives.
- Socially, was required for a new policy initiative, establishing the planning commission, framework of the community development programme and scientific infrastructure of national laboratories. Other than this, the focus was also to fulfil the social reforms and the status of women.

On the official invitation of Government of India under Nehru, Dr. Paul Appleby, an American scholar and expert on public administration, visited India in 1952. In his first report – “*Public Administration in India – Report of a Survey* (1953),” highlighted the necessity of change in terms of the whole outlook and method of administrative apparatus. The cumbersome governmental procedures and lack of fixing responsibility were larger issues to reorganise the administrative structure. Therefore, the focus was to set up a system which would provide an immense benefit to streamline the policy and processes. The setting up of the States Department under Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and administrators on 5th June 1947, took charge of the staff and possession of the political department, residencies and agencies of the states, which later entered into the phase of negotiation and integration.

The philosophy for administration of the north East, which consisted of 100 tribes in Assam province and North East Frontier Agency before independence, was not known much to Nehru. He admitted about his

ignorance honestly, and while writing a foreword to the book written by Dr. Verrier Elwin on NEFA, he mentioned that these “states people should not be treated as anthropological specimens for study and allowed to be with masses of Indian humanity.” His philosophy for the administration of the north east as follows quote, “in the world of today, it is not possible or desirable to allow mass to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. Development in various ways there has to be, such as communication, medical facilities, education and better agriculture. This development could be developed based on the following five principles: *encouraging people’s own tradition arts and culture; respect of tribal rights in lands and forests; providing training and building up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development; avoid over administering and work in togetherness to maintain their own social and cultural institutions.*

Thus, in spite of numerous challenges, Nehru kept on working relentlessly in the system after the colonial era and gave constitutional protection to the citizens. The institutionalisation of All India and Central Services was an attempt to set up a new role by defining attitudinal and behavioural changes on the part of the administrators. He also provided the new institutional structures which have truly added value to the Indian bureaucratic system and its people.

Check your Progress :

Analyse in brief Nehru’s role as a political executive.

6.9 IMPACT ON NATIONAL LIFE

As critically observed, Nehru’s scientific policy’s impact on national life helped nation to be self-reliance; created highly sophisticated infrastructure, emphasized on public sector in respect of core industries, developed atomic energy in space science and technology, a clearly stated of the rights and responsibilities of scientists, recognized science and technology as agents of social, economic, and political transformation and promoted peace, and recognized the importance of fundamental research.

As it was assessed by P.M. Bhargava in his article wherein, he mentioned that Nehru’s undeniable and genuine commitment to science and technology should be seen in totality, which he successfully translated into action in the underprivileged country which faced multiple challenges in post-independence. However, it is praiseworthy to note that in spite of all the nation’s challenges, he led each and every aspect of modern nation successfully.

J. N. Dixit analysed Nehru’s foreign policy, a mixed one which was not very pragmatic but with some merits. Nehru, with his deep love for India and passion for bringing constructive change, engaged his special attention in terms of India’s interests. India stretched its relations from its immediate neighbours, Iran to Central Asia in the north to Burma or Myanmar in the south-east. He strongly believed that stability and well-

being of the states surrounding India are essential for India's security, national consolidation, and economic development. Even though, the nation was surrounded by all the difficult foreign relations such as Afghan and Iranian claims relating to Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province, Pakistan's claims on Jammu and Kashmir, and China's territorial claims against India. After the death of Nehru, India faced domestic uncertainty to some extent and found itself in a more complex and tense international environment.

R. P. Anand analysed Nehru as an architect of India's foreign policy, who helped tremendously to set up the international law as a common law which could be applicable to all the world wide community of states. His foreign policy and international law impact could be seen while representing the Asian-African countries, which modified, and codified international law for the 21st century. His international relations, though, to some extent, had given a major blow, due to his tremendous leadership, India played a very active role at international level gained got importance, influencing major changes.

Nehru, in his *Discovery of India*, narrated his quest secular pilgrim and aspirations of the soul of India. He briefly wrote about the rise, decline, and resurgence of the Indian spirit and stressed the importance of fighting poverty, dogmatism, superstitions etc. In fact, Nehru, in his wish, asked that his ashes should be scattered over Indian soil, so that he become the immortal part of the spirit and body of India.

Pandit Nehru, in spite of being a politician played a crucial role for multiple reasons such as he was a poet, philosopher, dreamer, charmer, a fine freedom fighter etc. during a conference at Bengal in 1928 he spoke about universities which quote, "A university stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for progress, for the adventure of ideas and for search for truth. It stands for the onward march of the human race towards even higher objectives. If the universities discharge their duty adequately, then it is well with the nation and the people. but if the temple of learning itself becomes a home of narrow bigotry and petty objectives, how then will the nation prosper or people grow in stature?" (Chitnis Suma p.235). He further argued that the vast responsibilities rests on universities and educational institutions to set an example for others. Thus, the education system which was set up during his period was an attempt to show the direction to the generations. And citizens, being a member of the society need to conserve, enrich and advance the legacy of education. The tenure of Nehru even if it is criticised widely, the fact it was the time when India saw the emergence of many high capability education system which are still respected and trusted.

Check your Progress :

Do you think, Nehru's contribution in science and technology has positively impacted on national life? Critically assess.

6.10 CONCLUSION

Nehru, who was born both as a European and Indian in terms of modernity, intellectual, and social culture, found his roots in India, or as Indian. His two decades spent in Great Britain and interaction with the European world families familiarised him with the political tradition of his own country and the idea of liberalism became an important part of his personality, as recorded by his biographers. Apart from learning at Cambridge and Harrow, he was also tutored by Ganganath Jha, the Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University in Sanskrit and Hindi. He also taught himself Urdu and Persian. So, the cultural upbringing of Pandit Nehru gave him a secular outlook and political stances, which he took in his life under the mentorship of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi who was his mentor in many directions. Though, in some extent, they had differences of opinion. However, Nehru admired him immensely and followed his footsteps during nation's struggle for independence.

Thus, when we talk about science and technology which govern our lifestyle in the present country, such as space, computers, microelectronics, automation, robotics, material science, information technology, modern biology, biotechnology, and astrophysics. Out of these, computers, robotics, automation and information technology were yet to come in his period.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a great statesman and the able spokesman of the newly independent Asian and African countries. As *Churchill* thought of him with the phrase “**The Light of Asia**”, who could give India the lead in the realm of thought, freedom and dignity of the individual as the ideal. His idea of secularism provided great value liberty and equality, aiming to ensure political stability and unity in a multi religious society. However, his model of secularism had its limits and failed to appreciate the legitimate public role of religion. Therefore, there is no doubt that Nehru's secularism, while attempting to broaden and deepen the affinity with nations has certain limitations which have been critically examined due to certain relaxation for other religions.

Pandit Nehru was the first statesman of the country, a person who was exhausted by decades of fighting for a freedom and partition, and saw the past with turbulent phases was no less than a warrior. Though, today we are mostly remembering him for his tenure as a prime minister, it is an evident fact that he was a key member of the magnificent team that led the freedom movement in India against the British colonial rule.

6.11 SUMMARY

The history of India is always divided into multiple phases and gave due credits to its changemakers. The Gandhian generation, who played a crucial role in post-independence always remembered while shaping the early destiny of the nation. However, post - independence, Indian history was broadly start with the Nehru phase, following the various policies, and process as Nehru generation.

Nehru, was an introvert and extrovert. He was fond of writing and had almost written 300 plus letters during his tenure. He used to invite people over breakfast and shared his vision of India, a fascinating one. Nehru had left an indelible mark on almost every aspect of national life. He had his own limitations and weaknesses too. However, it is still interesting to observe about the contribution in free India and building of new India with pride and gratitude.

In totality, if we observe his contribution and impact on national life, then there are many things to be put on record, which are as follows: -

- As a true nationalist, his love for India was reflected in his ardent involvement in the freedom movement. In his last *Will and Testament*, he wrote as, “*if any people choose to think of me, then I would like them to say this was a man, who, with all his mind and heart, loved India and the Indian people and they, in turn, were indulgent to him and gave him of their love most abundantly and extravagantly.* (Karan Singh, p.551). He was arrested nine times and spent almost nine years in the British jails. He was a symbol of youth aspirations and creative revolutionism. He was always fascinated by the modern outlook and his international exposure gave him a broader outlook to work in the freedom struggle under Gandhiji’s leadership. Though, he did not always agree with Gandhi’s philosophy and decisions, however, he had an immense trust and faith in him. Later on, he became more spiritually mature, and his writings and speeches also aligned more closely with Gandhiji himself.
- Political Ideologist, Nehru articulated the four goals of the freedom movement which are: Democracy; Social Transformation; economic emancipation and secularism.

Thus, to sum up, Jawaharlal Nehru was the prime minister of India for 17 years, and worked day and night for India’s growth. The map of India was continuously transformed and evolved during his tenure. In his 17 long years of prime ministership, he witnessed the transformation of India’s map and multiple demarcation of boundaries. It was not only a difficult but an impossible task to maintain peace and integrity at internal and external level. It was Sardar Patel’s contribution to the integration of Indian states but there was no doubt that it was Nehru, as Prime Minister, laid the foundations for the administrative and constitutional structures of free India. He constantly travelled from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Gujrat to NEFA or Arunachal Pradesh. He worked for national integration and unity as an able administrator. While performing his duty as an Indian, he also focused the global outlook and positioning of India as a leader. He spearheaded the anti-colonial movement and called Asian-Relations Conference in 1947, the Bandung Conference in 1955, and the Belgrade Conference in 1961. He was also founder of the Non-Aligned Movement along with the President Tito of Yugoslavia and President Nasser of Egypt. Though, he was criticised greatly due to his policy of the non-aligned movement, however, considering the situation in that juncture, it would be analysed that especially at that time, there was no point for a

newly freed country like India to line up with any of the world powers. He was assured that nothing could be achieved with confrontations except death and destruction.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru:
Contribution to The
National Life and Impact
on The Nation

Nehru, as a versatile personality was also a great writer. His books, ‘*The Discovery of India*’ his ‘*Autobiography*’ and the ‘*Letters from a Father to his daughter*’ are not just the books but a series of events, incidents, experiences, and lessons to learn. He was a fond of writing. He had also written letters to the Chief Ministers every fortnight. His letters a variety of information which talked about his impressions, experiences, and thoughts on a wide spectrum and variety of subjects.

Nehru’s leadership was characterized by openness and connection with people. He had a transparent integrity and had a deep election for children. He was a person of trust and faith and expected the same with the people to whom he trusted. However, his openness and blind trust on the people deceived him in the hard times due to which, many decisions which he had taken for the nation’s benefit went wrong and left many unresolved situations in lifetimes. For insters, the angoing conflict in Kashmir was partly a result of his impatient and misjudgment of his allies.

Nehru was aptly summarised in Mark Antony’s words regarding Brutus:

“His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that nature might stand up, and say all to the world -this was a man.”

6.12 QUESTIONS

- 1) Do you agree that Nehru’s made an immense contribution to National Life? Analyse and discuss.
- 2) Nehru had a mixed culture and tradition which played an important for shaping his mind and intellect. Narrate in brief the major incident and philosophy of his life for India.
- 3) Elaborate the Nehru’s foreign policy and non-aligned Movement.
- 4) Discuss the contribution of Nehru in the field of education, science and technology.

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MRS. INDIRA GANDHI: EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Unit Structure :

- 7.1 Objectives
- 7.2 Introduction
- 7.3 Early life Before Marriage
- 7.4 Early life after marriage
- 7.5 Education
- 7.6 Persons who influenced her in early life
- 7.7 Important Events that shaped her early life
- 7.8 Summary
- 7.9 Questions
- 7.10 Additional Reading

7.1 OBJECTIVES

- Understand the life and contributions of the famous leaders of India.
- Understand the early life of Late Mrs Indira Gandhi, i.e., her life prior to her joining in politics
- Understand the upbringing of Late Mrs Indira Gandhi.
- Know about the education of Late Mrs Indira Gandhi.
- Know about the important persons in her life and their influence on her.
- Know about the important events of Late Mrs Indira Gandhi.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Late Mrs. Indira Gandhi was one of the most influential leaders that the India has witnessed and one of the most incredible political figures in the world. She led the country as a third prime minister of India and till date as a first woman to become a Prime Minister of India. She took the position of Prime Minister at the time when India had suddenly gone in a politically void situation due to sudden demise of Shree Lal Bahadur Shastri. Her tenure as a Prime Minister of India was also a formulating time for the country. Precisely thus Smt. Indira Gandhi was the founding leader of India.

In present context, the reference of Mrs Indira Gandhi is mentioned worthy for three genuine reasons- first she is a good example of gender

equality. In present scenario, gender equality is a grave concern. After 75 years of India's independence, birth of a girl child is an unwelcoming social event. In such case, Indira Gandhi serves a good example of gender equality. It is also note worthy that the time of Indira Gandhi was remarkably an inception period for women to take part in political arena. Second, she is a remarkable leader of India. During her regime as a Prime Minister of India, she took some of the phenomenal and bold steps which gave substantial and unprecedented change in the country. And Third, as a person she was a strong, determined lady, who took bold decisions during her tenure that's why she is popularly known as "Iron lady of India".

Indira Gandhi is quite genuine personality to study for understanding the growth and development of India because the time when she accepted the responsibility of Prime - ministership, was a premature formulative period for the nation. Consequently, she played vital role in nation building and making it stronger. With these remarks, the study of Indira Gandhi's early life is valuable so that one can better understand her exceptional personality by knowing her childhood, upbringing, and education. In present context, the early life of Late Mrs Indira Gandhi denotes to her life before her joining in the Indian politics. Secondly, it is interesting to note down the early life of Indira Gandhi with an aim to understand character-building phase of her life because this is when she circumstantially developed leadership and decision-making qualities. Besides that, she got favourable environment to understand the attributes of India as well as aspiration and requirements of people.

Indeed, the study of her early life is more relevant from the perspective of history and political science because she represents an era of national freedom movement and independent India too. Further, she belongs to prominent family of British period who not only took lead in freedom movement but also shaped the structure of freedom movement in many cases.

7.3 EARLY LIFE BEFORE MARRIAGE

Indira Priyadarshini, the name she got after Motilal's mother, Indrani. The second name, "Priyadarshini", means "dear to behold", though she is popularly and admirably known as Indira Gandhi in India and abroad. She was born on 19th November 1917 in Allahabad, in the illustrious and well-known family of India, who took part in national freedom movement. Her grandfather Shree Motilal Nehru was a prominent figure in the freedom movement and was close to Mahatma Gandhi.

Let us talk about the family background of Indira Gandhi because it was in that family environment, she received lesson of leadership. Like any other child, she did not haveb an ordinary childhood because she belonged to most known family of that time. Her grandfather, Motilal Nehru, was wealthy, successful, respected lawyer in Allahabad, (the then capital of North province of British India). He was also prominent Indian

Nationalist and co-founder of the “Swaraj” (a political party). The Nehru family is a prosperous Brahmin family of Kashmiri origin. After the first freedom struggle in 1857 his father Gangadhar, who was serving in the Police administration in Delhi, fled to Agra. After the death of his father, the family settled in Allahabad. Motilal Nehru was not fortunate enough to see his father, and it was his elder brother Nandlal brought him up. As a career Motilal opted for law as a profession and started practising in Allahabad court. Soon, the intelligent, and hardworking Motilal became a well known figure in the legal profession.

To be precise, Motilal’s contribution to the attainment of the family’s reputation and dignity is praiseworthy. In addition to that, his contribution to the national freedom movement is as equally exemplary. He donated his house, “Swaraj” to the Indian National Congress party and shifted to Anand Bhawan. He went to jail many times. Motilal and Swaroopa Rani had three children; Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira’s father was eldest among them. Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi was the only child of Shree Jawaharlal Nehru and Kamla Nehru. Very few know that her mother Kamla Nehru, was as devoted freedom activist like her father Jawaharlal Nehru. She led women’s wing of national freedom movement and contributed to non-cooperation movement, and civil disobedient movement. She was arrested by the British administration twice. Besides, she worked profusely for the social causes, specially for women’s rights, education, and equality.

Due to prevailing conservative sentiments, the birth of a girl child had disappointed the Nehru family, except Jawaharlal Nehru and Motilal Nehru. Jawaharlal Nehru perceived the birth of his daughter as a leader who brings revolution because the Russian revolution begun in the month of her birth. Even her grandfather once said that she is better than hundred sons.

In fact, the firm belief of both the chief members of Nehru family in gender equality indeed gave a free and gender unbiased environment. From her childhood, she was never excluded from political activities, interaction with visitors, and participation in household activities. Merely at the age of 3, she participated in the Congress meeting with her father and grandfather. In constant touch with nationalist movement, she developed a leadership quality and affection for her country and people.

As the child of pioneer leader of national freedom movement, Indira Gandhi was exposed to ideologies of great political thinkers who laid visionary foundation for India. She grew up in the close affinity with eminent nationalist leaders that naturally induced devotion for the nation. Some of the nationalist leaders had a deep impact on baby Indira Gandhi who were the frequent visitors of Anand Bhawan. Apparently, patriotic feelings were instinctively developed since her childhood. It was the result of her childhood nationalistic fervour and intrinsic leadership quality that she organized “Bal Chakra Sangh”. Through this organization she united her age group children to participate in the freedom movement. In the year 1920 when Mahatma Gandhi called for the Non-Cooperation Movement,

the child Indira was excited for her part in this ambitious and effective Movement. Learning the lesson from her first organization, she sensibly formed a new organization and named it “Vanar Sena.”

It seems that the role of Hanuman and Vanar Sena in the battle between Ram and Ravana had immensely motivated Indira. Consequently, she had organized a children army “Vanar Sena” (Monkey Brigade) for helping the Indian National Congress in the same manner. Vanar Sena of Ramayana helped Ram. Under her leadership, she gathered thousands of children from different schools. Her organization actively took part in the dissemination of the message of Indian National Congress by pasting the posters and banners, distributing leaflets, participating in the rallies, preparing food and sewing flagsetc. Her Vanar Sena had set an example for other children. Soon, Monkey Brigade also formed in Mumbai and other major cities in India.

Apart from her outside world, in family, most of her time was spent with her mother, Kamla Nehru. She hardly had her father’s physical presence due to his endless engagements with National Congress Activities, the national movement, and imprisonment. However, her father never missed any chance to maintain closeness through other means specially letters. The impression of the father - daughter bond, reflects in her life. Her childhood also gives glimpses of childish tender heart of an innocent kid. The imagination of a child, playing with same age children, mischievous innocent acts, and a fantasy world were all that baby Indira enjoyed in her childhood.

Her childhood was full of travel and journey with her parents and grandfather. The summer were always spent in the Himalayas i.e., her ancestral place. She was always accompanied by her father and grandfather in National Congress Session held in various major places of India. For example, she attended National Congress Session in Calcutta in 1928, and in Lahore in 1929. In childhood, she heeded the activities of her parents and family, and as she reached the age of 12, she started taking responsibly of given tasks. During Civil Disobedient Movement in the year 1930 she nursed the injured Satyagrahis in Swaraj Bhawan (the huge house of Nehru family was donated by Motilal for the National movement after the Namak or salt Satyagrah and named it Swaraj Bhawan).

7.4 EARLY LIFE AFTER MARRIAGE

The National Congress Party had played prominent part in Indira’s political career as well as in her personal life. Her close family members in the party and her own participation in the party since her childhood also had a deep impact in her mind and life. To some extent, the National Congress party also played decisive role in material life. It would not be incorrect to say about Indira that her devotion to National Congress Party and her influence towards the ideas and principles of it shaped her liking and disliking. This may also become the major factor for her inclination

towards Feroze Gandhi to whom she married despite family's nonacceptance.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi:
Early Life and Education

Shree Firoze Gandhi was born on September 12, 1912, in a Parsee family in Mumbai. His father was a Marine Engineer who sifted his Children including Firoze to Allahabad for better care under the supervision of her sister Dr. S. H. Commissarait. The early days of Feroz Gandhi not unlike the childhood of Indira Gandhi, specially their contribution in Freedom Movement. However, it was done separately and under different banner by both. Interestingly, due to their one common goal i.e. freedom movement, they came closer. This has also become the reason of their liking, respect, and love for each other.

Firoze Gandhi's personal interest in Freedom movement could not keep him aloof and untouched from the threshold of Anand Bhawan. He became remarkably close to Kamla Nehru. His first interaction happened, during the time of civil disobedience movement when she was Lathi charged by the police and Firoze came to save her and got bitten by the police. This was how the mother-son bonding between Kamla Nehru and Firoze had developed. He was always remained present during of her treatment, whether she was abroad or in India. When Kamla health got critical for the second time, she was admitted to Bhowali Hospital in the year 1932. Indira was called back from Shantiniketan to look after her. Firoze also came there as he was very much attached to Kamla. This was their first interaction with each other.

By February 1936, Kamla moved to Lausanne, Switzerland for better treatment along with Indira and Firoze. Jawaharlal also managed to come to Lausanne. When he reached to London, he received the news of his presidentship of Congress Party. By convincing Kamla, he rushed to India to attend the annual Party meeting. Though her doctors did not advise it, he left for India on 28th February 1936, and on the same day Kamla also took bode for next life in the presence of Indira and Firoze. During their stay in Europe Firoze and Indira came closer but their relationship was initially social and political. Firoze and Indira along with other Indian students returned to India in 1941 due to turbulent global condition with an anticipation of World War II. Slowly, their relation grew more personal and ultimately both were united in matrimony on 26th March 1942. They married in the presence of their family, close relatives, and members of the Congress party. The wedding of Indira Gandhi was sumptuous but without lavishness. She wore pink colour cotton saree woven by the yarn that her father had spun. Unlike traditional Hindu bride, she did not put precious jewellerys but flowers. Just after returning from their honeymoon the national freedom movement had turned to 'do or die situation' and at that moment Mahatma Gandhi had called for Quit India movement. The dreamers of India's freedom, now they were spouses, unitedly worked for the Quit India movement and went to jail in 1942. In 1944, Indira and Firoze had first son Rajiv. They moved to Lucknow in 1945, and next year they had their second son Sanjay. Like any other woman of India, she also faced a difficult situation in life when she had to decide politics over

homemaker life. Because her childhood spent in the uncertainty, and in some cases in neglected circumstances, she tried her best to give time to her children. She spent her family life tactfully by managing her father in Delhi and her own home in Lucknow. Her married life lasted for 18 years, until Firoze died of a severe heart attack on 8th September, 1960.

7.5 EDUCATION

Indira Gandhi was born in an educated family who knew the value of education. She had never been compromised with learning no matter how unfavourably things went. There is no doubt that she raised in an atmosphere where her parents and guardians had no regular routine like normal people. Their active involvement in freedom movement made the family suffer a lot from insecurity and uncertainty. Due to this situation, Indira could not get regular attention and care what she needed as a child from the parents. This situation also disturbed her education.

Motilal sent her to St Cecilia's school in 1924. In school, she felt completely different from other school children due to her apparel which was made of Khadi (hand spun). It was first time she realized that she is different from others. This was also an eye-opening moment for her as she came out from the familiar environment of Anand Bhawan. Soon, she was withdrawn from the school because the British spinsters ran it. Thereafter, she was taught by Indian tutors at home.

For the tuberculosis treatment of her mother, Kamla Nehru, she went to Switzerland with her father. At that time, she was eight-and-half years old. Thus, after education at home by Indian tutors, she got admission in Geneva school. Here the educational standars were high. As a primary student, she supposed to sense surrounding, understand nature, and develop observation, which she sincerely accomplished by preparing project works in the school. They returned to India by the end of 1927, at which point she had to leave her schooling.

Upon returning from Geneva, she got admission in convent of Mary and Jesus in Allahabad, but she was not regular in class due to travelling either with grandfather or father. She usually spent summer season in Nainital with her mother too. At the time of Civil Disobedience Movement, she was mistreated by the nuns and by her classmates. She decided to leave the convent school. Jawaharlal Nehru accepted her decision and made arrangement of her primary education at home through tutors, Pandits-learned Sanskrit scholars who were educated in the Indian tradition. Later, she went to Pupil's Own school in Pune.

Indira was sent to Shantiniketan to learn Indian culture and tradition in 1932. She appeared for entrance test for the admission in Shantiniketan. She secured well in English and French but performed poor in other subjects. She spent only 10 months in Shantiniketan, due to her mother's sickness, she left her studies midway and went back to Anand Bhawan. In

Shantiniketan, she also learnt Manipuri dance. The bouts of illness of her mother led to a long gap in her education. However, she resumed her study shortly after her mother's sad demise in the year 1936 to the school in Switzerland. In 1937, she enrolled in Somerville college of Oxford University where she took admission in department of History. She graduated in History From this college.

Check your Progress :

Q. How did Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru play significant role in the development of Indira Gandhi?

7.6 PERSONS WHO INFLUENCED HER IN EARLY LIFE

The era in which Indira lived was full of nationalist feeling and her family being core national freedom activists, she got enough opportunities to be with renowned leaders of India at that time. Hence, she got, attention and company of many influential personalities of that time. In this context, here is a concise description of some persons whose presence was very crucial in the life of Indira:

1. **Jawaharlal Nehru:** He was the prominent member of Indian National Congress and held crucial position in the Indian National Congress. The time when Indira was born marked the national demand to free India from British rule, and Jawaharlal Nehru's role in political field increased, accordingly. He was busy in rallies, protests, procession, meetings, and spent time in jail. Therefore, Indira almost spent her childhood in the physical absence of her father. However, Jawaharlal nicely filled the void of his absence by letters, gifts, and spending quality time whenever he got the opportunities. Indira Gandhi herself once revealed that the three books of her father viz. '*Discovery of India*', '*Glimpses of World History*' and '*An Autobiography*' have been companions through her life. She also said that Glimpses of world history was written for her. This is quite implicit testimony of love and care of a father towards his daughter.
2. On special occasions, Jawaharlal Nehru had gifted books. Jawaharlal with his caring attitude succeeded to become an ideal father. Indira called her father's love, out of love. Jawaharlal did not miss any moment to be with his family. When she accompanied him in Geneva for the treatment of her mother, he encouraged her to be present in the meeting with Albert Einstein. Jawaharlal also gave permission to join Mr Einstein while visiting Romain Rolland, the French dramatist and novelist. Nehru knew traveling is a good medium of learning , and by this Indira would be able to understand the world view and culture. While returning to India in the year 1927, he took his family to London and Paris. With her childish eyes, she observed and learnt the culture of foreign country. In later days these visits added immense

global cultural knowledge to her. From her childhood Nehru encouraged Indira to read meaningful and thought provoking books.

3. He gave stress on the language learning too that's why when she did not want to learn Sanskrit language due to its no use and preferred to learn Urdu language, he advised her to learn both. In doing so he appointed a Pandit for teaching Sanskrit language.
4. **Kamla Nehru:** like any other girl child in India, Indira was deeply attached with Kamla Nehru. Her participation in National Congress and her leadership among the women had a deep impact on Indira. From her mother she learnt the managerial ability of balancing the household and national duties. Her mother was the first person from whom she got inspiration to take part in politics. Indira Gandhi travelled with her parents and spent most of her childhood with Kamla Nehru. She spent a prolonged period of her childhood with her mother because her father was either busy with national movement activities or in jail. She was accompanied by her mother either to Kashmir, Nainital or Mussoorie in every summer season. After the death of her grandfather, Indira travelled to Sri Lanka with her parents. It was a memorable time of her childhood because after a long wait she got chance to be with them for two months.
5. Her mother was a traditional Hindu homemaker who remained obedient to her husband's family. She brought up in the entirely different environment from her husband which created difficulties for her to adjust. Her relationship with her mother-in-law and sister-in-law were not good which affected baby Indira too. But in such situation, she learned mastering over her emotions. Kamla Nehru never compromised with the motherly duties towards Indira Gandhi. She was concerned for her education, health, and absence of Jawaharlal Nehru.
6. **Motilal Nehru:** Motilal Nehru was the next person from whom she got fatherly affection. As a barrister, he held a high place in society. After coming into contact with Mahatma Gandhi, he gave up his legal practise, and fully devoted himself in the National Movement. He was a hardworking, strong willed, and a dogmatic person. His influential personality deeply touched Indira Gandhi. She equally received love and care from father and grandfather. Once, her grandfather gifted a small Charkha (spinning wheel). With the Charkha, she not only learnt to spin but also gathered children and organized Bal Charkha Sangh.
7. She got immense fondness from her grandfather. He protected and listened to her childish problems when she was scolded by her parents. This is how Motilal enjoyed the childhood of Indira, and at the same time Indira received unconditional love from him. Motilal stood as a firm pillar for her support. On her birth, he convinced his wife Swaroop Rani with these words, "This daughter of Jawahar, for all we know, may prove better than thousand sons."
8. **Mahatma Gandhi:** Mahatma Gandhi had on immense influence in Nehru family. Personally, Indira got chance to be close to Mahatma

Gandhi while she was in Pune for her schooling. When Jawaharlal and Gandhi were arrested in January 1932, during the second launch of Civil Disobedience movement, Indira with her cousins visited Gandhiji Yeravada prison. Indira was the fortunate person who by offering juice to Gandhi ended the fasting which Gandhi had observed against the British announcement of arranging a separate electorate for the Harijans. According to Gandhi, a separate electorate would not abolish untouchability. Gandhi's fasting deeply influenced Indira. Through this incident and close observation of Gandhi's action's she understood the power of passive resistance.

7.7 IMPORTANT EVENTS OF HER EARLY LIFE

The life of Indira Nehru Gandhi was full of happenings. The early life of Indira Gandhi was weaved with the eventful threads of National movement, world's historical incidents, and with her own innocent childhood, during which she had grown with progressive ideas. In one of the letters from her father on her 13th birthday, he wrote that the very year, she was born when the February and March Revolution in Russia begun that resulted the abdication of Tsar and the end of nearly 500 years old autocratic rule. In view of Jawaharlal, his daughter would grow up amid another revolution. Although, this incident was not directly influence her, it indicates that she was born in the revolutionary period when the whole humankind was politically shifting from monarchical and autocratic ideology to socialist, communist, and democratic principles. It was also the time when the rational and liberal world of nineteenth century and early twentieth century was fading away.

The period of Civil Disobedience Movement was a milestone of her life. At that movement she was only 12 years old hence she was not eligible for the membership of National Congress party but her determination to work for the party resulted in the formation of the Vanar Sena (Monkey Brigade) in which she motivated the children of the age between 5 to 15 years to join the group for national movement. This event made Indira more confident, self-reliant, independent, and responsible.

During the launch of non-cooperation movement in the year 1920, Gandhi called for self-rule (Swaraj). With the beginning of this movement people boycotted foreign things. The Nehru family also lit a bonfire and destroyed their foreign belongings. At that times Indira was merely three years old, but she threw her most favourite toy, i.e., a foreign doll on fire.

Indira went to Geneva, where she took admission in the school which required commuting regularly, four times a day by tram ride and bus ride. Initially she, was accompanied by her father, but it was a time and energy-consuming affair. Ultimately, little Indira at the age of eight years, started going to school by her own. This had developed self-dependence and fearlessness in her.

During studying in Somerville college, she involved in world political activities. This is what her father wanted from her to be always active in sociopolitical causes. She applied the passive protest that she learnt from Mahatma Gandhi in India. She boycotted the Japanese goods when Japan attacked China. She also auctioned her bracelet to raise money for the medical aid for China. Her involvement in such activities improved her leadership qualities and understanding towards world politics.

The death of her grandfather on 6th February 1931 was another most important incident of her life. This was her first experience of understanding about the sorrow of someone's death. She felt grieved because his departure made her insecure and lonely. As, she usually got validation from her grandfather on her opinions, demands, and requests. This special bonding of protection and support had gone with the departure of Motilal Nehru.

Check your Progress :

Q. Discuss the educational life of Indira Gandhi.

7.8 SUMMARY

The early life of Indira Gandhi was not like a typical childhood. She was the only child of Jawaharlal Nehru and the sole successor of Nehru family, along with the pressure of fulfilling both, their aspirations made her childhood uncommon. She got all the luxurious and aristocratic living facilities that a child could dream of. But these facilities came with the payment of price in the form of loneliness, uncertainty, and without the presence of father. Surprisingly, Indira Gandhi instead of blaming the situation, used it for her self-growth. It seems that her birth was meant to serve the country, or this was what her father wanted from her, as an obedient child she followed all the directions of her father. Thought of her childhood, she had been strongly associated with the freedom movement and leaders of the congress. Such patriotic environment determined her destiny to serve the country.

7.9 QUESTIONS

- 1) What was the role of Kamla Nehru in the life of Indira Gandhi?
- 2) How did Indira Gandhi contributed to the Indian National Congress in her childhood?
- 3) Discuss the role of Mahatma Gandhi in the early life of Indira Gandhi.
- 4) How did Jawaharlal Nehru performed his fatherly duty even staying away from family?

7.10 ADDITIONAL READING

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Early Life and Education

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MRS. INDIRA GANDHI: CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL LIFE AND IMPACT ON THE NATION

Unit Structure :

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8.1 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the political journey of Indira Gandhi
- To understand the political condition of India during the regime of Indira Gandhi
- To understand the contribution of Indira Gandhi in the nation building of India
- To understand the major policies and schemes that implemented during the time of Indira Gandhi
- To understand Mrs Indira Gandhi through her decisions, actions and works that she imparted in her political career.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

After a prolonged freedom movement, chiefly led by the “Indian National Congress Party from 1885 to 1947, India finally got its sovereign independent status on 15th August 1947. To get complete freedom from the British rule was the only aim of the congress party, but as soon as the Congress got success, they confronted with major challenges pertaining to socio-economic problems. Despite these problems, the country immediately needed to frame political structure by which the country would function. Unification of India, formation of constitution, consolidation of tribes and backward classes, establishment of educational

research institutions, formation of policies, etc., were the major challenges of the ruling party of India. Luckily, India was having quite visionary, efficient, and knowledgeable leaders who were not only aware of global politics but also understood the realities and needs of the country. Being the founding members of the ruling party of the country, they had good number of responsibilities which they readily accepted and tried to solve it.

At this background the participation of Indira Gandhi was quite noticeable and prominent. She was not in a position to share the responsibility of nation building directly but her presence in the team, aiding her father, contributing to the common problems were some of the major works in which she was involved, just after the independence of India.

Before discussing on the contribution of Indira Gandhi in national life, as a prime minister and her role in the government of India, it is pertinent to talk about her involvement in the last phase of freedom struggle movement because by that time she completed her studies from Somerville college, Oxford University and had again experience from her early life, leading from her elders, made her matured enough to take her decisions for the betterment of the nation. It was also noticed that her views on global politics and opinion on national concerns were very much, her self-creativity that sometimes differ from her father. Ironically, her closeness with her father never build pressure on her on making her own views on major issues. Like at the time of World War-II she confidently attributed British for the winter war in March 1940 between Soviet Union and Finland. According to her it was eight years of British foreign policy and Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (this pact was signed between Russia and Germany on which they agreed on non-aggression and strict division of the boundary between two nations) were responsible for the war. However, in “National Herald” newspaper, Jawaharlal Nehru blamed to Russia and showed sympathetic view upon Finland. Her personal views on global politics demonstrated her maturity, confidence, analytical skill, and thoughtfulness. Indeed, these important qualities made her a better state woman and political leader.

The last few years before India’s independence was very crucial for the personal life of Indira as she was the daughter of Jawaharlal, who was the chief figure and a second most popular leader of India after Gandhi. In that respect her contribution in freedom movement was unavoidable. Further after the death of her mother on 28th February 1936, Jawaharlal needed emotional support of his family. Therefore, upon returning to India from England in 1941, she first joined the congress party, which she had wanted to do but couldn’t, until then due to her minor age. Her imperative role in the Quit India movement resulted in the imprisonment of her along with her husband Feroze Gandhi in September 1942, from which she was released after 8 months, in April 1943. Her imprisonment was like a traditional ceremony for her family because all the people she knew had been imprisoned at least once in their lifetime. Her experience in jail also added some learning experiences. She got an opportunity to see closely,

what people view and hope from their leaders. She also learnt the plights of people who are struggling for basic needs. However, she did not miss to use the imprisoned life for her self-development and spared time for reading and writing.

8.3 POLITICAL JOURNEY OF INDIRA GANDHI DURING THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The presence of Indira Gandhi in the political sphere of independent India was noticeable and self-gained. Undoubtedly, her exposure to Jawaharlal Nehru's influence allowed her to explore her hidden qualities but that would be half-truth about her. In fact, her gradual development in political achievements were not solely due to her father but she herself endeavoured for it. After the death of her husband, she was quite clear about her role in future. Therefore, she took the regime of Jawaharlal's Prime Ministership as a gifted opportunity to learn the lesson of politics, diplomacy, statesmanship and so on.

Just after the independence, India had witnessed one of the most unprecedented even to the partition of a nation. In a human history India and the newly formed country Pakistan had seen excruciating migrations of people. The partition was marked by massacre, looting, communal disturbance, dissatisfaction, and fear among the effected people. Indira was very much touched by the plight of refugees who were arriving daily to Delhi. She ensured shelters for every refuge. She visited camp to camp to ensure they receive proper care and services. Indira's compassionate nature as a social remained evident even when she was in power.

After India gained independence, Indira did not immediately move to politics. However, it was also true about her that she kept herself engaged with the welfare of the society and at the same time assisting to her father. At Teen Murti Bhawan, at the official residence of Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira was requested by her father to manage the household affairs. During India's first general election in 1951, she was requested by her close ones to join the Parliament, but she politely denied the proposal on the ground that her children are minor and her presence at home is more important than joining the Parliament. Her decision on personal matters specially towards her children indicates that she as a woman wanted to prioritize her family first than her career. At this point, she never ignored her duties as a daughter and as a member of Congress party. She did not completely remain absent from the activities of the Congress party. Even though, she did not go for general election in the year 1951, but she made campaign for her father. She also kept herself busy in social work. The establishment of "Bal Bhawan," a care centre for poor children of Delhi is one of the remarkable contributions of Indira Gandhi in social work. She held various positions which were associated with social work, like, as Vice Chairman of Social Welfare Board, President of Indian Council for Child

Welfare, and Vice President of the International Council for Child Welfare.

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As time passed, the participation of Indira became multifaceted. Slowly but steadily, she involved herself in the inner working of the party. Whether the task was big or small, she never hesitated to contribute to the party. Her role in the party incredibly increased that clearly demonstrate her capabilities, popularity, and charisma. She became the member of the Congress Working Committee, the highest policy making body of the Congress Party. This new responsibility in the party was given to her by the top-ranked party members. In 1957, she was elected to Congress Central Election Committee, and the next year, she was appointed as a member of the Central Parliamentary Board of Congress. She was appointed as a Chairperson, National Integrated Council of AICC (All India Congress Committee), the President of All India Youth Congress, and Women's Wing of AICC, in 1956. The party members were happy with her performance and ability. Thus, she was rewarded with the offer of Presidentship of Indian National Congress, in 1958. Next year, she was officially elected the President of Indian National Congress. Indira, as the President of INC wielded more power and responsibility than her father because it was a ruling party of independent India. It is implicit that she was familiar with the political equation of every state of India. and weakness and strength of the party in the face of opposition political party. All these information helped her a lot when she became the Prime Minister of India. The chronology of Indira's political career reveals that she initially took the political responsibility within her own political party. It seems that she never showed impatience for power but allowed, her political career to develop gradually by taking responsibilities from small to big, from team work to individual work, and from group decision to self-decision.

By the end of 1960 she had achieved a commanding position in the Indian National Congress. It was a right time for her to expand her service to India. Apparently, in 1964, she became the minister of Information and Broadcasting a position that she held till 1966. On 19th January, 1966, she was appointed next Prime Minister of India after the sudden death of Lal Bahadur Shastri on 11th January 1966, with no surprise Indira won to be the next Prime Minister by gaining 355 votes against Morarji Desai's 169.

8.4 INDIRA GANDHI BECOMING THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

The political career of Indira Gandhi was similar to her early childhood as far as, the uncertainty is concerned. Despite these uncertainly, she strongly stabilised herself as a future leadership in Indian politics. By that time, Jawaharlal was also getting older and relying more on Indira. On the other side, Firoze Gandhi reverted in the political arena, and his political graph was suddenly raised. At this point, it seems that Indira was standing at the crossroad with three options pursue her own career, support her husband,

and to assist her father by serving the Congress party. Indeed, after the presidential term of Congress party was about to complete, she requested her father for a break. Meanwhile, the untimely death of Firoze Gandhi on September 8, 1960, changed the whole story of Indira's life, as she had wanted to support the political career of her husband. It was also a disappointing part of her life that due to unhealthy condition, she stayed with Nehru and accompanied him in every important event till his death. In the US visit of Nehru in 1961, Indira was with him.

At this background, she wanted to quit from the political life and to settle in London. But the circumstances had offered for which Indira was willingly not prepared. Despite her inner desire to retire from politics, the members, and political friends started presuming her as the successor of Nehru. This presumption got more strength when Nehru got heart stroke at annual Congress session on January 8th, 1964. But she shocked many when she had sidelined herself from the race of Prime Ministership after the death of her father on May 27, 1964. She left the decision of Nehru's successor to the party. At that time the Congress Working Committee, got three names. Morarji Desai, Gulzarilal Nanda, and Lal Bahadur Shastri. Among them the candidature of Morarji Desai was most expected since he was the senior and a seasoned administrator of the party. On the other hand, Shastri had exceptionally longer ministerial career and party membership and was very close to Nehru. The unanimous decision by the Congress Working Committee finally chosen Lal Bahadur Shastri as the leader of the Congress Party on 2nd June 1964, and on 9th June he took the oath as the second prime Minister of India.

By this time, Indira Gandhi without ambiguity understood about her fate and readily accepted the political responsibilities. The statesmanship and politics was not the new thing for her among all the party members of that period she had been trained in since her childhood. Further, she had been efficiently playing the role of a political leader of India since the Prime Ministership of her father. Probably, Shastri was clearly knowing her abilities; therefore, without any second thought in his mind, offered a post in his cabinet. She readily accepted and became minister of Information and Broadcasting (from 1964 to 1966). Thus, she became minister at centre level.

During the Prime Ministership of Lal Bahadur Shastri, India was facing intrusion by the Pakistan that led to strained relation between the newly formed nations on international boundary. In the course of action, Pakistan attacked India in 1965. To resolve this problem, under the mediatory of the then Soviet Union, the Prime Ministers of both the nations met in Tashkent. After signing the peace agreement popularly known as "Tashkent agreement" Shastri died on 11th January 1966, Tashkent.

The sudden death of Lal Bahadur Shastri created void in the political sphere of India. It was a difficult time for the Congress Working Committee because in short time the committee had to select party leader. Finally, two names were suggested: Morarji Desai and Indira Gandhi.

With a big margin of vote; Indira Gandhi was elected as the party leader. On 19th January 1966, she was elected as a prime Minister of India, just after winning the position of party leader, she thanked all the party members for their trust in her and called herself in the parliament as “Deshsewak” (servant of the nation). She got the highest position, after a proper election process and caught global attention. The “Times Magazine” of US published Indira Gandhi on the cover page with a clip “Troubled India in a Woman’s hand.”

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8.5 THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF INDIRA GANDHI AS A PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

During her first tenure as a prime Minister of India, her contribution can be counted under following achievements but before that, take a look at the ministerial posts which were conferred to her:

1. On 24th January, 1966, Indira Gandhi took oath as a Prime Minister of India with a new Central Cabinet, and Dr S Radhakrishnan became the president of that cabinet.
2. She served the country as a Prime Minister of India from 1966 to 1977.
3. While she was shouldering the highest responsibility of the nation, she also took charge of other important departments like she was the minister for Atomic Energy from September 1967 to March 1977.
4. She also took additional charge of the Ministry of External Affairs from 1967 to 1969.
5. She headed the Ministry of Home affairs from 1970 to 1973.
6. She served as the Ministry of Space from 1972 to 1977

During her long period of Prime Ministership, she had held important posts and worked for the development of Nation. Here are some of her contributions to nation building process:

1. Abolition of the Privy Purses:

Social equality and social justice were always priority in Indira Gandhi’s work list. When she was coming back to India in the year 1936, she saw social discrimination against the native people of Africa. She also experienced the same social inequality in India. Therefore, as soon as she took the charge of Prime Ministership, on 25th June 1967. The All-India Congress Committee passed the resolution for the abolition of the privy purses and privileges of the former princes. The prime minister signed on the President order regarding the abolition of the Privy Purses and privileges. Whereupon, it was challenged by the former princes in the supreme court. The supreme court gave judgement in favour of former Princes on the ground that the power of the president to issue such ordinance does not fall under the purview of the Constitution, therefore it is illegal.

Very diplomatically, then government passed the resolution titled, “The role of Indian states, Abolition of Privilege Act No. 54 1972.” As a result, the privy purses and privilege were ended.

2. Creation of New States:

Indira Gandhi tried to respect regional identity of the population with endorsing unity of the nation. She followed the non-discrimination policy towards the non-Congress-led Government in the states. The separatist movements of Punjab, Himachal, and Northeast India were resolved by the formation of new states. Punjab state was formed by dividing the old Punjab into Punjab and Haryana in 1966. Similarly, her government granted the statehood to Himanchal Pradesh (1971), Meghalaya (1972), and Manipur (1972).

3. Nationalization of Banking Sector:

Next to abolition of privy purses and privilege act, Indira Gandhi’s courageous move towards social justice and social security was giving economic stability to the mass. For this purpose, she took a bold step to nationalise the banking sector. On 1969, Indira Gandhi nationalized the bank and took government control over the bank sector. For nationalization of banks, Indira Gandhi had constituted committee comprised of council of ministers who advised the President to sign article 123 (1) order of August 1969. The acting President did the same and this way on 19th July, 1969, 14 prime commercial banks were nationalized. The accomplishment of nationalization of banks brought socio-economic change in the Indian mass. It had given the message that Government is serious about balance growth of urban and rural economy. It was also determined to minimise the economic gap between the rich and the poor and concentration of money in the hands of few people. Now the money could flow to public priority sectors, primary sectors like agriculture, forestry, fishery, animal husbandry etc.

4. Independence of Bangladesh:

The most remarkable contribution of Indira Gandhi during her Prime Ministership, which had changed the whole political scenario of South Asia was her role in the liberation of Bangladesh, in 1971. It was the independence war of Bangladesh from Pakistan. India played an active role in the liberation war under the leadership of Indira Gandhi. She supported the war with military help to Bangladesh. India attacked on land and air both from three sides, i.e., from West Bengal, Tripura, and Assam. Indira allowed the refugees of Bangladesh to take shelter in India. With her permission, the fighter group of Bangladesh Mukti Vahini received training in India by the Indian soldiers. The Indian soldiers, air force, and navy took the lead and defeated the Pakistani army, whereas the Bangladeshi army, Mukti Vahini, and navy force help the Indian army. Thus, it was the joint venture of both the countries in which India played crucial part. It is obvious to all that it was Indira Gandhi, who diplomatically intervened in the Pakistani political affairs, made Bangladesh victorious, and took the credit of their victory. Consequently, she maintained a cordial relationship with her neighbouring country.

5. The Green Revolution:

India confronted with various basic challenges from the day of independence, like as Indo-Pak border issue, unification of India, consolidation of tribal dominant areas, need for fundamental industrial set up, self-reliance on energy sector, production sector, research, education, health services, and agriculture sector. India is an agriculturist, country and better production in agriculture sector ensure to the high rate of economic growth. The Agricultural sector received priority in the Nehru and Shastri regimes which continued during Indira Gandhi's period. But the achievement of high growth in agriculture sector owes to Indira Gandhi tenure, which was termed as green revolution of India. The appropriate government policy to support the science and technology led to high production in agriculture. It was during her tenure the government policy not only framed to uplift technological and scientific research in agriculture sector, but it emphatically supported supply of fertilizers, seeds at low rate. Besides that, the government policy equally determined to give sufficient price for the agriculture products through public distribution, providing market etc. Thus, the Green Revolution accumulatively worked to support all related areas of agriculture sector and its economy because agriculturist of India would be encouraged to use the technology only when they get surplus income.

6. Space Liberation Program:

Indira Gandhi was a scientific mindset leader. She was the founder of second wave of science and technology in India. Ashok Parthasarathi was served as a Special Assistant for Science and Technology from 1970 to 1975 to the Late Indira Gandhi. He wrote that she was committed to the growth of Science and Technology and endeavoured to use it in the development and security of nation. Unlike her father, she was more serious to take action rather than policy making. She had an incredible quality to understand deeper meaning of defence and national defences and difference between science and technology. During her tenure, she not only renovated existing institutions but also established new institutions like ISRO. During her time period, the first artificial satellite Aryabhat was launched. She also created a separate department of Ocean Development. She laid down the foundation for Department of Biotechnology (DBT). In 1982, a National Biotechnology Board (NBTB) was constituted by the Government to identify priority areas and evolve long term perspective for Biotechnology in India chaired by Professor MGK Menon. The DBT actually came into existence in 1986, due to efforts later made by Rajiv Gandhi. In December 1971, Indiraji led the country to emphatic victory in Indo-Pak war 1971 by liberating Bangladesh. But she could see the military blackmailing by USA and felt the need to test a nuclear device.

7. Nuclear Program:

On September 7, 1972, she ordered the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC) to prepare an experimental atomic device to be exploded under Indian army's supervision. BARC completed the work in total secrecy

within two years. Indira Gandhi would be remembered as a bold politician to order the first test of India's nuclear device on 18 May, 1974. This secret operation codenamed as "Smiling Buddha" shook the western world, as India had proudly joined the nuclear club. Within a year, Indira ensured that India would also join the space club.

8. Environment Program

She had a keen awareness of the global environment. That's how ministry of environment and forests (MOEF) came into existence in 1977, followed by a separate Department of Science and Technology (DST) in 1982. She immediately ordered the restructuring of the forest and environmental laws. First came the powerful Wildlife protection Act, of 1972, followed by the Water Pollution Control Act, of 1974 and the Air Pollution Control Act, of 1981. 'Project Tiger' was launched in 1973 to conserve the natural habitats of the diminishing Royal Bengal Tigers.

Check your Progress :

Q. How did Indira Gandhi contributed to strengthen the position of India in international arena?

8.6 INDIRA GANDHI AND EMERGENCY

On 12th June 1975 the Allahabad High Court verdict by justice, Jagmohanlal Mohanlal Sinha disqualified the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on charges of electoral malpractices, invalidating her win. On 24th June, 1975, the bench of Supreme Court passed a stay order against the order of Allahabad court. This constitutionally disqualified the Congress party to form the government and brought the state of emergency by Gandhi's government from 1975 to 1977.

In January 1977, Indira declared end of the state of emergency and announced for general elections. On March 16, 1977, India's 6th general election was held, and Congress got defeated by the Janta Party, resulting in Morarji Desai becoming the first non-congress Prime Minister of India.

The second, and unfortunately the last, phase of Indira's political career was like a roller coaster ride, in which she tried to keep her commitment for the development and welfare of the country. For three years India remained under the state of emergency, in which the work of Government was restricted to urgent and important government business. Here are some major policies and development work that she implemented during emergency which has long effect in India:

1. Enactment of amendment during emergency period:

The emergency period provided an unchallenged opportunity to Indira Gandhi that she used to enact some controversial amendments that seems to appease personal benefits and killing of democracy. Due to this reason, Indira is remembered by her criticizer as undemocratic, dictator and ruthless leader who misused emergency not for the purpose to protect

democracy but to satisfy her hunger for power ninth. The thirty-ninth amendment known as 39th Act 1975, by which the election Prime Minister, the President, the Vice President, and the Speaker of Lok Sabha were no longer subject to judicial review. With the enactment of this amendment, the verdict of Allahabad High Court automatically became dead. The forty-second amendment, which was the most contentious amendment took place during emergency, by which the Parliament got the power to change the structure of the constitution.

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2. Implementation of twenty- point program:

At the time of emergency India was facing various problems specially related to poor economy viz. poverty, hunger, high death rate, shortage of food supply, low agriculture production etc. To eradicate poverty Indira Gandhi launched twenty- point program in 1975 and was reframed with the same name in 1982. It mainly focused on poor population of India. It aimed to improve the quality of life of the under-privilege people. It targets on those areas which would improve living condition of the population like education, employment, irrigation, drinking water, housing, health, environment, consumer protection, agriculture and land reform, consumer protection.

3. Mass Sterilization program

The mass sterilization program was another most criticized scheme launched by Indira Gandhi in 1975. It was seen as an action to address poverty, because growing population was treated as one of the factor of poverty. On the other hand, growing population of India drew international attention and concern for it. The world Bank gave the international aid for the sterilization program from 1972-1980. India faced intense international pressure, mainly from the western countries, to implement sterilization program. The intense international pressure on India can be understood by the fact that when the US denied food supply to India in 1965 only because India was not following sterilization program. Owing to immense pressure, economic crisis and to secure international support in economic front, Indira rigorously implemented sterilization program at the time of emergency. This program had terrifically violated the human rights as people were forced to sterilization irrespective of childless or unmarried men. People were undergo and made to stand in queue for sterilization. The hygiene, and safety measures were overlooked, leading to thousands of deaths due to infection.

8.7 INDIRA GANDHI ACHIEVEMENTS AFTER 1980

After the exile from political life, on 7 November 1978 she again got formal entry in politics by becoming the Member of Parliament. On 6 January 1980, the Congress party came back to power again, and she became the Prime Minister of India. She continued to serve as Prime Minister till her shocking assassination on 31 October 1984. The last four years as the Prime Minister of India, she embarked upon new programs whereas she continued some old programs with innovations.

1. Integrated Rural Development Program:

In the Sixth-Five Year Plan the emphasis was given to agriculture and its allied sectors like animal husbandry, fishery, dairy etc. Employment generating programs at rural level were also encouraged that's why for the 6th Five Year Plan, the budgetary allocations were targeted on irrigation (12,160 Crores), and Agriculture (12,539 Crores). In 1980, the Integrated Rural development plan (IRDP) was implemented nationwide. The focus of IRDP was to eradicate poverty.

The agriculture sector received more attention for employment generation in the rural areas, and unorganized sectors, and to meet minimum basic needs of the people living below poverty line. The increase in agricultural land by inducing irrigation facility, agronomic agriculture through high yielding seeds, use of fertilizer, credit on low interest rates, integrated water shade management, optional land use, were some of the plans designed to support the agriculture.

2. National Rural Employment Program:

Under the Sixth Five Year Plan, the National Rural Employment Program (NREP) was implemented in 1980 with a view to give benefit to the rural masses who, during off season of agriculture, needed employment. The scheme was provided with a wage in both cash and kind. The special feature of NREP was targeted people who are living below poverty line. Thus, the program aimed to give them nutritional food as well as to create durable community asset. These durable community assets include soil conservation, irrigation, plantation, road construction etc., so that the community would be able to get better infrastructure for overall growth. Later on, Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Program was introduced in 1983 with the similar approach to provide employment opportunities for landless people.

3. Establishment of Import Export Bank:

Indira Gandhi foresaw the increasing importance of the global market, so she made changes in import and export policy. She encouraged the international market by reducing import duties at the same time created market for indigenous goods in foreign markets. Under the Import Export Bank, she brought various items under Open General Licence (OGL). The Import Export Bank also offered financial assistance to those who were doing import export businesses. This Bank was also equipped with the facility to draw credit from Reserve Bank of India.

4. The New Twenty-Point Program:

The Twenty-point program started during the emergency was carried forward with new innovative plans to eradicate poverty. The focal point of this program was agriculture; therefore, increase in irrigation, dry land farming through technological assistance, increase in foodgrain production, oil seeds and pulses production were kept in priority. The New Twenty-point program also focused on to minimise the disparity between rich and poor.

Check your Progress.

Q. How did Indira Gandhi tried to eradicate poverty from India?

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8.8 SUMMARY

The journey of Indira Gandhi's political leadership can be seen from the early days of independent India. during her Father's Prime Ministership, she practically learned the aspirations, culture, and needs of Indian people. The first phase of her political career from 1966 to 1977, was marked to give structural base for the country, which mainly determined the direction of nation's growth. The Nationalization of banks, various welfare policies taken up in the Five-year plan, abolition of privy purses were some of the strong decisions which indicate that Indira Gandhi wanted social and economic equality in nation. She also wanted to make India globally strong that is why she supported Bangladesh, focused on space, nuclear and environment programs. The 21 months of Emergency during her Prime Ministership are treated as undemocratic. Yet, she worked on eradication of poverty, social, and economic equality. The last phase of her Prime Ministership added another milestone in the growth of India that can be seen in various national policies and programs. Thus, even in unfavourable international and national conditions, Indira Gandhi not only succeeded to establish Congress party at the centre and state travels but she also marked the presence of India globally. She carefully handled the political challenges and made exemplary achievements in her name.

8.9 QUESTIONS

- 1) How the policies of Indira Gandhi were socialist?
- 2) How did Indira Gandhi strengthen India's position among the neighbouring countries.
- 3) Explain the twenty-point program of Indira Gandhi.
- 4) Describe the contribution of Indira Gandhi in making India strong in space and nuclear power technology.
- 5) What steps were taken by Indira Gandhi for the development of agriculture sector?

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