

SELF LEARNING MATERIAL

POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE : POL.SC. - 102

FIRST SEMESTER

INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

BLOCK : 1 & 2, 3, 4, 5

**DIRECTORATE OF OPEN AND DISTANCE LEARNING
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POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE : POL.SC. - 102

INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

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POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE : POL.SC. - 102

INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

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BLOCK – 1 & 2

THE INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM & THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

BLOCK INTRODUCTION

Political system is the basis of all political activities in a state. Whatever the system may be whether parliamentary democracy, absolute dictatorship or monarchy, but once the system has been introduced, those in power and authority wish to maintain the system at all costs. In the first block an attempt shall be made to provide an overall account of the Indian Political system, the historical background and making of the Indian Constitution, the kind of challenges that the Indian Political system had to face after independence.

With this insight into the overall picture of Indian political scenario, we shall then take a look into the government of the country. According to Article I of the Constitution, India shall be a Union of States, which shall consist of several Indian states and a powerful central government at the helm. The states shall have their own constitutional obligations to discharge and under the Constitution these have much less powers as compared to the centre. It is because of this that the Indian federation is considered to be little unique in nature. In addition to this, the Indian democracy is considered to be one of the largest democracy in the world. The second block shall give us a detail account of the working of the different organs and aspects of the Indian government.

The blocks have been structured in several small units for the convenience of your study, as under:

BLOCK 1 THE INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

- Unit 1 Nature of Indian Politics
- Unit 2 Making of the Constitution
- Unit 3 Socio-economic background of the Indian Constitution and the Preamble
- Unit 4 Territory and Reorganisation of states
- Unit 5 Amendment process

BLOCK 2 THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

- Unit 1 Parliamentary democracy & federalism
- Unit 2 Role of the Indian Executive
- Unit 3 Role of the Indian Legislature
- Unit 4 Role of the Indian Judiciary
- Unit 5 Indian Public Services

BLOCK-1: THE INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

UNIT 1

NATURE OF INDIAN POLITICS

STRUCTURE

1.0 Objectives

1.1 Introduction

1.2 The dynamics of the nature of the Indian political system

1.2.1 Social dimension

1.2.2 Economic dimension

1.2.3 Political dimension

1.3 Important features of the Indian political system

1.4 Various problems faced by the Indian political system

1.5 Let us sum up

Key Words

Some useful books

Possible answers to check your progress

1.0 OBJECTIVES

The nature of the Indian political scenario is quite dynamic owing to its socio-cultural diversity and the existence of a large number of ethnic communities. After you read this unit, you will be able to

- *trace* the nature of the Indian Political system
- *identify* the basic features or characteristics of the Indian political system
- *evaluate* the various problems or challenges faced by the Indian political system

1.1 INTRODUCTION

India being a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic nation has its unique share of characteristics which in turn influences the political, social and economic scenario in India. So far as the political system in India is concerned, owing to its diversified nature, it has never been static. It has been changing with changing times but to a large extent the basic system has remained unchanged. As we know that our political system is a legacy that we have borrowed from the Britishers, it owes much resemblance with that of the British political system. Prior to the invasion of the Britishers there used to be absolute monarchy both under the Hindu and Muslim rulers, where the monarch used to be above laws as there used to be no written laws. But the system underwent positive changes under the East India Company and more particularly under the Crown where from unwritten law, a step forward towards written laws was taken when several Acts were passed in this regard. Finally after attaining independence, the law makers and political leaders in India took the Initiative of modifying the laws in favour of the Indian masses, keeping the basic political structure and system unchanged.

The strength of India's long and continuous cultural tradition has enabled the society to share a series of basic values which influence the conduct of government which in turn shapes

the attitude of the people towards the government and also determines the patterns of development. This implies that our attitudes and orientations, expectations and interests, ethnic and communal affiliations all have a direct or indirect bearing on India's political activity and policy initiatives.

In the present unit of this course, we shall mainly concentrate on the characteristics of the Indian political system and the peculiar problems that the Indian political system has been facing since independence.

1.2 THE DYNAMICS OF THE NATURE OF THE INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

It is basically said that the study of the nature of the Indian political system is nothing but the study of dynamics. Now the question that arises here is that- what are the dynamics of the Indian political system? We can answer this question from three different dimensions. One is social, the other is economic and the third is the political dimension. First of all we will take into consideration the social dimension.

1.2.1 SOCIAL DIMENSION

If we take a look into the social scenario we will observe that the Indian society is characterized by cultural pluralism and sub-national tensions. India is a highly plural society and has a complex social order. The society is divided into ethnic, linguistic and religious groups which are concentrated in different parts of the country. The distribution of the masses into different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups has a direct and an important impact on the political system of the country. Such cultural plurality in turn is sure to evoke tensions in the form of conflicts which may be either ethnic, linguistic or religious. This in turn poses due challenge before the government in fluently carrying out its activities.

1.2.2 ECONOMIC DIMENSION

Now let us take a look into the economic dimension. In any economy, the process of development depends as much on political parameters as on economic parameters. The nature of the government and political leadership has an important bearing on the economic development of the country and vice versa. India is essentially an agrarian economy, where the agricultural sector contributes nearly one half of the national income and provides livelihood to about three-fourths of the Indian population. That is why we get to see that the Indian government is always sensitive towards the need of the farmers and the agrarian sector has always been provided a prominent place in the national planning programme which is in fact quite unique of the Indian political system.

1.2.3 POLITICAL DIMENSION

Thirdly comes the political dimension. The politics of India has vast and varied ramifications mainly because of its cultural and national plurality. It seeks to concentrate not only on political issues but also on political institutions and political process. Since the time of independence, the Indian government has been constantly entrusted with the responsibility of preserving the national unity and territorial integrity of our nation. But as we can see that several secessionists demands have been voiced from time to time by important linguistic, religious and ethnic minorities of the Indian population which in turn has posed challenges before the government in properly carrying out its responsibilities. Nevertheless India has always succeeded in maintaining its political stability. Despite of the pluralism of the Indian society, India has always enjoyed the benefits of a stable government, the credit of which goes to it being a true democracy. This is quite unique of the Indian political system.

Though it is said that the Indian political system is a replica of the British political system, it is not completely true. Though it has borrowed some of the features of the British system yet it is believed to have developed under the influence of the eastern, western, ancient and modern Indian traditions. In spite of their best

efforts, the Britishers could not completely impose their own system in our country.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the space below for your answers. Compare your answers, with those given at the end of the unit.

Q.1 Why is the study of the Indian political system said to be a study of dynamics?

.....

Q.2 What are the important dimensions from which the Indian political system could be studied?

.....

1.3 IMPORTANT FEATURES OF THE INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

The political system in free India has its peculiar features. Earlier during the British rule the system was very much imposed upon the people where they had very limited choice to elect their representatives and had to accept what was given to them by the British masters. But the present political system is based on universal adult franchise according to which all adults who have attained 18 years of age have a right to vote. The country has Parliamentary form of government in which the Parliament being the supreme and sovereign body enjoys unlimited powers. It

represents the will and wishes of the people and has thus not been imposed on the people. Let us take a look at some of its peculiar features

- 1) **One dominant party system:** There was a time when the political scenario in India was described as the 'Congress Raj'. The term itself explain the fact that after independence the Indian National Congress was one single party that dominated the political scenario in India for a very long time. A look into the election statistics will reveal that the Congress party has been dominant at the national level with large majorities in the Parliament but at the state level only the first two decades after Independence belonged to it. Many states are found to have non-congress parties in power. The country for some time now has seen the demise of Congress at one election and its re-emergence at another. The main factors responsible for the Congress dominance has been: its past political capital, its strong and successful leadership, its organizational strength and capacity for renewal, the continuing fragmentation of the opposition parties etc.
- 2) **Combination of centralization and decentralization:** It has been one of the most salient feature of the Indian political system both before and after independence. A look into our history will also show that even in the ancient and medieval period there has been concentration of powers but the local self governing bodies enjoyed considerable autonomy. The rajas and kings were all powerful and exercised unchecked powers but at the same time did not interfere in village affairs. During British days and after independence under the new constitution central government has been made very powerful. However the government has always kept itself away from interfering in the activities of the local self governing bodies and is also found providing considerable autonomy to these bodies.
- 3) **Powerful Bureaucracy:** If we look into the political structure we will observe that the bureaucracy is provided a very high position in the Indian political framework with no contacts with the masses. It is supposed to be politically neutral and

also required to implement the decisions of the legislature, which again is in no way a representative body. As we know, the governmental system is based on three main organs, viz, the executive, legislature and judiciary but on the whole the bureaucracy is very powerful.

- 4) **Role of Caste system:** The caste system is like a convention that the Indian society has been shouldering since ages. Infact it is difficult to think of our political and social system without caste system. The Britishers used it as a tool to create divisions in the society, thereby getting an opportunity to dominate the political scene. It very much dominated the political system and in many ways continues to dominate it even now. Today all political party candidates for all elections are nominated by the political parties, taking caste into consideration. Thus, caste continues to occupy a very important position in our political system.
- 5) **Religion dominated system:** The Indian political system throughout the British period was very much dominated by religion. They made different religious communities fight against each other. In order to widen the gap further, seats were reserved in the legislative bodies on religious basis. It was because of this domination of religion on politics that there were several communal riots that took place in the country are even continuing to take place. Moreover religious political parties are found, getting wider acceptability than other political parties.
- 6) **Importance of Leader:** In our political system during the British system and thereafter political leaders have played a very significant role. In fact, the masses had more love for their leaders than the ideology which they followed. This was and still continues to be so even now because in our country vast majority is illiterate and lives in far fetched areas, where there is no political consciousness. These masses always look up to their leaders considering them to be their torch bearers.
- 7) **Regionalism:** It primarily implies love for one's own region rather than the love for one's own country. Though the tendency developed during the British period, it continues to

play a very big role in free India. Today several political parties are found thriving in different parts of India mainly by exploiting the regional sentiments of the people. The political leaders encourages inter-state disputes and people were made to fight against each other in the name of language, culture etc. Thus, we can say that regionalism has become an integral part of our political system.

- 8) **Absence of ideology:** A significant feature of our present day political system is the growth of ideology less political parties. Each political party is supposed to have some political ideology of its own but that is not happening in India. There is mushroom growth of political parties but these are not ideology based. India lacks such political parties which have clear cut socio-economic and political programme to uplift the whole country, providing the electorate and alternative to choose. There are of course national level political parties with clear ideologies like Congress(I), B.J.P, C.P.I, C.P.I(M) etc but the number of ideology less parties are gradually increasing.

These are some of the basic features of the political system of our country, which are unique on its own owing to the socio economic, political and cultural background of our country.

1.4 VARIOUS PROBLEMS FACED BY THE INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Owing to its socio cultural plurality and a long history of British domination, the Indian political system since independence till date has been facing severe problems. An account of those problems are stated below:

- 1) **Political defection:** The fact that the electorates vote for or against a candidate on the basis of his political party's standing and programmes is what is implied by the term political defection. During the pre-independence period there was no question of leaving the political party to which one owed allegiance. After independence, however elected representatives of the people in the elected bodies have been

changing their allegiance and leaving the political parties, on whose ticket they were elected. This has resulted in political instability and fall of governments.

- 2) **Rise of regional political parties:** Regional parties came to prominence only after 1967 when national parties, lost control in some states. The process once started could not be checked. In Tamil Nadu DMK and AIADMK, in Assam AGP, in Jammu & Kashmir National Conference, in Punjab Akali Dal and several other parties in different states were formed. Even today in most of the states the regional parties are in power. A very important strategy adopted by the regional leaders to win an election is by playing with the regional sentiments of the people.
- 3) **Political corruption:** It is the most vital feature of our present political system. It is alleged that most of the politicians in our country are corrupt as they are only interested in amassing money by all means and methods. In India since independence there have been many scandals and instances of nepotism and corruption by political leaders both at the centre as well as the states. A latest example in this regard is the 2G scam where several political leaders and high profile businessmen were involved and one of the main accused Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister Raja Reddy was put behind the bars.
- 4) **Political factionalism:** Factionalism has emerged because of ever increasing hold of caste, class, religion and region. It has been playing a very big role more particularly in the states, where the political parties are getting divided into factions and cabinets are formed on factional basis. Several state governments are also found to change leaderships to satisfy either one or the other powerful faction, persisting and insisting for a change.
- 5) **Political Violence:** A bigger challenge before our political system today is political violence. It is an act or threat of protest against the existing authority. Although confrontation and violence are unacceptable behaviour but they have become a part and parcel of our political system and their volume and variety have progressively increased. Political

violence in India has taken various forms like communal riots, political clashes, assassination of national and local leaders, journalists etc.

- 6) **Terrorism:** Terrorism is what its name implies- a belief that political ends can be attained by exploiting fears. India like many other nations of the world is busy fighting the danger of terrorism. The political leadership in India is trying hard to secure its boundaries from the terrorists. So far as India is concerned, terrorism had its birth primarily on political grounds and the main reason being the Kashmir Issue. India is mostly targeted by those terrorists groups which are patronized by Pakistan. India is one of the nations to join America in its war against terrorism.

These are some of the basic challenges faced by the Indian political system. But despite of severe challenges India has been, to a great extent, successfully carrying out its functions mainly because of it being a democracy.

Check your progress 2

Q1. Mention four primary features of the Indian political system?

.....

Q2. What in your opinion is the most severe threat or challenge before the Indian political system?

.....

1.5 LET US SUM UP

Thus we observe that the nature of the Indian political system is very much dynamic in nature owing to it being a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. Like any other country, Indian political system has its social, economic and political dimensions that contributes towards its multi-faceted nature; and which are strictly specific to our country.

Though the British political system has some influences over the Indian political system, it cannot be considered to be a replica of the British system. Undoubtedly it inherits some of the features of the British system but to a larger extent the features are quite unique to the Indian society. The Freedom Movement had its due influence in the framing of the Indian political system.

Similar is the case with the problems faced by the system. The problems owe its origin mostly to the British rule in India and than to the cultural diversity of our society. So far as political corruption is concerned, it is completely an individual choice, which also happens to be a common problem faced by most of the countries of the world including the developed ones. Further, to tackle these challenges, an integrated approach by the government along with the people shall be required.

KEY WORDS

Congress Raj: Era of domination of the Congress party on the political scenerio of India.

Decentralisation: Transfer of power by the government to different smaller organisation.

Regionalism: Sense of belongingness towards one's own region.

Factionalism: The process of formation of smaller groups from a larger whole.

Terrorism: The use of violence for political purposes.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Raj, Hans, 1997, *Indian Political system*, Surjeet Publications, Delhi

Sikri, S.L, 1989, *Indian Government and Politics*, Kalyani Publishers, Delhi

Chandra, Bipan, 2000, *India After Independence(1947-2000)*, Penguin, New Delhi.

POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should cover the following points:

Ans: to Q1

- The Indian political system is not static owing to its cultural diversity.
- The social, economic and political sphere plays a bigger role in determining the nature of the political system.
- Being a British colony once too has to do with the shaping of the political system.

Ans: to Q2

Three main dimensions

- Social dimension- cultural plurality/diversity
- Economic dimension- India, an agrarian economy
- Political dimension- Democracy being the basis of a stable government despite of ethnic and communal differences.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should cover the following points

Ans: to Q1

Out of the eight features enlisted in the unit, mention any four of them.

Ans: to Q2

Almost all the factors mentioned above poses severe challenges before the government but amongst all, political corruption is a bigger threat in the sense that it is killing our system from inside slowly and steadily. Apart from this, terrorism at present has also emerged as a very big threat faced by each and every country in this world.

UNIT 2

MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

STRUCTURE

2.0 Objectives

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Drafting of the Indian Constitution

2.3 The Constituent Assembly

2.3.1 The history of the Constituent
Assembly in India

2.3.2 Constituent Assembly – how far a
representative body?

2.4 The Indian Constitution: a work of consensus and
accommodation

2.5 Let us sum up

Key Words

Some useful books

Possible answers to check your progress

2.0 OBJECTIVES

The Constitution is said to be the law of the land. Therefore the study of the political system would be incomplete without the study of its constitution. India being a parliamentary democracy, the Constitution holds a very special and superior position as the supreme law of the land. After going through this unit you will be able to

- *defend* the drafting of the Indian Constitution.
- *identify* the role played by the constituent Assembly.
- *explain* the representative nature of the Constituent Assembly.
- *conclude* the Indian Constitution, an outcome of consensus and accommodation.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Constitution of a country always occupies a pivotal position in the political arrangements of the country. In India all the laws of the land must be in accordance to the provisions of the Constitution and any law going against the provisions of the Constitution shall be declared null and void. Since the law making process is very complicated these days, therefore, nation cannot afford to take the risk of violating a constitutional provision. It is Constitution which gives guidelines about political, social and economic set up of the country and harmonizes relations of executive, legislature and judiciary with each other. The Indian Constitution reflects both the will as well as the wishes of the people. It is an embodiment of their desires and reflects the intentions of the people and objectives for which the stands and which it will struggle to preserve.

2.2 DRAFTING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION:

The Constitution of India was an outcome of hard and dedicated labour put forwarded by the leaders of independent India. It has made India a sovereign democratic republic and ensured equality of every citizen before the law. It was right after the partition of the nation on the 15th of August, 1947, that the

Indian leadership took up the responsibility of drafting the Indian Constitution on the principles enunciated by the Indian National Congress during freedom struggle. Keeping this herculean task in mind, a Constituent Assembly was formed under the Presidentship of Late Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of the Republic of India. The members of the Constituent Assembly laboured hard for two years, eleven months and eighteen days before it could finish the gigantic task of finishing the constitutional document on 26th November, 1949. Being a true democracy, the Constitution was dedicated to the people of India. Here mention needs to be made of Dr. B.R Ambedkar, who was appointed the Chairman of the Drafting Committee on 29th August, 1948, who played a vital role and made immense contribution in drafting the Constitution. The Committee presented a draft Constitution on 21st February of the same year, for the consideration of the Assembly. The Assembly adopted the Constitution on 26th November, 1949 and it was finally inaugurated on 26th January, 1950.

While framing the Constitution, the Constitution fathers in India drew inspiration from different nations and sources. They incorporated in it what suited most to Indian Conditions. This made some feel that the Indian Constitution is a bag of borrowing. But this is not true and by saying this we cannot underestimate the hard labour put forwarded by the Indian leaders. Nothing was borrowed blindly rather the borrowing was judicious and quite limited. All that they did was that they made themselves wiser by the experience of others, so that mistakes committed by other nations were not repeated by India. There are many aspects of the Constitution which have not been borrowed from any other constitution e.g, indirect election of the President of India, a unified judiciary, an independent Election Commission, reservation of seats for Anglo-Indian Community in the Lok Sabha and so on. Thus it would be wrong to address our Constitution to be a replica of other constitutions. In many ways it is an original document, ofcourse, with the imprint of some western constitutions. Infact, now several new born sovereign states of Asia and Africa are found borrowing from the Constitution of India.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the space given below for your answers. Check your answers with those given at the end of the unit.

Q1. On which particular date was the Constitution of India formally inaugurated?

.....

Q2. Who was the President of the Constituent Assembly? Also name the Chairman of the Drafting Committee?

.....

Q3. Is the Indian Constitution a bag of borrowing? If not, why?

.....

2.3 THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Steel framework of a nation is its Constitution, which reflects the will and wishes of the people. But a good constitution is one which is said to have been framed by a Constituent Assembly, comprising the representatives of the people. The Constitution of India has been given to the people by a Constituent Assembly which was set up under the British Declaration of Independence with Dr Rajendra Prasad as its President. It was formed mainly to draft and adopt the Constitution. The most important committee of the Constituent Assembly was the Drafting Committee which was constituted on 29th August 1947, with seven members which included Dr. B.R Ambedkar , the Chairman of the Committee, N.Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, Alladi K. Ayyar, K.M Munshi, Md. Saadullah, B.L. Mitra and D.P. Khaitan. The members of the Assembly are said to have toiled hard for three complete years to give us the Constitution.

2.3.1 The history of Constituent Assembly in India.

The working committee of the Indian National Congress (INC), way back in 1939 took up a resolution that the Constitution of free India must be framed by a Constituent Assembly to be formed on the basis of adult franchise. Since the British government needed the support of the Congress in its war against Japan, so in 1942, the government decided to send a Cabinet member, Mr Stafford Cripps with a draft proposal for the consideration of the resolution. The proposal had the following points:

A) The constitution of India was to be framed by a Constituent Assembly to be elected by the people of India. B) Within the framework of that Constitution, India would enjoy Dominion Status under the British Commonwealth. C) The Indian Union should be formed comprising all provinces and Indian states. D) If any province or Indian state was not ready to accept the constitution, it would be allowed to retain its existing constitutional position. Despite of a clear cut proposal the INC and the Muslim League failed to reach at a consensus regarding the acceptance of the proposal.

After the Cripps Mission failed, the British government in 1946 sent three members of the British Cabinet to India, popularly known as the Cabinet Mission. Though, the Cabinet Mission too proposed the scheme for the formation of a Constituent Assembly in order to frame the constitution, yet it failed to bring the two major parties viz, the Congress and the Muslim League to an agreement table. The Congress accepted the proposal whereas the League did not.

Since no consensus could be reached, it was decided that both the parties will contest elections and the decision of the party with majority support shall be accepted. Therefore in July 1946, elections were held. The provinces of British Indian and the princely states were to elect 296 and 93 members respectively. In the direct elections, out of 296 seats allotted to the provinces, the Congress alone secured 205 seats and won the election. The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly was held on 9th December, 1946 at New Delhi with Sachidananda Sinha in the chair. This meeting elected Dr. Rajendra Prasad as the permanent President of the Constituent Assembly. However the Muslim League refused to join this session of the Assembly and went on pressing for a separate Constituent Assembly. Meanwhile with the decision of partition of the country into India and Pakistan and the transfer of

power between the two nations under the Indian Independence Act of 1947, a separate Constituent Assembly was formed with the members elected from the provinces and the territories to be included in Pakistan. Due to the partition of India and the formation of Pakistan, the number of the members of the Constituent Assembly was reduced to 229 of which the Congress alone had 192 members. This was why the Constituent Assembly was essentially addressed as a Congress body.

2.3.2 Constituent Assembly- How far a representative body?

After the partition of the country and the formation of an independent Constituent Assembly for India, the very question that aroused before the people of our nation was that- Was the Constitution of India framed by a representative body? Opinions in this regard however differed. According to some the Constituent Assembly was not at all a representative body as the members were not directly elected by the people on the basis of adult franchise and as such the members of the Assembly had no rights to frame a Constitution for the people. On the other hand there were others who believe that the members of the Constituent Assembly were so prominent people that they enjoyed the confidence of the people. Infact it was true that although indirectly elected, the Constituent Assembly was a highly representative body. It had to its credit, the representatives of various political parties like the Congress, the Muslim League, the Akalis etc and also the leaders of the minority communities and the Indian women. Though majority of its members were congressmen, there was hardly any shade of public opinion which was not represented. Leaders of the Constituent Assembly were, for the most part, western oriented, many of them British educated and recent participants in the nationalist movement for independence which proved that they were quite liberal in their attitude and outlook. Another salient feature of its composition was that it was dominated by the urban bourgeois among whom the most influential were the lawyers. Their presence in the Constituent Assembly had a marked impact on its deliberations.

It was also representative in the sense that the members represented the cross-section of the society. If the members would have been elected on the basis of adult franchise many talented persons would not have come forward and the country would have not been benefited by their knowledge. It has also been said that the situation in the country at that time was such that direct

elections to the Assembly could not be held and if the nation would have waited for the favourable time for holding the elections, it would neither have got the Assembly nor the Constitution. The very fact that eminent persons of national life sat in the Constituent Assembly, itself gave it a representative character.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the space given below for your answers. Check your answers with those given at the end of the unit.

Q1. Which is the most important organ of the Constituent Assembly and when was it constituted? Who were its members?

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Q2. Trace the history of the Constituent Assembly in India?

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Q3. Is the Constituent Assembly a representative body? If yes then why?

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2.4 THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: A WORK OF CONSENSUS AND ACCOMMODATION.

The Indian Constitution is highly representative in nature as it is a work of consensus and accommodation. Though it was drafted by indirect representatives of the people, yet they were highly conscious in incorporating the needs, wishes and desires of the Indian masses. Pandit Nehru had made it clear at the outset that the Constitution was to be framed with as great a respect for unanimity as possible. Hence all vital decisions regarding the basic nature of the Indian state(its federal structure, parliamentary system, written constitution etc) were reached by consensus. The unusually marked consensus that was found amongst the constitution makers during the framing of the Constitution was basically because of the natural anxiety in them to figure out pragmatic solutions to the vexed problems, to build up and maintain mutual trust, to heal psychological wounds and to translate their concern for national unity and freedom into concrete constitutional terms.

If we take a look into our Constitution we will observe that it stands on the principles of equality. This itself throws light on its accommodative nature. Our Constitution is highly representative in character, bringing into its fold each and every section of the society. The constitution makers gave priority to the aspirations of the masses therefore they incorporated the fundamental rights to be enjoyed by the people through whom they could fulfill their dreams. Moreover they relied on the principles of democracy, thereby making the Constitution more accommodative in nature. While drafting the Constitution, the constitution makers adopted the democratized tradition of publicity. It held its discussions in open so that the viewpoint of the masses could be analyzed and incorporated.

Thus we can very well say that the Indian Constitution is a work of consensus and accommodation.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the space below for your answers. Check your answers with the model answers provided at the end of the unit.

Q1. Do you think that the Indian Constitution is a work of consensus and accommodation?

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2.5 LET US SUM UP

This unit makes it very clear that the Constitution of our country was an outcome of hard labour and deliberate efforts of our leaders who were entrusted the responsibility of making the Constitution. It was indeed a herculean task for them as newly independent India was faced with a large number of problems and difficulties. The problem of devising a political system capable of governing such sheer number of people, compounded by multitude of ethnic, linguistic and religious groups as well as by traditional, communal and caste system. Much to their credit the constitutional makers succeeded in devising a Constitution which indeed is a great achievement in itself. They borrowed principles from different Constitutions of the world which best suited the Indian scenario. The constitution makers had always held the principles of democracy high while framing the Constitution and that is why our Constitution is highly accommodative and representative in nature. Each and every citizen of India finds its due share in the constitutional arrangements of the country. The Constitution provided a framework for the operation of democratic political institutions. Despite of all criticisms, our Constitution has successfully stood 60 years of rough weather and provides a firm foundation for political, social and economic progress. It has been accepted as the charter of Indian unity. We

can further say that our Constitution has established the norms of national behaviour and also an institutional basis for political behaviour.

KEY WORDS

Constitution: The set of laws and principles that a country's government must follow.

Adult franchise: The legal right to vote for elections.

Accomodative: Willing to change or acceptness in order to provide help.

Dominion Status: The power and right to control someone or something.

Anxiety: The feeling of being very worried.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Basu, Durga Das, 1984, *Introduction to the Constitution of India* (10th ed.), South Asia Books, New Delhi

Dash, Shreeram Chandra, 1968, *The Constitution of India; a Comparative Study*. Chaitanya Pub. House, New Delhi

Ghosh, Pratap Kumar, 1966, *The Constitution of India: How it Has Been Framed*, World Press, New Delhi

POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should cover the following points

Ans: to Q1

26th January, 1950

Ans: to Q2

Dr. Rajendra Prashad and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar respectively.

Ans: to Q3

- No its not
- Nothing was borrowed blindly but very judiciously and reasonably to support the socio-economic and political conditions of India.
- Most of the aspects were indegenous like an independent judiciary, independent Election Commission, reservation of seats for the Anglo-Indian community etc.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should cover the following points

Ans: to Q1

- Drafting Committee.
- Constituted on 29th August, 1947.
- Its members: Dr. B.R Ambedkar , the Chairman of the Committee, N.Gopalaswamy Ayangar, Alladi K. Ayyar, K.M Munshi, Md. Saadullah, B.L. Mitra and D.P. Khaitan.

Ans:to Q2

- Working committee of the INC took up the resolution of constituting a Constituent Assembly in 1939.
- The Cripps Mission came out with a proposal in 1942 but failed because of differences of opinion between INC and Muslim League.
- Then came Cabinet Mission in 1946 which also failed because of the differences between the two parties.
- So elections were held between the two parties where the INC came out victorious with majority support.
- Meanwhile with the partition of the country under the Indian Independence Act of 1947, two separate Constituent Assemblies were formed, one for India and the other for newly independent Pakistan.

Ans: to Q3

- It is a representative body.
- Though members were indirectly elected yet they represented the cross-section of the society.
- They are closely associated with the Indian masses as such they very well knew what was good or bad for the people.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should cover the following points

Ans: to Q1

- It is truly a work of consensus and accommodation.
- The Constitution makers always kept in mind the needs, desires and aspirations of the masses while framing the Constitution.
- They were always conscious about the fact that no single section of the society is left out.
- They had debates and discussions amongst themselves while drafting it.

UNIT 3
SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF
THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE
PREAMBLE

STRUCTURE

3.0 Objectives

3.1 Introduction

3.2 The socio-economic background of the Indian
constitution

3.3 The Preamble of the Indian constitution

3.3.1 Its significance

3.4 Ideals of the Preamble

3.5 Let us sum up

Key Words

Some useful books

Possible answers to check your progress

3.0 OBJECTIVES

The earlier unit provided a detailed account of the Constitution of our country. Now in this unit, we shall take a look into the Preamble, which is said to be the most pivotal organ of the Constitution. But prior to shifting our attention to the preamble, we shall first try to trace the socio-economic background of the Constitution of India. So after going through this unit, you should be able to:

- *explain* the Socio-economic background of the Indian Constitution
- *elucidate* the Preamble of the Indian Constitution and its importance
- *enlist* the ideals of the Preamble

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The social and economic condition of a nation has a lot to do in shaping its future. So was the case with India. The impression of the prevailing socio-economic conditions of India at the time of independence is found in the Constitution of India. The socio-economic conditions were not in favour of the Indian masses. Their conditions were quite deplorable and as such there was a huge responsibility on the shoulders of the Constitution makers to frame the Constitution in such a way that the post independence social and economic conditions could meet the needs and aspirations of the masses.

On the other hand the Constitution of India is prefaced with a Preamble which is supposed to reflect the thinking and ideology of the Constitution itself and viewpoint of its makers. It indicates the sources as well as the sanction and pattern of the Constitution and is also supposed to indicate its contents. It is the ultimate key to the Constitution of our country.

In this unit we shall primarily concentrate on the socio-economic background of our Constitution, Preamble of our Constitution, its significance and the main ideals of the Preamble.

3.2 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

We all know that every Constitution tries to follow some particular ideology, which is somehow influenced by the social, political and economic conditions of that country. Therefore it is indeed very important to trace the background of the Constitution before proceeding towards its Preamble. So far as our country India is concerned, we will observe that prior to the drafting of the Constitution of newly independent India, it was under the brutal domain of the Britishers and as such they were carrying out severe exploitation more particularly of our society and economy.

So far as society was concerned, the Britishers tried to create havoc through the divide and rule policy thereby creating differences amongst the two major communities of India, viz, the Hindus and the Muslims. They infected communal feelings in the minds of the Muslims and made them feel that since they are minorities, their existence in independent India shall never be peaceful. Their primary motive was to weaken India by creating misunderstanding amongst different communities which co-existed in India.

If we take a look into the economic scenario during the time of the Britishers, we will observe that our economy was ruthlessly exploited by the Britishers. Our natural resources were drained out of our country without allowing the Indians to reap its benefits. The natives of India were made to buy these products at higher costs. Apart from this the Indians were made to pay high rate of revenues for the lands used for cultivation.

The ruthless imperial colonial exploitation of the people living in various parts of the country helped in the creation of the objective situation where the people developed “we feeling” against the British. As they had been under the same colonial-imperial exploitation there grew a sense of unity and integrity amongst them against the British. This sentiment ultimately gave birth to anti-British national movement amongst the Indians.

On the backdrop of such dilapidated socio-economic scenario, as well as the growth of nationalism, the leaders of

independent India as well as the makers of the Indian Constitution made it their objective to frame the Constitution in such a manner that the social, political and economic needs and aspirations of the Indian masses are duly addressed and the sense of unity amongst different communities is duly preserved. Resting itself on the ideals of democracy, the Constitution of India made equality its hallmark, where all the citizens are to be considered equal, without any discrimination on grounds like sex, religion, place of birth etc. In order to boost the economic sector, the Constitution framers decided to adapt the ideology of democratic socialism, as was the case in Russia, which according to them was immensely successful. Though in the later years, India shifted its base from democratic socialism to that of a mixed economy.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the space below for your answers. Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

Q1. Trace the socio-economic scenerio of pre-independence India?

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Q2. How the socio-economic scenerio of pre-independence India did influenced the framing of the Constitution?

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3.3 THE PREAMBLE OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

The Preamble is a sort of preface or introduction to a constitution, though it does not form a part of the Constitution. However it can be addressed as a key to the spirit and meaning of the constitution. It proclaims the content and purpose of the constitution. It sets out the objectives or the goals for the achievement of which the Constitution is framed. The Indian Constitution like any other constitutions of the world also begins with a preamble which is proclaimed to be one of the best of its kind ever drafted. The whole constitution can be measured with this yardstick and such it has been called an perfection in itself. According to Jawaharlal Nehru, the Preamble is a firm resolve, a pledge and an undertaking. The Preamble which was originally incorporated in our Constitution has been amended. Three new terms-Socialist, Secular and Integrity has been added to it by the 42nd Amendment of 1976. The Preamble to the Indian Constitution, in its amended or new form proclaims:

“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 twentysixth day of November, 1949 *do hereby Adopt, Enact and Give to Ourselves this Constitution.*”

3.3.1 ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The Preamble to the Indian Constitution is a short but significant statement. Its significance lies in the fact that it is the ultimate key to the understanding of our constitution. It is drafted on the pattern of ‘Objective Resolution’ and is said to be the

charter of democracy and social revolution. The preamble envisages for free India a welfare state committed to the ideal of socio-economic justice. There are many constitutions in the world which do not have any preamble but it is ultimately the preamble that gives the constitution greater dignity. The preamble of the Indian constitution however not only reflects the basic character of the State but also specifies at some length, the purposes and objective of the constitution.

The Preamble is significant in the sense that it enshrines the objectives, philosophy and ideals of the Constitution. It is a firm resolve, a commitment, a pledge and an undertaking that assure the re-birth of India. When a particular constitutional provision appears to be ambiguous, the Preamble is consulted. The importance of the Preamble lies in its ability to explain certain facts which are necessary to be explained before the enactments contained in an Act could be understood. It could also be said that the Preamble act as a guiding star in the interpretation of the Constitution.

If we try to analyze the preamble, we will observe that the opening words of the preamble ' We, the People of India', are both striking and meaningful. They are said to be the most revolutionary words of the document. They proclaim clearly with undoubted emphasis, that the constitution of free India has been drafted, enacted and ordained by the Indian people and they are the real source of authority and sanction behind it. Thus we can say that the preamble of the Constitution of India has made the country a sovereign democratic republic. It does not bind India to any political or economic ideology but it eliminates every vestige of despotism. It reflects the whole constitutional system but is not a system in itself because it is not a constitution in itself because it is not justifiable. It is a source of inspiration but not a source of power. Thus, the Preamble of the Constitution of India occupies a very significant place in the structure of the constitution though not an integral part of the structure itself.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the space below for your answers. Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

Q1. Why is the Preamble considered to be a significant aspect of our Constitution?

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3.4 IDEALS OF THE PREAMBLE

The ideals embodied in the Preamble express the philosophy of the Constitution of India. The aims, objectives, spirit and the ideology behind the Constitution are crystallized in the Preamble. The philosophy underlying the Constitution of India, as expressed in the Preamble, has its source in the historic Objective Resolution moved by Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly on 22nd January, 1947, in which it was clearly spelled that all powers and authority of sovereign independent India are derived from the people. Now, the ideals or objectives embodied in the Preamble, which the citizens of India want to achieve through the Constitution are four fold viz, Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

Justice: Justice has been the cornerstone of all political thinking in India and therefore the term has been rightly placed at the top of other political values in the Preamble. It holds forth the assurance that the State would strive to secure justice in the arrangements of the society, in the distribution of wealth and through participation in the decision making structures. Broadly speaking, the Preamble demands the State to take up measures to remove social disabilities based on birth, religion, custom and community and to intervene in the economy in order to create equality of opportunity for all. Owing to this principle, our

Constitution has embodied in it a number of features that contain the potentialities of establishing a new egalitarian society and endorses a number of measures for the institutionalization of democratic norms.

Liberty: The second most important principle of the Preamble is Equality. The Preamble holds forth an assurance to secure to all its citizens liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship. The Preamble provides for those basic freedoms and conditions which can make life worth living. It is very important to point out that liberty of faith and worship is not admitted in many countries of the world. Its incorporation in the Preamble, reinforces the secular content of the Indian democracy. The operative part of these rights is the Right to Freedoms guaranteed under articles 19-22 of the Constitution of India. Thus, we can say that a bundle of liberties has been conferred to the citizens of India.

Equality: After liberty, the third most important principle upheld by the Preamble is Equality of status and of opportunity. It is in fact an essential principle to maintain human dignity. The commitment to the idea of equality is ensured through the introduction of political equality in the form of one man one vote. It is to be followed by efforts to secure socio-economic equality. This ideal has been supplemented by the Right to Equality incorporated in the Constitution under articles 14-18. But it must be admitted here that it is not easy to achieve equality of status for all, not to speak of complete equality, which is not attainable. What we do seem to have attained is the avoidance of hostile discrimination. This has been done by assuring equality before the law and equal protection of law.

Fraternity: The last objective of the Constitution, as proclaimed in its Preamble, is to develop a sense of fraternity by which the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation are guaranteed. Here it resembles the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 which says: *All human*

beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Fraternity is in fact one of the most essential instrument for establishing international understanding and unity, besides assuring the individual dignity. The spirit of brotherhood, as expressed through the incorporation of the word fraternity, is essential in a country like India, which is composed of people belonging to different races, communities, languages, religions and cultures.

Thus, the Preamble clearly sets in the source of the Constitution, nature of the State to be secured and most importantly the ideals to be achieved. The above mentioned ideals ensure the fullest physical, mental and moral development of the individual. Through these aspects of the Preamble, the philosophy of the Constitution gets crystallized. These ideals foster India's rebirth.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the space below for your answers. Check your answers with the model answers provided at the end of the unit.

Q1. What are the main ideals or principles of the Preamble of our Constitution?

.....

Q2. Do you think the ideals mentioned in the Preamble are easy to be achieved in today's world?

.....

3.5 LET US SUM UP

Lastly, it can be said that the Preamble truly inspired the hope to bring true freedom and opportunities of a meaningful existence to the common man to fight and end poverty, ignorance and diseases; to build a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation and to create social, economic and political institutions which would ensure justice, liberty and equality to the lives of every men and women. According to B.K Nehru, the preamble to our constitution does not specifically mentions that one of its aims is to ensure the prosperity of the nation. Since none of its other objectives can be achieved in a non-prosperous society, it can be assumed that the creation of prosperity is its underlying assumption and aim. Thus we have come to know that despite of not being a part of the Constitution the Preamble is an integral part of it. It is the ultimate soul of the Constitution as it upholds the meaning, nature and true spirit of the Constitution. Apart from this, so far as the socio-economic scenario of India, prior to its independence, was concerned it was very visible, how dilapidated the whole scenario was. Ruthless exploitation was carried out by the Britishers and the natives of India were deprived of their basic rights. It was mainly because of such exploitation that, the Constitution makers lay due emphasis on the Incorporation of the fundamental rights for the citizens of our country.

Key Words

Fraternity: feeling of friendship between people.

Egalitarian: believing that everyone should have equal freedom and opportunities.

Yardstick: something that you use to measure how good something else is.

Imperial: relating or belonging to an empire.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Pylee, M.V, 1997, *India's Constitution*, S. Chand & Co, New Delhi

Baruah, Aparajita, 2007, *Preamble of the Constitution of India : An Insight & Comparison*. Eastern Book Co.

Khanna, Hans Raj, 1981, *Making of India's Constitution*. Eastern Book Co.

POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should cover the following points

Ans: to Q1

- Socio economic scenario was fully controlled by the Britishers
- They adopted the divide and rule policy to create differences amongst people in the society
- Economy was fully exploited and resources were flown out of our country without allowing the natives to ripe its benefits.

Ans: to Q2

- The dilapidated socio-economic scenario made the constitution makers very conscious to accommodate the needs and wishes of the masses in the Constitution of our country.
- The Constitution was therefore made to rest on the ideals of democracy.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should cover the following points

Ans: to Q1

- It enshrines the philosophy, objectives and ideals of the Constitution.
- It is the ultimate key to the Constitution. If any clause couldnot be understood, the Preamble is to be consulted.
- It is a guiding star in the interpretation of the Constitution. It is of great use to open the minds of the framers of the Constitution.
- The Preamble indicates the moral basis of the Constitution.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should cover the following points

Ans: to Q1

- Justice: fair and equal share in the distribution of wealth and equal treatment for each and every section of the society.
- Liberty: Freedom in the exercise of one's rights.
- Equality: Equality before law and equal protection of law. No discrimination among rich and poor.
- Fraternity: We feelings amongst each and every citizen of India.

Ans: to Q2

- No it is not that easy to achieve these ideals in today's world.
- Differences between people are gradually growing. People are becoming selfish day by day.
- The legal system has become a puppet institution in the hands of the wealthier section of the society.

UNIT 4

TERRITORY AND REORGANISATION OF STATES

STRUCTURE

4.0 Objective

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Linguistic reorganization of states

4.2.1 The state re-organization commission

4.3 Problem of integration of states after independence

4.3.1 Formation of separate state of Nagaland

4.3.2 Formation of Mizoram

4.4 Special status granted to the state of Jammu & Kashmir

4.4.1 Constitutional Position of Jammu & Kashmir

Let us sum up

Key words

Some useful books

Answers to check your progress

4.0 OBJECTIVE

As we have come to know from the above unit that the Preamble of our Constitution has emphasized on developing 'We' feeling towards one another, which is indeed highlighted by its ideal of 'fraternity'. But gradually after independence, India had to fight hard to sustain the principle of fraternity amongst the people, belonging to different regions and communities. This unit will enable you to:

- *classify* the reorganization of states on the basis of language
- *relate* the boundary disputes owing to regionalism and regional inequality
- *explain* the special status bestowed on Jammu & Kashmir

4.1 INTRODUCTION

A major problem, that India has faced since 1947 has been the problem of maintaining the national unity and integrity of the nation. Since independence, India has been trying to deal with the problem of consolidating the nation and its people into one political community. A different scenario was found to prevail prior to India's independence when a strong sense of nationalism took over the hearts and minds of the Indians, the roots of which lie deep in its history and also in its experience of the struggle for independence. Despite its immense cultural diversity, certain shades of a common cultural heritage had developed amongst the people, knitting them together and inculcating in them a sense of oneness and tolerance towards the diversified cultural mosaic of our country. Apart from this the colonization of Indian economy, society and polity further strengthened the process of India's unification. However, gradually it was realized and recognized that the diversity of India was gradually a source of weakness for it. Diversity was used for divisive purposes and transformed into disruptive tendencies such as communalism, casteism, linguistic and regionalism. In fact rapid social changes led to the increase in the number of social conflicts. Several issues such as superiority of one's language, unemployment, lack of educational opportunities, unequal economic distribution, love towards one's religion etc did fuel rivalries and conflicts based on religion, region, caste and

language. Right after independence India had to face several boundary disputes and problems regarding integrating the states and the most vivid example of this was the linguistic reorganization of states or in other words reorganization of states on the basis of language.

4.2 LINGUISTIC REORGANISATION OF STATES

The reorganization of the states on the basis of language was a major set back in the process of national consolidation and integration immediately after independence. The language problem was the most divisive issue in the first twenty years of independent India, which ultimately posed a threat to the political and cultural unity of the country. We all know that language is closely related to culture and therefore to the customs of the people. More particularly in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural society like India, language has become a very strong driving force in maintaining the identity of different linguistic groups.

Prior to independence, it was believed by the Indian leadership that, democracy can become real to the common people only when politics and administration are conducted through the medium of the mother tongue. It is for this reason that with the increase of mass participation in the national movement after 1919, the Indian National Congress undertook political mobilization in the mother tongue and in the year 1921, amended its constitution and reorganized its branches on linguistic basis. Since then the Congress repeatedly committed itself to the re-drawing of the provincial boundaries on linguistic lines. But immediately after independence, the political leadership in India had to change its mind on the subject because of various reasons such as the partition of the country created a serious administrative, economic and political lacuna, the World War II resulted in serious economic and law and order problems throughout the world and above all was the Kashmir issue and a war like situation with Pakistan. The leadership felt that the most important task for the present was to consolidate national unity and integrity. However, prior to the framing of the Constitution, the Constituent Assembly raised the question of linguistic reorganization of India. It appointed in 1948,

the Linguistic Provinces Commission, headed by Justice S.K Dar, to enquire into the desirability of linguistic provinces. But the Dar Commission advice not to go for linguistic re-organization as it might threaten the national unity and might also be administratively inconvenient and therefore the linguistic principle was not incorporated in the Constitution. Simultaneously several committees were formed to discuss on the linguistic reorganization issue which yielded no fruitful result. These were followed by popular movements for re-organization of states all over the country, which persisted with varying degree of intensity till 1960.

The very first demand of such kind was the demand for the creation of Andhra Pradesh as a separate state for the Telegu people. The demand had been popular for almost half a century and had the support of all political parties. On 19th October, 1952, a popular freedom fighter, Patti Sriramalu , undertook a fast unto death over the demand for a separate state of Andhra and expired after fifty eight days. This led to the rise of a severe agitation all over Andhra. The government immediately gave in and agreed to their demand for the formation of a separate state of Andhra Pradesh. The success of the Andhra struggle encouraged other linguistic groups to agitate for their respective states or for rectification of their boundaries on a linguistic basis.

4.2.1 THE STATE RE-ORGANISATION COMMISSION

In order to meet the ever increasing demands for the re-organization of states, the Congress under the leadership of Pt. Nehru appointed the States Reorganization Commission (SRC) on August 1953, with Justice Fazl Ali, K.M Panikkar and Hridayanath Kunjru as its members, to examine in depth the very question of reorganization of the states of the union. The SRC submitted its report after a period of two years i.e., on 1955. Though it recognized the need for the redrawing of the state boundaries on the linguistic principle, it made it very clear that the administrative and economic factors should be duly kept in mind before bringing about any change. The Commission however opposed the splitting of Bombay and Punjab. Despite strong reactions to the SRC report in different parts of the country, the SRC's recommendations were

accepted and quickly implemented by the government. Subsequently the States Reorganization Act was passed in 1956, which provided for fourteen states and six centrally administered territories.

The strongest reaction against the SRC's report and the Act came from Maharashtra where widespread rioting broke out. Under severe pressure, the government on June 1956, decided to divide the state of Maharashtra into two states viz, Maharashtra and Gujarat with Bombay as the capital of Maharashtra and Ahmadabad as the capital of Gujarat. Another state that underwent a reformation was the state of Punjab. In the year 1966, the government of India agreed to the division of Punjab into two Punjabi and Hindi speaking states of Punjab and Haryana respectively.

Thus, after a decade of popular struggles, linguistic reorganization of India was largely completed, making room for greater participation by the people in the political process.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the space below for your answers. Check your answers with those given at the end of the unit.

Q1. Which was the first state to be re-organized on the basis of language? Why did the government accept their demand?

.....

Q2. When was the State Re-organization Commission set up? Who were its members?

.....

4.3 PROBLEM OF INTEGRATION OF STATES AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The immediate scenario of post independence India was slightly gloomy in the sense that it had to face with several political, economic and social problems. One of such problem was to integrate different communities and their respective states together. More particularly the task of integrating the tribal people into the mainstream was extremely a complex phenomenon. The tribal population is spread all over India but their greatest concentration is on Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, North-east India, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan. The tribal are mostly found to reside in the hills and forest areas and as such they lived in relative isolation. But in most part of the country, colonialism brought about radical transformation of the tribal as their relative isolation was eroded by integrating them with the British administration. But gradually they were exploited and their way of life was disrupted by a large number of money lenders, traders, revenue farmers and other middlemen and petty officials and were gradually reduced to the position of agricultural labourers, sharecroppers, and rack-rented tenants. Apart from this we all know that the tribals depended on the forests for food, fuel and cattle feed and raw materials for their handicrafts but in order to conserve forests and facilitate their commercial exploitation, the Britishers brought large tracts of forests lands under different forests laws which ultimately imposed restrictions on the tribals in the use of the forests and their access to forests products. Such developments led to a series of tribal uprising such as the Munda rebellion, Santhal uprising as well as the participation of the people in the national and peasant movement in different parts of the country. After independence it became one of the most important task of the government to integrate the tribals with the whole of India. But inspite of the constitutional safeguards and the efforts of the central and state governments, the tribal progress and welfare was very slow. The problem basically rested in the weak execution of well intentioned measures. This resulted in the growth of antagonism amongst the tribals against the non-tribals people. Protest

movements started springing up among the tribals out of their frustration because of their lack of development and welfare.

This frustration amongst the tribals from different belts led to a series of autonomy as well as secessionist movements led by the tribals, demanding either for a separate and independent state outside India or an autonomous state within India. This was indeed a very big challenge faced by our country in integrating its people and the states. In this regard we need to mention the states of Nagaland, Mizoram and Jharkhand.

4.3.1 FORMATION OF SEPARATE STATE OF NAGALAND

During the British rule, the Nagas were left to live in isolation from the rest of the country, more or less undisturbed but the Christian Missionaries were however allowed to carry out their activity which finally had led to the growth of a small educated stratum. Immediately after independence, the government of India followed the policy of integrating the Naga areas with the state of Assam and India as a whole. A section of the Naga leadership, however opposed such integration and rose in rebellion under the leadership of A.Z. Phizo, demanding separation from India and complete independence. In the year 1955, the situation reached to such a height that these separatist Nagas declared the formation of an independent government of their own. To this the government of India followed a two track policy viz, one of suppression and the other of negotiation. On one hand, the Government of India send its army to Nagaland in 1956, to suppress the Naga rebellion and restore peace and order. On the other hand Nehru wedded to a friendly approach. Even while trying his best to integrate the Nagas with the rest of the country, Pt. Nehru favoured their right to maintain their autonomy in cultural and other matters. Firm on his decision of not bowing down before the Naga's demand for an independent nation, Nehru carried on prolonged negotiations with the more moderate, non-violent and non-secessionists Naga leaders. Nehru's endeavor paid its due towards mid 1957, when the more moderate Nagas negotiated for the creation of the state of

Nagaland within the Indian Union. Thus was formed the separate state of Nagaland.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the space below for your answers. Check the answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

Q1. Why was it difficult to integrate the tribals with mainstream India?

.....

Q2. Under whose initiative, the Nagas started their rebel against the government of India?

.....

4.3.2 FORMATION OF MIZORAM

A situation similar to that in Nagaland developed a few years later in the autonomous Mizo district of North East. But the demands of the Mizos were slightly different from those of the Nagas. Their demands included- democratisation of the Mizo society, economic development and adequate representation of the Mizos in the Assam legislature. However, certain unhappy developments in the due course such as the inadequate measures taken by the Assam government during the famine of 1959 and the passage of the 1961 Act, whereby Assamese was made the official language of the state, ultimately led to the formation of the Mizo National Front (MNF), with Laldenga as its President. The MNF participated in electoral politics as well as formed a military wing to fight back the government. On March 1966, the MNF declared

independence from India and attacked military and civilian targets. The government of India responded back with counter-insurgency measures by the army. Within a few weeks the insurrection was crushed and government control was restored, though stray guerilla activities continued. Gradually, in 1973 the elite section of the Mizos scaled down their demand to that of a separate state of Mizoram within the Indian union and as such the Mizo district of Assam was separated from Assam and Mizoram was given the status of a union territory. The separatist Mizo insurgents tried to gain momentum in the late seventies, but the Indian government continued with its policy of negotiation with the rebels agreeing to offer tribal terms and conditions in their territory. Finally, both the parties arrived at a settlement in the year 1986, whereby the insurgent section of the MNF under Laldenga agreed to surrender before the Indian authorities and re-enter the constitutional political stream. The government on the other hand agreed to grant full statehood to Mizoram. Thus was formed the state of Mizoram in February 1987.

These were the two most important separatist movements that we get to see in the history of India right after its independence. However, the problem regarding the integration of the states continued and as such we get to see the formation of some newly independent states such as Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chattisgarh.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the space given below for your answers. Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

Q1. What made the Mizos demand for a separate state of Mizoram?

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4.4 SPECIAL STATUS GRANTED TO THE STATE OF JAMMU & KASHMIR

While discussing the problem of integration of states after independence, we need to discuss the conditions which lead to the granting of special status to the state of Jammu & Kashmir.

When India and Pakistan gained their independence on 15th and 14th August 1947, respectively; J&K chose to remain independent. There was an agreement by J&K with Pakistan and India that none of them will attack J&K. While India respected the agreement and exercised restraint, Pakistan attacked Kashmir in a bid to annex it by force. On 6th October 1947, Kashmir was attacked by “Azad Kashmir Forces” supported by Pakistan. To save J&K, Maharaja Hari Singh (the then ruler of J&K) chose to accede J&K to India. In October 1947, the accession was made by the ruler in favour of India in consideration of certain commitments made by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru (the then Prime Minister of India). It was in the pursuance of those commitments that Article 370 was incorporated in the Constitution.

4.4.1 Constitutional Position of Jammu & Kashmir

Under Part XXI of the Constitution of India, which deals with “Temporary, Transitional and Special provisions”, the State of Jammu and Kashmir has been accorded special status under Article 370. Even though included in 1st Schedule as 15th state, all the provisions of the Constitution which are applicable to other states are not applicable to J&K. For example, till 1965, J&K had a Sadr-e-Riyasat for Governor and Prime Minister in place of Chief Minister. Article 370 granted some special features to the state of J&K, some of which are as follows.

- 1) **Separate Constitution:** J&K is the only state in India which has a Constitution of its own. The Constitution of J&K was enacted by a separate Constituent Assembly set up by the State and it came into force on 26th January 1957.
- 2) **Jurisdiction of Parliament:** Parliament or the Union Legislature has very limited jurisdiction in case of J&K as compared to other states. The Parliament has power to legislate not just on subjects contained in the Union List but also on some of the subjects of Concurrent List. Residuary powers, unlike other states, rest with J&K. The Parliament

has no power to legislate Preventive Detention laws for the state; only the state legislature has the power to do so.

- 3) **Autonomy in certain matters:** Any action of the Union Legislature or Union Executive which results in alteration of the name or territories or an international treaty or agreement affecting the disposition of any part of the territory of the state requires the consent of the State Legislature or the State Executive (as the case may be) to be effective. The Union has no power to suspend the Constitution of J&K.
- 4) **Fundamental Duties, Directive Principles and Fundamental Rights:** Part IV (Directive Principles of the State Policy) and Part IVA (Fundamental Duties) of the Constitution are not applicable to J&K. In addition to other fundamental rights, Articles 19(1)(f) and 31(2) of the Constitution are still applicable to J&K; hence the Fundamental Right to property is still guaranteed in this state.
- 5) **Miscellaneous:** Certain special rights have been granted to the permanent residents of J&K with regard to employment under the state, acquisition of immovable property in the state, settlement in the state, and scholarship and other forms of aid as the state government may provide.

Thus, we get to see that large number of special provisions are being bestowed upon the state of Jammu & Kashmir after acceding it with the Indian Union.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: Use the space given below for your answers. Check your answers with those given at the end of the unit.

Q1. What is the reason behind granting special status to the state of Jammu & Kashmir?

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4.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit we can very well realize that owing to the socio-cultural diversity of our country, the leaders of independent India had to face the herculean task of integrating the states of India. Though their overall attempt to integrate the Indian states succeeded, yet there were certain areas where they failed. Language being a medium of expression, is indeed considered vital to everybody's life, as such granting one language the honour of being the official language was considered to be a status issue by different communities speaking different languages and the result of which could be seen in the form of linguistic reorganization of states. Apart from this, the dissatisfaction of the people in the functioning of the government before or after independence was expressed in the form of various secessionist or autonomy movement like the Naga Movement leading to the formation of Nagaland, the Mizo Movement leading to the formation of Mizoram etc etc. This unit throws light on the political scenario of India after independence.

KEY WORDS

Secessionist: The tendency to separate.

Autonomy: The right of a country or group of people to govern itself.

Negotiation: To try to make or to change an agreement or a situation by discussion.

Integration: To become a part of the group, society or state.

Linguistic: Relating to language or the study of language.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Brass, Paul R, *Language, Religion and Politics in Northern India*.

D, Cruz, Edward, *India-The Quest for Nationhood*.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should cover the following points

Ans: to Q1

- It was a popular demand
- Had the support of popular political parties
- Because of the death of a popular freedom fighter due to death which resulted in the rise of severe agitation.

Ans: to Q2

- August 1953
- Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Justice Fazl Ali, K.M Panikkar and Hridayanath Kunjru

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should cover the following points

Ans: to Q1

- They lived in isolation. Mostly resided in forests and hill areas
- Under colonial rule they were duly exploited by money lenders, traders etc.
- Reduced to the position of labourers, sharecroppers etc.
- Deprived of forests and forest goods.

Ans: to Q2

- Under the initiative of A.Z Phizo

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should cover the following points.

Ans: to Q1

- Inadequate representation of Mizos in the Assam Legislature
- The Act of 1961, whereby Assamese was made the official language.

- Inadequate measures taken by the Assam government in the famine of 1959.

Check Your Progress 4

Your answer should cover the following points

Ans: to Q1

- After independence, J&K chose to remain independent with an agreement with Pakistan and India that none of them will attack J&K.
- While India accepted the proposal Pakistan attacked Kashmir to annex it by force.
- On 6th October 1947, Kashmir was attacked by “Azad Kashmir Forces” supported by Pakistan.
- To save J&K, Maharaja Hari Singh (the then ruler of J&K) chose to accede J&K to India.
- In October 1947, the accession was made where Nehru made certain commitments with the Raja.
- It was in the pursuance of those commitments that Article 370 was incorporated in the Constitution.

UNIT 5

AMENDMENT PROCESS

STRUCTURE

5.0 Objectives

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Basic structure of the constitution

5.3 The amendment process of the constitution

5.3.1 Constitutional Provision for Amendment of
the Indian Constitution

5.3.2 Procedure of amendment of the Indian
Constitution

5.4 Various amendments of the Indian constitution made
so far

5.5 Shortcomings of the amendment process

5.6 Let us sum up

Key words

Some useful books

Answers to check your progress

5.0 OBJECTIVES

The primary objective of this unit is to enable you to:

- *recognize* the basic structure of the Constitution
- *identify* the amendment process of the Constitution
- *point out* the various amendments made so far in the Constitution along with their shortcomings and also suggestion for improvement if any

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have come to learn about the different aspects of the Indian political system and the law of our land i.e. the Constitution. But we have not yet known the basic structure of the constitution. In this unit, we shall try to analyze the basic structure of the Indian Constitution. More particularly we shall try to trace out whether a basic structure of the Constitution has been formulated by the Constitution makers or not. If yes, then what is that? Apart from this we all know that the Constitution makers have provided for the provision of amendment of the Constitution, so it is very important to know the amendment procedure as well as the various amendments made so far. This unit will throw due light on these issues.

5.2 BASIC STRUCTURE OF THE CONSTITUTION

The doctrine of basic structure is not found anywhere. It was a judicial innovation made by the Supreme Court, to maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, but it has not defined it. The basic structure of the Constitution can be defined as those part of the Constitution without which the Constitution may lose its fundamental character. The Supreme Court did not define it because by not defining it, it has kept its powers open. However, the Supreme Court considers the basic structure to be the heart of the Constitutional scheme. It has somehow tried to outline or we may say envisage the basic structure of the Constitution, the content of which cannot be completely determined with any measure of finality until a judgement of the Supreme Court spells it out. The following is an outline of basic structure of the Constitution:

Parts of basic structure of the constitution

1. Supremacy of the Constitution.
2. Sovereignty of the country.
3. The mandate to build a welfare state.
4. Secularism.
5. Democratic form of government.
6. Parliamentary form of government.
7. Republican nature of the government.
8. Fair and free flow of elections.
9. Judicial Review.
10. Balance between the fundamental rights and Directive Principles of State Policy.

The above given list is only illustrative and not exhaustive. Now, according to the Constitution, the Parliament and the state legislatures in India have the power to make laws within their respective jurisdictions. However, this power is not absolute in nature. The Constitution vests in the judiciary i.e. the Supreme Court, the power to adjudicate upon the constitutional validity of all laws. If a law made by Parliament or the state legislatures violates any provision of the Constitution, the Supreme Court has the power to declare such a law invalid or *ultra vires*. The founding fathers wanted the Constitution to be an adaptable document rather than a rigid framework for governance. Hence, Parliament was invested with the power to amend the Constitution. Article 368 of the Constitution gives the impression that Parliament's amending powers are absolute and encompass all parts of the document. But the Supreme Court has acted as a brake to the legislative enthusiasm of Parliament ever since independence. With the intention of preserving the original ideals or in other words the 'basic structure' of the constitution as envisioned by the constitution-makers, the apex court pronounced that Parliament could not distort, damage or alter the basic features of the Constitution under the pretext of amending it.

The amending power of the Parliament is limited to the limit of not violating the basic structure of the Constitution. The basic structure of the Constitution can be amended but cannot be destroyed.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the space given below for your answers. Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

Q1. Give an idea about the basic structure of the Constitution?

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5.3 THE AMENDMENT PROCESS OF THE CONSTITUTION

We have come to learn that, though there is no such concept as the 'basic structure' in the Constitution, yet the Supreme Court has envisaged the basic structure of the Constitution with its most important aspects. The reason behind the lack of a basic structure is that the Constitution makers wanted to keep the Constitution little flexible in order to keep it adaptable to the changing demands of the changing time. That is why they have empowered the Parliament to amend the Constitution. However the basic structure of the Constitution cannot be changed under any circumstances. In case if any amendment violates the basic structure, it should be revised and changed. So, now we shall look into the Amendment procedure of the Constitution.

5.3.1 Constitutional Provision for Amendment of the Indian Constitution

Part XX of the Indian Constitution deals with the Amendment Procedure of the Constitution. Article 368 specifies the power of the Parliament to amend the Constitution and the procedure of it. It is also mentioned in the Article that there will be no limitation on the constituent power of the Parliament for amending it by adding, removing or improving the provisions made in it.

5.3.2 Procedure of amendment of the Indian Constitution

The method of an amendment to the constitution is considered to be a highly complicated procedure. Amendment can be made by various methods, which have been modeled based on the South African Constitution. The initial step of an amendment of the constitution is the introduction of Bills regarding it in any one of the houses of the Parliament. The Bills can be passed by simple majority of the Parliament. Before sending the Bills for President's assent, there can be a voting among the members of Parliament present. If majority of them votes in favor of the amendments, it is accepted. An amendment can also be finalized if two-thirds of the members of Parliament present vote in its favor. However, the number of voters should be more than half of the total number of members of the house. This method is known as 'special majority of the Parliament'. In some cases, Bills for amendments to the Indian Constitution, finalized in this method, may also require the ratification of the Legislatures of at least half of the Indian States.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the space below for your answers. Check the answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

Q1. What is the constitutional provision for the amendment of the constitution?

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Q2. Provide an account of the procedure for the amendment of the Indian Constitution?

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5.4 VARIOUS AMENDMENTS OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION MADE SO FAR

There have been 94 amendments made to the Constitution of India. The Amendment Acts, which are also known as Constitution (Amendment) Acts, and the date, when they came into force, are mentioned below:

The Constitutional Amendment Acts (1951-2009)

Constitutional Amendment	Year	Amended Subject
1	2	3
First Amendment	1951	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Right to Equality, Right to Liberty and Right to Property were restricted in public interest 2. The Land Reform Acts were put into Ninth Schedule to make them out of the jurisdiction of Courts. 3. The Sessions of Legislatures, appointment of Judges and provision relating to reservation of seats were also affected.
Second Amendment	1953	Representation of States in the Parliament.
Third Amendment	1954	The Subject of raw cotton, food production, animal husbandry etc. were shifted to the Concurrent List.
Fourth Amendment	1955	The Compensation given in lieu of acquisition of property may be specified and the amount of compensation is too be beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts.

Fifth Amendment	1955	The President was given power to specify time within which the States shall express their opinion with respect to a proposed legislation affecting the boundaries and name of the States.
Sixth Amendment	1956	The Parliament was given the power to tax the goods involved in the inter-State trades.
Seventh Amendment	1956	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. State reorganization in 14 States and Union Territories. 2. Reallocation of Seats in the Lok Sabha of the people, the Rajya Sabha and the State Legislatures. 3. Provision for the appointment of acting and additional Judges and jurisdiction of High Courts. 4. Provisions for Union Territories. 5. Special provisions for the States of Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and Bombay.
Eight Amendment	1960	The Reservation of seats in Legislatures in favour of SCs, STs and the Anglo-Indian Community extended upto 1970.
Ninth Amendment	1960	Provision regarding transfer of Berubari Union areas to Pakistan.
Tenth Amendment	1961	Dadra & Nagar Naveli admitted to the Union of India.
Eleventh Amendment	1961	Provisions relating to the Electoral College for the election of the President and the Vice-President.
Twelfth Amendment	1962	Goa, Daman and Diu admitted to the Union of India.
Thirteenth Amendment	1962	Nagaland was given full statehood and special provisions were made for the State of Nagaland.

Fourteenth Amendment	1962	Pudducherry was admitted in the union of India as a Union Territory and provisions were made for the constitution of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of Ministers in it.
Fifteenth Amendment	1963	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The retirement age of the Judge of the High Courts was raised to 62 years from 60 years. 2. Provision for the re-employment of the retired Judge of the High Court. 3. Extension to the jurisdiction of the High Courts.
Sixteenth Amendment	1963	The States were given the power to restrict the Right to Liberty.
Seventeenth Amendment	1964	The State redefined, provision regarding the Judicial Review.
Eighteenth Amendment	1966	The 'State' redefined.
Nineteenth Amendment	1966	Election Tribunals abolished, the provisions relating to electoral disputes.
Twentieth Amendment	1966	Provisions regarding appointment to District Judges.
Twenty first Amendment	1967	Sindhi language was added in the Eighth Schedule.
Twenty Second Amendment	1969	Establishment of the Union Territory of Meghalaya and special provision with respect to the State of Assam.
Twenty Third Amendment	1970	The reservation in Legislatures in favour of SCs, STs and Anglo-Indian Community was extended upto 1980.
Twenty Fourth Amendment	1971	The Parliament was given power to amend any part of the Constitution including the Fundamental Rights.
Twenty Fifth Amendment	1971	The Fundamental Right were subordinated to the Directive Principles as given in the Art. 39.

Twenty Sixth Amendment	1971	The privy purse and other privileges of the princes were abolished.
Twenty Seventh Amendment	1971	Re-organisation of North-Eastern States.
Twenty Eighth Amendment	1972	Privilege availed by the members of I.C.S. abolished.
Twenty Ninth Amendment	1972	The Land Reform Acts passed by the Legislature of the State of Kerala, include in the Ninth Schedule.
Thirtieth Amendment	1972	The limit of Rs. 20,000 for making an appeal to the Supreme Court in civil matters abolished.
Thirty-first Amendment	1973	The membership of the Lok Sabha increased to 545 members from 525 members.
Thirty-Second Amendment	1973	Special provisions with respect to the State of Andhra Pradesh.
Thirty-third Amendment	1974	Provision was made to the effect that the acceptance of resignation of member of Parliament by the presiding officer is not mandatory.
Thirty-fourth Amendment	1974	The Ninth Schedule extended to include several more laws to laws.
Thirty-fifth Amendment	1974	Sikkim was admitted as an associate state of the union of India.
Thirty-sixth Amendment	1974	Sikkim was given full statehood.
Thirty-Seventh Amendment	1975	Provision for the constitution of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of Ministers in Arunachal Pradesh.
Thirty-eighth Amendment	1975	The ordinance issued by the President, the Governors and the Lt. Governors made to be out of jurisdiction of the Courts.

Thirty-ninth Amendment	1975	The elections of the President, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister and the Speaker of Lok Sabha cannot be challenged in the Courts.
Fortieth Amendment	1976	New laws included in Ninth Schedule. Parliament was given power with respect to the territorial waters of India.
Forty-first Amendment	1976	The retirement age of the members of the State Public Service Commission and the Joint Public Service Commission raised to 62 years from 60 years.
Forty-Second	1976	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The words 'Secular', 'Socialist and 'Integrity were added in the preamble. 2. The validity of the Constitutional Amendment can not be questioned in any Court-368(4). 3. Additions in the Directive Principles of State Policy. 4. Primacy given to the Directive Principles a over the Fundamental Rights. 5. The Fundamental Duties Part IVA added. 6. Restriction on the Fundamental Rights widened. 7. The Power of Judicial Review of the Court was restricted. 8. The duration of the Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assemblies of the State extended to 6 years during the National Emergency. 9. Provisions were made for the participation of the workers in the management of industries. 10. Provisions for the protection of environment, forests and wildlife. 11. Provisions for the protection of the children and the youth against exploitation.

		<ol style="list-style-type: none">12. The delimitation of the constituencies of the Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assemblies of the States shall be on the basis of the population of 1971 till the year 2001.13. No quorum shall be required for conducting the meeting of the Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assemblies of the States.14. The right of the Supreme Court to examine the validity of the laws of the State under Article 32A abolished.15. The Jury System was given importance in the functioning of the Courts.16. The President was to be bound by the advice of the council of Ministers.17. The Central Government was given the power to send Central Forces in any State or part of State to control the law and order in the State and the control of such forces was to rest with the Central Government.18. Emergency Provisions: (a) National Emergency may be proclaimed in a part of the Territory of India; (b) The one time duration of the President rule in a State under the Art.356 was extended from 6 months to one year.19. Some subjects- protection of the forests and the wildlife, education, weights and measures, population control and judicial administration shifted to the Concurrent List.20. Provision for the establishment of the Administrative Tribunals for public servants.
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Forty-third Amendment	1987	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Protection of the rights and powers of the judiciary. Judicial Review status quo restored. 2. The provision relating to the power of the Parliament to declare an organization as Anti-National was repealed.
Forty-fourth Amendment	1978	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Fundamental Right to Property was abolished and made a legal right under Art.300A. 2. The term of the Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assemblies of the States reduced to 5 years. 3. The disputes relating to the qualification of the members of the Parliament and the State Legislature was to be decided by the President and the Governors respectively. 4. The provisions regarding quorum in the Legislatures was changed to as these were before 42nd Amendment. 5. It was provided that disputes relating to the election of the President and the Vice President were to be decided by the Supreme Court and that of the election of the members of the Parliament and the State Legislature were decided by the High Courts. 6. The National Emergency was not to be proclaimed except on the written recommendation of the Cabinet. The Right to Life and Personal Liberty and the liberty of the press were restored.
Forty-fifth Amendment	1980	The reservation of the seats in the Legislatures in favour for SCs, STs and the Anglo-Indian Community was extended further for 10 years.

Forty-Sixth Amendment	1982	The Sales tax imposed by the States was restructured.
Forty-Seventh Amendment	1984	Fourteen new laws relating to the land reforms were included in the Ninth Schedule.
Forty-ninth Amendment	1984	The Parliament and the Legislature of the State of Tripura was to have power to make laws with respect to the Tribal Areas of Tripura.
Fiftieth Amendment	1984	The Parliament was given the power to restrict by law the Fundamental Rights with respect to the members of the Armed Forces.
Fifty-first Amendment	1984	Provisions were made for the reservation of the Scheduled Caste and the Schedule Tribes of the North-Eastern States in the Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assemblies of those States except the seats in the autonomous areas of Assam.
Fifty-Second Amendment	1985	Provisions relating to the Anti-defection law were added in the Constitution.
Fifty-third Amendment	1986	Mizoram was included as the 23 rd State of the Indian Union.
Fifty-fourth Amendment	1986	The Salary and emoluments of the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts were enhanced.
Fifty –fifth Amendment	1986	Arunachal Pradesh was made the 24 th State of the Union of India.
Fifty-sixth Amendment	1987	Goa was included in the Union of India as the 25 th State.
Fifty-seventh Amendment	1987	The reservation for SCs, STs of Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh in the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies made more effective.

Fifty-eighth Amendment	1987	Provisions for the authoritative text of the Constitution in the Hindi Language.
Fifty-ninth Amendment	1988	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The duration of the President's Rule in Punjab extended upto three years. 2. Provisions that the National Emergency can be declared in the State of Punjab on the grounds of internal disturbance. 3. The right to life and personal liberty can be suspended during the Emergency only in the State of Punjab.
Sixtieth Amendment	1988	The maximum amount of taxed on profession levied by a local authority was extended from Rs.250 to Rs.2500.
Sixty-first Amendment	1988	The minimum age limit prescribed to get the voting right was reduced to 18 years from 21 years.
Sixty-second Amendment	1988	The reservation for SCs, STs and the Anglo-Indian Community in the Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assemblies of the States was extended for another ten years.
Sixty-third Amendment	1989	The right to life and persons liberty was not to be suspended in Punjab during Emergency.
Sixty-fourth Amendment	1990	The Duration of the Presiden's Rule in Punjab (imposed on May11, 1987) was extended to another six months.
Sixty-fifth Amendment	1990	The National Commission for the Scheduled Castes and the Schedule Tribes was given a Constitutional Status.
Sixty-sixth Amendment	1990	Fifty-five laws related to land reforms, enacted by the States were included in the Ninth Schedule.
Sixty-seventh Amendment	1990	The duration of the President's rule in Punjab was extended up to four years from the date of enforcement, i.e., May11,1987.

Sixty-eighth Amendment	1991	The duration of the President's rule in Punjab was extended upto five years.
Sixty-ninth Amendment	1991	The Union Territory of Delhi was provided with a 70 member Legislative Assembly.
Seventieth Amendment	1992	The members of the Legislative Assemblies of Delhi and Pudducherry were given the right to participation in the election of the President.
Seventy-first Amendment	1992	Nepali, Konkani and Manipuri languages included in the Eighth Schedule.
Seventy-second Amendment	1992	It provided for provisionally deciding the number of seats reserved in the Legislative Assembly of Tripura in favour of the Schedule Tribes.
Seventy-third Amendment	1992	Provisions relating to the constitution, elections, finance and functions of the Panchayati Raj bodies.
Seventy-fourth Amendment	1992	Provisions relating to the constitution, elections, finance and functions of the Municipalities.
Seventy-fifth Amendment	1994	Provisions for the establishment of a special Administrative Tribunals for the speedy disposal of the disputes between the householders and the tenants.
Seventy-sixth Amendment	1994	The laws relating to reservation enacted by the Tamil Nadu Assembly included in the Ninth Schedule.
Seventy-seventh Amendment	1995	Provisions made for the reservation for SCs, STs in the promotions in public services.
Seventy-eighth Amendment	1995	Some more reform acts of different States waer included in the Ninth Schedule.
Seventy-ninth Amendment	1999	The reservation of the seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes as well as for the Anglo Indians in the Lok Sabha and in the Legislative Assemblies of the States extended for another ten years.

Eightieth Amendment	2000	Based on the recommendations of the Tenth Finance Commission, alternative scheme for sharing the taxes between the union and the States was incorporated.
Eighty-first Amendment	2000	The unfilled vacancies of a year which were reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes for being filled up in that year in accordance with any provision for the reservation made under Article 16 of the Constitution was to be considered a special class of vacancies to be filled up in any succeeding year or years.
Eighty-Second Amendment	2000	The amendment provided that nothing in Article 335 shall prevent the State from making any provision in favour of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes for the relaxation in qualifying marks in any examination or lowering the standard of evaluation for the reservation in the matters of promotion to any class or classes of services posts in connection with affairs of the Union or a State.
Eighty-third Amendment	2000	If provided the no reservation in Panchayats need to be made in favour of the Scheduled Castes in Arunachal Pradesh wholly inhabited by the tribal population.
Eighty-fourth Amendment	2000	Creation of the new States of Chhattisgarh, Uttaranchal and Jharkhand.
Eighty-fifth Amendment	2002	Restoration of reservation in promotions in services for the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
Eighty-sixth Amendment	2002	Right to Education was made the fundamental right and a fundamental duty has been fixed to the parents and guardians to provide opportunities for education to there children on wards between the age of 6 and 14.

Eighty-seventh Amendment	2003	Provisions were made so that each state shall be divided into territorial constitutions in such a manner that the ratio between the population as per 2001 Census, of each constitutions and number of seats allotted to it is, so far as practicable, the same throughout the state.
Eighty-eighth Amendment	2003	Taxes on services was included in the Union List.
Eighty-ninth Amendment	2003	Provisions for creation for separate Commission for Schedule castes.
Ninetieth Amendment	2003	Provisions under which the Scheduled Tribes and non-Scheduled Tribes in the Bodoland Territorial Areas District, so notified, and existing prior to the Constitution of the Bodoland Territorial Areas District were be maintained.
Ninety-first Amendment	2003	Provisions were made regarding the strength of Council of Ministers in Union as well stage to 15% of the total member of Lok Sabha or concerned Vidhan Sabha respectively.
Ninety-Second Amendment	2003	Bodo, Dogri, Maithilli and Santhali were added in the Eighth Schedule of Constitution. It now came to have 22 languages.
Ninety-third Amendment	2005 (came into effect from 20 th June 2006)	Art 15 & 19 were amended. Nothing in these Articles was to prevent the state from making special provisions for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the advancement of SCs and STs in so far as such special institutions including private institutions whether aided or unaided by the state, other than minority institutions which come under Art.30.
Ninety-fourth Amendment	2006	Bihar was not to have a minister for Tribal Welfare in its State Council of Ministers (The Tribal Areas now form a part of the State of Jharkhand).

The above is an account of the various amendments made by the Parliament till date.

CheckYourProgress3

Note: Use the space below for your answers. Check the answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

Q1. How many amendments have been made so far in the Indian Constitution?

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Q2. Give an account of the different amendments?

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5.5 SHORTCOMINGS OF THE AMENDMENT PROCESS

A careful examination of the procedure of amendment reveals that with a very few exceptions the power to initiate an amendment lies with the Union Parliament. Besides, the Constitution prescribes no time limit within which the State Legislatures should ratify or reject an amendment submitted to them. A majority of State Legislatures may in fact kill an amendment by taking no action on it. More significant, while the legislative procedure provides for the resolution of a deadlock when the Houses of Parliament fail to agree over an ordinary bill, no provision has been specifically made for resolving a similar deadlock if it occurs over a constitutional amendment. It was immensely important that the fathers of the Constitution should have prescribed an easy method of amendment for the lengthy and detailed constitution of India. It

is difficult to secure the double majority that is required for the amendment of the fundamental parts of the Constitution. In case of the existence of a multiplicity of parties both in the country and the Parliament, it will be very difficult to obtain the near unanimity that is needed for an amendment of the constitution.

Secondly, India is a federation and in that the states as well as the Union Territories are as much participants as the centre, but these cannot take any initiative in the amendment of the constitution.

Thirdly, some parts of the constitution can only be amended when half of the states ratify it. There is no mention in the constitution about the time, during which the ratification is to be made,

Fourthly, one important point which needs clearance is that whether the states can revise their opinion at any point of time once they have communicated their viewpoint to the centre.

Finally, it is equally not clear how much time will the centre take to implement a resolution of the state legislatures about constitutional amendment.

The amending procedure was made partly flexible so as to make it easy for the Legislature. But the Parliament started thinking that it has unlimited amending power. It assumed itself to be the supreme law when the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. The Parliament started making amendments which were destroying the basic structure of the Indian Constitution. But after the landmark decisions of the famous *Keshavnand Bharati* and *Minerva Mills* case the Court by its power of judicial review has curtailed the amending power of the Parliament. The amendments made by the Parliament can no more affect the basic structure of the Constitution. But, looking at the ease with amendments can take place depending on the whims and fancies of the ruling government and its politics; we cannot say how long the rights of the citizens are safe and unobstructed. The Parliament owes its existence to the Constitution and it cannot take priority over the Constitution.

So, by no means the Parliament shall be permitted to change the basic structure of the Constitution.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: Use the lines below for your answers. Check your answers with those given at the end of the unit.

Q1. What is the basic shortcoming of the amendment process?

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5.6 LET US SUM UP

From this unit we have come to learn that there is no concept as the basic structure of the Constitution though the Constitutional makers have duly envisaged a structure of the Constitution, which they considers essential enough to uphold the dignity of the Constitution. That is why the Supreme Court has limited the power of the Parliament and the Legislatures in amending the Constitution so that the basic structure or in other words the dignity of the Constitution is not tampered with. We have seen that so far many amendments were made but if we analyze properly, we will see that the amendment procedure is quite lengthy in nature which is why it is time consuming and the primary lacunae of the amendment procedure would be the need of unanimity in decisions amongst different political parties.

KEY WORDS

Amendment: to bring about a change in the words of a document or in any process.

Innovation: a new idea or method that is being tried for the first time.

Adaptable: able to change to suit different situations.

Stagnant: situation of no growth or no flow.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Rai, Kailash, 2010, *The Constitutional Law of India*, Central Law Publications, Allahabad.

Chand, Hari, *Amending Process in the Indian Constitution*.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should cover the following points:

Ans: to Q1

- There is no mention of the basic structure of the constitution in the Constitution as such. However the Supreme Court has envisaged a structure of our Constitution which is rather illustrative not exhaustive in nature. The basic contents of the structure are mentioned in the unit above.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should include the following points:

Ans: to Q1

- Part XX of the Constitution deals with its Amendment procedure.
- Article 368 specifies the power and procedure of the Parliament to amend the Constitution.

Ans: to Q2

- See unit above.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should include the following points

Ans: to Q1

- There are 94 amendments made in the Indian Constitution till date.

Ans: to Q2

- See unit above.

Check Your Progress 4

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1

- The Union Parliament is bestowed with a lots of power to amend the Constitution.
- No time limit has been fixed for the State Legislatures to ratify or reject an amendment.
- No proper method to resolve a deadlock between the State Legislatures and the Parliament.

BLOCK – 2 : THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

UNIT 1

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY & FEDERALISM

STRUCTURE

1.1 Objective

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Parliamentary democracies and the Indian federal system

1.3.1 Features of Indian Federalism

1.3.2 Nature of Indian Federalism

1.4 Centre-state relations

1.4.1 Legislative relations

1.4.2 Administrative relations

1.4.3 Financial relations

1.5 Changing pattern of centre-state relations

1.5.1 Demands for greater state autonomy

1.6 Let us sum up

Key words

Some useful books

Answers to check your progress

1.1 OBJECTIVE

We all know that India being one of the largest democracies provides for a system of government where the masses of the country are found to play a very active role in the functions of the government. After going through this unit, we shall be in a position to:

- *describe* the kind of democracy that exists in our society
- *explain* the federal structure of the government
- *interpret* the recent trends of state politics leading to the demands of greater state autonomy.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

The primary focus of this unit shall be to show the kind of government that exists in our country. We all know that democracy is the primary ideology on which our government rests. From amongst different forms of democracy the leaders of independent India has chosen to adapt Parliamentary democracy as the basic form of government of our country with a federal structure. This infact can be said to be a legacy of the British rule. However, so far as the federal structure is concerned, it is not a full fledged federation, rather a quasi federation, which in turn has somehow affected the centre-state relation in recent times. This unit will try to analyze the working of the Indian government and the recent developments that has taken place.

1.3 PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY AND THE INDIAN FEDERAL SYSTEM

India being a vast country, it is administratively not possible to rule it from one centre. It was during the British reign that they realized that the country should be a federation. Accordingly, the Government of India Act, 1935, envisaged a federal polity for India. All subsequent negotiations that followed after 1935, to solve India's constitutional problems were based on the principle of federal polity for India. Accordingly constitution

fathers made India a Union of States, which implies that the states have no right to secede from the centre. It needs to be mentioned here that India is considered to be a 'Union of States' and the term federation is nowhere been mentioned in the Constitution. It implies that the Union of India, unlike a federation is not the result of any agreement between the federating units. It also means that the federating units have no rights to leave the Union. Mention also needs to be made of the fact that the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution has opted for a Parliamentary system of government which is federal in structure. However they opted for a system of Parliamentary Paramountancy with a limited federal component to suit the Indian scenario.

1.3.1 Features of Indian Federalism

In a federal set up there is a two tier of Government with well assigned powers and functions. In this system the central government and the governments of the units act within a well defined sphere, co-ordinate and at the same time act independently. The federal polity, in other words, provides a constitutional device for bringing unity in diversity and for the achievement of common national goals. Now, let us take a look into some of the main features of the Indian federation.

- 1) **WRITTEN CONSTITUTION:** The most important feature of a federation is that its constitution should be a written one, so that both the Union Government as well as the State can refer to that as and when needed. The Constitution of India is a written document and is the most elaborate Constitution of the world. It establishes supremacy of the Constitution because both the union and the states are given powers by the Constitution as to be independent in their spheres of governance.
- 2) **RIGID CONSTITUTION:** The procedure of amending the Constitution in a federal system is normally rigid. Indian Constitution provides that some amendments require a special majority. Such an amendment has to be passed by majority of total members of each house of the Parliament

as well as by two-thirds majority of the members present and voting there in. However, in addition to this process, some amendments must be approved by at least 50% of the states. After this procedure the amendment is signed by the head of the state i.e; the President. Since in India important amendments can be amended through this procedure. Hence, Indian Constitution has been rightly called a rigid constitution.

- 3) **DIVISION OF POWERS:** In our Constitution, there is a clear division of powers, so that the States and the Centre are required to enact and legislate within their sphere of activity and none violates its limits and tries to encroach upon the functions of the other. Our constitution enumerates three lists, viz. the Union, the State and the Concurrent List. The Union List consists of 97 subjects of national importance such as Defence, Railways, Post and Telegraph, etc. The State List consists of 66 subjects of local interest such as Public Health, Police etc. The Concurrent List has 47 subjects important to both the Union and the State, such as Electricity, Trade Union, Economic and Social Planning, etc.
- 4) **SUPREMACY OF THE JUDICIARY:** Another very important feature of a federation is an independent judiciary to interpret the Constitution and to maintain its sanctity. The Supreme Court of India has the original jurisdiction to settle disputes between the Union and the States. It can declare a law as unconstitutional, if it contravenes any provision of the Constitution.

1.3.2 Nature of Indian Federalism

In spite of the fact that the Indian Constitution establishes a federal structure, it is indeed very difficult to put the Indian Constitution in the category of a true federation. The framers of the Constitution have modified the true nature of Indian federation by incorporating certain non-federal features in it. These are:

Article I of the Constitution describes India as a 'Union of States', which implies two things: firstly, it is not the result of an agreement among the States and secondly, the States have no freedom to secede or separate from the Union. Besides, the Constitution of the Union and the States is a single framework from which neither can get out and within which they must function. The federation is a union because it is indestructible and helps to maintain the unity of the country.

The Centre appoints the Governors of the States and may take over the administration of the State on the recommendations of the Governor or otherwise. In other words, Governor is the agent of the Centre in the States. The working of Indian federal system clearly reveals that the Governor has acted more as centre's representative than as the head of the State. This enables the Union government to exercise control over the State administration. The control of the Union over states after the imposition of National Emergency. The federal principle envisages a dual system of Courts. But, in India we have unified Judiciary with the Supreme Court at the apex. The Constitution of India establishes a strong Centre by assigning all-important subjects to the Centre as per the Union List. The State Governments have very limited powers. Financially the States are dependent on the Centre.

In addition to all this, all important appointments such as the Chief Election Commissioner, the Comptroller and Auditor General are made by the Union Government. Besides, there is single citizenship. There is no provision for separate Constitutions for the states. The States cannot propose amendments to, the Constitution. As such amendments can only be made by the Union Parliament.

From the above discussion, it is clear, that there is a tilt in favor of the Centre at the cost of the States. The States have to work in close co-operation with the Centre. This has lent support to the contention that the Indian Constitution is federal in form but

unitary in spirit. Constitutional experts have called it ‘semi-federal’ of ‘quasi federal’ system.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers. Check the answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

Q1. What are the basic federal features of the Indian Constitution?

.....

Q2. Why is the Indian federal system termed as ‘semi-federal’ or ‘quasi-federal’ system?

.....

1.4 CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS

We have seen that the Constitution of India provides for a federal system. Both the Union and the State are created by the Constitution and derive their respective authority from it. Yet there is a criticism that India is a federal State but with unitary features. How far is this criticism valid? To understand this, it is desirable to study the relationship between the Union and the States.

The relations between the Centre and the states which constitute the core of federalism have been enumerated in Parts XI and XII of the Constitution under the heads, legislative, administrative and financial relations.

1.4.1 Legislative relations

Regarding legislative relations, there is a three-fold division of powers in the Constitution. We have followed a system in which there are two lists of legislative powers, one for the Centre and the other for the State, known as the Union List and the State List, respectively. An additional list called the Concurrent List has also been added. The Union List which consists of 97 subjects of national interest is the largest of the three lists. Some of the important subjects included in this list are: Defence, Railways, Post and Telegraph, Income Tax, Custom Duties, etc. The Parliament has the exclusive power to enact laws on the subjects included in the Union List for the entire country. The State List consists of 66 subjects of local interest. Some of the important subjects included in this List are Trade and Commerce within the State, Police, Fisheries, Forests, Industries, etc. The State Legislatures have been empowered to make laws on the subjects included in the State List. The Concurrent List consists of 47 subjects of common interest to both the Union and the States. Some of the subjects included in this list are: Stamp Duties, Drugs and Poison, Electricity, Newspapers etc. Both the Parliament and the State Legislatures can make laws on the subjects included in this list. But in case of a conflict between the Union and the State law relating to the same subject, the Union law prevails over the State law. Power to legislate on all subjects not included in any of the three lists vests with the Parliament. Under certain circumstances, the Parliament can legislate on the subjects mentioned in the State List.

1.4.2 Administrative relations

The framers of the Indian Constitution never intended to create administrative co-operation and co-ordination between the centre and states. The executive power of the State is to be exercised in such a way as to ensure compliance with the laws made by the Parliament. Further, the Union Executive is empowered to give directions to a State, if necessary, for the requisite purpose. Even the State governments may delegate

some of its administrative functions relating to the State subjects, to Union Government for a specified period. You would also recall that the Union executive is empowered to give such directions to a state as it may appear necessary for the purpose to the Union Government. The Union Government has wide powers to issue directions based on the subjective view of the Union and may, therefore, interfere with the state autonomy in the field of administration. Ordinarily, the central police force and Army are posted to the states at the request of the State Government. However, there have been occasions when the CRPF or BSF have been deployed in states much against the state wishes of the State Government. Thus, the center plays a very important role in the administrative sphere of activity concerning the States.

1.4.3 Financial relations

The distribution of financial resources is especially critical in determining the nature of the State's relationship with the Centre. Both the Union and the State have been provided with independent sources of revenue by the Constitution. The Parliament can levy taxes on the subjects included in the Union List. The States can levy taxes on the subjects in the State List. By and large taxes that have an inter-state base are levied by the Centre and those with a local base by the State. In the financial sphere too the Centre is better equipped. The Centre can exercise control over the state finances and grants-in-aid both general and special to meet the expenditure on developmental schemes. During financial emergency, the President has the power to suspend the provisions regarding division of taxes between the Centre and the State. He can also impose other restrictions on the expenses of the State. State plans are framed within the priorities of the central plan and they are executed with the approval of the Planning Commission. Further, the States have to carry out the centre sponsored schemes for which the Centre gives grants and the conditions under which these are to be made. The Planning Commission has created an over-centralized planning system. No initiative is left to the states and the centrally formulated schemes

have been inappropriately and unimaginatively imposed upon them.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers. Check your answers with the model answers given at the back of the unit.

Q1. What are the three different lists that showcases the relation between the States and the Centre?

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Q2. Give an account of the legislative relation between the centre and the states?

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1.5 CHANGING PATTERN OF CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS

All over the world there is a tendency that the centre should be powerful and strong so that it can effectively deal with both national and inter-relation problems. So, was the case in India for quite a sometime. The founding fathers of the Indian Constitution were deeply concerned about ensuring the unity and integrity of the country. They were aware of the forces of disruption and disunity working within the country. These dangers at the time of independence could be handled only by a strong government at the Centre. Therefore, the framers of the

Constitution assigned a predominant role to the Centre. At the same time they made provisions for the establishment of a co-operative federalism. So, despite of being a federation, the centre as we have already come to know, was made very powerful by the Constitution of our country. But gradually the states are found to resent against a powerful centre. The states started demanding for more and more powers. The working of the Indian federation during the last five decades clearly shows that the relations between the Centre and the States have not always been cordial.

1.5.1 Demands for greater state autonomy

With the passing time, the states started resenting against the authoritative attitude of the central government. They gradually started demanding for more power and autonomy from the centre. Here is an attempt to show, how the state tried to impose its will against the will of the centre. In 1968, the West Bengal government under the Chief Ministership of Shri Ajay Mukherjee forced centre to remove Shri Dharam Vira as state Governor and made Prof. Nurul Hassan continue to occupy the position of Governor of West Bengal. In 1979, after the fall of the Janata government at the centre, Choudhury Charan Singh became the Prime Minister of India. He got promulgated Preventive Detention Ordinance but the state governments of Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Bihar, Gujarat and several others refused to implement the provisions of the said ordinance. The central government could not do anything in this regard. The centre also had to bow down before the dispute over Chandigarh as a capital between Haryana and Punjab. Similarly the states have always extorted themselves whenever central government has tried to interfere and settle river water and territorial disputes between the states. Boundary disputes between Maharashtra and Karnataka, river water disputes between Delhi, U.P, Haryana and Rajasthan about Yamuna water etc were different examples that can be cited to show how the states forced the centre to oblige to

their demands. The Constitution has provided that Hindi shall be the national language of India and shall replace English but because of rough resistance from some of the states the central government had to assure the states that Hindi will not be imposed on any state and English shall continue as the official language as long as these states required. Apart from this, the creation of the BTAD area under BTC (Bodoland Territorial Council) and another Autonomous Council under the 6th Schedule for the district of Karbi Anglong clearly shows how the centre had to bow down before the demands for greater autonomy by states and communities.

In this regard, the administrative Reforms Commission and several other Commissions were appointed by the Government of India from time to time to regulate Centre State relations. The Union Government appointed Sarkaria Commission to suggest ways and means to improve Centre-State relations. The recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission assume importance so as to evolve an appropriate policy in the areas of legislative, administrative and financial relations. It has not suggested wholesome structural changes in the fundamental fabric of the Constitution. It felt that federalism is more a functional arrangement for co-operative action than a static institutional concept. The Commission strongly recommended the establishment of permanent Inter-State Council. In addition, it desired that both the Centre and the States should have the concern for the development of backward territory or areas. If the economic developments of these backward regions are undertaken in a planned manner, the separatist tendencies will be automatically controlled. Differences between the Union and the States should be resolved by mutual consultation. It has taken a favourable view on the demand of the States to provide more financial resources at their disposal. In order to improve Centre-State relations in the country, it has suggested economic liberalization and suitable amendments to the Constitution.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the space below for your answers. Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

Q1. What were the measures adopted by the Indian government to improve the centre-state relation?

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1.6 LET US SUM UP

Thus we have come to learn that though India is a federation, yet it provides for a powerful centre mainly because the Indian federation is based on the philosophy that a strong centre can solve the problems of vast India which is faced with serious problems. Apart from this a strong centre was also needed for maintaining effective law and order in the country, the possibility of which cannot be ruled out in the near future. The centre was also to deal with forces of disintegration and separation which the states possibly could not deal with effectively because that needed a national level policy. Though the intentions of the framers of the Constitution were quite noble behind creating a strong centre, yet it is obvious that nothing on earth can bear subordination for too long. So was the case with the states. They gradually felt that until and unless they raised their voice they would be left unheard. Thus, began the severe demands for more and more powers by the states in India.

KEY WORDS

Autonomy: the right of a country or group of people to govern itself.

Federalism: a political system in which separate states are organised under a central government

Parliament: It is a body formed by a group of elected representatives, who are empowered to make laws.

Subordination: to live under ones authority.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Sammadar, Ranabir, 2005, *The Politics of Autonomy*, New Delhi.

Tiwari, O.P, 1996, *Federalism and Centre-State Relation in India*, Deep & Deep Publication, New Delhi.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should cover the following points.

Ans: to Q1

- The Indian Constitution is both written and rigid.
- The Judiciary is provided a supreme position.
- There is the provision of division of powers.

Ans: to Q2

- The centre is made very strong.
- The Constitution has many unitary features.
- Constitution provides for only single citizenship.
- The Centre is allowed to interfere in the work of the states in certain matters.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1

- The Union Lists with 97 subjects.
- The State Lists with 66 subjects.
- The Concurrent Lists with 47 subjects.

Ans: to Q2

- It is the Parliament which has the ultimate power to enact laws on the subjects included in the Union list. State Legislature has no say in it.
- Under certain circumstances the Parliament can enact laws for the subjects of the state list, though the actual power rests on the State.
- Both Parliament and State Legislature has the power to enact laws on the concurrent list. But in case of conflict between the two, the Parliament has the final say.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1

- Administrative Reformation Commission were adopted from time to time.
- Most important was the Sarkaria Commission which recommended for the establishment of permanent Inter-State Council.
- Both centre and state should have concern for the development of backward territories.
- Economic development of backward areas should be boosted to keep separatist tendencies away.
- Mutual consultation between the centre and the state is a must.
- More financial resources should be provided to the states.

UNIT 2

ROLE OF THE INDIAN EXECUTIVE

STRUCTURE

2.0 Objective

2.1 Introduction

2.2 The President

2.2.1 Qualification for the office and term of office

2.2.2 Powers and functions of the president

2.3 The Prime Minister and his Council of Ministers

2.3.1 Qualification for the office of the Prime Minister

2.3.2 Powers and functions

2.4 The Council of Ministers

2.4.1 Working Principles of the Council of Ministers

2.5 The cabinet system

2.5.1 Organization of the cabinet

2.5.2 Functions of the cabinet

2.6 Let us sum up

Key words

Some useful books

Answers to check your progress

2.0 OBJECTIVE

As we know, from amongst the three most important organs of our government, the executive happens to be one of them. So, while learning about the functioning of the government, it is immensely necessary to learn about the role played by the different organs of the government. This unit must enable you to:

- *find out* the powers and function of the President
- *point out* the powers and function of the Prime Minister
- *identify* the role of the Council Of Ministers
- *explain* the Indian Cabinet system

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Constitution of our country vests the executive authority of the union in the President and provides for a council of ministers with the Prime Minister as its head to aid and advice the President in the exercise of his powers. The Union executive thus consists of the President and the Prime Minister with his Council of Ministers with the former being the formal and the latter being the real executive. In this unit we will primarily look into the role of the executive as a whole, which will include the President, the Prime Minister with his Council of Ministers and the Cabinet System.

2.2 THE PRESIDENT

The executive head of the Indian Union is known as the President. He is designated as such because India has accepted the republican form of government and the head of the Republic could not be addressed as a King. Though our Constitution makers borrowed the designation of the President from the American Constitution, yet they did not provide for a Presidential form of government. In our country the President is provided with an impressive list of powers but in actual practice he is expected to serve as the constitutional head only, exercising his powers with the advice of the council of ministers. The President is merely a titular head of the state but

nevertheless his office is one of great dignity and status. He symbolizes the Indian nation and represents its unity. He is also given the first place of honour in all national functions, festivals and celebrations.

2.2.1 Qualification for the office and term of office

For being elected as the President of the Indian Union, a person must have the following qualifications:

- ✓ He or she must be a citizen of India.
- ✓ He or she must be at least 35 years of age.
- ✓ He or she must be qualified for election as member of the Lok Sabha.
- ✓ He or she must not hold any office of profit under the central, State or any other local authority.
- ✓ He is elected for a period of five years and can seek for re-election after the end of tenure.

2.2.2 POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT

The powers of the President are incorporated under various articles in our Constitution. There are more than one hundred articles and three schedules which either wholly or in part deal with them. However, the President of India exercises most of his power through the Council of Ministers and in consultation with them. Infact, the 42nd amendment has made it mandatory for the President to act in accordance with the Council of Minister's advice. The powers and functions of the President are discussed below:

- 1) **Executive Powers:** President's executive powers extend to all those matters with respect to which the Parliament has the executive powers to make laws. He can exercise his powers directly or through officers subordinate to him. Being the executive head of the state, all orders and instructions are issued and executed in his name. He is authorized to make all appointments including those of

the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers. He also appoints the judges of the Supreme Court, the Chiefs of Indian Army, Navy and Air-Force and such other high dignitaries as the Chief Election Commissioner, State Governor and the Comptroller and Auditor General of India. He also allocates functions to the Ministers. Members of the U.P.S.C and important commissions are also appointed by him. He is also empowered to remove public servants from their offices. He is also empowered to allocate portfolios to the members of the Council of Ministers. He is to be kept informed about the decisions of the cabinet through the Prime Minister. The Council of Ministers and the Prime Minister holds office during his pleasure alone.

- 2) **Diplomatic powers:** The President also has diplomatic powers. It is his duty and responsibility to maintain healthy relations with all the foreign governments. As we all know that no country in this world can live in isolation, he is to see that India has close and friendly contacts with other countries of the world. He also receives diplomatic representatives of other countries in India and also negotiates and signs treaties of war and peace.
- 3) **Legislative powers:** The President is an integral part of the Indian Parliament. In this respect he can prorogue or summon the sessions of the Parliament. He is empowered to dissolve the Lok Sabha and can summon a joint session of both the Houses of Parliament in case of a deadlock. All Bills passed by the Parliament must have his approval, before becoming an Act. There are certain types of Bills which are to be reserved for his consideration before their introduction in the Parliament. He is empowered to issue ordinances when the Parliament is not in session. He has a right to address both the Houses of Parliament and in practice every budget session opens with his address. He nominates 12 members for the Rajya Sabha, which is Upper House of

Parliament. Then it is also the responsibility of the President to see that annual reports and recommendations of important statutory bodies like the Union Public Service Commission, Election Commission, Commission for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes, Comptroller and Auditor General of India etc are placed before the Parliament.

- 4) **Financial powers:** The Constitution also loads the President with financial powers. No Money Bill can be introduced in the Parliament without the recommendation of the President. As a head of the state all Money Bills passed by the Parliament require his consent and approval. Money can be withdrawn from the treasury only after he has agreed to that. Nation's annual budget is presented by the Finance Minister only on his behalf. He is authorized to spend and sanction any amount from the contingent fund of the country. He also appoints Finance Commission from time to time to decide about the share of the state governments to be paid by the Central Government for their development and maintenance grants.
- 5) **Judicial Powers:** He makes appointments of all judges and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and only he is empowered to remove them. Being his subordinate no court can challenge his actions. He has the power of pardoning or relieving criminals who have been punished by any court of law. He can reduce punishment of a sentenced criminal and can postpone or suspend the execution of a criminal. He has right to consult Supreme Court on any matter of law.
- 6) **Military powers:** The constitution bestows certain military powers on the President. He appoints the heads of the Army, Navy and Air force. The army obeys his commands while in peace and war. It is under his orders and commands that wars will break out and peace treaties would be concluded. Movement of army both in the disturbed areas to crush anti-social elements or to

repulse those who have an eye on our national borders takes place only under his instructions.

- 7) **Emergency powers:** The President is also bestowed with some emergency powers which is incorporated in Part XVIII of the Indian Constitution. They are held to be extra-ordinary powers. The provisions (Arts. 352, 356,360) mainly deals with three different kinds of emergencies. They are as follows:

(a) Emergency due to war, external aggression or armed rebellion (Art 352)- It is provided in Article 352 of the Constitution that if the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or any part of the territory thereof is in threat whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance, an emergency can be declared. Under the proclamation of war emergency, the federal provisions of the Constitution may be suspended, the financial relation between the centre and the states may be suitably modified, the legislative autonomy goes and the Union Parliament assumes unrestricted powers to make laws on the whole of India on all subjects including those which are covered by the state list. More significantly, the government of India gets power to give direction to the state governments as to how they should exercise their executive authority.

(b) Emergency due to constitutional breakdown (Art 356): The President may declare a constitutional emergency in a state, if, on the receipt of a report from the Governor or otherwise, he is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the government of the state cannot be carried on in accordance with the Constitution. The President may then (i) assume all or any of the state functions or may vest these functions in the Governor or any other body or authority in the state. (ii) declare that the powers of the State Legislature shall be exercised by the

Parliament (iii) make other provisions necessary to fulfill the objectives of the Proclamation, including the suspension of any constitutional body or authority in the state except the judiciary. During the prevailing of this emergency the state completely comes under the authority of the centre.

(c) Financial Emergency(Art 360): If the President is satisfied that a situation has arisen whereby the financial stability or credit of India or any part of the territory thereof is threatened, he may, by a proclamation, make a declaration of financial emergency. In such an event, the President may (i) issue direction to any state to observe such canons of financial propriety as may be specified in the directions. (ii) issue directions for the reduction of salaries and allowances of the public servants including the judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts. (iii) order that all Money Bills or financial Bills be reserved for his consideration after they are passed by the State Legislature. The declaration of such an emergency requires approval of the Parliament before two months and it cannot operate for more than six months at a time.

8) **Discretionary powers:** Apart from the above mentioned powers, the President of India is vested with some discretionary powers. He may be called upon to use his discretion when no single party or a coalition commands a majority in the House of People to form a government and secondly when the Prime Minister dies during his tenure. Under such circumstances the President is empowered to elect a new leader but his power is restricted by the requirement that the new leader must command a majority in the House and finally the President can use his discretionary powers in the dissolution of the House of People if need arises.

Thus we can see that the President is bestowed with lots of powers and accordingly loaded with lots of responsibilities. All

the powers and functions vested on the President truly reflect that the President is a symbol of national unity and he represents the strength and will of the Nation.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the space below for your answers. Check the answers with the model answers given at the back of the unit.

Q1. What are basic qualifications required for becoming the President of India?

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Q2. What are emergency powers vested upon the President of India?

.....

2.3 THE PRIME MINISTER AND HIS COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

As we all know the Indian Political system is modeled after the British system. The executive authority of the Union is vested in the President but the real powers are exercised by the Council of Ministers, with the Prime Minister as its head. In a sense it means that the Prime Minister and his cabinet is solely responsible in governing the country. The Prime Minister is theoretically appointed by the President but the latter has hardly

any discretion in the matter under normal circumstances. In practice the leader of the majority party in the Lok Sabha is appointed as the Prime Minister to form and head the government. So before discussing the role played by the Council of Ministers we shall first take a look into the role of the Prime Minister.

2.3.1 Qualification for the office of the Prime Minister

- ✓ The following qualifications are required for the post of Prime Minister.
- ✓ He or she must be a citizen of India.
- ✓ He or she must not be less than 25 years in age.
- ✓ He or she must possess all other qualifications as laid down by the Parliament.
- ✓ He or she must possess a sound mind.
- ✓ Above all the, the contender to the Prime Minister office must be the designated leader of the majority party in the Lok Sabha.

These were the said criteria's required for becoming the Prime Minister of our country. Now let us take a look into the role of the Prime Minister.

2.3.2 POWERS AND FUNCTIONS

The Prime Minister of India is the head of the Union Government which is why he is expected to have a decisive say on all major policy issues involving domestic affairs, international relations and security matters. He is the chief executive of the nation and as such is responsible for controlling and supervising the central administration. His powers and functions are as follows:

- 1) **Head of the government:** While the President is the head of the state, the Prime Minister is the head of the government. In theory all major executive functions are

vested in the hands of the President, but exercises them only with the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister.

- 2) **Leader of the Cabinet:** He is solely responsible for selecting the Ministers of his Council and distributes portfolios amongst them. He acts as the Chairman of the Cabinet. He can ask for the resignation of an individual Minister or can get him dismissed by the President.
- 3) **Leader of the Parliament:** In this capacity, the Prime Minister can determine the dates of meeting as also its programmes for the session. He acts as the Chief spokesperson of the government in the Parliament. He also announces the major policy decision of the government. He can also participate and intervene in all debates in the Parliament.
- 4) **Leader of the majority party in the Lok Sabha:** In Parliamentary democracy, usually the leader of majority party in the Lower House is appointed as the Prime Minister. However in case no party gets majority, the President may appoint a person whom he may deem fit to garner the support of majority.
- 5) **Chairman of the Planning Commission:** In this capacity, the Prime Minister becomes the Chairman of super cabinet wherein all Chief Ministers of states and administrators of Union Territories are represented. It covers all developmental activities undertaken by the centre as well as states.

Thus we can see that being the head of the government, the Prime Minister is entrusted with lots of powers and responsibilities to carry out his functions. In doing so, he is assisted by a group of Ministers popularly known as the Council of Ministers. So now we shall take a look into the functioning of the Council of Ministers.

Check your Progress 2

Note: Use the space below for your answers.

Q1. Provide an account of the powers entrusted upon the Prime Minister of India?

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Q2. By whom is the Prime Minister assisted in carrying out his responsibilities?

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2.4 THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

We have already learned that the Council of Ministers are an integral and essential part of the executive body. The office of the Prime Minister would be almost incomplete without them. Now, Art 74 of the Constitution provides for a Council of Ministers, with the Prime Minister as its head, to aid and advice the President in the exercise of his functions. According to Art 75(2), the Ministers are to hold office during the pleasure of the President. The Council mainly comprises of the Cabinet Ministers, Ministers of States, and Deputy Ministers. These three categories of Ministers determine their respective ranks, emoluments and political importance. The Cabinet Ministers are the senior most ministers of the government and also the prominent leaders of the majority party in the Parliament. They are the leading supporters of

the Prime Minister and enjoy more power, privilege and prestige in comparison to other ministers in the Council.

Ministers of State constitute the second rank. With the increase in the range of government activities and consequent increase in the number of departments, the post of Minister of State has been extended to almost all departments. Their main function is to assist the senior ministers in carrying out their duties. The deputy ministers are rated third in the rank and they are comparatively junior persons and not given independent charge of any department. They are put under the charge of either Minister of the cabinet rank or that of the State, so that they can get proper training and after being properly trained their services can be put in use in the best possible way.

The Council of Ministers does not meet as a body for the transaction of government business. It has no collective business. It is only the cabinet that meets on a regular basis and has both collective functions and collective responsibilities. Now, let us take a look into the role or functioning of the Council of Ministers.

2.4.1 Working Principles of the Council of Ministers

The Council of Ministers carries out their functions mainly through some specific principles. So, now we shall take a look into the different principles through which the Council carries out its functions.

- 1) **Leadership of the Prime Minister:** All the Ministers in the Council must accept the leadership of the Prime Minister and that too without any reservation. If someone from the council doesnot feel like accepting his leadership, the only way left for the Minister concerned is to gracefully leave his ministerial job.
- 2) **Joint and Collective responsibility:** The Council of Ministers as a whole is responsible to the Lok Sabha. If an action of any minister is appreciated, that is a credit for the whole Council of Ministers and if there is mounting criticism on the working of any ministry, it is to be faced by the Council of Ministers as a whole. A vote of no-

confidence in the Lok Sabha against a particular Minister is to be treated as a vote of no-confidence against the whole Council of Ministers. So the basic principle is that the cabinet sinks and swims together.

- 3) **Cabinet Solidarity:** It means that the cabinet functions as a team. All major policy issues are decided by the Cabinet as a whole before these are brought before the House. It is opened to every minister to express his view point, when discussions behind the doors are going on. Once the decision has been taken, the whole Council of Ministers is expected to speak with one voice.
- 4) **Maintenance of Secrecy:** In cabinet meetings several secret issues are discussed and disclosed. Each Minister receives several reports and documents on which he is required to take decisions. It is expected out of everyone not to disclose anything out in the public.

These were some of the principles on the basis of which the Council of Ministers carries out its functions. From here we have come to learn that the Cabinet ministers are at the top of the Ministerial hierarchy and are also entrusted with severe responsibilities of the government. So, it is essentially important to know about the Cabinet System of our country.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. What are the three different categories of Ministers in the Council of Ministers?

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Q2. Give an account of the working principles followed by the Council of Ministers?

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2.5 THE CABINET SYSTEM

The Prime Minister is the key-man in the cabinet which works under his leadership. He is central to its formation, life and death. He determines its membership and allocates business. He also co-ordinates the activities of various departments; and thus helps to impart harmony and homogeneity to the cabinet. In case of differences between two Ministers or departments, the Prime Minister tries to settle them and if a Minister refuses to carry out his instructions, he can demand his resignation. The Prime Minister also controls the agenda of the Cabinet and presides over its meetings. He is the sole channel of communication between the Cabinet and the President. Being the immediate advisor of the Cabinet, it has various functions to perform. But before discussing the functions of the Cabinet, let us take a look into the organization of the cabinet.

2.5.1 ORGANISATION OF THE CABINET

The Cabinet is generally held to be a committee of senior most ministers of the Union government. It is the nucleus of the Council of Ministers. It is highly desirable to keep the cabinet a reasonably small body to ensure speed, unity and proper functioning. The Administrative Reform Commission had recommended that a compact union cabinet should consist of not more than 16 members. It is the standard norm. Moreover the educational level of the members of the cabinet needs to be fairly

high. Now let us take a look into the other important organs of the cabinet.

Super-cabinets- A very significant development concerning the cabinet government in India has been the extensive use of the super-cabinet- the Prime Minister and the two or three senior colleagues meeting rather frequently to look for solutions to major problems. The significance of a super cabinet is that being a small unit, it is more efficient as a decision making body than a large unit and that a small cabinet could meet more often and deal with business much more expeditiously.

Cabinet Sub-Committees- In order to co-ordinate the functions of the various ministries, the cabinet has established a series of cabinet sub-committees. Their number has varied from 7 to 10 and the most important amongst them being the defence committee, economic affairs committee, foreign affairs committee and political affairs committee. These committees are composed of more prominent members of the cabinet. These committees are mostly chaired by the Prime Minister. The political affairs committee has become the most important decision making body in India.

The Cabinet Secretariat or P.M's Office- Today the secretariat is an essential part of the cabinet system. It is headed by the Cabinet Secretary who is the senior most civil servants. This office functions directly under the Prime Minister and helps the cabinet to discharge its functions effectively. The Cabinet Secretary assists various cabinet committees, attends every cabinet meeting and draws up the minutes. It is therefore the utmost responsibility of the Cabinet Secretary to keep the Prime Minister informed of the manner and efficiency with which the decisions of the cabinet are being implemented.

Apart from the cabinet secretariat there is also the Prime Minister's Office, which is another secretariat working under the Prime Minister. It is a majestic centre of power. It comprises of more than 60 officials, with four secretaries, two joint secretaries and several deputy secretaries. Every Ministry and department of the government of our country are duplicated here. Here the ministers

and secretaries come for direction and conformation for every important matter pertaining to appointment, commercial and industrial licensing etc.

Now let us take a look into the functions of the Cabinet.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. What are the different sub-committees of the cabinet?

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2.5.2 FUNCTIONS OF THE CABINET

We all know that the cabinet is the core of the Indian Constitutional system. It is also the most powerful organ of the Union government. So, it obvious that its functions will be numerous and varied in their character. They are as follows:

- 1) Each Cabinet Minister is the head of a department as such it is his duty and responsibility to see that decisions taken by the Parliament are immediately implemented and that too in the right spirit. He is to ensure that there is proper co-operation and co-ordination at different levels in the official hierarchy of his department.
- 2) As executive head of his department he is to advice the President, through, of course, his Prime Minister, about all important appointments to be made in his department. He is to ensure that all available positions are timely and properly filled and persons of sound knowledge and integrity get the job.

- 3) Cabinet as a body makes all the high appointments, including those of the Ambassadors, High Commissioners, Chairman and members of the Union Public Service Commission, Comptroller and Auditor General of India etc. Similarly the Chiefs of the Army, Navy and Air Force, Chief Justice of India and Judges of the Supreme Court are all appointed by the cabinet though their names are formally announced by the President.
- 4) It has its legislative functions too. The Cabinet initiates all legislative measures in the House. The Cabinet Minister is to ensure that all Bills initiated by him are passed and during the course of a debate, he must see that the criticisms raised against the working of his department are fully replied and the critics are kept well satisfied.
- 5) In the financial field again the cabinet has many functions to perform. Of course the budget is prepared by the Finance Minister and in the initial stages it is discussed with the Prime Minister and with the inner cabinet, whose approval is treated as the approval of the whole cabinet. The cabinet also decides how far should the revenues of the state be collected and what tax relief should be given to the people. Moreover, it is the responsibility of each minister to see that budget proposals of his Ministry are approved by the House.
- 6) Lastly, the Cabinet decides about the time and duration of emergency, both internal and external. Needless to say that during this period Fundamental Rights of the people are suspended and for all practical purposes the federal structure of the country turns out to be unitary. As such, those functions which it normally is not required to do are then discharged by it.

Thus, we can see that the cabinet is entrusted with a large number of duties and responsibilities and as such it can be addressed as the real governing body in the Indian Union.

2.6 LET US SUM UP

Thus we have seen that the executive as a whole comprising of the President as the head of the state, the Prime Minister as the head of the government, and the Council of Ministers plays a vital role in the proper functioning of the government. They are solely responsible for the proper execution of the governmental policies. We have also come to learn that, though the President is the supreme, yet in actual practice it is the Prime Minister who enjoys the actual power. The President merely acts on the advice of the Prime Minister, who in turn is assisted by the Council of Ministers.

KEY WORDS

Homogeneity: having the same characteristics.

Diplomatic: the technique of doing something without hurting anyone.

Discretionary: decided by officials and not fixed by rules.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Iyer, V.R. Krishna, *The Indian Presidency*

Abbas, H & Kumar, R, 2010, *Indian Government and Politics*, Pearson, New Delhi.

Hogue, Rod, 2001, *Indian Government and Politics: An Introduction*, Palgrave, New Delhi.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1

- He/She must be a citizen of India.

- He/She must be atleast 35 years of age.
- He/She must be qualified for election as member of the Lok Sabha.
- He /She must not hold any office of profit.

Ans: to Q2

- Emergency due to war, external aggression and armed rebellion.(Art 352)
- Due to constitutional breakdown.(Art 356)
- Financial emergency(Art 360)

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1

- He is the head of the government and all policies are executed on his advice.
- He is the head of the Parliament and the Cabinet.
- He has to take up the responsibility as the Chairman of the Planning Commission.

Ans: to Q2

- Council of Ministers.

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Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1

- Cabinet Ministers.
- Ministers of States.
- Deputy Ministers.

Ans: to Q2

- They are to acknowledge the leadership of the Prime Minister.
- They are to take collective responsibility for their work.
- They are to maintain utmost secrecy.

Check Your Progress 4

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1

- Defence Committee
- Economic Affairs Committee.
- Foreign Affairs Committee.
- Political Affairs Committee.

UNIT 3

ROLE OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE

STRUCTURE

3.0 Objective

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Composition of the Parliament

3.2.1 The Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha

3.3 Powers and functions of the Parliament

3.4 Decline of the Parliament

3.5 Role of the speaker

3.5.1 Powers and functions

3.6 Let us sum up

Key words

Some useful books

Answers to check your progress

3.0 OBJECTIVE

In the previous unit we got due information about the executive. After the executive comes the second most important organ of the government i.e., the Legislature and when we say legislature, we mean the Indian Parliament, which is said to be our national legislature. So, in this unit, you should be able to:

- *Infer* the composition of the Indian Parliament.
- *Identify* the role played by the Indian Parliament.
- *Discover* what brought about the decline of the Indian Legislature.
- *Assess* the role played by the speaker.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Indian Parliament is provided a position of great dignity and prestige as the national legislature. However, despite of being immensely significant for the proper functioning of the government, the Parliament is made to survive under the shadow of the Prime Minister and is not really effective in controlling the administration. Moreover it has also lost some of its pre-eminence in law making. Nevertheless, the Indian Parliament is the centre of legislative activity. Infact it is a link between the government and the governed and our government is highly dependent on it for its smooth functioning

3.2 COMPOSITION OF THE PARLIAMENT

Our Parliament consists of the Lok Sabha, the Rajya Sabha and the President. So, now we shall take a look into the composition and powers and functions of the two vital organs of the Indian Parliament.

3.2.1 THE LOK SABHA and THE RAJYA SABHA

The Lok Sabha is the Lower House of the Indian Parliament. Article 81, of the Constitution deals with the composition of this House. By the 42nd Amendment, the

membership of the Lok Sabha has been limited to 544. Of its 544 members, 525 are elected from the states on the basis of population, 17 are chosen from the Union Territories as specified by the Parliament. Apart from this, the President is authorised to nominate 2 members of the Anglo-Indian community, if it receives no representation in the regular voting. The members of the Lok Sabha are directly elected by the people on the basis of adult franchise.

On the other hand, the Rajya Sabha or the Council of States is the Upper House of Parliament. It is sometimes called the 'House of Elders'. The Constitution fixes the maximum membership of the Council at 250, of whom 12 are nominated by the President from amongst persons distinguished in the field of literature, art, science and social service. The remaining members are the elected representatives of the states and the Union Territories. The members to the Rajya Sabha are indirectly elected.

Qualification: So far as qualification for membership to the Lok Sabha is concerned, a person must be

- ✓ A citizen of India
- ✓ Must not be less than 25 years of age.
- ✓ He must not hold any office of profit under any government in India.
- ✓ He must possess a sound mind.
- ✓ He cannot be a member of both the Houses of Parliament at the same time.

On the other hand the qualifications for the membership of the Rajya Sabha are as follows:

- ✓ The Person must be a citizen of India.
- ✓ Must not be less than 30 years of age.
- ✓ Must possess other qualifications as laid down by the Parliament.

Tenure: The normal term of the Lok Sabha is five years. But it may be dissolved earlier by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. It also gets dissolved when the Prime Minister loses the confidence of the House.

The Rajya Sabha is a permanent House and as such it is not subject to dissolution. It is also not a hereditary chamber. Its members are elected for a period of six years, subject to the condition that one-third of them retire after every two years. The vacancies thus created are filled through election every two years.

Functions: The functions carried out by both the Houses are as follows:

- 1) In case of ordinary legislation, both the Houses enjoys somewhat equal powers but being constituted of directly elected representatives of the people, the Lok Sabha has been entrusted with comparatively more powers than the Rajya Sabha, which consist of indirectly elected or nominated members. Both money bills and non-money bills can be introduced in the Lok Sabha as well as the Rajya Sabha. But a money bill can be introduced only in the Lok Sabha not the Rajya Sabha. Whether a Bill is money bill or non-money bill shall be decided by the Speaker of the House. When a money bill is passed by the Lok Sabha, it is send to the Upper House, which has to return it with or without comments within 14 years. If it is not received back within the specified period, the bill is treated to have been passed. In case of disagreement between the two Houses on any ordinary bill, it has to be resolved in a joint sitting in which the members of each House has to vote. This gives an advantage to the Lok Sabha, as its members are more than twice the size of the Rajya Sabha. In case a bill is passed by both the Houses, it will be finally sent to the President for his approval.
- 2) Both the Houses enjoy equal powers in matter of amendment of a bill. A bill to amend the constitution has to be passed by each House of the Parliament by a special majority, as provided for in the constitution. The provision for a joint sitting is not available to resolve a deadlock

between the two Houses. Hence, a constitution amendment bill will become useless if it is thrown out by any of the two Houses. It will not become an Act.

- 3) So far as the executive functions are concerned, under the constitution, the Council of Ministers is jointly and collectively responsible to the Lok Sabha. It can remain in position and authority only as long as it enjoys the confidence of the majority of the House. As long as the confidence is lost the Ministry will have to resign. Difficult times are faced by the government, when a vote of no-confidence is passed against it by the Opposition in the Lok Sabha. On the other hand, so far as the Rajya Sabha is concerned, it has no much say over the executive. Even if it passes a vote of no-confidence against the Council, it will have no effect.
- 4) The Lok Sabha also has electoral functions to perform. In the election of the President, the Lok Sabha is an integral part of the Electoral College, which is constituted to elect him. Apart from this the electoral functions of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha also comes to focus, when they sit in a joint sitting, for the election of the Vice President of India.
- 5) Both the Houses are also to perform certain special functions exclusive of one another. In case of the Lok Sabha we see that when India enters into some international treaties, the people of India are made to carry out certain obligations. Then it is the role of the Lok Sabha to take adequate steps for the discharging of those obligations. Apart from this the Lok Sabha can legislate on a subject included in the central or state list, but for that a request has to be made by two or more states. In case of the Rajya Sabha, under Art. 312 of the Constitution, the Rajya Sabha alone can authorise the Parliament to set up one or more All-India Services to both the Union and the States. Apart from this by a resolution with two thirds majority the rajya Sabha can transfer for a year any matter enumerated in the State list to the legislative competence of the Parliament.

- 6) Besides these exclusive powers, both the Houses exercises carries out certain functions jointly, which includes : a) election and impeachment of the President, b) election and removal of the Vice-President and removal of Supreme Court Judges and the Comptroller and Auditor General of India and c) approval of the proclamation of Emergency issued by the Parliament.

These were different functions carried out by the two Houses of the Parliament.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for answers.

Q1. What are the qualifications required for becoming a member of the Lok Sabha?

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3.3 POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT

The Parliament of India has extensive powers and performs a variety of important functions. Apart from legislative powers, it

has also some constituent powers to perform. Its Lower House i.e., the Lok Sabha, has control over the nation's finances. In actual practice, much of its powers are shared by the executive. What so ever, the Indian Parliament happens to be an indispensable part of the governmental machinery. Let us now take a look at the powers exercised by it.

- 1) **Legislative powers:** The main function of the Indian Parliament is to make laws and as such it has the power to legislate on all matters included in the Union list. It also has the authority to legislate on subjects contained in the Concurrent List. Then under special circumstances, it is also empowered to legislate on subjects included in the State list. However, its powers are limited in the sense that the Parliament is under the real control of the Prime Minister. Hence, despite being the chief law-making agency, Parliament does not make the basic decisions. All legislation must have cabinet approval and the actual drafting is carried out in the Treasury Department. Unless the bill has the tacit support of the Cabinet, it is unlikely to pass.
- 2) **Financial powers:** Our Parliament also exercises control over the Union treasury. It has the power to levy or modify taxes, to vote, to pass appropriation bill etc. All revenue raising proposals as well as grant for expenditure are passed by the Parliament. No taxes can be levied and expenditure incurred except under the authority and with the approval of the Parliament. The Lower House also has the power to refuse or to reduce a grant, but it cannot increase it.
- 3) **Constituent powers:** In addition to legislative and financial powers, the Parliament is also entrusted with some constituent powers. It is authorised by the constitution to alter the boundaries of a state. In the exercise of this power, the Parliament has reorganised some of the Indian states in a big way by ordinary legislation. A majority of the total membership may amend the constitution, of course that too with the President's assent.

3.4 DECLINE OF THE PARLIAMENT

India's experience with Parliamentary form of government is closely intertwined with the British system mainly because India adopted the Westminster model as it was deemed to be a necessary remedy for evils confronting Indian society. But in recent years the Parliamentary system shown tendencies that have belied the expectations. It is becoming more and more a hand maiden of the Cabinet under the leadership of the Prime Minister. For this increasing phenomenon several causes are responsible. Let us try to trace some of them.

Firstly, all policy decisions are taken by the Council of Ministers and because of strict party discipline Parliament normally puts its seal of approval, after debating and discussing the issues. Secondly, business of the House is practically controlled by the executive which decides as to what matters should be brought before the House and when and what time may be allotted to each issue. This has considerably increased the prestige of the executive. Thirdly, frequent use of ordinances has also resulted in the decline of the powers of the Parliament. The fourth and the most important reason cited for the decline of the Parliament is complete control of the executive over the national purse. And it is the executive that decides what financial proposals should be got approved from the Parliament. Not only this, quite a good non-violable amount is always at the disposal of the executive government.

Still more cause of decline of Parliament as already said, is the increase dependence on delegated legislation which compels Parliament to leave much to the care of the executive government. The critics also points out that the Parliament is on the verge of decline because the quality of debates is not as high as it used to be during the early days when it was brought into existence. The standard of Parliamentary debates has considerably come down. On many occasions, the House is not allowed to carry out its normal business, because of one or the other reason.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. What led to the decline of the Indian Parliament?

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3.5 ROLE OF THE SPEAKER

The Speaker has a very important role to play in the smooth functioning of the Parliament. So, we need to discuss the role played by the Speaker. The Presiding Officer of the Lok Sabha is called the Speaker. Like many other institutions, the institution of 'Speakership' has also been borrowed from England. In India, first Speaker was appointed by the Governor General. And the first Indian Speaker happened to be Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel. The Speaker along with the Deputy Speaker, according to Article 93 of the Constitution, is to be elected by the Lok Sabha. Only a member of the House can hold the office of the Speaker. And if that member, holding the post of the Speaker, ceases to be a member of the House, he shall also cease to be Speaker as well. In the absence of the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker presides over the proceeding of the House. Now let us take a look at the powers and functions of the Speaker.

8.5.1 POWERS AND FUNCTIONS

The Speaker of the Lok Sabha, enjoys very wide variety of powers and also has to shoulder a large number of functions. His foremost duty is to see that there is decorum and discipline in the House and that the Business of the House is conducted in an orderly manner and in accordance with the wishes of the House.

This indeed has become a difficult job at present because, clashes between the party in power and that of the Opposition are gradually increasing and members are also found to behave in a disorderly manner. Then it becomes the responsibility of the Speaker to see that they are punished.

The Speaker is the only authority to decide as to who shall hold the floor and speak. All members simply try to catch the eye to speak the Speaker. He also decides the time which would be allotted for discussion for each item on the agenda. No person can enter the four walls of the House or galleries without his permission.

As Presiding Officer of the House, the Speaker decides what should appear in the proceedings of the House. He is to see that there is faithful recording of what had been happening in the House and the proceedings are made as quickly available to the people as these can be. Apart from this, he is also the custodian of the rights and privileges of the members of the Lok Sabha. It is to be ensured by him that there is no malicious criticism by the government, press or outsider of the members in their individual and collective capacity while performing their parliamentary duties.

The Speaker certifies, whether a bill is money bill or non-money bill. Then, whenever there is a joint meeting of both the Houses of Parliament, the Speaker and not the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha presides over such meetings. The Speaker is the channel through which all communications between the House and the President must pass. The Speaker is also the head of the Lok Sabha Secretariat. No officer or employee of the Lok Sabha can appear as a witness in any court of law without his permission. He accepts all resignations which are sent to him by the members of the House. The Speaker authenticates all the Bills passed by the House. It is his responsibility to protect the House from unnecessary interference.

Thus we see that the Speaker has immense responsibilities and powers as well. But every person cannot be a good Speaker. These days his task has become immensely difficult. A good

Speaker should be level headed and firm, with sufficient patience to hear all tedious repetitions. He must be courteous and must have accurate knowledge about working of the Constitution , standing orders and rules of procedure for the conduct of the business of the House. But it should be kept in mind that the Speaker can discharge his duties and responsibilities properly only when he enjoys the confidence of the House, including the Opposition parties.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Enlist few functions to be carried out by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha?

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3.6 LET US SUM UP

Thus we see that, combined together, both the Houses of India Parliament, i.e. the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha have been provided with so many powers and entrusted with so many responsibilities that together form the basis of the legislature in India. No doubt, the Lok Sabha is made powerful than the Rajya Sabha, yet they both are equally responsible for the proper functioning of the government. The Speaker of the Lok Sabha has an equally responsible role to play. But despite of being properly organized, what we get to see is that the power and position of the Parliament is gradually declining. It is gradually becoming a puppet in the hands of the executive.

KEY WORDS

Confronting: to face a difficult situation.

Adjourn: to stop a meeting, especially a legal process, for a period of time or until a later date.

Treasury: the government department which controls a country's money supply and economy.

Veto: when someone in authority doesnot allow something to happen.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Abbas, H & Kumar, R, 2010, *Indian Government and Politics*, Pearson, New Delhi.

Hogue, Rod, 2001, *Indian Government and Politics:An Introduction*, Palgrave, New Delhi.

Surya Prakash, A, 1995, *What Ails Indian Parliament*,New Delhi.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1

- He must be an Indian citizen.
- Must be above or of 25 years of age.
- Must not hold any office of profit under any government.
- Cannot be a member of both the Houses of Parliament at the same time.

Ans: to Q2

- Election and impeachment of the President.
- Election and removal of the Vice-President, Judges of the Supreme Court, Auditor and Comptroller General of India.
- Approval of the proclamation of Emergency carried out by the Parliament.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1

- It can levy and modify taxes.
- It can pass appropriation bill.
- It can forward revenue raising proposals.
- Can also reject and reduce a grant.

Ans: to Q2

- Yes it can play an active role in removing the President from his office.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should include the following points

Ans: to Q1

- All policy decisions are taken by the by the Council of Ministers.
- The executive seems to exercise more and more power over it.
- Frequent use of ordinances.
- Complete control of the executive over the national purse.

Check Your Progress 4

Your answer should include the following points

Ans: to Q1

- He decides who shall hold the floor and speak.
- Being the Presiding officer, he decides what should be carried out in the proceedings.
- He decides whether a bill is money bill or non-money bill.
- He authenticates all the bills passed by the House.

UNIT 4

ROLE OF THE JUDICIARY

STRUCTURE

4.0 Objective

4.1 Introduction

4.2 The supreme court of India

4.2.1 Powers and functions of the Supreme Court

4.3 Power of judicial review

4.4 Judicial activism

4.5 Let us sum up

Key words

Some useful book

Answers to check your progress

4.0 OBJECTIVE

The third and the most important organ of our government is the Judiciary. Being the caretaker of the constitution and also of the Indian masses, the Judiciary holds a place of honour in our country. So, in this unit we shall primarily look into the various aspects of the Indian Judiciary. After going through this unit, we will come to:

- *identify* the functions carried out by the Supreme Court
- *infer* how judicial decisions are taken by the Supreme Court
- *explain* the provision of judicial review and judicial activism

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In every federal set up the need of an independent judiciary as always felt and that is inescapable as well. An independent judiciary plays an important role in controlling the arbitrary act of the administration. If the arbitrary act of the administration causes any injury to any person, it provides relief to them. Often an independent judiciary is made guardian of the Constitution and enforces the rule of law. In our country too, the judiciary is made the guardian of the constitution and various provisions have been incorporated in the Indian Constitution with the object to establish an independent judiciary in India. Articles 124 to 147 of the Constitution of India deal with the Indian Judiciary. Now let us take a look into the functioning of the Indian judiciary.

4.2 THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA

The Supreme Court of India occupies the highest position in the judicial hierarchy of India. It is the final interpreter of the Constitution of India and also of the general law of India. It is regarded as the guardian of the people's fundamental rights. It is the highest court of appeal in all civil and criminal matters.

According to Article 124 of the Constitution, the Supreme Court shall consist of one Chief Justice and till the Parliament of law prescribes, not more than 25 judges. But the number of judges can be both increased and well decreased by the Parliament. Article 124(2) makes provisions with respect to appointment of the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High courts in the states as the President may deem necessary for the purpose. In the case of appointment of a judge other than the Chief Justice, the Chief Justice of India shall always be consulted. Thus in the appointment of a judge, other than the chief Justice, the President is bound to consult the Chief Justice of India.

To be a Judge of the Supreme Court some basic qualifications are required, which are as follows:

- ✓ He must be a citizen of India.
- ✓ He has to be a judge of the High Court or two or more such courts in succession for atleast 5 years.
- ✓ He has to be an advocate of a High Court or two or more such courts in succession for atleast 10 years.
- ✓ He should be in the opinion of the President, a distinguished jurist.

So far as removal of the Judges are concerned, a Judge of the Supreme Court cannot be removed from his office except by an order of the President passed after an address by each House of the Parliament supported by a majority of the total membership of that House and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of that House present and voting has been presented to the President in the same session for such removal on the ground of proved misbehaviour. Every Judge of the Supreme Court holds office until he attains the age of 65 years.

Now its time to discuss the powers and functions of the Supreme Court, which is basically categorised as Original, Advisory and Appellate jurisdictions.

4.2.1 POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Being the supreme law of the land, there is no doubt about the fact that, the Constitution of India has bestowed upon the Supreme Courts unlimited powers to maintain the law and order scenario of the country. Now, as has already been mentioned above, the powers and functions of the Supreme Court are divided into three specific categories. So, let us discuss them one by one.

ORIGINAL JURISDICTION (ARTICLE 131)

Article 131 of the Constitution deals with the original jurisdictions of the Supreme Court. From original jurisdiction is meant, the authority to hear and determine a case in the first instance. It has exclusive jurisdiction when it has authority to hear and determine a case which cannot be heard or determined by another court. In this category falls (a) dispute between central government and one or more state(s), (b) between two or more states, (c) and also between the government of India and any state or states on the one side and one or more states on the other, when in the dispute any question or law or fact is involved. Cases involving enforcement of Fundamental Rights also falls in this category. The court can issue directions, orders or writs for that purpose. It however doesnot enjoy any original power arising out of a treaty concludes before the commencement of the Constitution.

However, this jurisdiction has certain limitations. Firstly, the dispute must be inter-state. It cannot entertain suits brought by private individuals against the government of India. And secondly, the dispute must involve any question on which existence or extent of legal rights depends.

APPELLATE JURISDICTION (ARTICLE 132-136)

In addition to original jurisdiction, the Supreme Court has Appellate jurisdiction as well. The court has such jurisdictions

both in civil and criminal cases where the High Court certifies that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution. However, when the High Court refuses such a certificate, the Supreme Court can grant special leave to appeal from such judgement, decree or final order. In civil cases, the appeal can be made only when the amount involved is Rs. 20,000. But the court cannot listen appeals against military cases or tribunals. In criminal cases appeal also lies when the High Court in appeal has reversed an order of acquittal of an accused person and sentenced him to death. Again appeal lies before the Supreme Court when the High Court has withdrawn before itself any case from any court subordinate to its autourt has certified that the case is fit for appeal. The Supreme Court also has general power of superintendence. A certificate issued by the High Court that a case is fit for appeal is not necessarily binding on the Supreme Court to entertain an appeal.

Article 136 gives the Supreme Court the discretionary power of granting special leave to appeal from any judgment, decree, sentence or order in any cause or matter passed by any court or tribunal in the territory of India.

ADVISORY JURISDICTION (ARTICLE 143)

Under Art. 143 of the Constitution, the President can refer a question of public importance to the Supreme Court for its consideration , and the court, if it so chooses, may submit advisory opinion. The President may seek the court's opinion in case there is a dispute between the centre and the states or between the states themselves. In the exercise of this power, the President can refer to the Supreme Court for its opinion also in case of disputes arising out of any treaty, agreement etc. which had been entered into or executed before the commencement of our constitution. Hitherto many important issues have been settled through the advisory opinion of the Supreme Court.

OTHER POWERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

The Supreme Court is also a court of record. As such, it has the power to punish for contempt of itself. Under Art. 138 of the Constitution, Parliament is empowered to enlarge by law the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court (a) with respect to any of the matters included in the Union List (b) with respect to any matter as government of India and the government of any state may by special arrangement confer. Parliament may by law also confer on the Supreme Court power to issue directions, orders or writs for any purpose other than the enforcement of fundamental rights.

Thus, we get to see that the Supreme Court being at the head of the judiciary is conferred with large number of responsibilities as well as with special powers to carry out its functions.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. What are the qualifications required to be a judge of the Supreme Court?

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Q2. Discuss the Original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court?

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4.3 POWER OF JUDICIAL REVIEW

Though, the phrase 'judicial review' does not find place in the text of the Constitution, yet the Supreme Court of India has the power of judicial review. In the exercise of this power, the Supreme Court can determine the constitutionality or otherwise of all legislation passed in India by the Parliament and State Legislatures. In other words it implies that if an application, having been made to it, the court can examine the validity of law passed by the Parliament. In case the court opines that the law is wholly or partially not in keeping with the provisions of the constitution to that extent the law of the Parliament or state legislature can be declared as invalid or unconstitutional. This power is to be found in the U.S.A, where it is found to be extensively used by the Supreme Court.

In India however, the power of judicial review of the Supreme Court has created lively interest. The Supreme Court in India has been re-viewing the cases and pronouncing its judgement, but that did not attract the attention of the government or nation. It was however in Golaknath case that the power of the courts came to focus. It was in this case that the courts declared that the Parliament had no power to amend fundamental rights, as embodied in Part III of the Constitution. Some time later came the Bank Nationalisation case. The government decided to take around 14 banks under its direct control and to nationalise them. To this, the Supreme Court announced that the decisions of the government were invalid and unconstitutional. Thus, the decision of the Supreme Court and its power of judicial review came under direct criticism of the government and other progressive front of the society. The decisions of the court made many come forward with the argument that the Supreme Court should be deprived of its power of judicial review. They demanded that the judges must give their decision keeping in view the public opinion. It was argued that a non-elected and nominated judiciary could not be allowed to retard the will and wishes of the nation, as expressed through its elected representatives.

In spite of the various criticisms that were raised against the power of judicial review of the Supreme Court, it has to be admitted it is a kind of a very powerful weapon in the hands of the judiciary, to check the activities of the executive.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. What do you understand by the power of judicial review of the Supreme Court of India?

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4.4 JUDICIAL ACTIVISM

We have already discussed the power of ‘judicial review’ of the Supreme Court against all unconstitutional matters and steps of the executive. What we get to see is that slowly the judiciary has also started expressing its concern in matters relating to social, developmental and environmental issues as also working of democratic institutions. This expression and concern is generally described as ‘Judicial Activism’.

Meaning : Judicial activism does mean the judiciary’s pronouncements in matters of general, social interest or welfare even though these may not be considered in its jurisdiction according to the traditional understanding of law. For this, the judiciary also may not necessarily follow the established or prescribed procedure of litigation. Judicial activism may be taken to mean the movements of the judiciary to probe into the inner functioning of the other organs of the government (i.e. executive and legislature). The judicial activism is no doubt the result of inactiveness on the part of the Executive and Legislature. No doubt, the doctrine of Separation of Powers says that each organ of the government should perform its own functions and should

not interfere in the functions of other organs but at the same time the judiciary, in addition to its judicial functions, have been assigned the function to see that the Constitution is not violated by any person, body or authority including the legislature and executive. But if they do not perform the assigned functions properly, the court may direct them to do so. This is in brief is termed as judicial activism.

The main objective of judicial activism is to maintain the rule of law in the country. The rule of law requires that each organ of the government should perform the duties assigned to them by the Constitution. But if they do not carry out their functions properly, then there will be complete death of law, which indeed is very essential for the existence of the society. It has been rightly said that to safeguard the rule of law, on the foundation of which the superstructure of democratic rule rests, judicial intervention becomes the need of the hour. Development of public interest litigation has also provided significant assistance in making judicial activism meaningful. Now, the court entertains public interest litigation at the instance of any public spirited citizen or organisation for the enforcement of fundamental right of a person in custody or of a class or group of persons who by reason of poverty or disability find it difficult to approach the courts for redress. Thus, we can say that both public interest litigation and judicial activism go hand in hand.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. What do you mean by judicial activism?

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4.5 LET US SUM UP

It should always be kept in mind that the Supreme Court has bent the laws and rules to sub serve public good. It has fashioned new tools with a view to taking the socio-economic justice to the common man. There is no doubt about the fact that Supreme Court has fashioned various reliefs for the poor, uneducated, disabled and helpless people with the help of the weapon public interest litigation. It has been used to provide reliefs for under trial prisoners in jail, prohibition of traffic in women etc. Our Constitution too reposes high trust in the judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts. They are considered to be the repository of the confidence of the people and the protector of their rights and liberties. Thus, we can say that the Indian judiciary plays a bigger role in the development of the people in particular, by protecting their rights and the country as a whole.

KEY WORDS

Authenticate: helps to make it real.

Interpretation: an explanation or opinion of what something means.

Guardian: someone who is legally responsible for others.

Judiciary: all the judges in a country.

SOME USEFUL BOOK

Morris Jones, W.H, *The Government Politics of India*

Rai, Kailash, 2010, *The Constitutional Law of India*, Central Law Publications, Allahabad.

Saxena, N.S, 1987, *Law and Order in India*, New Delhi

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should include the following points

Ans: to Q1

- He must be a citizen of India.
- He has to be a judge of the High Court or two or more such courts in succession for atleast 5 years.

- He has to be an advocate of a High Court or two or more such courts in succession for atleast 10 years.
- He should be in the opinion of the President, a distinguished jurist.

Ans: to Q2

- It has exclusive power to hear a case which cannot be heard by others.
- This includes: dispute between central government and one or more states.
- Between two and more states.
- Between the government of India any state or states on one side and one or more states on the other, when in the dispute any question or law or fact is involved.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1

- The Supreme Court is empowered to examine the validity of a law passed by the Parliament.
- If it finds that the law is not in keeping with provisions of the Constitution, it can be declared as invalid.
- This power makes the Supreme Court, the guardian of the Constitution.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- It is a kind of a movement of the judiciary to probe into the functioning of the different organs of the Constitution.
- Its main objective is to maintain the rule of law.
- It is a concern of the Supreme Court against all unconstitutional activities of the executive.
- It is judiciary's initiative to bring about social welfare.

UNIT 5

INDIAN PUBLIC SERVICE

STRUCTURE

5.0 Objective

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Role of bureaucracy in India

5.2.1 Problems of bureaucracy

5.2.2 Neutral vs. committed bureaucracy

5.3 Indian public/ civil services

5.3.1 Classification of public services

5.3.2 Basic features

5.4 All India services

5.5 Let us sum up

Key words

Some useful books

Answers to check your progress

5.0 OBJECTIVE

Another very important aspect of the Indian Government is the Indian bureaucracy, which plays a vital role carrying out the day to day work of the government. This unit will help you to:

- *identify* the role of bureaucracy in India and the problems that it has to face.
- *infer* what is meant by committed and neutral bureaucracy.
- *explain* the Indian Public Services and its classification along with its features.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In Parliamentary form of government bureaucracy plays a very big role in running the administration of the country. It is supposed to help political bosses, who frequently come and go and have no expertise of the work of the department which they head and also in framing and formulation as well as execution of policies. A good bureaucrat or in other words an efficient civil servant is supposed to be impartial and a person of strong determination, who is not easily influenced by political upheavals which come from time to time. He is supposed to work in accordance with the provisions of law, without caring about the politicians, who might try to use their influence on him. He is required to be politically neutral. So, let us discuss the various aspects of civil service in India.

5.2 ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY IN INDIA

Bureaucracy, in a Parliamentary form of government, plays a very big role and has various functions to perform. In India, bureaucracy has always played a big role but its control has considerably increased since independence, as the state has taken upon itself many functions which it did not perform in the past. In policy matters top civil servants, like the Secretaries and Joint Secretaries, are always consulted by their Ministers and they help

them in actual realisation of objectives and the implementation of plans.

In the administrative set up, it is the bureaucracy which implements laws enacted by the Parliament and state legislature or any elected body. It is so because, the Ministers who are supposed to see that laws are being implemented in the spirit in which these were enacted, have neither time nor necessary expertise to accomplish this task. They can only lay down general guidelines and give the required directions, but implementation is necessarily the responsibility of the civil servants. It is in implementing the laws that the civil servants play the big role. It can both uphold as well as frustrate the spirit in which law is enacted. Thus, it should be known by us that they can bring fame as well as defame to the politicians. In the legislative field too, bureaucracy plays a very important role. It prepares bills, which in its opinion should be passed by the Parliament or for that matter by any elected body. It provides necessary details for legislative work. It is this body that suggests arguments to be advanced while introducing a bill on the floor of the House to meet the criticism of the Opposition. The system of delegated legislation in the legislative field has increased the power of bureaucracy. Under this system, whereas laws are passed by the Parliament, details are essentially to be worked out by the civil servants.

In the judicial field, bureaucracy also plays a big role. In many cases the civil-servants enjoy quasi-judicial powers. In many cases, the civil servants are also made the members of tribunals and their decisions are final and binding on the disputing parties. In India bureaucracy also performs financial functions. Budget proposals are actually worked out by the bureaucrats, though political bosses only give direction for the same. It is on the suggestions of bureaucrats that Parliament modifies or removes an existing tax. Apart from this, outflow of funds and inflow of financial resources is regulated and monitored by bureaucracy. They also keep a check on the use of money so that there is no waste of money or leakage of funds. Another important role played by bureaucracy is in the field of developmental activities. It ensures that all materials are being properly exploited for

collective welfare. Since many industries have been nationalised by the state, therefore responsibility of bureaucracy has still more increased.

Thus, we get to see that indeed the bureaucrats have to shoulder a large number of responsibilities. The main being carrying out the activities of the government in a smooth manner. But in carrying out these activities, it is faced with several problems. Let us discuss some of these problems.

5.2.1 PROBLEMS OF BUREAUCRACY

As already mentioned above, the civil servants, while carrying out their activities, has to encounter various problems. Let us discuss some of the problems faced by them. The very first problem that they are to face is in carrying out their relationship with the Ministers and politicians. Ministers being the heads of the departments are suppose to give directions about the running of the department, though they donot know the technicalities of the work. At times the politicians put such varying and self-opposing demands and pressures that it is difficult to meet all. In case a bureaucrat, in honest discharge of his duties, annoys the politicians and ministers then he is definitely in a disadvantageous position.

Another problem that he has to face is that he cannot defend himself for his actions on the floor of the House even if though he may be badly criticised for actions for which he is not directly responsible. To a certain extent the Ministers will defend the civil servants but when he will see too many questions rising, he will slowly start parting ways from his responsibilities. One another problem of the bureaucrats is the right of the bureaucrats to approach the politicians. Under the existing system, the bureaucrats are not supposed to approach the politicians for getting their grievances redressed. All they are expected to do is to approach their department heads and put their problems before them either in writing or orally.

Still another problem with which bureaucracy is faced is that of the influence of powerful politicians who are not holding any position in the government but pull wires from outside. They

have hold over those who are in the government and the civil servants fully know that any refusal to them would ultimately bring the wrath of the government.

Thus we see that the bureaucrats are to encounter several problems while carrying out their functions.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Provide a brief account of the role played by bureaucracy in India?

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Q2. Do the bureaucrats have to encounter any problem while carrying out their functions? Enlist atleast two problems faced by them?

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5.2.2 NEUTRAL VS COMMITTED BUREAUCRACY

So far as bureaucracy is concerned, it is divided into neutral and committed bureaucracy. Both are contradictory to one another. Under the existing political set up, the bureaucracy is required to be uncommitted. This implies that no bureaucrat is expected to approach politicians for any purpose and he should be above political upheavals. He should be loyal to political bosses to whatsoever political ideology they may belong. He should supply them with correct information which can help in policy

formulation. But what we get to see today is that with the gradual change of time, the conditions have become such that it has become difficult for bureaucrats to remain uncommitted and value free. So, now they are gradually found to become more and more committed. They have become more involved with the politicians as they have fully realized that they cannot work without one another and to be in their good books, commitment to them is a must.

On the other hand neutrality is in fact one of the basic features of Indian bureaucracy. This object has been secured by several ways. Civil servants in India are not permitted to join any political party. They cannot propagate for any party candidate at the time of elections. Similarly they cannot favour any cause or person on the basis of political ideology or simply because that has the backing of any particular political party. They cannot participate in any political agitation or movement. They also cannot express themselves through press or other mass media and also cannot write articles or broadcast talks of political nature on any platform. This is how they are to maintain its political neutrality.

But the present scenario is slightly different. Just to enjoy the powers and privilege, they need to be in the good book of the Ministers and for that they are found compromising with their principles and getting more and more involved in their work and with the Ministers.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. What is the basic difference between neutral and committed bureaucracy?

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5.3 INDIAN PUBLIC/ CIVIL SERVICES

The term 'public or civil services' covers strictly all employees of the State who perform other than military duties, irrespective of their rank or functions. The civil servants are a professional body. They are expected to provide the executive and the legislature with counsel and assistance at every stage in the policy process from planning to programming. They are committed to the well being of the people through the impartial and independent application of law. India was fortunate to inherit a high tradition of civil service from the British who ruled our country for about two centuries. The Indian Civil service of British days was one of the finest civil services anywhere in the world before World war II. It was then addressed as the 'steel frame' of the British rule in India.

However, after independence the leaders of free India provided a new name to it and made it the Indian Administrative Service. Leaders like Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel clearly saw that no democratic government could be effective without a proper, well organised, well educated and well disciplined independent civil service to carry out its will and to advise it on how to give its policies, concrete and practical shape. Since the national leaders of free India spent most of their time in prisons, they were naturally short of administrative abilities and as such they could not do without the guidance and co-operation of the civil servants. So, they wisely incorporated the administrative services in the new system and then allowed them to extend their scope and area in the interest of future re-construction and socio-economic progress.

Since, civil servants subsume the entire policy process, recruitment of highly qualified personnel in the public service is crucial to government operations in every state. At present the recruitment process comprises of two stages viz, written examination followed by a viva voce test. Then the services and cadres are fixed in order of merit. The constitution of India provides for a Union Public Service Commission which conducts competitive entrance examinations. Every care is taken to ensure fair selection.

Now let's take a look how the public services are classified.

5.3.1 CLASSIFICATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES

India being a federation, there are clear division of subjects, in which subjects enlisted in the state list are to be controlled by another set of civil servants. While the former will be recruited by the central government with the help of Union Public Service Commission, the latter by the state governments with the assistance of respective State Public Commission. There is also a separate All India Services, which is common to both the centre and the states. Lets see how they are classified:

- 1) Central services: there are certain services which are under the charge of the central government e.g., Defence, Foreign Affairs, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs and so on. It is the responsibility of central government to see that these subjects are in the exclusive employment of Union Government. Their service conditions, mode and method of recruitment and promotion and salary scales are decided by the central government.
- 2) State services: there are several subjects which are mentioned in the state list. This include police administration, sales tax, land revenue, forests etc. those who are required to control these subjects are recruited by the states themselves. Their methods of recruitment, condition of services and salary scales are not uniform and differ from states to states. Those states which are economically well off pay better emoluments than the other states.
- 3) All India Services: in civil services most coveted are All India Services. The people to these services are recruited on all India basis and can be posted both at the centre as well as the states. The Parliament is however, empowered to create more services, if need be. As already mentioned above, they can be posted anywhere in the state.

Now, let us take a look at some of the specific features of the Indian civil services:

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. How are the Indian civil services classified?

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5.3.2 BASIC FEATURES

Since independence much change has come in the nature and character of civil servants in India. In fact, the whole outlook has changed. Let us take a look at some of the specific features of civil services in India.

- 1) One significant feature of civil service in India is that recruitment to all the posts is made not on the basis of caste, creed and religion or even for that matter there is no distinction on the basis of sex. All appointments are made on the basis of worth of the person concerned.
- 2) Then, the civil servants always try to become a class amongst themselves. Sometimes they are found to suffer from superiority complex as they are accorded a place of honour in the Indian society.
- 3) Thirdly, bureaucracy in India is non-committed. It implies that public servants have no political bias. They should not worry who heads the government and which political party is in power.

- 4) Fourthly, bureaucracy in India is also alleged to suffer from red-tapism. The wheels of government machinery move very slowly. The procedures established results in unnecessary delays and corruption. It is also said to suffer from the evils of nepotism and favouratism.
- 5) Elitist character in bureaucracy is another feature of civil servants in India. they automatically comes under the elitist section of the society.
- 6) Finally, another important characteristics of bureaucracy is that, it is following the course of least resistance. Among the civil servants gradually an impression has developed that a superior officer will always carry the day, in case there is difference of opinion between a junior and a senior officer.

Thus, we get to see that the Indian civil service is marked by some unique features.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Enlist atleast four features of the Indian civil service?

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5.4 ALL INDIA SERVICES

As has already been mentioned above, the All India Services are the most coveted of all. It is a new feature of our services system as the members of these services are common to both the centre as well as the states. The people to these services are recruited on all India basis and can be posted both at the centre as well as the states. In the Constitution there is a provision for the setting up of Indian Administrative Service as well as Indian Police

Service. The Parliament, is however, empowered to create services, if need be. A new All India Service can be created only with the approval of the Rajya Sabha. Such a resolution must be approved by a majority of total membership of the Rajya Sabha and by two-thirds majority of members present and voting. Indian Economic Service, Indian forests service, Indian Medical and Health service have been created by this method. At present there are several All India Services e.g.

Indian Administrative Service (IAS)

Indian Foreign Service (IFS)

Indian Police Service (IPS)

Indian Audit and Accounts Service (IA&AS)

Indian Railway Service (IRS)

Indian Income Tax Service (IITS)

Indian Forests Service (IFS) and so on.

As already pointed out those belonging to these services can be posted to any state and a limited number of state officers are also posted at the centre to have quite a good and fair knowledge of working under the central government and its approach to national problems. It is expected that these postings and transfers will be only for a limited period and that too purely on merit without interference of political bosses and politicians.

Check your Progress 5

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. Name at least four different types of All India Services?

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5.5 LET US SUM UP

Bureaucracy is becoming more and more powerful these days and there is a visible tendency that its likely to become more and more important. Though several questions are raised and fingers pointed out at the bureaucrats for indulging in corruption, the bureaucrats on the other hand are found complaining about the over interference of the Ministers in their day to day work. They are argued that they are not allowed to take decisions on many issues on the basis of merit. They are forced to do all sorts of irregularities and the very concept of objective approach is being wiped out. Whatever the case may be, it must be admitted that the Indian bureaucracy has succeeded in maintaining its elite character and continues to enjoy the status as the highest official body in India.

KEY WORDS

Red-tapism: official rules that donot seem necessary and make things happen very slowly.

Recruitment: to allow someone to join an organisation.

Bureaucracy: it is an official body under the government of a country that carries out the major activities of the government.

Committed: someone who is loyal and willing to give you his or her time and energy.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Mosher, Fredrick C, *Democracy and Public Service*.

Chabbra, H.K, *Government and Politics in India*, Surjeet Publication, New Delhi.

Raj, Hans, *Indian Administration*, Surjeet Publications, New Delhi.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should include the following points

Ans: to Q1

- It implements laws enacted by the Parliament and state legislature.
- It prepares bills, which is again passed by the Parliament.
- In the judicial field, it sometimes enjoy quasi-judicial powers.
- Budget proposals are worked out by the bureaucrats.

Ans; to Q2

- Yes, they do encounter certain problems
- Their main problem is with the Ministers as they sometimes are made to work as a puppet by the Ministers.
- They cannot defend themselves for his actions on the floor.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should include the following points

Ans: to Q1

- Neutral bureaucracy implies, when the civil servants maintains strict neutrality in their work. They are not party to any political party.
- Committed bureaucracy implies gradual inclination towards the ministers which heads a particular department in order to stay in their good books.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should include the following points

Ans: to Q1

- Central services: eg, Defence Services,
- State services: eg, sales tax service.
- All India services: eg, Indian Economic Service

Check Your Progress 4

Your answer should include the following points

Ans: to Q1.

- No recruitment is made on the basis of caste, creed, religion or sex.
- They try to become a class amongst themselves.
- It is politically non-committed.
- They are said to suffer from red-tapism.

Check Your Progress 4

Your answer should include the following points

Ans: to Q1.

- Indian Police Service (IPS)
- Indian Audit and Accounts Service (IA&AS)
- Indian Railway Service (IRS)
- Indian Income Tax Service (IITS)

SELF LEARNING MATERIAL

POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE : POL.SC. - 102

First Semester

**INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND
POLITICS**

BLOCK - 3,4 & 5

**Directorate of Distance Education
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POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE : POL.SC. - 102

INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

BLOCK - 3,4 & 5

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POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE : POL.SC. - 102

INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

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BLOCK 3, 4 & 5

INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

BLOCK INTRODUCTION

In the initial years of our country's independence, many predicted that India, because of its diversities, will not survive as a single state; but will break up into separate states. Since India's independence in 1947 there were many attempts by different communities in India to establish independent countries on Indian soil using terror and other means, but so far India stands united as a country. Nevertheless, it needs to be mentioned that the different separatists tendencies that has erupted in our country from time to time, has somehow shaken the roots of integrity and unity in our country. India undoubtedly was rock steady, but there were times when situation went out of control and our country had to make certain adjustments as per the demands of the protestors. Another vital trend that played its part in hampering the integrity of our nation is 'Regionalism', which created a sense of difference amongst people of different regions. India also has been facing the problem of illegal immigration, which again is another reason of the increasing grievances among the Indian masses. Block 3 attempts to familiarize you with some such issues like, separatist movement, regionalism, problems of immigration, etc. it has been divided into various units to facilitate your study and understanding.

In Block 4, we shall primarily look into the role played by different players in furthering the political machinery of India. India being a democratic republic, it is indeed very important to learn about the functioning of the election machinery, the operation and existence of different political parties, pressure groups, coalition politics etc. Apart from this, being a secular nation with cultural plurality and religious diversities, different aspects such as caste, religion, language etc also plays a very important role in shaping the political scenario of our country.

Though India is a federation we could see too much of centralization of power, with the result that almost everything of consequences are decided in Delhi, the rest in the state capitals and very little at the lower levels. This arrangement of the political setup was hugely responsible for the building up of various pressures. For, the more centralized the structure of a polity is, the less responsive it is likely to be to popular demands. This made the political thinkers of our country feel that India can effectively develop and modernize itself only by turning away from its centralized model. Decentralization of power and administration are today far more widely accepted both in thought and practice and it is believed that democratic decentralization can diffuse tensions more fluently. It was with this end in view that the government of India provided for the creation of local self governments. In this Block 5 we shall take a detail note on the various aspects of local self government in our country.

Explore it, learn and enjoy reading!

The structure of block 3 is as under:

- Unit 1: Separatist movements
- Unit 2: Regionalism
- Unit 3: Problems of Immigration
- Unit 4: State Politics & Tribal Welfare Programmes

The structure of block 4 is as under:

- Unit 1: Electoral machinery & elections in India
- Unit 2: Political party & pressure group in India
- Unit 3: Political Parties In India-National And Regional
- Unit 4: Role of caste, religion and language in India
- Unit 5: Coalition politics in India

The structure of block 5 is as under:

- Unit 1: Rural Local Government in India during 1954-1992
- Unit 2: 73 rd Amendment 1992 Act
- Unit 3: Urban Local Government in India
- Unit 4: Government Control over Local Government

BLOCK 3
DIFFERENT THREATS TO INDIA'S INTEGRITY

UNIT 1
SEPARATIST MOVEMENT

STRUCTURE

- 1.0 Objective
- 1.2 Different Separatist Tendencies Operating In Different Parts of the Country
 - 1.2.1 Harmful effects of Separatism on Indian Society
 - 1.2.2 Steps needed for elimination of separatism.
- 1.3 Reasons behind the Growth of Extremist Tendencies
- 1.4 Terrorism as a New Dimension of Separatist Tendencies in Indian Politics
- 1.5 Ethnicity as a Form of Violence in Indian Politics
- 1.6 Let Us Sum Up

Key Words

Some Useful Books/Articles

Answers To Check Your Progress

1.0 OBJECTIVE

After independence, our country witnessed several separatist and ethnic movements which shook the roots of our country. This unit will help you to:

- *identify* different Separatist movements in India in the form of terrorism, extremism and protests movements.
- *explain* the causes or reasons of such extremist tendencies.
- *outline* different types of violence in Indian politics.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The impact of the British rule in India was such that immediately after independence, the seeds sown by the British to divide India, started bearing its crops in the form of separatist tendencies among different communities residing in India. Different communities started showing their resentment against the newly formed Indian government. These communities somewhat felt that they were given a step-motherly response by the centre and this increasing feeling of insecurity ultimately forced them to take up such initiatives such as separatist movements. Not only this, in fact in due course of time several ethnic communities also started showing their resentment. In this unit, we will look into these various aspects.

1.2 DIFFERENT SEPARATIST TENDENCIES OPERATING IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY

Here we shall try to provide a brief account of the different separatist tendencies operating in different regions. Let us take a look into them:

A) NORTH INDIA

So far as North India is concerned, the first state that comes to our mind is Kashmir, there were organizations and underground organizations which demanded first to attach Kashmir to Pakistan and later on started demanding an independent Kashmir state.

Then comes the state of Punjab, which lies to the south of Kashmir. We all have heard about the famous 'Operation Blue star', initiated under the Prime Ministership of Late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in the 80's in order to sabotage the famous Khalsa movement, where the Sikhs demanded an independent Sikh country to be called Khalistan. The Khalistan movement is a movement in Indian Punjab to create "The Land of the Pure" as an independent Sikh state in all Punjabi-speaking areas, which include Indian Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and some other Punjabi speaking parts of states like Gujarat and Rajasthan.

B) NORTH EAST INDIA

In north- east India, there were many demands for separate states by different groups. North -east India was, during British period, province of Assam. In this region which borders China, there are many communities which are referred to under Indian law as tribes. These tribal people have Chinese appearance and speak in languages from the Sino-Tibetian family. Since India's independence, many tribal communities in this region, in the beginning with Chinese support, tried to establish independent states apart from India. In the 1960s rebellions from Mizoram region even declared independence. The Indian army suppressed these rebellions in this region and the rebellion leaders signed peace treaties with the Indian government. The Indian government created autonomous states for the different tribes in this region within the Indian Union. Even today several tribal terrorist outfits are fighting against the government, demanding separate independent states. The most popular of all is the NSCN(Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland), which have been fighting for a greater Nagalim, which constitutes areas of present day Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and Myanmar. Another tribal separatist outfit that needs mention is the NDFB (National Democratic Front of Bodoland), which seek to obtain a sovereign Bodoland for the Bodo people in Assam. The founder of this organisation, Ransaira Nabla Daimari, continues to lead the outfit.

These states were created by detaching itself from Assam. The Indian governments took some stern steps to combat such activities, which in turn caused severe discontent among the Assamese and they also demanded to separate from India. This feeling of discontent gradually gave shape to a terrorist outfit in the mid 1980s, which popularly came to be known as ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam). It was primarily composed with an anti governmental attitude and its primary motive was to demand sovereignty for Assam. ULFA claims to have been founded at the site of Rang Ghar on April 7, 1979, a historic structure from the Ahom kingdom. Military operations against it by the Indian Army, that began in 1990 continues till present. In the past two decades some 10,000 people have died in the clash between the rebels and the government. The Government of India had banned the organization in 1990 and classifies it as a terrorist group, while the US State Department lists it under "Other groups of concern".

Another terrorist group operating in Assam is MULTA (Muslim United Liberation Tigers of Assam). It is a Separatist organization founded around 1996 in the eastern Indian state of Assam. The South Asia Terrorism Portal (satp.org) describes it as part of the All Muslim United Liberation Forum of Assam (AMULFA), and that Muslim United Liberation Front of Assam (MULFA) is a sister organization under the AMULFA umbrella. It is alleged that MULTA is supported by the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency.

C) SOUTH INDIA

In south India, before India's independence there was a demand for an independent Dravidstan for the whole of south India. It was early as in 1960 that in Madras, two regional parties, namely, the DMK and the New Tamil organised a campaign for secession of Madras from Indian Union and to establish an independent Tamil land. The scope of the agitation thus launched was made somewhat broad based in 1961, when the agitators demanded that the states of Madras, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh should form an independent union. It should secede from the Indian Union and form an independent Republic of Dravida Nadu.

However, slowly and steadily, this demand was mild down for autonomous Dravidian states within the Indian union. But the Tamilians who emigrated from Tamil Nadu to Sri Lanka demand an independent state in north Sri Lanka and it is presumed that they receive lot of support from Indian Tamilians.

Thus, we could see that separatist tendencies developed amongst the masses in different parts of our country. Some took extreme forms like terrorism and are still operating in difeferent regions, fighting for their cause. While on the other hand some could actually give a concrete shape to their demands.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Name two separatist terrorist organisation operating in Assam?

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Q2. Name two tribal separatist organisations?

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1.2.1 HARMFUL EFFECTS OF SEPARATISM ON INDIAN SOCIETY

The following are the harmful effects of separatism on our society.

1. A hindrance in the way of nation-building: Separatism has been acting as a hindrance in the way of nation building in India. it has been weakening the unity and integrity of our country.

2. Emergence of terrorism: most of the terrorist groups operating in India have been using terrorism as a means for pursuing their goals. Our country has been living with a threat.

3. Big strain on Indian Security forces: for meeting the challenges posed by separatism, India has been continuously using its Para-military forces and defense forces for internal security duties. This has been acting as a big strain on our resources and developmental needs.

4. Bad effect on India's economy: for meeting the menace of separatism and terrorism, our country has been spending large sums of money for maintaining its security. It has been adversely affecting our needs.

5. Problem for India's foreign relations: Some foreign powers have been giving shelter and assistance to the separatist elements operating in India. Our country is finding it extremely difficult to conduct her foreign relations more particularly with Pakistan and Bangladesh.

These were some of the harmful effects of separatism. So, we need to seriously look after solutions to these problems. Let us take a look into some of the suggestions.

1.2.2 Steps needed for elimination of separatism.

The following steps needs to be taken for elimination of separatism:

1. People's united action against forces of separatism: people of India must come forward to unitedly defeat the problems of separatism. People must try to isolate the anti-social and anti-national elements.

2. Stronger state action against separatism: Our country must forcefully implement its laws and policies aimed at the abolition of all the evils.

3. International cooperation for eliminating international terrorism: India should strengthen its cooperation with all other countries which have been engaged against the fight against terrorism.

4. Administrative efficiency: An efficient and accountable law and order machinery and administration can go a long way in meeting the menace of such activities

5. Rapid all round development: rapid economic, industrial and technological development and spread of nationalist education can help us to defeat the forces of separatism.

By taking all these steps, Indian democracy can successfully meet the challenges posed by separatism.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. State two severe effects of separatism on our country?

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Q2. Mention three measures needed to be adopted by the Indian government?

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**1.3 REASONS BEHIND THE GROWTH OF
EXTRIMIST TENDENCIES**

Extremism is another form of expressing disgust and finally demanding separatism. Some causes have been pointed out that are thought to be resulted into the rise of Extremism. These are as follows:

1. True nature of the British Raj ---- The extensive and rigorous studies of the Nationalist leaders like, Ananda Charlu, R.N. Mudholkar, D.E. Wacha, G.K. Gokhle, Madan Mohan Malaviya debunked the true nature of British rule in India in terms of economy, politics, various policies etc. Their studies exposed the exploitative nature of British Raj. R.C Dutta and G.V. Joshi had also attempted to show the exploitative nature of British Land Revenue policy. The conspicuous disparity between the avowed aims and practiced policy in cases of recruitment to public service has been exposed with the studies of S.N. Banerjee. Even at the second session of the Congress held in Calcutta in the year 1886, a resolution was taken to control all the disparity. But the resolution was affirmed year after year without proper application. All this resulted naturally into Extremist ideology. This feeling of disparity and exploitation even continued after independence which ultimately evoked extremist tendencies in them.

2. Increasing Westernization ---- Westernization started influencing Indian life, thought as well as politics. Indian religion, thought, culture and civilization started facing real challenge from Christianity, utilitarianism and Western civilization. Another attempt was also taken to coalesce Indian national identity into the British Empire. But though their writings Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Vivekananda and Swami Dayananda attempted to appeal to the people of India. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee through his works in Bengali tried to incorporate the mantra `Service to the Motherland` into the minds of people. A feeling of self-confidence has been injected to the youth by a great Vedantist Vivekananda. Swami Dayananda blows up a new mission to conquer the West with the Indian Spirituality. Dayananda played an important role in building a new confidence within Hindus with his notions and political messages. The influence of western education and culture amongst the tribal population of North East India was such that after independence, they did not wanted to live under the mercy of the Indian union. Rather they decided to form a separate union of their own.

3. Dissatisfaction rose with the achievement of the Congress --- The younger members of the Congress were discontented with the

cold and reactionary attitude of the government. The younger generations of Congressman also known as Nationalist or Extremists were disgusted for the old one. The methods of peaceful and constitutional agitation known as 3 Ps - petition, prayer and protest faced savior criticism from the young members. These three methods were described as 'political mendicancy' by them. Instead of these slow, negligible achievements they were in favor of adopting the rapid European revolutionary methods to contest the European imperialism. The visit of Lala Lajpat Rai to England also gave light on the real picture of British democracy. His message to the countrymen was, 'they would have to strike a blow for freedom themselves, and they should be prepared to give unmistakable proof of their earnestness'.

4. The economic Scenario of India ---- During the British Raj, the economic condition of India was miserably deteriorating, which ultimately resulted into the growth of extremism. Additionally famines of 1896-97 and 1899-1900, bubonic plague in Maharashtra took a grievous toll of life. Government however failed to control the situations. In the Deccan, riots broke out. All these events led to the utter helplessness of the Indians. So, after independence, when the national leaders were striving hard to improve our economic scenario, some of the states felt that they were being left behind or adequate steps were not taken to improve their situation. This developed extremist tendencies in them.

5. International influence ---- Nationalist movements in Egypt, Persia, Turkey, Russia; humiliating treatment to the Indians in British Colonies in South Africa influenced the younger Indian generation. Abyssinia's repulsion of the Italian Army and Japan's thumping victory over Russia gained Indian nationalists more confidence to revolt against the British Empire. So, after independence too, this attitude continued. Any underestimation meted out to their culture was considered to be a humiliation by different communities in India. So, they left no stone unturned in reacting back.

6. Big brotherly attitude of some states ---- The big brotherly attitude of some states right after independence, left the other states highly insecure. Moreover the partial treatment meted out to those

states, made the other states fight for their rights. At times they felt so disgusted that they no longer wanted to stay within the Indian Union. And as such they are found demanding separate independent states outside the Indian Union.

Thus we could see that several reasons are responsible behind the growth of separatist tendencies amongst the states.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. Mention three reasons behind the growth of extremist movement in India?

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Q2. How were the British responsible in evoking extremist tendencies amongst the Indian masses?

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1.4 TERRORISM, AS A NEW DIMENSION OF SEPARATIST TENDENCIES IN INDIAN POLITICS

Terrorism is nothing but a belief that political ends can be attained by exploiting fear. It is an anti-thesis to legitimate authority. It is a weapon of blackmail, coercion and imposition of minority will against or upon majority decision. India, like many other nation-states of the world is trying to fight against the

menace of terrorism. We have already witnessed terrorist activities in Assam, Mizoram, Nagaland, Manipur, Punjab, Tripura; Darjeeling etc. in order to frighten the people and demoralize the government, the people are found resorting to different techniques. The outbreak of terrorism in India has given a new dimension. While the terrorists can attack anywhere, anytime and on anything, the government cannot protect everything, everywhere all the time. That is why the terrorists always retain a certain advantages over the government.

Terrorist activities as a method to give shape to separatist tendencies has duly taken concrete shape in India and more especially in the North East, where terrorist outfits like the ULFA, the KMF, the NSCN, the BLT etc etc are all fighting for the cause of a separate state. These terrorists groups are raising its head high mainly because it has been getting some kind of help from the neighboring nations of our country viz. Pakistan and Bangladesh. The violence created by the naxalites in West Bengal, Orissa, Jharkhand etc is all some kinds of terrorist activities.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. What types of measures are taken up by these terrorists to infuse fear in the minds of the people?

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1.5 ETHNICITY AS A FORM OF VIOLENCE IN INDIAN POLITICS

Now, when we say ethnicity, we mean the trend of emphasizing the right of a community to maintain its identity, of pluralism, of return to the roots of life and culture, which has become a major concern. So, in this zeal to maintain and protect

one's identity different communities are found resorting to violence. Among the south Asian States, the most populated one, i.e. our country India, has the maximum ethnic heterogeneity. Over the past years, ethnicity has emerged as a major instrument of social consciousness, political activity, reallocation or redistribution of resources and sharing and access to political power, it has turned out instrumental in bringing different marginal groups in the fold of democratic process through various movements and struggles. At the same time ethnic consciousness and mobilization have also caused communal and caste explosions in some parts of the country. The ethnic movements and conflicts have ranged from being regionally based in peripheral states such as Punjab and Assam to the heartland areas of the Hindi belt. Non-territorial forms of ethnic mobilisation against affirmative action by higher castes has also been prominent in some parts of northern and southern India.

In short India like many other multiethnic, multinational states is experiencing an ethnic resurgence. Ethnic consciousness and conflict, which previously occupied a marginal space in Indian politics, have now embedded in its core. Thus, from the very start of independence, India has been pre-occupied with finding ways of accommodating ethno-nationalism within the framework of modern state.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. What is meant by ethnicism?

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1.6 LET US SUM UP

Lastly, I would like to sum up stating that the trend of separatism, extremism, terrorism or ethnicism, in whichever form it may be, is actually shaking the roots of democracy in our

country. Different communities are found indulging in some kind of conflict with one or the other community as a result of which peace and serenity are vanishing away from this country. People have left thinking about the country as a whole; instead everyone is busy thinking about the development of their respective communities. Some serious steps has to be adopted by the Indian Government in order to accommodate these different communities on a equal footage, only then this tendencies can be put to a halt.

KEY WORDS

Ethnicism: the tendency of protecting the customs, culture or tradition of a particular community.

Terrorism: the trend of using violent techniques to threat the government or community.

Separatism: the tendency to separate oneself from the whole.

Zeal: earnestness or fervor.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS/ARTICLES

Basu, Sajal, *Community, Ethnicity and State Politics*, 2000, Rawat Publication, New Delhi.

Kothari, Rajni, *State Against Democracy*.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- The ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam)
- The MULTA (Muslim United Liberatuion Tigers of Assam).

Ans: to Q2.

- NSCN (Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland)
- NDFB (Nationalist Democratic Front of Bodoland)

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- **Emergence of terrorism:** most of the terrorist groups operating in India have been using terrorism as a means for pursuing their goals. Our country has been living with a threat.
- **Big strain on Indian Security forces:** for meeting the challenges posed by separatism, India has been continuously using its para-military forces and defence forces for internal security duties. This has been acting as a big strain on our resources and developmental needs.

Ans: to Q2.

- People's united action against forces of separatism.
- Stronger state action against separatism.
- International cooperation for eliminating international terrorism.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Increasing westernisation.
- The then economic scenario in India.
- Big brotherly attitude of some states.

Ans: to Q2.

- The British tendency to exclude the Indians from administrative services and provide them with partial treatments while favouring their British counterparts evoked feelings of extremism.

Check Your Progress 4

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- The terrorist try to infuse fear by resorting to various violent activities such as ruthless killing, bombing, kidnapping etc.
- They are not hesitant to play with blood.

Check Your Progress 5

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- the trend of emphasising the right of a community to maintain its identity, of pluralism, of return to the roots of life and culture.
- zeal to maintain and protect one's identity.

UNIT 2

REGIONALISM

STRUCTURE

- 2.0 Objective
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Impact of Regionalism in Indian Politics
- 2.3 Changing Role of Regional Political Parties in India
- 2.4 Politics of Minorities in India
- 2.5 Let Us Sum Up

Key Words

Important Books/Articles

Answers To Check Your Progress

2.0 OBJECTIVE

After learning about the growth of separatist and ethnic movements in India, now we shall take a look into regionalism and its dynamics. So, this unit, should help you to:

- *describe* regionalism and its impact in Indian politics.
- *enumerate* the changing role of regional political parties.
- *outline* minority politics as a part of regionalism and its implications.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

If we analyze carefully, we will observe that Regionalism was deliberately encouraged by many with the hope that the people of each region thought more in terms of their region rather than that of India as a whole. They were made conscious of the fact that they were sons of the soil and that they should care for the development of their respective region. It is a significant type of sub-territorial loyalty. Administrative divisions or provisions at times generate a degree of loyalty separate from identification with the national territory. Regionalism in the Indian context generally refers to assertion of distinct ethnic, linguistic or economic interests by various groups within the nation and since regional consciousness is based on linguistic, economic, ethnic, and cultural identities of the people living in a specific geographical area, political theorists have chosen to treat economic regionalism, linguism, communalism, ethnic movements etc within the general frame of regionalism. As a concept it has both positive and negative dimensions. Speaking of its positive aspect, it embodies a quest for self-fulfillment on the part of the people of an area. Negatively speaking, it reflects a psyche of relative deprivation resulting from specific grievances.

2.2 IMPACT OF REGIONALISM IN INDIAN POLITICS

If we trace history, we will observe that in India, regionalism is one of the heavy weights on country's political system. It is not today but even before independence that regionalism was used as a tool by British imperialists to promote their policy of keeping India divided. After independence, our national leaders made every attempt to make the people of India realise that they belonged to India as a whole. It was with this end in view that our Constitution makers have provided for single citizenship instead of double citizenship. A provision was made for a unified judiciary. A strong central government was envisaged though India was made a federal polity. Measures were also there in the Constitution, to ensure that the feelings of regionalism were cut down from the roots. But in reality what we actually get to see that, local leaders in order to maintain or strengthen their leadership, very much exploit regional feelings. They talk of regional imbalances or regional backwardness try to play with the sentiments of the people. Without caring about the realities and difficulties of the people, these leaders exploit the feelings of the people. Not only this, but also within the region itself, the feelings of sub-regionalism have become a force in Indian politics. During elections regionalism is misused as a weapon in creating vote banks for winning an election, by influencing the regional sentiments of the people. Apart from this people are found voting on regional basis i.e. people vote in favour of candidates belonging to their respective regions.

The most outstanding manifestation of the impact of regionalism on India's politics is the growth of regional political parties. At present, in some states regional parties are in power while in others they are found, having immense influence upon the people. Today, the Congress is in power at present, yet what we get to see today is that in most of the big states like Tamil Nadu (DMK), West Bengal (Trinamol Congress) etc regional parties are found to occupy the highest seats. Since, regional parties started getting prominence in due course of time, it has almost become a custom in the Indian political scenario, to form a regional party if

and when desired. But the sad part is that these newly formed regional parties are lacking a distinct ideology. This is in fact very harmful for the future of our political system. However, this trend is not going to stop here.

Regionalism in Indian politics finds expression in the form of Senas, which have been organised in different parts of the country. Their primary motive is to induce in their followers feelings of love for their own region. They usually go for a militant approach and follow aggressive policies. Some such Senas include, Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, Tamil Sena in Tamil Nadu, Anti Hindi Sena in West Bengal, Sardar Sena in Gujarat etc etc. These Senas exploit the sentiments of the people of the region by pointing out that they are being exploited by the outsiders who are draining out wealth of the region, reducing them to poverty. They further propagate that all available sources should be available to the sons of the soil. They also insist on fixing domicile qualification for promoting and protecting the interests of the natives. Nowadays, the Senas are found to be very much destructive in their attitude towards the outsiders issue which is indeed threatening to the unity of the nation.

For all available accounts it is now amply clear that regionalism is not on the decline. On the other hand, it is getting more deep rooted and even in the same political party the role of regional leadership can in no way be underestimated or ignored.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Mention any two impact of regionalism in Indian politics?

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Q2. How did regionalism had its growth in India?

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2.3 CHANGING ROLE OF REGIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA

The main objective with which regional parties were formed was to promote the development and welfare of the people of a region. But gradually it was observed that leaders of the regional political parties intentionally exploit the sentiments of the people in order to gain popularity and eventually to acquire power. Their positive role is gradually turning negative.

In the first place regional parties have posed the most powerful challenge to India's 'one party dominant system' or 'the one party' system.(In fact these have terminated the era of Congress –domination of Indian party system).

Secondly, the regional parties have made a strong impact on the nature and course of Centre-state relations. In the past, the emergence of several tension areas in Center-state relations in India and the intensity gathered by the demand for grant of greater autonomy to the states emerged largely due to emergence of several active and powerful regional actors like the DMK, the AIADMK, the Telegu Desam and the Shiromani Akali Dal. The 'state leadership' tried to become more and more vocal in their dealings with the central leadership and the Centre began becoming more responsive to the needs and demands of regional actors.

Finally within the liberal- democratic frame of reference, regional parties made politics more competitive and popular participation in the political process more extensive at the grass roots.

Regional parties continue to favour the objective of more state autonomy but at the same time they now realize better the importance of participation in government-making and policy-making at the national level. However, there is a possible danger involved in this exercise. The regional parties can bring in regionalization in decision-making at the national level. These can try to use their new role for securing some narrow regional gains from the Center. There is every need to guard against the possible increase in the direction of regionalization. In no case this should be permitted to adversely affect India's, foreign policy decisions. Moreover, they undermine the importance of the country as a nation and place the region above the nation.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Briefly state atleast two roles played by regional political parties?

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Q2. Name the regional political party of Punjab?

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2.4 POLITICS OF MINORITIES IN INDIA

Every nation in the world, whether small or big, is confronting the problem of minorities as no country, democratic or

otherwise has a perfectly homogenous population. So, far as our country India is concerned, owing to its background of regional, religious and cultural diversities, our problem is however acute. The segmented groups of Indian society are not properly divided or compartmentalized. As a result, every state in the Indian Union has both linguistic and religious minority groups. Although the role of the central government is indispensable to the preservation of minority rights in India, the voluntary co-operation of the state government is no less important even for the implementation of agreed safeguard for the linguistic, religious and ethnic groups. In our nation policies towards minorities have often oscillated between 'toughness' and appeasement. As long as these policies are not based on correct understanding of their urges, the problems of minorities will continue to affect the task of nation building adversely.

The Indian minorities have three levels of political awareness: the grievance situation, the identity crisis and the homeland dream through secession. So far as the Indian Muslims are concerned, it is both difficult and peculiar. They constitute the second largest community in India, yet they are given the status of minorities and are yet outside the national mainstream. It is alleged by the Muslim elites that in our country the Muslims have lost their voice since partition. According to them, there is also a poor representation of the Muslims in the government and administrative services. Other allegations are that the press and other media always present a distorted image of the community. And their language 'Urdu' is not given proper status and recognition. However, this criticism of the Muslim elite is neither convincing nor relevant. There is hardly any Muslim in our country who feels guilty on account of his community's role in the division of the country. Though conditions in India have greatly changed, the Indian Muslims continue to hold an elevated view of themselves. By and large, they are not keen to participate actively in the democratic process by trying to share leadership. They are unwilling to overcome their backwardness. They are determined to preserve and strengthen their solidarity. But for years together there has been no evidence that they have genuinely felt threatened. All this is no doubt threatening but there is a room of hope in modernisation and secularism.

Besides the Muslims, there are some other important minorities like the schedule castes, schedule tribes and other backward classes. Their problems are also deep-rooted and complex. In case of the schedule castes, an important problem is to break through the barrier of untouchability. The tribal people have had a history of isolation which gives in many ways a unique character to their problem. Any approach on the part of the government to develop their conditions is seen by them as interference in their traditional way of life. Another crucial problem, concerning the Indian minorities is the protective discrimination. Under the current arrangements, there are reservations for the S.C's, S.T's, and other backward classes in Legislatures, government jobs, professional colleges and universities etc. These castes have developed a vested interest in remaining backward. It enables them to enjoy a number of benefits which they are unwilling to give up.

If we try to view the problem in light of what is happening to equally poor and down trodden members of other castes, there is not much to support the continuance of the policy of protective discrimination. These reservations have not made even the slightest impact on the larger problems of economic growth, national reconstruction and development. However, from time to time different castes and communities raising their voice against the reservation policies.

<p>Check Your Progress 3</p> <p>Note: Use the lines below for your answers</p> <p>Q1. What are the three different types of political awareness that the minorities in India have?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
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Q2. What is that one problem that is showing up in case of minority politics in India?

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2.5 LET US SUM UP

Thus we get to see that regionalism has posed severe threat to national integration. By exploiting the regional sentiments of the people, the regional leaders are found misleading the people to promote their own interests, which in turn is a major humiliation to a democratic setup like ours, which is infact considered to be one of the largest democracies of the world. Moreover, people are found to be more inclined towards the candidates of their respective regions as a result the deserving ones go unnoticed. On the other hand so far as minority politics is concerned, the reservation policies for the minorities are throwing the pushing the deserving lot into the path uncertainty thereby making there future dark and gloomy. So, in my point of view, though reservation policies need to be there, it should not be in terms of reservation of seats, rather there should be economic reservation, i.e. relaxation of fees for the economically downtrodden.

2.6 KEY WORDS

Compartmentalized: devide into compartment or categories.

Ocsillated: to and fro.

Appeasement: to satisfy by making concessions.

Implementation: to put into effect.

Ethinc: having a common national or cultural tradition.

2.7 IMPORTANT BOOKS/ARTICLES

Wiener, Myron, *Sons of the Soil*.

Majeed, Akhtar, *Regionalism: Developmental Tensions in India*.

Ghosh, S.K, *Muslims Politics in India*.

Shakir, Moin, *State of Politics in Contemporary India*.

2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- During elections regionalism is misused as a weapon in creating vote banks for winning an election, by influencing the regional sentiments of the people.
- Apart from this people are found voting on regional basis i.e. people vote in favour of candidates belonging to their respective regions.

Ans: to Q2.

- Regionalism had its growth in India during the British rule.
- It is the gradual result of the policy to keep India divided.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Regional parties made politics more competitive and popular participation in the political process more extensive at the grass roots.

- It has greatly shaken the centre-state relations from its roots. It is no more found to run smooth as ever before.

Ans: to Q2.

- Shiromani Akali Dal.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- The Indian minorities have three levels of political awareness: the grievance situation,
- the identity crisis and
- the homeland dream through secession.

Ans: to Q2.

- Another crucial problem, concerning the Indian minorities is the protective discrimination.
- Under the current arrangements, there are reservations for the S.C's, S.T's, and other backward classes in Legislatures, government jobs, professional colleges and universities etc.
- These castes have developed a vested interest in remaining backward.
- It enables them to enjoy a number of benefits which they are unwilling to give up.

UNIT 3

PROBLEMS OF IMMIGRATION

STRUCTURE

- 3.0 Objective
 - 3.1 Introduction
 - 3.2 Illegal Immigration in India
 - 3.3 Political Concerns
 - 3.4 Social Concerns
 - 3.5 Reasons behind the gradual increase of Illegal Immigrants In India
 - 3.6 Reservation Politics In India
 - 3.6.1 Arguments in Favour of the Reservation System
 - 3.6.2 Criticisms Imposed Against Reservation System
 - 3.7 Inter-States Disputes in India
 - 3.8 Let Us Sum Up
- Key Words
- Some Important Books/Articles
- Answers To Check Your Progress

3.0 OBJECTIVE

In the previous unit we have discussed the impact of regionalism and minority politics in our country. This unit will primarily help you to:

- *describe* Immigration in India and its political and social after effects.
- *outline* reservation politics in India.
- *formulate* opinions in favour and against reservation in our country.
- *analyze* Inter-state conflicts in India .

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Illegal immigration has posed a big threat to not only India's economy but also to the security of the indigenous people of our country. They are made to share their land with others. Though initially, the government of India asked them to settle down in the Char areas, but gradually, they were found occupying and encroaching lands of the indigenous population. This in turn has created severe grievances amongst the natives of this country, resulting in armed conflicts and bloodshed. The biggest example that can be cited is the Assam Movement, which was mainly initiated to overthrow the illegal settlers out of Assam. In India large scale immigration started taking place from Bangladesh right from 1970's itself and continues even today. Some have even declared themselves to be permanent residents of India. so, let us now take a look into the whole scenario from political and social point of view.

3.2 ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IN INDIA

In terms of the relevant Indian law, any person residing in the country without an official permission is an illegal immigrant.

Those who are explicitly granted refugee status do not fall under this category. As has already mentioned above Bangladeshis form the largest group of migrants in India. As per 2001 census there are 3,084,826 people in India who came from Bangladesh. No reliable numbers on illegal immigrants are currently available. Extrapolating the census data gives a figure of 2 million. Although figures as high as 20 million are also reported in the media. 1971's liberation war and continued political and economic turmoil in Bangladesh in the following decades forced some Bangladeshis to seek refuge in India. Most of them migrated to the border states, particularly West Bengal and Assam. This issue became more visible after the 1991 census when patterns of abnormally high growth rate of Muslims were observed in the border states of Assam and West Bengal. In 1991 census Muslim population growth rates in these states were found to be much higher than the growth rates of the local Hindu population even after adjusting for the usual higher growth rate of Muslims observed throughout the country. Not only this, India also faces infiltration of Kashmiri terrorist groups in Jammu and Kashmir. There are estimated 50,000-100,000 Burmese Chin immigrants residing in India, mostly in the Indian state of Mizoram and a small number is found in Delhi.

3.3 POLITICAL CONCERNS

Let us now take a look as to how this issue of illegal immigration became a matter of political concern.

In Assam, agitation against immigrants started as early as 1979, led by All Assam Students Union. Their demand was to put a stop on the influx of immigrants and deportation of those who have already settled. It gradually took violent form and ethnic violence started between Assamese and Bengalis, mostly Muslim. It eventually led to the infamous Nellie massacre in 1983 due to a controversy over the 1983 election. In 1985 Indian Government signed the Assam accord with the leaders of the agitation to stop the issue. As per the accord India started building a fence along the Assam-Bangladesh border which is now almost complete.

However Assam also has a large number of genuine Indian Muslim Bengalis. It is difficult to distinguish between illegal Bangaldeshis and local Bengali speakers. In some cases genuine Indian citizens have been discriminated. Allegations exist that nationalist parties such as the Bharatiya Janata Party as well as the Indian National Congress have discriminated against Bengali-speaking Muslims. On the other hand in some places reports of Bangladeshis being able to secure Indian ration and voter identity cards have come out. Another place that needs mention is Arunachal Pradesh, where the Chakmas, immigrating from Chittagong Hill tracts bordering Bangladesh are finding it hard to accept the native society of Arunachal Pradesh and vice versa.

After 1991 census the changing demographic patterns in border districts became more visible. It created anxiety and tension in India throughout the nineties. Both conservatives as well as moderates expressed concern on this issue. The first BJP government came into power in 1998 and subsequently ordered the construction of the Indo-Bangladesh barrier to stop migrants and illegal trade along the border. It was planned to enhance the already existing barrier in Assam and to encircle West Bengal, Tripura and Mizoram as well.

The other Indian state affected by this problem, West Bengal, remained mostly calm during this period. However Indian newspapers reported that "the state government has reports that illegal Bangladeshi migrants have trickled into parts of rural Bengal, including Nandigram, over the years, and settled down as sharecroppers with the help of local Left leaders. Though a majority of these immigrants became tillers, they lacked documents to prove the ownership of land".

The Government of Bangladesh has denied India's claims on illegal immigration. Scholars have also reflected that under the guise of anti-Bangladeshi immigrant movement it is actually an anti-Muslim agenda pointed towards Bangladeshi Muslims by false propaganda and widely exaggerated claims on immigrant population.

After 2001 census the anxiety somewhat reduced when the growth rates were found to have returned to near normal level, particularly in West Bengal, thus negating the fear that there was an unabated influx of migrants. Although some concern remains. In 2005, a Supreme Court bench ruled Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunal) Act (IMDT) as unconstitutional while, with reference to the Sinha Report, maintaining that the impact of the "aggression" represented by large-scale illegal migrants from Bangladesh had made the life of the people of Assam "wholly insecure and the panic generated thereby had created fear psychosis" and other north-eastern States. In August 2008, the Delhi High Court dismissed a petition by a Bangladeshi national against her deportation. The High Court ruled that the illegal Bangladeshi immigrants "pose a danger to India's internal security".

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. In which year did the Supreme Court ruled out the IMDT(Illegal Migrants Determination by tribunal) Act as unconstitutional?

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Q2. Where did the Chakmas hail from?

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Q3. When was the Assam Accord signed?

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3.4 SOCIAL CONCERNS

Apart from immigrants a large numbers smugglers regularly cross the porous border along West Bengal into India. They mainly engage in smuggling goods and livestock from India into Bangladesh to avoid high tariff imposed on some Indian goods by Bangladesh government. Bangladeshi women and girls are also trafficked to India and via India to Middle East for forced labor and commercial sexual exploitation. The Centre for Women and Children Studies estimated in 1998 that 27,000 Bangladeshis have been forced into prostitution in India. Ahmedabad Crime Branch (ACB) has investigated a prostitution racket run by a Bangladeshi couple living in Ahmedabad. It believed over 500 women had been coerced into prostitution by illegal Bangladeshi agents in Gujarat. Not only this if we look into this issue from the point of view of the civil society, we will observe that the influx of immigrants in large numbers has hugely disturbed the peaceful existence of the social life of the natives of the concerned region. The natives are in no mood to accept a life of co-existence with the immigrants, as a result of which severe conflict are found breaking out between them. Reports of villages of immigrants being set on fire and sometimes immigrants burning down villages of the natives are often to be heard.

Thus what we see is that both both social and political life in India is duely disturbed because of the illegal influx of large scale immigrants from neighbouring Bangladesh.

3.5 REASONS BEHIND THE GRADUAL INCREASE OF ILEGAL IMMIGRANTS IN INDIA

Despite of the awareness of the respective governments of both the countries i.e.India and Bangladesh, what we get to see today is that the problem of illegal immigration instead of coming to a halt is gradually increasing day by day. So, let us to trace the reasons behind this growth.

Firstly, though our government is very much aware of the dire consequences of immigration, what we get to see is that as our economy has thrived it has become increasingly dependent on cheap and pliant labor from its neighbor to perform a range of household tasks and engage in casual employment. On occasion, there have been xenophobic outbursts against these defenseless workers.

Secondly, it is noticed that Bangladeshi officials remain in complete denial over the vexed issue of illegal immigration. Various regimes in New Delhi have periodically raised this topic with Dhaka. However, little or no progress has been made on the diplomatic front in addressing this pressing concern.

Thirdly, Indian politicians, especially in the Communist-run state of West Bengal and Assam which adjoins Bangladesh, have also been witting collaborators with illegal immigration. For them, these desperate souls seeking a better material existence are little more than electoral fodder. Accordingly, widespread reports suggest that many of them have been willing to dole out ration cards to illegal immigrants thereby making them eligible for access to a vast public food distribution system. Once armed with a ration card it is then possible to obtain a voter's identity card and thereby legalize one's status.

Fourthly, As long as economic conditions in Bangladesh remain, large numbers of individuals will risk life and limb in their quest for a better material existence in India. Indeed given the sheer paucity of land in Bangladesh, and the dangers of further loss thereof as a consequence of global climate change, may lead to further population movements.

Lastly, the Indian government has no organized scheme to document casual laborers as in the United States or Western Europe.

Thus, we can remark stating that it is time for both governments to tackle this issue forthrightly and imaginatively. Bangladesh cannot refuse to acknowledge its role and India cannot continue with its present policies. Instead they urgently need to have a candid conversation about how best to deal with the issue.

the rulings given by the supreme court, but certain Indian states like Rajasthan have proposed a 68 % reservation which includes a 14% reservation for forward castes.

But reservations are intended to increase the social diversity in campuses and workplaces by lowering the entry criteria for certain identifiable groups that are grossly under-represented in proportion to their numbers in the general population. Caste is the most used criteria to identify under-represented groups. The underlying theory is that the under-representation of the identifiable groups is a legacy of the Indian caste system. After India gained independence, the Constitution of India listed some erstwhile groups as Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST). The framers of the Constitution believed that, due to the caste system, SCs and the STs were historically oppressed and denied respect and equal opportunity in Indian society and were thus under-represented in nation-building activities. The Constitution laid down 15% and 7.5% of vacancies to government aided educational institutes and for jobs in the government/public sector, as reserved quota for the SC and ST candidates respectively for a period of five years, after which the situation was to be reviewed. This period was routinely extended by the succeeding governments. Later, reservations were introduced for other sections as well. The Supreme Court ruling that reservations cannot exceed 50% has put a cap on reservations. However, there are state laws that exceed this 50% limit and these are under litigation in the Supreme Court.

However, if we carry out a national survey, we will see that opinions on reservations differ among different people. While, some favour it, others vehemently opposes it. So, let us take a look in favour and against reservation.

3.6.1 ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE RESERVATION SYSTEM

- Though reservations are seen as anti-meritocratic in nature, meritocracy is meaningless without equality. First all people must be brought to the same level, whether it

elevates a section or lowers another, regardless of merit. After that, we can talk about merit. Forward people have never known to go backward due to reservations or lack of "meritocracy". Reservations have only slowed down the process of "Forward becoming more richer and backward becoming more poorer".

- Although Reservation schemes do undermine the quality of education but still affirmative Action schemes are in place in many countries including USA, South Africa, Malaysia, Brazil etc. It was researched in University of Michigan that Affirmative Action programmes are beneficial to the under-privileged. The study said that Blacks who enter elite institutions with lower test scores and grades than those of whites achieve notable success after graduation. They earn advanced degrees at rates identical to those of their white classmates. They are even slightly more likely than whites from the same institutions to obtain professional degrees in law, business and medicine. They become more active than their white classmates in civic and community activities.
- Although Reservation schemes do undermine the quality of education but still Affirmative Action has helped many - if not everyone from under-privileged and/or under-represented communities to grow and occupy top positions in the world's leading industries. Reservation in education is not the solution, it is just one of the many solutions. Reservations is a means to increase representation of hitherto under-represented caste groups and thereby improve diversity on campus.
- Although Reservation schemes do undermine the quality of education but still they are needed to provide social justice to the most marginalized and underprivileged is our duty and their human right. Reservation will really help these marginalized people to lead successful lives, thus eliminating caste-based discrimination which is still widely prevalent in India especially in the rural areas. (about 60% of Indian population stays in Villages)
- Reservations are a political necessity in India because vast influential sections of voting population see reservations as beneficial to themselves. All governments have supported maintaining and/or increasing reservations. Reservations

are legal and binding. Accepting demands for reservations may be an easy way to enhance peace.

- The policy of reservation is one of the biggest weapon to fight against castiesm rather than a plan to improve economic condition of certain castes.

These were arguments in favour of the reservation system. Now let us take a look into the criticisms imposed against it.

3.6.2 CRITICISMS IMPOSED AGAINST RESERVATION SYSTEM

The following are the criticisms raised against the reservation system in India.

- Caste Based Reservation only perpetuates the notion of caste in society, rather than weakening it as a factor of social consideration, as envisaged by the constitution. Reservation is a tool to meet narrow political ends.
- Reservations cause friction among social groups. Backward classes not included in reservations clash with castes already enjoying benefits of reservations to also get included in reservations .
- Allocating quotas is a form of discrimination which is contrary to the right to equality.
- The principle of reservation has come to be discredited as inimical to merit because it enables incompetant to sneak from behind and deprive brilliant and deserving youth, of college seats and jobs and thus destroying the nation's prospects for achieving greatness.
- Apart from creating a vested interest, the reservation policy has vested many more caste groups to demand inclusion in the original lists.
- There is infact no justification for omnibus reservations and meaningless quotas at all levels, from primary education to professional colleges.

Lastly, summing up we can say that the caste based policy of reservation, with all its criticisms, cannot altogether be ignored. Mainly because of the fact that these backward castes, by and large are yet to catch up with other castes notwithstanding all that the government has done for them. However, it should always be kept in mind that reservation dicisions should always be taken on

objective basis and finally reservation should be based on economic status rather than caste based reservation.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Give atleast two arguments in against the reservation system?

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Q2. What should be the basis of the reservation system?

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Q3. Give three arguments in favour of the reservation system in India?

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3.7 INTER-STATES DISPUTES IN INDIA

As we have already discussed in the above unit, regionalism is deeply rooted in the Indian soil. It has taken different forms and one such form is the inter-states disputes. Each state has a tendency to have maximum resources at its disposal, so that the state can be fully well developed. But India being a vast

country and states having artificial boundaries, sometimes two or more states stake their claims and rights either on resources or territories which donot at that time belonged to them. Since no political leader is prepared to renounce his claim once made, because of his losing popularity, the claims are than reinforced by public opinion everytime and sometimes these become serious and continue to linger on for years together. Let us know take a look into some of the famous inter-state disputes that occurred in our country.

1) Punjab-Haryana dispute over Chandigarh: Chandigarh was the capital of composite Punjab, before the bifurcation of the state into Punjab and Haryana. When the central government finally decided to bifurcate the state, Candigarh became a bone of contention . Both Punjab and Haryana stalked their claim over the territory and some leader from both sides threatened fast unto death, in case their claim was not accepted. There were also violent demonstrations on both sides. Several measures were taken up to resolve the issue. But the dispute still continues and Candigarh at present continues to be the capital of both the states. Both Punjab and Haryana are at present reconciled to the solution of Chandigarh remaining a Union Territory under direct control of the central government. Both the states, even today are not prepared to unconditionally give Chandigarh to the other party.

2) Boundary dispute between Assam and Nagaland: Since long both Nagaland and Assam have been disputing over the sharing of land. There were many evidences of violent clashes between the two parties resulting in the death of many. In April, 1989, an Accord was signed between the two, hoping that the problem has now amicably solved but soon after violent clashes broke out. There are allegations of encroachment against the state of Nagaland. However the state has been denying such allegations. Nevertheless, the disputes between the two states still continues and a prompt solution is not in sight yet.

3) Boundary dispute between Assam and Mizoram: Assam has boundary disputes with Mizoram as well . Dispute is over the area of Warrenthy-Lailapur. The differences between the two states has assumed such serious magnitude that Central government had to intervene. At present both the states had agreed that they will respect the dimarcation of boundary as demarcated by the Survey of India in consultation with both the states.

4) Boundary dispute between Assam and Arunachal Pradesh:

Right after its recognition as an independent state, the state of Arunachal Pradesh put forward its claim on some territories which are now in Assam. On the other hand, Assam not willing to accept its claim, approached the Supreme Court for resolving its disputes, which still continues.

5) Dispute over use of water resources:

There is no river in India, which flows through one state only. Every river passes through atleast two or more states. But the sad part is that the respective states through which water flows, tend to claim authority over that particular river. The first important dispute was over the use of water resources of three rivers namely, Narmada, Krishna and Kaveri, in which states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh were involved. Whereas Maharashtra and Rajasthan could arrive at a conclusions, the claims of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh had to be reffered to a tribunal set up by the central government. However a settlement was reached in March 1975 to which the conflicting parties duly agreed and the problem was resolved. Then another dispute was over the use and distribution of the waters of Krishna river between Maharashtra, Andra Pradesh and Karnataka. Dispute also arose over the use of the waters of Kaveri among the states of Tamil Nadu, Kerela and Karnataka. Delhi has water disputes with neighbouring states over the sharing of the Yamuna river. Every summer when Delhi faces with water shortage, the crisis come to the fore but no prompt solution has bee found so far.

Thus, we get to see that in independent India, different states are somehow involved in one or the other conflict with its neighbour.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Are inter-states disputes, a form of regionalism ?

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Q2. Has the dispute over the sharing of land come to an end?

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3.8 LET US SUM UP

Thus, what we get to see is that the issue of illegal immigration is creating a havoc in our country. It has been disturbing the social life and demographic set up of the country. The natives of the land are found showing utter disgrace and discontent in adjusting their lives with the immigrants. Movements like the Assam Andolan are again feared to erupt if nothing is done on the part of the government of both the countries to stop the influx of immigration. Then again the very issue of reservation with its positive as well as negative impact should again be treated carefully by the Indian government and it should take up steps for the implementation economic reservation in the country. This infact would be an impartial approach towards all the members of the society.

KEY WORDS

Renounce: formally abandon.

Quotas: share that an individual or a group is bound to contribute to.

Perpetuate: preserve from oblivion.

Friction: clash of wills, temperaments and opinions.

Affirmative: asserting that a thing is so.

SOME IMPORTANT BOOKS/ARTICLES

Desai, I.P, *Caste, Caste Conflict and Reservations.*

Pradhad, Ishwari, *Reservation (Action for Social Equality)*

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.
Ans: to Q1.

- In the year 2005.

Ans: to Q2.

- They hailed from Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Ans: to Q3.

- It was signed in the year 1985.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answers should include the following points.
Ans: to Q1.

- Smugglers are crossing the borders on a regular basis and entering the country.
- Large scale women and girl prostitution is taking place across borders.
- Disturbs the regular life of the civil society.

Ans: to Q2.

- India today is very much dependent on cheap and pliant labor from its neighbor to perform a range of household tasks and engage in casual employment.
- Secondly, it is noticed that Bangladeshi officials remain in complete denial over the vexed issue of illegal immigration. Various regimes in New Delhi have periodically raised this topic with Dhaka. However, little or no progress has been made on the diplomatic front in addressing this pressing concern.

- Thirdly, Indian politicians, especially in the Communist-run state of West Bengal and Assam which adjoins Bangladesh, have also been witting collaborators with illegal immigration. For them, these desperate souls seeking a better material existence are little more than electoral fodder.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Caste Based Reservation only perpetuates the notion of caste in society, rather than weakening it as a factor of social consideration, as envisaged by the constitution. Reservation is a tool to meet narrow political ends.
- Reservations cause friction among social groups. Backward classes not included in reservations clash with castes already enjoying benefits of reservations to also get included in reservations .

Ans: to Q2.

- The basis should be economic reservation i.e. economic status should be given importance.

Ans: to Q3.

- Affirmative Action has helped many - if not everyone from under-privileged and/or under-represented communities to grow and occupy top positions in the world's leading industries.
- they are needed to provide social justice to the most marginalized and underprivileged is our duty and their human right.
- Reservations are a political necessity in India because vast influential sections of voting population see reservations as beneficial to themselves.

Check Your Progress 4

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Yes, it is a form of regionalism.

Ans: to Q2.

- Yes, it has come to an end.

UNIT 4
STATE POLITICS & TRIBAL WELFARE
PROGRAMMES

STRUCTURE

- 4.0 Objective
 - 4.1 Introduction
 - 4.2 Different Dalit Movements as a Means for Identity Assertion
 - 4.3 Constitutional Provisions for the Development of the Dalits
 - 4.4 Tribal Welfare Programme
 - 4.4.1 The Tribal Development Policies and Programmes
 - 4.5 Let Us Sum Up
- Key Words
- Some Important Books/Articles
- Answers To Check Your Progress

4.0 OBJECTIVE

In the previous unit we have come to learn about regionalism and its nuances, different inter-states disputes, and finally reservation politics in India. Now, in this unit we shall primarily aim at :

- *explain* Identity assertion of dalits and backward castes in India.
- *evaluate* the Tribal welfare programmes as initiated by the government of India.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The schedule castes are known as harijans, i.e. children of God- a term which was coined by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933. The name harijan is considered quite pejorative by some leaders of the castes. They prefer to be called dalit i.e, the oppressed. Their touch, and sometimes their shadows and even their voices are believed to pollute caste-Hindus. Legally, they are no longer untouchables, though in practice, many of them still bear the stigma. The S.C's constitute 16 percent of India's population. They are numbered around 1,680 lakh in 2001. Thirty six percent of them are workers. Many of them are agricultural labourers and are engaged in traditional occupations like flaying, scavenging. They are scattered all over the country, though their number is insignificant in the predominantly tribal states of the north-east frontier. They are not concentrated in very large numbers in particular districts or talukas either. Their main source of frustration relates to individual behaviour, norms of the society and state apparatus. Though their position has improved due to constitutional provisions, welfare policies and positive discrimination measures, a firm commitment is required to hinder the hindrances in ensuring equality.

It is mainly because of such descrimination that the dalits are found resorting to different forms of movements in order to assert their identity.

4.2 DIFFERENT DALIT MOVEMENTS AS A MEANS FOR IDENTITY ASSERTION

The main issues around which most of the dalit movements have been centered in the colonial and post colonial periods are confined to the problem of untouchability. They are predominantly anti-untouchability movements. Apart from this they are also found to launch movements for maintaining or increasing reservations in political offices, government jobs and welfare programmes. So, we shall try to classify the different types of movements launched by the dalits in order to assert their identity and get rid of the assaults that they have been facing since time immemorial.

Political theorist Ghanashyam Saha has broadly classified the dalit movement into two broad categories:. 1) reformative movements and 2)alternative movements. The former tries to reform the caste system to resolve the system of untouchability. The altermetive movements attempts to create an alternative socio-cultural structure by conversion to some other religion or by acquiring education, economic status and political power. But both types of movements use political means to attain their objectives. The reformative movements are further devided into : a) Bhakti movements b) Neo-vedantik movements c) Sanskritisation movements. On the other hand the alternative movements are further devided into a) the Conversion movements and b) the Religious or Secular movements.

So far as the Bhakti movement is concerned, there are two primary traditions that was developed within it, viz. the Saguna and the Nirguna. It was partly developed to resist the Brahminical hierarchical order. It became more popular among the dalits living in the urban areas in the early twentieth century as it provided the possibility of salvation for all and also promises social equality.

Then comes the Neo-Vedantik movements initiated by Hindu religious and social reformers. These movements attempted to remove untouchability by taking them into the fold of the caste system. Some of the popular neo-vedantik movements include the Satyashodhak Samaj and the Self-Respect movement in Maharashtra, the Adi-Dharma movement in Bengal and the Adi-Hindu movement in Uttar Pradesh etc. the main plea these movements is that the untouchables formed a community like those of the Muslim, Hindu, Sikh and Christian community and as such they should be granted their due status like those of others. Then the Sanskritization movements are launched by a section of the untouchables who are trying to improve their economic conditions either by abandoning or continuing their traditional occupations and so they launched struggles for higher status in the caste hierarchy. They followed Sanskrit norms and rituals. A major anti-untouchability movement was launched by Dr. Ambedkar in the 1920's in Maharashtra. This has continued in different forms till today. Though the movement is primarily rooted in Maharashtra yet its roots have spread all over the country and has acquired an all India character. In order to secure their identity, the dalits under the leadership of Ambedkar, demanded for a separate electorate in 1930's itself. This led to a rift between Ambedkar and Gandhi. In order to assert their identity, the dalits of Maharashtra launched the Dalit Panther Movement in the 1970's. initially, it was confined to the urban areas of Maharashtra, but now it is spread to different states of the country. They condemn and discard the dominant culture and attempt to build an alternative socio-cultural identity for the oppressed classes.

Assertion of dalit identity has almost become a central issue of dalit movements. This involves local level collective action against discrimination and atrocities. Statues of Dr. Ambedkar are found not only in the urban dalit localities but also in many villages where their number is very large. They say that the statues and photos of Ambedkar are an expression of dalit consciousness and their assertion for identity. While trying to assert their identity apart from staging demonstrations, the other means adopted by the dalit leaders is by resorting to activities like publishing original literature such as writing poems, stories, plays

which are used as a means of protest against the Hindu intellectual tradition, the Hindu religion and Hindu ethics.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Classify the different types of dalit movements in India?

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Q2. Apart from protest movements what are the other means adopted by the dalits to assert their identity?

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4.3 CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DALITS

The Indian Constitution has provided for certain provisions in order to ensure equality of the dalits with those of other castes and communities in India. let us take a look.

- ✓ Article 341 deals with the criteria for identification of schedule castes whereas 342 deals with schedule tribes.
- ✓ Article 17 removed the practice of untouchability in any form.
- ✓ Article 14, 15, 16 and 16(4) place them in equal position with other members and entrust state to make special provisions.

- ✓ Article 38 enjoins the state to promote the welfare of people by ensuring justice in society.
- ✓ Article 46 entrusts the state to promote the educational and economic interests in schedule castes.
- ✓ 65th Amendment Act, 1990 provided for National Commission for SC's and ST's. but there has been bifurcation of the Commission in order to deal exclusively with one category.

But despite such provisions, what we get to see even today is that the dalits continue to suffer psychological as well as material disadvantages. Even today they find themselves in a traumatic position.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. Mention atleast three Constitutional provision for safeguarding the interests of the dalits?

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4.4 TRIBAL WELFARE PROGRAMME

The greatest challenge that the Government of India has been facing since independence is the proper provision of social justice to the scheduled tribe people, by ameliorating their socio-economic conditions. Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and denotified tribes constitute the weakest section of India's population, from the ecological, economic and educational angles. They constitute the matrix of India's poverty. Though the tribals are the sons of the same soil and the citizens of the same country,

they born and grow as the children of the nature. From the historical point of view, they have been subjected to the worst type of exploitation social. They are practically deprived of many civic facilities and isolated from modern and civilized way of living since so many centuries. But nevertheless the government of India has from time to time adopted several measures for the overall development of the tribals in India. Let us take a look into the some of the measures adopted by our government.

4.4.1 The tribal development policies and programmes

A review of the tribal situation would indicate that the strategy for development would require an intensive approach to the tribal problems in terms of their geographic and demographic concentration, if the faster development of the community is to take place. The community development efforts in the tribal areas were therefore, taken up for supplementation by stating a few special multipurpose tribal development projects covering a few blocks in 1954. A number of commissions and committees were appointed in the recent past to look in to the problems of developments in the tribal areas in the country and they have recommended a number of measures to remove the socio-economic imbalances and also to break down their old psychological barrier, which existed in the tribal areas. The important commission and committees appointed so far are:

1. The Social Welfare Team of the Committee on plan projects 1959.
2. The Verrier Elwin Committee on Tribal Development.
3. The Committee on Tribal Economy in Forest Areas -1967
4. The Schedules Areas and Scheduled Tribal Commission (Dhebar Committee,1961).
5. The Special working Group on Cooperatives for Backward Classes -1961.
6. The Task Force on Development of Tribal Areas -1972.
7. The Dube Committee -1972.

8. The Study Team on Co-operative Structure in Tribal Development Project Areas -1976.
9. The Study Group on Relief of Indebtedness Land, Alienation and Restoration in Development Agency Area -1973.
10. The team of Marketing, Credit and Cooperation in Tribal Areas -1978.
11. The Working Group on Development of Scheduled Tribes during the 7th Five Years Plans (1985- 90).

Apart from this, the Dhobar Commission (1961) recommended an integrated approach based on the minimum essential items like food, drinking water, employment, educational health and village road. The task force on Development of Tribal Areas constituted in 1972 suggested that the ecological, occupational and social preceptors of the tribal population should be properly assessed for formulation of a policy and its implementation so that a steady flow of benefits could be assured to the tribal people. The Dupe committee in 1972 tried to define a new strategy for tribal development and suggested that the problem of tribal development should be defined at the national level and national efforts required for tackling it, worked out. It also suggested an integrated area development approach in consonance with the genius and aspirations of the tribal people. Mention also needs to be made of the five year planning in India, which had from time to time tried to incorporate different schemes for the development of the tribals.

Let us now take a look into different projects and programmes introduced by the central government for tribal development.

Programmes & Projects Introduced for Tribal Development

	Programme	Description
1.	Guarantee for the projection of the Tribals.	Article-15(4) 46,244,339 speak of special provisions meant for the administration and control of scheduled areas and tribals for their welfare and protection for promoting the welfare of the ST and for raising the level of admn. of - ST and tribal areas to the state level.
2.	Grant-in-aid from consolidated fund of India to States (Article 275)	provides grant-in-aid from consolidated fund of India to States.

3.	Special Multi-purpose Tribal Projects in selected areas.	For the tribals for their intensive Development.
4.	Tribal Development	
5.	Training-cum-production Centres & Subsidies.	Development of Cottage and Small Scale Industries to provide employment.
6.	Colonization of tribals Tribal Colonies.	
7.	Establishment of Coop. Farming Societies.	To make farming more economic and profitable.
8.	Introduction of Improved methods of shifting cultivation.	Without doing harm to the soil.
9.	Education Facilities	Scholarship, Free Shift, etc.
10.	Concessions	Concessions were offered by Forest, Revenue, Excise Departments, etc.
11.	Establishment tribal cultural institutes.	To study various cultural problems.
12.	Job opportunity	Reservation of posts in Govt. Service.
13.	Cheaper Credit	Enactment of Regulation Acts to counteract exorbitant rates of interest of money lenders.
14.	Establishment of offices of the Commissioner for SC/ST industries.	For the enforcement of the safeguards provided for the tribals in the constitution for the evaluation of welfare schemes.
15.	Establishment of LAMPS	For providing integrated services such as credit, marketing, storage, distribution of consumer goods, etc., to the members.
16.	Tribal Development Cooperative Corporation / Tribal Development Cooperative Federation.	Established at the state level to help the LAMP.
17.	Tribal Development Cooperative Marketing Federation (TRIFED)	Cooperative Established at National level to help) the state level tribal Corporations/ Federation.

Thus we could see that the government of India has initiated different measures, plans and programmes to promote the welfare of the tribals. But despite that what we get to see is that they are still the deprived section of the society.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Name three important committees appointed to improve the condition of tribals in India?

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Q2. Name four important programmes meant for tribal development?

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Q3. Has five year planning in India also initiated policies for tribal welfare?

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4.5 LET US SUM UP

At last we can conclude that despite numerous safeguards and pro-active measures, the dalits and the tribals in India continue to suffer psychological as well as material disadvantages. Since 1990's India has been adjusting to the requirements of globalisation and as such there has been attempt at disinvestment and privatisation. The scope of welfare measures have been narrowed down. This has somehow resulted in lack of opportunities available to dalits and the tribals in our country. Apart from that the dalits are still found to experience the step motherly behaviour from the other castes. So, in order to improve

the whole situation, first the upper castes and the different communities in India has to change their mentality and behaviour towards them.

KEY WORDS

Psychological: something arising in the mind, imaginary.

Demographic: study of statistics of births, deaths, diseases etc.

Sanskritization: the process of revival of one's status, culture, tradition etc.

Hierarchical: systematic gradation of status one above the other.

Stigma: mark or sign of disgrace or discredit.

SOME IMPORTANT BOOKS/ARTICLES

Saha, Ghanashyam, *Social Movements in India, A Review Literature*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 2006.

Saha, Ghanashyam, *Politics of Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes*, Vora Publications, Bombay, 1975.

Dube, Saurabh, *Untouchable Pasts: Religion, Identity and Power among a Central Indian Community*, Vistaar Publications, New Delhi, 2001.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answers should include the following points
Ans: to Q1.

- Broadly classified into :1) reformative movements and 2) alternative movements.

- The reformative movements are further divided into : a) Bhakti movements b) Neo-vedantik movements c) Sanskritisation movements.
- On the other hand the alternative movements are further divided into a) the Conversion movements and b) the Religious or Secular movements

Ans: to Q2

- The other means adopted by the dalit leaders is by resorting to activities like publishing original literature such as writing poems, stories, plays which are used as a means of protest against the Hindu intellectual tradition, the Hindu religion and Hindu ethics.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answers should include the following points

Ans: to Q1

- Article 46 entrusts the state to promote the educational and economic interests in schedule castes.
- Article 14, 15, 16 and 16(4) place them in equal position with other members and entrust state to make special provisions.
- Article 38 enjoins the state to promote the welfare of people by ensuring justice in society.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answers should include the following points

Ans: to Q1.

- The Social Welfare Team of the Committee on plan projects 1959.

- The Verrier Elwin Committee on Tribal Development.
- The Committee on Tribal Economy in Forest Areas -1967

Ans: to Q2.

- Grant-in-aid from consolidated fund of India to States (Article 275)
- Special Multi-purpose Tribal Projects in selected areas.
- Training-cum-production Centres & Subsidies.
- Establishment of Coop. Farming Societies.

Ans: to Q3

- Yes, the five year planning commission has initiated tribal welfare Programmes in it.

BLOCK 4
**ROLE OF DIFFERENT PLAYERS IN THE
POLITICAL MACHINERY OF INDIA**

UNIT 1
**THE ELECTORAL MACHINERY &
ELECTIONS IN INDIA**

STRUCTURE

- 1.0 Objective
 - 1.1 Introduction
 - 1.2 Electoral Machinery in India
 - 1.2.1 Composition and Functions of the Election Commission
 - 1.2.2 Chief Election Commissioner
 - 1.2.3 Main Features of the Electoral Process
 - 1.3 Anomalies in the Electoral Machinery of India
 - 1.3.1 Suggestions for Reforms in the Electoral Process
 - 1.4 Let Us Sum Up
- Key Words
- Some Useful Books/Articles
- Answers To Check Your Progress

1.0 OBJECTIVE

This unit should help you to:

- *recognize* various aspects of the electoral body.
- *explain* the organisation and various functions carried out by the electoral machinery.
- *evaluate* how the election process operates in our country.
- *diagnose* different shortcomings of the election process along with some suggestion for improvements.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

As has already been mentioned above, India is a democratic republic and as such the Indian masses are fully authorised to elect the head of the government according to their own choice. It is mainly because of this that we should know about the role played by the electoral body in India. elections are infact a means to establish legitimate and relatively stable governments. They develop a channel between the polity and the society, between the elite and the masses and between the individual and the government. Apart from this, elections are also important in the proper functioning of the democratic process in the sense that it secure people's participation in public affairs. So, in this unit we shall take a detail look into the functioning of the election machinery in India.

1.2 ELECTORAL MACHINERY IN INDIA

For a successful working of democracy it is essential that elections should be held in a free and impartial manner. So far as our country is concerned, it is perhaps the only country which has a self-contained chapter on the elections, in its Constitution. Part XV of the Indian Constitution deals with elections. The very fact that elections have been discussed in the Constitution itself and made an integral part of it indicates that the constitution makers

fully well appreciated the need and the necessity of free elections. They therefore, did not wish to leave this important subject to the care of either the executive or the legislative wing of the government. In order to run the election process in a smooth and fair manner, the Constitution provides for the formation of an Election Commission in our country. So, now let us take a look into the composition and function of the Election Commission.

15.2.1 COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE ELECTION COMMISSION

COMPOSITION: The Election Commission is exclusively entrusted with the superintendence, direction and control of elections to Parliament, to State Legislatures and to the offices of the President and Vice-President. The Commission has constitutional authority and is independent of all political and bureaucratic interference. Certain initiatives were taken to maintain its impartiality. These initiatives includes : 1) the Chief Election Commissioner once appointed cannot be removed from his office. 2) once a person is elected as Chief Election Commissioner, his conditions of service cannot be varied to his disadvantage. 3) the powers of the Election Commission in regards to superintendence, direction and control of elections are absolute and cannot be questioned by any one.

The Election Commission is headed by the Chief Election Commissioner who is appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. No specific qualifications in terms of educational, legal, judicial or administrative have been prescribed for eligibility to this post. This leaves much scope for the exercise of political influence. To rule out this possibility, some critics have suggested that the Chief Election Commissioner should be appointed by the President in consultation with the Chief Justice of India, the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha. They further suggested that the retiring Election Commissioner should be barred from any further appointment by the government.

FUNCTIONS: So far as the functions of the Election Commission are concerned, it discharges a number of very important functions. These includes the following: 1) preperation of electoral rolls, 2) recognition of political parties, 3) appointment of numerous officers and 4) conduct of free and fair elections. The preparation of electoral rolls is a huge affair. It involves the revision of electoral rolls and correction of errors, addition of the names of the new voters, deletion of those who are dead or who have become ineligible.

Apart from this, the Election Commission registers political parties for the purpose of elections, grants them the status of national or status of national or state parties on the basis of their poll performance. It can withdraw such recognition if their poll performance falls short of the prescribed standards. The Election Commission even decides intra-party disputes when two or more rival groups cause a split in the party and claim themselves to the real or main party.

Thus, we get to see that the Election Commission has to shoulder a large number of responsibilities. It is highly responsible to maintain the decorum of the elections and to see that the election process is conducted in a fair manner. Now, let us take a look at the role and powers of the Chief Election Commissioner.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Mention any two initiatives, taken to maintain the impartiality of the Election Commission?

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Q2. Write two important functions carried out by the Election Commission in India?

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1.2.2 CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER

In India all elections will be conducted under the control and supervision of the Chief Election Commissioner appointed by the Election Commission. According to Article 324(2) of the Constitution, the Election Commission of India shall consist of a Chief Election Commissioner and such number of other Election Commissioners as the President may from time to time fix, if and when required.

Appointment and removal of the Chief Election Commissioner: The Chief Election Commissioner is to be appointed by the President and can hold office only during his pleasure. He can however be removed from his position, when an Address has been presented to the President, charging him of either misbehaviour or incapacity to discharge his political obligations. It is provided that such an Address should be supported by each House separately by an absolute majority of each House and also by not less than two-third members present and voting. In this way procedure of his removal has been made deliberately difficult so that he can work without fear of either executive government or that of the legislature. In order to ensure his impartiality, it is also provided that during the term of his service, his emoluments shall not be changed to his disadvantage. This has again been done to avoid pressures and influence of the executive government on the Chief Election Commissioner who can, however, resign at anytime, whenever, he finds it inconvenient to continue on his position.

Functions of the Chief Election Commissioner: the Chief Election Commissioner is supposed to work with all impartiality and ensure that all elections in the country are conducted in free and impartial manner. He is accordingly required to keep the election machinery free from the pressure of the executive and the legislative influences. He is to ensure that electoral rolls are kept up-to-date, so that elections to the Parliament, State Legislative

Assemblies and local bodies can be conducted at any time without any delay. Then it his responsibility to superintend, direct and control all election in the country. He is also required to appoint Election Officers to enquire into doubts and disputes which might arise out of inadequate election arrangements. At times he may feel the need and necessity of Regional Election Commissioners, if he feels that he might not be able to shoulder certain responsibilities alone, if the work load increases. It is left to him to advice the President to make such appointments.

Thus we have seen that the Constitution has entrusted upon the President, certain crucial responsibilities, mainly to ensure the true spirit of a democratic and republic India.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. Who appoints the Chief Election Commissioner in our country?

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Q2. Whom can the Chief Election Commissioner appoint to assist him at times?

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1.2.3 MAIN FEATURES OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

The electoral process in India is marked by certain specific features which will enable us to understand how the whole electoral process operates. Let us take a look into them.

- 1) **Single member constituencies and plurality system:**
India has the simple majority single- ballot system for its major state and national elections. Under this system, India has been divided into relatively equal constituencies numbering about five thousand for parliamentary and state assembly elections, each returning one member. With two or three candidates in the running, whoever gets the highest number of votes ultimately wins the election.
- 2) **The voters and voting age:** There are certain criteria which a voter must possess in order to exercise his voting power. These are: a voter in India must be an Indian and must be over 21 years of age. His or her name must be on the electoral rolls, which are periodically revised kept upto date. There is only one electoral roll in every constituency for elections to the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas. Since the vast majority of Indian voters are illiterate, the Election Commission has devised the system of election symbols. It assigns a symbol to each party and even to independent candidate to enable the voters to identify the candidates of their choice on the ballot paper.
- 3) **Eligibility and multiplicity of candidates:** in order to be eligible to forward his candidature, a candidate must be a citizen of India; must have completed the age of 25 at the time of election; must possess such qualifications as may be laid down by Parliament. The candidate is required to deposit some fixed amount as security, and get his or her nomination subscribed by atleast ten proposers. Refund of security deposit is subjected to his or her securing of one sixth of the total vote polled. The candidates for election are not required to be resident in their constituencies. They can also contest election from more than one constituency.
- 4) **Election Campaign:** Election Campaign is an important part of the electoral process. It gives the ruling party an opportunity to project its achievements, while the parties in opposition seek to highlight the omissions or the

misdeeds of the ruling party. Besides, each party whether in power or opposition, makes certain promises to the voters. The Election Commission has laid down certain campaign norms which are generally observed in open breach. Campaigns are a kind of publicity that the voters can give to their party in order to popularise it.

- 5) **Frequency and control of elections:** The duration of national elections campaign takes three weeks from the dissolution of Parliament to the polling day. The conduct of elections does not take more than three days. The administrative machinery for conducting elections, works under the supervision and direction of the Election Commission. Government officials identify the voters; the polling booths are controlled and supervised by Election Officers with the help of the Police; and the ballots are counted in front of the candidates by government agents. The mechanical aspects of voting are also well organised. Full fledged privacy is provided to the voters while casting their votes. Then ballots are printed by the government; marked in secrecy; and placed in locked deposit boxes that are controlled by the government officials.
- 6) **Election expenses and political money:** The past experiences have proved that elections in India are quite expensive and the cost appears to be rising. The first general elections of 1952, to both Parliament and State Assemblies cost the exchequer around 10.52 crore. The maximum limit of election expenses by a candidate in a parliamentary election is Rs. 1.5 lac, while that in a State Assembly election is Rs. 50,000, as permitted under a notification issued in 1984. However, the actual expense of a candidate exceeds even three times the limits prescribed under the law. The legitimate expenditures include postage and mailing expenses, campaign literature, posters and banners, advertising wages etc. the parties are required to

maintain their accounts and even submit them for audit.
Bribery in all forms is forbidden.

Thus, we get to see that, the electoral process in India is marked by several features which holds true to its image of a vast country like India.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Mention atleast three unique features of the electoral process in India?

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Q2. How many electoral rolls does a constituency possess?

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1.3 ANAMOLIES IN THE ELECTORAL MACHINERY OF INDIA

Undertaking huge electoral exercises at periodic intervals, doesnot make us the largest democracy in the world, when our electoral process, which is considered to be the symbol of a true Republic, is marked with so much of anomalies. Many infirmities and malpractices have gradually crept into our electoral process. So, let us check out the kind of anomalies that the electoral process has been exercising.

- 1) As per Section 93-A of the Companies Act, 1956 the companies can donate any amount out of their profits to individual politicians for political purposes. This in turn

provides a huge advantage not only to the candidates but also gives the rich patrons of parties, an undue influence over elected officials and legislators. Since, it is open secret that most of the political patrons make contributions from their stock of black money, thus the candidate so elected are less likely to represent the wishes and needs of the people. On the contrary, they are more likely to represent money power.

- 2) Besides the money power, muscle power has also criminalised our elections. There are cases of large scale intimidation, coercion, and undue influence. There were cases, when on the election days, booths are captured, polling agents attacked and bombs thrown to attack weaker section from exercising their franchise. Bogus or fake voting and impersonation are two most common malpractices, practised in India.
- 3) The ultimate dependence of the Election Commission on the central and state governments for the conduct of the polls is another serious defect in the existing electoral system. Many presiding officers at the polling booths have been caught stamping the ballot papers and putting them inside the ballot boxes during the night before the polls. At times it was also found that strong rooms were opened without proper authorities.
- 4) Though, voting on the ground of religion, caste, community, culture, creed or religion has been strictly prohibited under Section 123(2) of the Representation of People Act, yet what we get to see is that, political parties and their leaders exploit the sentiments of the people on such artificial grounds in the whole electoral process.
- 5) It is all the more disappointing that on the eve of elections the government tend to behave irresponsibly with the people's money by spending it on programmes which are highly popular but which they know that the exchequer cannot afford.
- 6) Some lapses have been reported in the working of the electoral machinery. It is scandalous that lakhs of the Indian citizens are disfranchised because their names do not appear on the electoral rolls. There is no provision for the

early disposal of election petitions. Rigging, as a part of the electoral process is now being exercised by each and every political party in India.

Thus, we see that the electoral machinery in India has been encountering severe anomalies. So, to get rid of these anomalies, there is a serious need for some electoral reforms.

1.3.1. SUGGESTIONS FOR REFORMS IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

In view of the above mentioned malpractices in the electoral process of our country, there is obviously a need for a wide range of electoral reforms to restore the health of Indian democracy. This has long been emphasised by the Election Commission.

- 1) It is observed that, while the ruling parties on the basis of their power and patronage, collect huge election funds, the other parties are deprived of such advantage, which in turn not only breeds corruption but also denies the equality of opportunity. So, there is the urgent need for the state funding of elections. This will ensure equality of opportunity to all political parties and shall finally curb the generation of black money, thus, increasing the chances of clean electoral politics.
- 2) A plea has been made that half of the Lok Sabha candidates should be elected on the basis of proportional representation and the benefit of proportional representation should be given to those parties which secure a certain percentage of votes casted in a region. This in turn will enable the minorities, regional parties and other significant segments of the public to make their voice heard in the Parliament and shall accordingly help in reducing the feeling of frustration and discontentment in them.
- 3) It is found that there is no limit on the expenditure that may be incurred by a party in support of a candidate and as such the whole purpose of ceiling stands defeated. To tackle this situation, the ceiling should be fixed realistically and should be revised from time to time and above all no unauthorised expenditure should be permitted.

- 4) The political parties should be forced by law to maintain proper accounts which should be subject to compulsory audit and publication and those who fail to do so should be barred from participating in the elections.
- 5) A plea has been made in the favour of President's Rule in state at the time of elections. It is believed that under such conditions the election machinery runs smoothly and without interference from any political quarter.
- 6) To make the elections a serious affair, the security deposit, as well as the number of persons proposing a candidate should be increased; more stringent rules be made regarding the forfeiture of security.
- 7) Some other reforms of much significance and practical use include: making of voting compulsory; provision of adequate armed guards at each booth; setting up of public watch dog committies; updating of electoral rolls; discouraging the increase of non-serious candidates.

If these and similar other suggestions are implemented, we can be very sure that the electoral process in India to a large extent, can be reformed.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. What has turned out to be the most crucial factor in forcing the political parties to indulge in corrupt practices?

.....

Q2. What suggestion has been put forward to curb corrupt practices from the electoral process?

.....

1.4 LET US SUM UP

So, we have come to learn, how the election machinery in India executes its functions. In order to enrich the spirit of democracy, the Election Commission has to be very careful while carrying out its functions. We have also seen, how the whole electoral process is suffering from severe anomalies in terms of corruption, unequal representation, unfair means in winning elections etc etc. The suggestions put forwarded in this regard are indeed very crucial for the reformation of the whole electoral machinery in India. The government should take up immediate steps in this regard otherwise India would fail to address itself as a democratic republic in the long run.

KEY WORDS

Forfeiture: something surrendered as a penalty.

Rigging: manage or conduct fraudulently.

Impartiality: unprejudiced, fair.

Rich patrons: person who gives financial or other support to a person, cause, work etc.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS/ARTICLES

Kothari, Rajni, *Democratic Polity and Social Change in India*.

Bhalla, R.P, *Election Commission in India*, Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, Jan-June, 1984.

Advani, L.K, *Electoral Reforms: Imperative and Urgent*, Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, Jan-June, 1984.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should include the following points

Ans: to Q1

- An Election Commissioner once appointed cannot be removed from his office.
- His conditions of service cannot be varied to his disadvantage.

Ans: to Q2

- It prepares the electoral rolls.
- It has the responsibility of conducting the elections in free and fair manner.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- The President appoints the Chief Election Commissioner.

Ans: to Q2

- The Chief Election Commissioner appoints the Regional Election Commissioners to assist him.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Elections in India are quite expensive and the cost appears to be rising.
- The conduct of elections doesnot take more than three days.

- Anyone who wants to contest in an election should be or above 25 years of age.

Ans: to Q2.

- There is only one electoral roll in every constituency.

Check Your Progress 4

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- The flourishing of money by the rich patrons of our country over the candidates.

Ans: to Q2.

- The provision for state funding of elections would finally help in curbing elections.

UNIT 2

POLITICAL PARTY AND PRESSURE GROUPS IN INDIA

STRUCTURE

- 2.0 Objective
 - 2.1 Introduction
 - 2.2 Political Parties in the Indian Political System
 - 2.2.1 Important Characteristics of the Indian Party System
 - 2.2.2 Classification of Parties in India
 - 2.2.3 Problems of Political Parties in India
 - 2.3 Pressure Groups in Indian Politics
 - 2.3.1 Characteristics of Pressure Groups
 - 2.3.2 Classification of Pressure Groups in India
 - 2.3.3 Critical Evaluation of Pressure Groups in India
 - 2.4 Let Us Sum Up
- Key Words
- Some Useful Books/Articles
- Answers To Check Your Progress

2.0 OBJECTIVE

Political parties and pressure groups are two most important ingredients of a democratic setup. In this unit we will primarily look into these two aspects. Apart from this, this unit will enable you to:

- *analyze* the main characteristics of the party system in India.
- *observe* the classifications of parties in India.
- *identify* the problems of political parties in India.
- *predict* the classification of pressure groups and
- *list* the strategies adopted by them in order to make their voices heard by the government.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As already mentioned above both political parties and pressure groups are an essential components of a democratic nation. In India there exists a large number of political parties as well as pressure groups with diverse and opposing creeds. A political party may be conveniently defined as a body of men who have united for promoting, by their collective efforts, upon some principles to which they all have agreed. On the other hand a pressure group may be defined as that group which try to influence and pressurise every political institution to serve their desired interests. In this unit we shall take a detail look into the working of these two important independent bodies in the political scenario of India.

2.2 POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

All over the world where there is a democratic way of governing the people, political parties play a very big role. The political parties, their role and significance, can in no way be under-estimated. It is both inevitable and necessary. It is inevitable because they are the only means whereby power can be obtained and exercised in an organised way. Its importance also lies in the fact that it brings out the actual meaning of a representative system of government as it form a bridge between the government and the governed. Now, by political party is meant a group of persons who have common ideology, follow a common programme and common line of action. The basic **functions** which parties perform are four-fold. They identify the problems which society faces and then accord them priorities. They select and present to the people, candidates for public offices. They also enable the political leaders to obtain the support of the electorate. *Prof. Leacock* is of the view that it is more or less organised group of citizens, who work together as a political unit. Though the written constiution of India, like many other written constitutions of the world, doesnot acknowledge the existence of political parties, yet they are central to our political process. India is a home to a large number of political parties with their respective ideologies.

So far as the political party system in India is concerned, it has its own background. The origin of the system can be traced back to 1885, when Indian National Congress was founded. It mainly discussed national political and economic issues though at the initial stages, its aim was not to capture political power but to bring about important reforms in the country and to free India from the foreign invaders. But gradually it has turned out to be one of the most influential political party in India. Now, we shall take a look into some of the most important features of the party syatem in India.

2.2.1 IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIAN PARTY SYSTEM

Our party system has been enmarked by certain peculiar features, owing to the fragmented nature of the Indian political culture. Some of them has been identified as under:

- 1) **Multi party system:** India stands out as a very prompt example for a multiparty system of government. The number of political parties and groups runs into hundreds and at the same time new parties are also found cropping up. The increase in number is mainly because of the fact that some political leaders who get dissatisfied with the existing parties, form a new party, though not with an absolutely new programme. Those communities which have good numerical strength also form political parties.
- 2) **Single party dominant system:** Inspite of the fact that there exists a large number of political parties, yet Congress still dominates both at the centre as well as in many of the states. Though some states have non Congress governments, yet the hold of the Congress party over the country is very strong. The numerous parties that exist in India, has full liberty and equal chance to capture power through elections but despite that the Congress party has managed to remain almost continuously and consistently in power.
- 3) **Distinctive party system in the states:** Another notable feature of the Indian party system is that each state in the Indian Union has its own party system. Some of the states have multiparty systems in which the Congress has been dominant for e.g. Assam, Maharashtra etc while in some others like Punjab, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Jammu & Kashmir etc, the regional political parties of the respective states are more powerful.

- 4) **Lack of ideological commitment:** Ideology is considered to be the religion of a party. It equips a party with a meaningful end and the motivation necessary for mobilising its organisation to achieve that end. But it is mostly found that in the race to acquire power, most of the political parties tend to leave behind their ideology. The craze for power results in the sacrifice of one's ideology. Nowadays political parties have started addressing more to current issues than to ideology, more to policies than to political doctrine.
- 5) **Growth of communal parties:** There has been a mushroom growth of the so called communal or regional parties in India and the role of these parties have considerably increased. In some states these political parties have already come to power , while in others attempts are being fully made by the political leadership to exploit the regional or communal feelings of the people of our country.
- 6) **Organisational drawbacks:** From the organisational point of view, the Indian party system has suffered at the hands of both the leaders and their followers. In the opinion of the critics, the old monarchical tradition remains well entrenched in India. For that reason, we find a highly centralised style of leadership in our country. Another criticism that has been raised is that the elections of office bearers are not held for years together and they are nominated by the party president.
- 7) **Irrelevance of party manifestos:** As part of the election campaign, every contesting party issues its manifesto. But now the document has become a mere formality. No party refers to its manifesto seriously, nor there is much difference in the contents of different manifestos. Besides every election manifesto has its quota of populist postures and promises. Rather than explaining in their speeches,

what they propose to do for the people if voted to power, the leaders generally indulge in charges and counter charges.

These were some of the unique features of the Indian party system. Now we shall take a look into the classification of political parties in India.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. Mention one important function which political parties are said to perform?

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Q2. Why is the political system in India, said to be a single party dominant system?

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2.2.2 CLASSIFICATION OF PARTIES IN INDIA

As we have already mentioned above, the Indian political system is marked by the growth of multiple number of political parties of varied nature and varied ideologies. In order to have a proper understanding about the working of the different parties that exist in India, it has become very important to classify them into certain specific groups. So, let us now take a look into the different categories of political parties that exist in our country.

A) **National and Regional parties:** Indian political parties are broadly divided into two categories- national parties and regional parties. National parties are all India parties. They draw support from different segments of the society and put up their candidates for Parliamentary elections across state lines. For e.g. the Indian National Congress, the Communist parties, the Bharatiya Janata party etc are at present recognised national parties. On the other hand regional parties represent sub-regional nationalism based on language, culture and the history of a region. For e.g. the DMK and AIADMK of Tamil Nadu, the Telegudesham of Andhra Pradesh, the Jammu & Kashmir National Conference, the AGP of Assam all fall under this category. Such parties try to emphasise on regional interests regardless of castes, creed or religious affiliation of their supporters. In due course of time the regional parties have acquired a strength and status of their own.

B) **Left, Centre and Right wing parties:** In their classification of the political parties on the basis of their ideologies, the political scientist have classified political parties as left wing parties, central parties and right wing parties. They have placed the radical and revolutionaries in the left wing, moderates in the centre and the conservatives and reactionaries on the right. In our country, the CPI and the CPI (M) on the left, the INC on the right and the BJP, the RSS etc are held to be the rightest parties.

This is how the political parties in India are classified. The communists parties are extremely revolutionaries in their attitudes, while the Congress is always found to be secular and moderate in its approach and thirdly so far as the Bhartiya Janata party is concerned it is always found to be fundamentalist in its approach always trying to propagate the Hindutva ideology.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. Mention the name of the popular regional party of Assam and Jammu and Kashmir?

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Q2. What is understood by left wing and right wing parties?

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2.2.3 PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA

Though our country provides for a democratic setup whereby different political parties can coexist with sheer cooperation, yet we get to see the political parties encountering various problems. Let us take a look into them.

In a country where there is multiparty system and in which division of the parties has come to stay without any resentment by the electorates. The parties have been coming as well as going quite often. Each state has regional parties which are found to play an active role at times but there are also times when their significance and role very much comes down in state politics. So far as leadership is concerned, as long as the leader remains in the party, it continues, but after his departure party is faced with the problem of disintegration. This creates severe problem in the healthy growth of political system. Moreover there is shortage of political leaders who have national image and whose political career is spotless and who are known for unity and integrity. That

is the reason why, despite of their best efforts opposition parties are not coming together.

There is also lack of discipline in the party set up. Any member who encounters some challenges within a particular party setup, tends to secede oneself from the party. Those who leave their party are not faced with the problem of starting a political career afresh and they are also welcomed by almost every other party.

The party system is also faced with the problem of black money which has made the contesting of elections by small political parties very difficult. This in turn has increased the importance of the corrupt and dishonest people and thus sincere people find it difficult to enter the political arena. In case effective measures are not taken immediately, the situation is likely to go out of control.

Indian political party system is faced with the serious problem of criminalisation of politics. In the political scenario of India there prevails goondaraj. In each political party the number of criminals is increasing which in turn is rendering the principles of politics meaningless and is also making it impossible for the honest politicians to survive in a clean environment.

Lastly, most of the political parties are not cadre based. Elections are not held periodically. In most of the cases a leader or few of them wield absolute power and they nominate all office bearers of different committees. Their functioning is undemocratic. Since the election expenditures are getting expensive, most of the party candidates are depending on donations from moneyed classes and after coming to power parties also try to accommodate donors by giving them different types of favours.

Thus, we get to see that the entire party system in India has been suffering from various defections.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. Do you think the India party system is suffering from some defections? If yes, then mention atleast one such defection?

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Q2. Why it has become difficult to find good party leaders?

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2.3 PRESSURE GROUPS IN INDIAN POLITICS

The term ‘interest groups’ and ‘pressure groups’ are used interchangeably, though the latter implies systematic use of influence and techniques. Today there is no country in the world which is free from pressure groups. These groups try to influence and pressurise every political institution to serve their own interests and to ensure that even if these are not fulfilled, their interests in no way should be hampered. These groups influence both public policy as well as administration and go a long way in determining political structure of the society and the form of government. Some pressure groups are transient while others are more permanently organised. Many are solely interested in influencing the government’s public policies while others are sporadically concerned with political decisions. In India we have many such major groups such as Bharatiya Kishan Union, Krihak Mukti Sangram Hamiti, Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce, Indian Medical Association, Bar Council of India etc. These organised groups may call themselves non-political, yet they are the animating forces in the political forces.

They however, differ from political parties in objective, structure and number. They do not seek office or control over the process of government. They are concerned with specific programmes and issues. They are thus interested in a limited aspect of the field of public policy.

2.3.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF PRESSURE GROUPS

As we know that pressure groups have become a part and parcel of the political scenario in different parts of the world. Now these pressure groups in India or elsewhere have some common characteristics. So, let us now take a look into the different characteristics of pressure groups.

- 1) Each group organises itself, keeping in view certain interests and thus tries to adopt to the structure of power in the political system. But in every government and political party there are clashing interests groups and as such, they not only try to dominate the political structure but also try to brush aside those groups which are opposed to their interests.
- 2) Another feature, noticed among the pressure groups is that they very quickly tend to change political allegiance, as that suits to their conditions and protects their interests. The groups being both big or small, appear as well as disappear depending on the situation and the then prevailing conditions.
- 3) They always look out for modern means of exerting pressure, without boldly renouncing old methods. But their sole purpose of adopting old and modern methods is to promote as well as protect their own interests. They use techniques like financing of political parties, sponsoring candidates at the time of elections etc.
- 4) The pressure groups, in order to protect their interests, also employ traditional means of exploiting caste, creed and religion and in their name try to win their co-operation.

They finance caste and religious organisations and donate money to public meetings to become popular with them.

- 5) Pressure groups have no political commitments. These try to side with the government of the day. They analyse as to partying with which party will provide them with an advantageous position. If any pressure group has any permanent political affiliation, that can be only due to certain compelling circumstances. Not only this, pressure groups will try to have their lobbies in every wing of the political hierarchy.
- 6) Lastly, pressure groups always try to see that there is no political stability and that perfect law and order situation does not prevail in the country. In case that happens then both political bosses and bureaucracy will be in complete grip of the situation and the role of the pressure groups will be more dominant.

Thus, we get to see that pressure groups are marked by both positive and negative features. On the basis of their functions, pressure groups are classified into different categories.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. What type of traditional means are adopted by the pressure groups to protect their interests?

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Q2. Pressure groups are said to change their political allegiance very quickly. Yes or no? if yes, then why?

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2.3.2 CLASSIFICATION OF PRESSURE GROUPS IN INDIA

As we know, India like many other countries of the world is a home to multiferous ethnic, religious, regional, economic, linguistic and political groups. It is therefore not at all possible to provide an account of the different pressure groups operating in India. All that can be attempted is to discuss about the most important of those organised groups that had or have the most direct impact on Indian politics. These are as follows:

- 1) **Business groups:** Business has always played a big role in the political life of our country. It controls the economy and also maintains the lifeline of the nation. It can bring fame as well as defame to the government and under certain circumstances, can even dislodge political party from the position of power. Business groups play their role irrespective of the consideration, whether the party is bi-party or a multi-party system or the government is democratic or totalitarian. The role of business groups as pressure groups differ from situation to situation. Though business communities remain mostly un-organised, bussiness associations are amongst the largest and the most powerful of all Indian pressure groups. They include a large number of commercial, industrial and managerial bodies. Their peak organisation is the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry(FICCI), the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Assocham). The major apex business associations in India combine both industrial and trade interests within a single organisation.

Business pressure groups in India tries to win the sympathies of the masses by undertaking different welfare activities. For e.g. by setting up educational, technological and health institutions, giving away charities to different

organisations who are in need of it. They try to establish informal business contacts, by developing family, community and personal friendship. Then in our country, it has also been found that big business houses always show eagerness to go near the administrators rather than politicians.

- 2) **Trade Unions:** One of the fundamental rights guaranteed to the people of India is to form peaceful associations and that of collective bargaining. With this right in hand, the strength of those, who organise themselves into trade unions immensely increases. Though trade unions in India were organised even before India was free, yet their activities have very much increased after the partition of the country. Main aim of the trade unions obviously is to bargain with the government and the employers to get better working and service conditions and pay packets for the employees. For this, sometimes negotiations serve the purpose and the issues are settled by the mutual satisfaction of both the parties. But quite often workers resort to agitational practices. They go on strikes, organise processions and demonstrations, refuse to work etc. The employers on their part of course follow such measures as lock outs and closures of factories, mills etc.

The workers have become a powerful force and they have started exerting pressures on the political life of the society. They have great voting strength and with the help of voting strength of their families and friends, they can very much decide the fate of a candidate in the election arena. Collectively they can even finance the candidates of their choice. They mainly exert pressure to put up such candidates in the field at the time of elections, who can support their cause. With the help of their man-power, they can pressurise any government which is opposed to their interests.

- 3) Peasant organisations:** India is primarily an agricultural country and the Indian peasantry make up about seventy percent of its population. Despite this there is no all-India organisation of the farmers. India should have been a home to different peasant organisations which could have played a very important role in the decision making process of the country. But unfortunately, the peasants have no well organised lobby. During the freedom movement, it was Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, who was very much interested in organising the peasants and thus took initiatives in organising the All India Kishan Sabha which subsequently came to be known as the All India Kishan Sabha. After independence, some political parties tried to organise the peasants, so that these could be used for achieving their political purpose. Consequently, a few peasant organisations came into existence such as the Hind Kishan Panchayat, United Kishan Sabha, Krikhak Mukti Sangram Sammittee, All India Agriculturalist Federation etc etc. But still the peasants are not a powerful pressure groups. Two reasons can be attributed to this. Firstly, the peasants do not try to exert themselves as a class. On the other hand, they become either a part of some caste or that of some political party and in this way their own interests remains unnoticed and the interests of that caste or political party gets all the attention.
- 4) Student organisations:** Students are a big force in every country. History is a witness that in all the struggles against colonialism and racialism, students all over the world have played a very big role and that too successfully. In India, for quite a long time there has been a controversy that whether the students should be or should not be allowed to participate in active politics. It was however as early as in 1920 that Lala Lajpat Rai founded the All India Student Union and these students later actively participated in different movements such as the Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience and Quit India. After independence, all

important political parties decided to use students force to their advantage. Each party makes an attempt to organise students union. The Congress Party patronises the All India Youth Congress, the CPM brought together the students under Progressive Students Union etc etc.

Students can prove a very powerful pressure group because they have immense energy. They can finish very difficult task in a remarkably short time. Oflate the students have started taking part in political agitations and activities. In Assam and Manipur, the students staged powerful and strong agitations against the foreigners issue or in other words the illegal immigration issue on the state. They blockade everything and for sometime Assam was even cutoff from the rest of the country.

- 5) **Religious bodies:** In India, religion and religious leaders have great hold over the masses. There is perhaps nothing which cannot be done in the name of religion. Religion, therefore always try to put pressure on politics. History is a witness that in England and in many other European countries, there was a long drawn struggle between the Kings and the Popes for supremacy and the former wanted to establish his authority over the latter. The people listen to their religious leaders with all reverence and respect and do nothing which displeases them. During India's freedom struggle religion played a big role and many inhuman practices were carried out in the name of religion. The country was infact partitioned in the name of religion. Though, after independence, India turned secular, yet religion continues to play a dominant role in the social and political scenario of India and acts as a very important pressure group. Some of the important religious and cultural bodies include: RSS, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Akali Dal etc. political parties are also found to win their support from leaders of religious communities.

- 6) Professional Associations:** Even professional associations are also found to play an active role as pressure groups. These professional associations, which stand out by virtue of their influence on government. These include Indian Medical Association, Bar Council of India and Indian Federation of Working Journalists etc. These bodies have from time to time, played important roles in influencing the government in bringing about effective changes in their respective fields.
- 7) Gandhians as pressure groups:** Gandhiji has become a legendary figure in India's political life. He gave his whole life for the sake of the independence of our country with truth and non-violence as the only weapons to achieve victory over the British rule. His era is known as the Gandhian era and even today nobody in the world dares to challenge Gandhian principles and philosophy. In every nook and corner of the country, there are certain institutions which tend to promote gandhian principles. The members of these institutions are found to have free access in the government and could also reach the highest officers and authorities in political and non-political circles without any difficulty. Since they are Gandhians, what they said was heard with rapt attention and attempts were made to see that their viewpoint was accommodated to the extent possible. Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi; Gandhi Peace Foundation, Delhi; Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, New Delhi and similar other institutions had due influence on the working of the government.

Thus, we get to see that there are different categories of pressure groups operating in India.

2.3.3 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF PRESSURE GROUPS IN INDIA

Now, we shall make a critical evaluation of the working of pressure groups in our country. Pressure groups in India, by and large, have no political commitment. They are weak and do not openly extend their support to the political party other than one which is in power. They hesitate to displease authorities and government. It is hoped that these groups will always be non-violent and follow secular policies. These groups try to strengthen only such parties, which they feel are likely to come to power, if not in authority. For them, their own interests are supreme and paramount.

In our country, pressure groups have not been able to have a successful foothold because of several reasons. The main reason is that they have failed to organise themselves as a second body. They have no well developed infrastructure which can help in regularly pursuing their interests. Apart from this, pressure groups are found to survive under the patronage of political parties. Even political parties try to divide the pressure groups and try to have a strong hold over at least one of them.

Then another cause of their slow growth is that in India individual legislators have not been found very effective by the pressure groups. Each such group realises that because of party discipline and the operation of Anti-Defection Act, each legislator must vote on party lines. Thus, contacts should be developed with the party and not with any individual legislator. The Pressure groups also realise that in India bureaucracy is very strong and can help them a lot. But somehow, these groups have so far not been able to influence or corrupt our bureaucracy. Moreover, there is no unity among pressure groups and they lack a proper leader. In many cases pressure group leaders try to become political leaders. Their political ambitions frustrate the basic character of pressure groups. Lastly, most of the pressure groups

like trade unions, student organisations etc are not financially very sound and without finances, these cannot function properly.

Thus, on the whole, in India, except for a few, pressure groups have not succeeded immensely in playing an active role under this democratic roof. Things has to change radically to their advantage, only then it is expected to play its bit.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Name atleast three different categories of pressure groups operating in India?

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Q2. Name a state where a student organisation is said to play an active role as a pressure group and name the organisation?

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Q3. Give one critical explanation as to why, pressure groups have not been able to have a strong foothold in Indian politics?

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2.4 LET US SUM UP

Finally, it could be said that both political parties and pressure are an integral part of Indian democracy. As there exist a multiparty system in India, it provides an opportunity to the people to go with the party of their own choice. They are not bound to support the ruling party only. On the other hand, the existence of

different kinds and categories of pressure groups also keeps the government under check. The government can in no way impose itself upon the people, on the contrary, these pressure groups forces the government to think about each and every section of the society. However, the different drawbacks in the functioning of these political parties and pressure groups have deprived the people to ripe the actual benefit out of it. It is observed that these two bodies are not working enough for the development of the masses rather they are on the run to fulfill their own interests. They are less likely to represent the people's interest. Nevertheless, despite of their loopholes, it cannot be denied that they indeed are an essential part of the democratic machinery of India.

KEY WORDS

Trade Unions: Union bodies organised by workers, to look after their needs.

Legislators: member of a legislative body.

Commitment: obligation that restricts freedom of action.

Sympathies: State of being simultaneously affected with the same feeling as another.

Expenditures: spending or using up.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS/ARTICLES

Verma, B.N, *Contemporary India*.

Kearney, Robert.N, *Politics and Modernisation in South and South East Asia*.

Morehouse, Sarah. McCally, *State Politics, Parties and Policy*.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- They select and present to the people, candidates for public offices.

Ans: to Q2

- The hold of the Congress party over the political scenario of our country is known to all.
- Even today, it has been ruling both at the centre as well as in different states.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should include the following points

Ans: to Q1.

- Assam Gana Parishad of Assam and
- Jammu&Kashmir National Conference of Jammu&Kashmir

Ans: to Q2.

- Radicalists and revolutionaries are placed on the left wing
- And reactionaries are placed on the right wing.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Yes, the Indian party system is suffering from serious defections.
- One such defection is criminalisation of politics. More and more people with criminal background are found joining political parties.

Ans: to Q2.

- Most of the educated lot believes that politics is evil, so one should keep himself away from it.

- The uneducated lot, people with criminal background and people running after money are found to be more inclined towards joining politics.

Check Your Progress 4

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Pressure groups traditional method of exploiting castes, religion, communities etc.
- They influence such groups by financing them in times of need.

Ans: to Q2.

- Yes, Pressure groups very often change political alligiance.
- Mainly because they are always concerned about their own interest, so wherever they think they would be at the winning end, they tend to shift allegiance towards that party or group.

Check Your Progress 5

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Trade unions formed by the workers community.
- Student organisation, formed by the student community and
- Religious groups, formed by people belonging to different religion.

Ans: to Q2.

- Assam is the state where a student organisation played a very active role in fighting back the problem of illgal immigration.
- The name of the orngisation is All Assam Student's Union (AASU).

Ans: to Q3.

- Pressure groups lack well defined infrastructure, which is why they fail in consistently pursuing their interests.

UNIT 3
POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA-
NATIONAL AND REGIONAL

STRUCTURE

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Major National Political Parties: Congress, BJP, CPI, CPM and BSP Congress

3.2.1 The Indian National Congress

3.2.2 Bharitya Janata Party (BJP)

3.2.3 Communist Party of India (CPI)

3.2.4 The Communist Party of India (Marxist) –
CPM

3.3 Regional Political Parties in India

3.4 Let Us Sum Up

Key Words

Some Important Books/Articles

Answers To Check Your Progress

3.0 OBJECTIVES

The primary objective of this unit shall be to provide you with information that will help you to:

- *infer* the major national political parties of India.
- *explain* their ideologies, aims and objectives.
- *reproduce* an account on the different regional political parties of India.
- *justify* the role of various parties in Indian politics.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Indian political scenario was greatly dominated by a single party system as the only party existing was the Indian National Congress. The Congress dominated the political scenerio for quite some time and its impact was such that the Indian political system was duly remarked as the Congress system or the Congress Raj. But gradually, towards the end of 1970's, right after the emergengy, the wave of opposition took birth in the form of Bharatiya Janata Party and gradually this continued and new political parties with different ideologies started emerging in India which attained national status. In due course of time India also saw the development of the intensity of regional politics leading to the emergence of several regional political parties. In this unit we shall discuss all these issues in details.

3.2 MAJOR NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES: CONGRESS, BJP, CPI, CPM AND BSP CONGRESS

The following is an account of the various national political parties of India. Firstly we shall start with the Congress.

3.2.1 THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Congress Party can be legitimately described as the successor of the Indian National Congress that was formed in 1885, and which successfully guided the Indian struggle for freedom from the clutches of British imperialism. After Indian independence in 1947, the Congress kept on dominating the Indian political scene for about four decades. Despite suffering three major and several minor splits, the Congress successfully remained in power at the centre from 1947 to 77, 1980-89 and 1991 – 96. Between 1996 – May 2004 it acted as a recognized opposition party at the centre. It came to power as a part of the United Progressive Alliance in May 2004. The ruling UPA is a Congress-led alliance. Congress continues to be in power in several states of the Union. Several political parties in India have come into being as a result of splits in the Congress. The Janata Party, the Janata Dal, the Samajwadi Janata Party, the Lok Dal and PSP and the SSP, the Bangla Congress, the Utkal Congress, Trinamool Congress, TMC, NCP and some other political parties can be legitimately described as parties formed by dissident Congresses .

IDEOLOGY, POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES OF THE CONGRESS

Congress has all along been committed to the ideology of democracy, Socialism and secularism. Its policies are governed by the objectives of fundamental rights and freedom of the people, open and democratic struggle for power, full faith in peaceful and constitutional means and abiding by the principles of democratic decision making. The following can be described as the salient features of the policies and programmes of the Congress :

- (1) Modernisation and Development of Agriculture and Irrigation.
- (2) Special steps for improving the lot of small and petty farmers.

- (3) Promotion of Rural Banking.
- (4) Making each village self-sufficient in respect of daily needs.
- (5) Exemption of land revenue for farmers having holding upto 5 acres of land.
- (6) Promotion of village industries, particularly agro – industries.
- (7) Increasing storage facilities in rural areas.
- (8) Improving rural road transport system.
- (9) Ensuring remunerative returns to farmers in respect of their produce.
- (10) Encouraging the setting up of food processing industries.
- (11) Insurance scheme for crops and cattle.
- (12) Rapid and balanced industrial development.
- (13) Privatisation, deregulation and delicensing, and liberalization of industrial sector.
- (14) Disinvestment of Public sector, particularly in respect of sick Public sector industrial units. To pursue selective disinvestment.
- (15) Securing of more opportunities for employment and particularly self-employment.
- (16) Improving the conditions of work for the workers particularly the women labour force.
- (17) To work for securing the interests of the weaker sections of society.
- (18) Rapid economic development through introduction of liberalization and competitiveness in the Indian economic system.
- (19) Protection of the interests of the minorities, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes other backward classes and other weaker section of society.

- (20) To provide better health, family welfare and educational facilities for all the people. To secure health and family welfare for all.
- (21) To work for educational reforms and vocationalisation of education.
- (22) More vigorous efforts for making India self-reliant in all spheres of life and development of science and technology for this purpose.
- (23) To continue India's nuclear policy involving the security & development of N. Weapons.
- (24) To oppose and refuse to sign such discriminatory treaties as the NPT and CTBT.
- (25) Rapid development of infrastructural facilities for initiating the process of rapid industrial and technological development.
- (26) To maintain and follow the principles of Non-alignment, Panchsheel, Regional Cooperation for Development, Development of Nuclear Technology Support for Opposition to forces of war, imperialism, hegemony, neo-colonialism, and terrorism in international relations.
- (27) To work for securing a permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

Now let us take a look into the other most important political party i.e, Bharatiya Janata Party.

3.2.2 BHARITYA JANATA PARTY (BJP)

Bharatiya Janata party had its birth in 1980 as a successor to the old Jan Sangh, In 1951 several leaders of the RSS and Hindu Maha Sabha, acting under the leadership of Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukerjee, founded the Bhartiya Jan Sangh. Journey from Bhartiya Jan Sangh to Bhartiya Janata Party. Jan Sangh contested 94 seats in the first general elections (1952) but could win only three. In the

states, it contested 732 seats and here too it could win only 3 seats. However, on the basis of the percentage of popular votes secured by it, the Election Commission of India, on 6 January 1953, recognized it as an All India Party. Between 1953-1977, the Bhartiya Jan Sangh emerged as a popular party. However, it failed to project its image as a secular party. Its slogan of Indianisation of Muslims and others gave it a communal colour. In 1971 elections it joined hands with other political parties : Congress (O) Sawatantra Party and S.S.P to jointly fight the election against the Congress. However, the decision proved to be costly and it was at loss.

In 1977, Jan Sangh joined hands with BLD, SSP, Congress (O) to form the Janata Party. This was done for collectively opposing the “authoritarian policies of the Congress (I) or the congress dominated by “authoritarian Mrs. Gandhi and the cauces.” In the March 1977 elections, the Janata Party secured a victory over the congress and formed the first non-Congress Government at centre at the Centre. In this Government (erstwhile) Jan Sangh leader Mr. A.B. Vajpayee and Mr. L.K. Advani got important ministerial berths. However, the Janata Party fell apart when in 1979, the Charan Singh faction (the Lok Dal Group) defected from the Janata Party and from the Government with Congress (I) supports from outside. This arrangement, however, failed to work and led to sixth general elections. In January 1980 elections, the Janata party and Lok Dal both suffered a defeat at the hands of the Congress. Within the Janata Party there appeared a reaction against the Jan Sangh members because of their links with the R.S.S. In March, 1980, the Janata Party Parliamentary Board decided that “no legislator or the office bearer of the Janata Party shall participate in the day to-day activities of R.S.S.” On April 1980, this decision was endorsed by the Janata Party National executive. The erstwhile Jan Sangh members were totally opposed to such a decision. They resigned their membership of the Janata Party and held a two-day convention at New Delhi on 5th and 6th April 1980. On 6th April 1980 they formed the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) with Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee as its President. On 24th

April, 1980, the Election Commission recognized BJP as a national party with Lotus as its symbol. Thus was born the BJP, Since 1980, the BJP has been an active actor in Indian politics. It remained in power at the centre 1998 – May 2004. Currently it is the recognized opposition party in the 15th Lok Sabha. However its popularity suffered a decline not only because of its poor performance in elections (2004-06) but also due to factionalism within its ranks.

IDEOLOGY, POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES OF BJP

The BJP is a cadre-based well organized political party with a definite ideology. It identifies itself with ‘Hindu’/’Hinduism ‘ or ‘Hindutva’ but explains its meaning as Indianess. It is rightist party but also affirms faith in democratic socialism and Gandhian socialism. It seeks to make India a Ram Rajya – a welfare state committed to secure the welfare of all the people of India. However, its several slogans like ‘Indianisation of Muslims’ and ‘Hindu Rashtra’ have often compelled several people to call it a communal party. The Congress and the other left parties always criticise it as communal party. The following are the major policies that the B.J.P seek to achieve.

1. Clean Administration and Social Justice. The Bhartiya Janata party stands for a corruption free clean political system and rapid “economic growth with social justice.”
2. Vibrant Social Order and International Brotherhood . BJP is committed to strive for the establishment of “vibrant social order” at home and promote the concept of “world fraternity” in international affairs.
3. Ram Rajya as the Ideal. Pledging to take the country towards ‘Ram Rajya’, the party assured the people that it believes in consensus and cooperation and not in confrontation and conflict. “It would uplift the poor and the down-trodden without pitting caste against caste and inciting class against class”.

4. Secularism. Underlining that theocracy is alien to India's cultural heritage, the party stresses that there is no room for discrimination against anybody on grounds of caste, creed, language or region. "It is the duty of the State to ensure justice for all citizens and for all sections of the society."
5. Debureaucratization. The BJP vows to "debureaucratise" the economy to maximize production. "We will make even the Sarkari sector productive and profitable by throwing open some of the public sector units to people's participation."
6. Development of Science and Technology. Promising to modernize the country on the basis of science and technology, the BJP says. "We want to do a thousand things to uplift the people and upgrade the country. And we have the first principles, the sound politics, the wise leadership and the dedicated cadres to do them well."
7. Appointment of Law Commission and Human Rights Commission. The BJP proposes to appoint a Law Commission to study various civil laws so as to evolve a common civil law for the whole country in order to give all the citizens a feeling of unity and brotherhood. In place of Minority Commission, which entertains complaints of discrimination only from minority sections, "We will have a Human Rights Commission to look into complaints of injustice against any section of society."
8. Economic Policies. BJP's economic agenda involves the desire to free the nation of dogmas and to follow unfettered liberalization. It favours the raising of MRTP floor level and the privatization of public sector. It promises to raise the income tax exemption limit as well as for the abolition of Octroi Duty. It also stands for effecting uniformity in the sales tax rates throughout the country.
9. Job Reservation. On the political front, the BJP admits the policy of reservations for the backward classes in addition

to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It also fully supports the demand for reserving 33% seats for the women of India.

10. BJP's Foreign Policy. In the sphere of foreign relations the BJP is critical of both China and Pakistan as they are in possession of parts of Indian territory. But whereas it propose to invite Pakistan for resolving disputes in terms of the Simla agreement, it offers no such remedy to China . In the 1989 Election Manifesto of the party, the emphasis was on pursuing a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with neighbouring countries. In the 1991 manifesto, the neighbouring countries were restricted to SAARC with which the BJP wanted to strengthen relations and hereby wanted to the strengthening of SAARC.

Check Your Progress 1

Use the lines below for your answers

1. When was the Indian National Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party constituted?

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Q2. What is the basic ideology of the Congress?

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Q3. Mention atleast four policies that the B.J.P tends to take up?

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3.2.3 COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (CPI)

Under the influence of the ideology of Marxism, particularly after the successful Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia, several socialist / labour organizations were formed in India. In 1924, some such organization held a joint conference at Kanpur and formed the Communist Party of India (CPI). The CPI expressed full faith in the ideology of Marxism – Leninism. It advocated that complete independence of India can be secured only through the adoption and use of Marxism as interpreted and used by Lenin, (revolutionary means). In 1934, the Government banned the CPI and arrested its leaders. The communists, then joined the Congress for popularising the ideology of socialism. In 1942 when the Communists opposed the Quit India Movement and supported the Soviet involvement in the second World War on the side of the Allies, the ban on CPI was lifted. Thereafter, the CPI started gaining more and more popularity. After independence, the CPI decided to participate actively in the political process and to contest elections. For this purpose it amended its constitution and accepted that peaceful and constitutional means can be used for promoting the interests of the working class. It began actively participating in the elections. In the first three elections held in 1952, 1957 and 1962 it got 28, 27 and 32 Lok Sabha seats. In 1957 it became the first non-congress party to form a government in Kerala.

IDEOLOGY, POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES OF THE CPI

Ideologically, the Communist Party of India stands committed to the principles of Secularism, Democracy, Marxism – Leninism, Non-alignment and opposition to Imperialism and Colonialism. Between 1947 to 1990 it remained very close to the Soviet Communist Party.

After the emergence of anti-Communists movements in the Soviet Union and other (former) socialist states of Europe, the CPI, like other Communist Parties all over the world, began struggling to define clearly its ideological commitments. It now stands committed to secure the following :

- (1) While accepting that socialism is the final goal, the CPI holds that keeping in view the Indian environment it cannot be projected as the immediate goal. For the present, the CPI stands for democratization and socio-economic reconstruction of the system. This can be achieved believes the CPI, only by the leftist and democratic forces.
- (2) For the preservation of secular democratic set up, the CPI favours an all out struggle against the forces of secessionism, protection of the interests of all the minorities and prevention of the misuse of religious places for the spread of communalism and hatred among different communities.
- (3) CPI firmly believes that for the progress of the nation as a whole the most essential necessary is the preservation of the unity and integrity of the nation. We must ensure and preserve the secular democratic structure and social justice, provide for decentralisation and grant of greater autonomy to the states of the federation.
- (4) The Indian economy should be secured wasteful public expenditure should be eliminated. Additional taxes should be made self – reliant and democratic. For the purpose special steps should be taken for arresting the deteriorating economic condition, and immediate measure should be initiated for checking rapidly increasing deficit and foreign debt. Public Sector should be strengthened for securing planned development. Workers participation in industrial management should be secured. Wasteful public expenditure should be eliminated. Additional taxes should be levied on urban

and rural rich, and the people in general should be given tax relief.

3.2.4 THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST) – CPM

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) had its birth in 1964 as a result of a split in the CPI. However, some CPM leaders, like EMS Namboodripad hold the view that the history of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is as old as the history of communist movement in India. What happened in 1964 was only a formalization of the ideological differences which had been developing since the independence of the country. IN 1964, the split in the CPI came over two issues : (i) the nature of relations of the Indian communists with the Soveit and Chinese Communists, and (ii) the nature of relations with the Congress which was in power in India.

Some top leaders of the CPI decided to form another party, i.e. the CPM because they were not prepared to brand Chinese Communism as an aggressive ideology favouring expansionism. They were not happy with the acceptance of peaceful coexistence by the Soviet Communists. They were more favourably inclined to accept the Maoist line of confrontation with the capitalists. They were also not willing to indict Chinese aggression against India in 1962 as they felt that a socialist country like China could never behave as an imperial power. These members, prominent among them being EMS Namboodripad, Jyoti Basu Harkishan Singh Surjit, P.Sundaraya, and P.D. Gupta, formed a separate party – the Communist Party of India (Marxists).

IDEOLOGY, POLICIES AND PROGRAMME

The CPM is a leftist party committed to the objective of socialism. Even after the doctrine suffered by the socialist states

and the ideology of socialism, the CPM continues to voice its adherence to socialism.

The CPM believe and advocates the following policies:

1. For strengthening the democratic system, the CPM advocates: (i) the need for fighting the force of authoritarianism; (ii) grant of more fundamental rights to the people; (iii) better protection of the fundamental rights; (iv) termination of all repressive laws.
2. It favours several constitutional reforms: (i) Adoption of the system of proportional representation in India; (ii) Strengthening of the parliamentary system; (iii) Reforming the judiciary for securing its independence; and (iv) Securing easy access to justice for the common people.
3. CPM stands for i) a reconstruction of the whole system of center-state relations in India; (ii) grant of more powers and autonomy to the state; (iii) deletion of Article 356 from the constitution; and (iv) support for the progressive policies of the leftist governments.
4. For preserving the unity and integrity of the nation, the CPM wants the mobilization of people for opposing the forces of separation, communalism and secessionism and for maintaining a strict vigilance over the forces of imperialism which are trying to weaken our nation.
5. Regarding the Ramjanambhoomi vs. Babri Masjid issue, the CPM favours an end to all movements being run by various groups over the issue. The dispute should be resolved either by direct talks or through a decision of the court. Further, a law should be enacted for maintaining the status quo, as

prevailed on 15 August, 1947, in respect of all religious places.

6. In respect of the problems of Assam, and J & k, the CPM holds that the legitimate demands of the people of these states should be accepted. Within the framework of the Indian Constitution, the people of these states should be ensured their distinct identities, and immediate steps should be initiated for resolving these problems.
7. High price rise should be arrested through strong legal actions, indirect taxes should not be increased, trading in foodgrains should be taken over by the Government, stringent and deterrent action should be taken against black-marketeers and hoarders, and public distribution system should be expanded to cover more commodities.
8. All land reform laws should be effectively implemented, surplus land should be distributed among the landless, forcible evictions should be stopped forthwith, land ownership records should be made fool proof, better irrigation facilities should be developed, and all hindrance in the way of implementation of land reforms in Indian should be removed.
9. Interests of peasant workers should be given full protection by a central law, and loans advanced to the rural poor should be written off.
10. For protecting the interests of the tribal people, their lands, cultures and languages should be given protection. Tribal areas should be given an autonomous status within their respective state.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. When was the C.P.I formed and what is its main ideology?

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Q2. What are the major issues which led to the creation of CPM from CPI?

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Q3. Who are the founding members of C.P.I(M)?

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3.3 REGIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA

The growing presence and salience of regional parties is undoubtedly, the most outstanding aspect of political development in India. After the dawn of the era of coalition politics and a loss some ground suffered by all the national parties, there has been a noticeable increase in the importance and role of regional parties. These have now started influencing the process of national level policy – making. While some of the regional parties, such as DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazagham), National Conference, Shiromani Akali Dal etc. predated or emerged soon after the coming of independence, others like Telugu Desam, BJD, Asom Gana Parishad, Sikkim Sangram Parishad, BJD, RLD, INLD, JDS and several others, have been relatively recent arrivals on the Indian political scene. In fact, there are about 500 small regional or cross

– regional or single state level political parties in India. Further, in this era of coalition politics regional parties have emerged as more active actors in the Indian Political System. Presently, the ruling Congress-led UPA has within its fold several regional and local level parties (DMK Trinmool Congress, NCP National Conference and few others).

REASONS FOR THE EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL PARTIES IN INDIA

The emergence of several regional political parties in India has been a natural development because of the presence of socio-economic religious – cultural pluralism. Several scholars like Panikkar, even advocate the view that “no one can conceive of India except in terms of the great regions.” Rasheeduddin Khan describes India as ‘an aggregation of regions and sub-regions,’ As such, the development of regional political parties is natural and may well have been anticipated in a vast and variegated country like India.

The following factors have influenced the emergence of regional political parties in India :

1. **Cultural Pluralism:** The presence of several distinct cultural – ethnic-religious – linguistic-caste groups within the Indian society has greatly helped the process of growth of regional political parties like the DMK, the JMM, the MNF, the GNLF and others.
2. **Religious Factor:** The existence of several religions within India has also helped the formation of several regional parties like the Akali Dal, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and others.
3. **Regional imbalances:.** The emergence of regional economic imbalances in India has also been a factor in the emergence of regional parties. Several regions of the country have registered a relatively high level of economic development while many others continue to lag behind. The local leaders, particularly who belong to economically

backward or lowly developed regions, very often exploit the 'local feelings' and form regional parties for representing the regional interests as well as for strengthening their bargaining power vis-à-vis the national leaders. The emergence of Asom Gana Parishad in Assam can be explained in terms of this factor.

4. **Anti-centralism of 1950-96 Period:** Indian political system has a federal structure with a unitary spirit. The Union enjoys a predominant role in the Indian federalism. As a reaction against the spirit of centralism or Unitarianism, several regional parties have not only come into existence in India but also have been in a position to earn popularities. The DMK, Telugu Desam, Akali Dal, Asom Gana Parishad and some others have been using anti-centrism as a means for securing popularity and support.
5. **Political Splits:** Splits resulting from the emergence of sizeable dissident local groups in several national political parties, have also been responsible for the birth of some regional political parties. The emergence of Kerala Congress, Bengal Congress Trinamool Congress, Janata Dal, Janata Dal Secular, Janata Dal United Lok Shakti Party, PMK, BJD, Oriya Congress, Forward Block, Tamil Nadu Congress, AIADMK etc. as regional parties in the Indian Political System can be explained in terms of this factor.
6. **Personality-cult Politics:** Another reason behind the emergence of regional political parties in India has been the presence of personality-cult politics. The ability of a leader to muster committed support from a group of followers because of his personal relations with them, often encourages him to form a regional/local Party as a means of showing the personal power. RJD, BJD, Devi Lal's party, Congress (J), Congress (S), BKU, BKKU; TDP (N), TDP (NTR) and some other came into existence because of this factor.

7. **Caste factor.:** Caste has been major factor of Indian politics and it has also been responsible for the emergence of several regional/local/sectoral parties. DMK emerged as an anti-Brahmin party, Republican Party of India, Bahujan Samaj Party etc. are examples of caste based regional parties.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Mention atleast five reasons behind the growth of regional political parties in India?

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3.4 LET US SUM UP

Thus what we get to see is that the existence of a large number of political parties national as well as regional is creating severe disturbances in the proper execution of policies by the ruling party. Moreover the existence of different political parties with different ideologies results in a clash between these ideologies as a result of which different communities gets devided and the unity of the country comes at stake. There is found to be lack of cooperation amongst these parties and they are always found indulging in a cat fight with one another, which is indeed something to worry about. Its high time that each political parties start respecting the ideologies of the other.

KEY WORDS

Ideology: the manner of thinking characteristics of a class or individual.

Dissident: disagreeing especially with an established government.

Aggregation: constituted by the collection of many units into one body.

Imperialism: policy of acquiring dependent territories.

SOME IMPORTANT BOOKS/ARTICLES

Kochanek, Stanley, *The Congress Party in India*.

Jones, Morris, *the Government and Politics in India*.

Banerjee, Krishalay, *Regional Political Parties in India*.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answers should include the following points

Ans: to Q1.

- The Congress was formed in the year 1885.
- The B.J.P came into existence in 1980.

Ans: to Q2.

- The main ideology on which the pillars of the Indian National Congress rests is Secularism.

Ans: to Q3.

- Clean Administration and Social Justice. The Bhartiya Janata party stands for a corruption free clean political system and rapid “economic growth with social justice.”

- Vibrant Social Order and International Brotherhood .
- Ram Rajya as the Ideal. Pledging to take the country towards 'Ram Rajya', the party assured the people that it believes in consensus and cooperation and not in confrontation and conflict.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should include the following points

Ans: to Q1.

- It was formed in 1924.
- Ideologically, the Communist Party of India stands committed to the principles of Secularism, Democracy, Marxism – Leninism, Non-alignment and opposition to Imperialism and Colonialism.

Ans: to Q2.

- the nature of relations of the Indian communists with the Soviet and Chinese Communists, and
- the nature of relations with the Congress which was in power in India.

Ans: to Q3

- Its founding members are: EMS Namboodripad, Jyoti Basu, Harkishan Singh Surjit, P.Sundaraya, and P.D. Gupta.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- The reasons are: cultural pluralism
- Regional imbalances.
- Religious factor.
- The caste factor and
- Splits within national political parties.

UNIT 4
ROLE OF CASTE, RELIGION AND
LANGUAGE IN INDIA

STRUCTURE

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Caste in Indian Politics
 - 4.2.1 Political Dimensions of Caste in India
- 4.3 Communalism in Indian Politics
 - 4.3.1 Main Causes Behind the Growth of Communalism
 - 4.3.2 Measures to Contain Communalism
- 4.4 Language Politics in India
 - 4.4.1 Steps taken to resolve the Language Problem
- 4.5 Let Us Sum Up

Key Words

Some Useful Books/ Articles

Answers To Check Your Progress

4.0 OBJECTIVES

India being a home to different religion, languages, communities, castes etc is found to deal with different obstacles in its fluent functioning such as castiesm, communalism, linguism etc which ultimately challenges the healthy growth of our country. It is thus very important to learn about the kind of impact that these institutions has on our country. This unit aims to:

- *analyze* the Role of caste in Indian politics.
- *find* out what strengthens caste politics?
- *infer* the role of religion in Indian politics.
- *explain* why communalism persists?
- *state* the role of language in affecting national integration of our country.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Caste can be addressed as a peculiarly Indian Institution which has no counterpart elsewhere. In India it has been playing a very big role since a long time. The fact that the Indian society is a caste ridden one is known to the whole world but it its impression will be so deep in free India, was least expected by anyone. In case of religion too, the same can be opined. India being a secular nation always respects different religions. But the accomodation of different religions will turn out to the biggest challenge in the form of communalism, in the national integration of our country was never expected. Our country has been a wittness to different communal violence resulting in bloodshed and severe political crisis. And at present, communalism is accentuated by religious fundamentalism. Lastly, so far as language is concerned, India has an extraordinarycomplex pattern of linguistic grouping. No nation can surpass it in sheer multiplicity of languages. It has therefore

not one language problem but a complex of language problems. So in this unit, we shall make a close observation of these three major issues, challenging the Indian political scenario.

4.2 CASTE IN INDIAN POLITICS

As has already been mentioned above, caste holds a very strong place in the social life of our country. But gradually it was observed that caste was being used a instrument of politics mainly to exploit the religious sentiments of the people. In present day India, caste system has degenerated itself. It was felt that after independence it was felt that the system will completely disintegrate and shall have no impact because in the Constitution there is no place for it. Infact, making descrimination on the basis of caste and creed is an offence and a punishable crime. But with the passage of time it has undoubtedly been established that caste has not ceased to play its part. It still plays an effective role in all walks of political life more at the local, less at the state and lesser at the national level. Today its influence over the political system has become so extreme that people under the influence of caste, donot even vote for the most suitable person not belonging to their caste. Not only this, candidates for contesting elections are also picked up by taking caste structure of constituency into consideration. At present there is no such state in India, which is free from caste politics.

Caste system finds its origin in the Spanish word “casta” meaning breed or race. Thus, caste means people belonging to the same breed. The term caste has been defined differently by different people. According to Cooley, “When a class is somewhat hereditary, we call it caste”. According to E.A.H Blunt, ‘ A caste is an endogamous group, or collection of endogamous groups, bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary, imposing on its members certain restrictions in the matter of social intercourse, either following a common traditional occupation or claiming a common origin and generally regarded as forming a

single homogenous community'. Martindale and Monachese say, "A caste is an aggregate of persons whose share of obligations and previledges is fixed by birth, sanctioned and supported by religion and magic". Thus, we get to see how opinion differs on the definition of caste but the common underlying factor is that it is hereditary in nature.

4.2.1 POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF CASTE IN INDIA

Although caste is a social institution, it has always had some political aspects. And in the past decades, the combination of caste and the democratic secular process has changed the nature of political culture in India, imparting to its existing plurality a political connotation. Never before in the past, caste could influence politics to such an extent, as it could today. Now, there are certain factors responsible for it. These are as follows:

- 1) The very first reason is the establishment of Panchayati Raj institutions. Such institutions, at present, stands in our local politics. Panchayats have been allowed to have a considerable position and authority. The people belonging to different castes, therefore try to have maximum control over the Panchayats. The area of elections being very limited, the castes play a role in influencing the voters. Infact, the candidates win and lose on the popularity and strength of the caste to which they belong. Each elections, therefore strengthens the caste system.
- 2) Then another reason is the desire of the castes, particularly the low castes, not to give up their previledges. Since, the British days, the low castes have been given certain previledges which have considerably increased now. There is reservation of seats in almost all educational institutions, services and elected bodies. These castes are not at all ready to give up their previledges and thus try to strengthen their castes.

- 3) Still another reason for strengthening castes in politics is the extension of adult franchise. Under this scheme, every adult in every caste has the right to vote. There is a growing feeling among the members of all castes that if they did not vote on caste basis, they will be out-numbered by the people of other castes, who will in turn, dominate them. In this way, people belonging to different caste strictly favour the idea of voting in favour of their caste candidates.
- 4) Another important factor responsible for this, is the system of indirect elections. Under the existing system, in those states, which have bicameralism, members of the Upper House are to be nominated by local self-bodies etc. Similarly, for the Rajya Sabha the members are to be elected by the state legislatures. In this way there is a close link in which, once a caste gets control even over local bodies, it is likely to have some say in national politics. Thus, the caste gets its roots at the local level as well and this deep relationship, on caste basis finds roots and develops links between Ministers at the state level and the village leaders at the local level.

In this way it can be said that due to the privileges which have been guaranteed and given to the people belonging to some castes and denied to the others, the attitude of the latter has considerably hardened. In some parts of the country, caste barriers have become very rigid which have helped in strengthening rather than abolishing caste from caste.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. What definition of caste was put forwarded by Cooley?

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Q2. Give two reasons in brief as to why caste has strengthened itself in politics?

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4.3 COMMUNALISM IN INDIAN POLITICS

For centuries together people belonging to different religious communities have been living together in India without any friction or ill will. Major communities in India being the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Cristians, the Parsees, the Jains, the Buddhists etc. all these communities lived with each other with complete toleration. It is only at the turn of the century that the gulf between various religious communities very considerably increased. The device of giving separate representation to each major community in elected bodies and civil services widened the gap, particularly among two major Indian communities namely, the Hindus and Muslims. When late Muhammed Ali Jinnah expounded his two nation theory, gap between these two communities still more widened. The result of all this was that there was communal hatred. Before the partition of the country, there were communal or religious riots in some parts of the country resulting in the killing of several hundreds of people and looting and burning of property worth crores of rupees. Everything inhuman was done in the name of religion. Our country

finally got divided into two viz. India and Pakistan, in the name of religion because Md. Jinnah made it clear that Hindus and Muslims were two separate religions and as such it is impossible for these two religions to live together under one roof and partition is the only solution to communal and political problems.

Now, the basic question that arises in our mind is that what does communalism actually mean? To this the basic explanation that can be given is that it is the opposition of religious communities to each other. It is an ideology which emphasizes the separate identity of a religious group in relation to other groups and often a tendency to promote its own interests at their expense. According to some, communalism is the political assertiveness of a community to maintain its identity in a plural society, undergoing modernisation. However, we should keep this in mind that, religion is not essentially synonymous to communalism. A religious person is not essentially communal. The communalists rather use religion as a major tool to foster their interests. Communalism is now deeply entrenched in our society as political parties are also more and more involved in disturbing the religious harmony of the country.

Now, we shall look into the main causes behind the growth of communalism in our country.

4.3.1 MAIN CAUSES BEHIND THE GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM

Communalism was institutionalised in Indian politics by Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and subsequently through the Montford reforms of 1919 led to the formation of separate electorates. Though this system was abolished in 1947, its potential for discord remained. The partition of the nation on the basis of the two nation theory turned out to be a greater evil. Instead of solving the problems, it has rather increased them. The main factors and forces, which have encouraged the growth of communalism in contemporary India, have been identified as under.

- a) **Communalisation of history:** unfortunately, authentic history is not widely prevalent in our society. Events reported verbally find place in most of the history books in distorted form and they arouse and perpetuate prejudices and antagonism among religious groups. That apart, the course of history has been broken into sectarian periods as Muslim history, Hindu history and Sikh history and such a categorisation of history fanned communalism. The acts of the religious rulers are attributed to the whole of religious communities. Even in free India, a communal historical approach is the main ideology of communalism.
- b) **Political opportunism:** communalism is basically a political problem and political leadership can help to root it out but in reality, the political parties are rather found to be more keen in fanning communal feelings. Today, in their desire to gain or to stay in power, are playing one community against another. No doubt, the opposition parties behave irresponsibly, the conduct of the ruling party is also not exactly qualified by a sense of responsibility. The way in which political leadership has been nearing the religious gurus has proved unfortunate.
- c) **Absence of radical programme:** After 1967, the political process got invigorated under the impact of Indira Gandhi's radicalism. The communal organisations were forced to stand on the sidelines. The atmosphere generated by bank nationalism, abolition of privy purses and finally the emergence of Bangladesh made religion based politics look ridiculous. But as the impact of Indira Gandhi's new radicalism became weak and she failed to find an adequate political organisational response, it gave the communal forces an opportunity to emerge forward. Her second innings could not inspire the people with a new radical programme nor could she stem the rising tide of radicalism in Punjab. To safeguard her political interest she later herself indulged in communal politics with the result that

communalism became a formidable problem in her own life time.

- d) **Electoral compulsions:** today our politics is completely ballot box oriented and elections have become an end in themselves. The political process based on competition for programmes and policies has been substituted by a mere number game. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to expect anything like a firm commitment to secularism from the government. In their zeal to win elections, political parties make use of communal influences, as tool to accumulate votes. This policy tends to strengthen communal polarisation and attitudes.
- e) **Unhealthy role of anti-social elements:** with the degeneration of politics, smugglers, illicit liquor dealers, unlicensed arm manufacturers etc have gained undue political importance. They help the political parties and their leaders at the time of elections through terror tactics and receive in return political clout. To earn respectability, these professional goondas are dadas also project themselves as the champions of their respective communities during the riots, and keep alive the communal temper for electoral purposes. They create riot situations at the time of religious festivals.
- f) **Communal parties and organisations:** the Muslim League, the Akali Dal and the BJP etc are some well known communal parties in India. they not only represent some particular communities but also thrive on communal politics. The leaders of these respective parties create communal politics. Their leaders often use them to create communal tensions so that they can utilise it to their own interests. This make it difficult to fight communal fanaticism and religious fundamentalism with the co-operation of all political parties. Besides, the communal parties, there are non-political organisations like Shiv Sena, RSS, the Muslim United Front and Jamaat-e-Islam. These

organisations declare that they have nothing to do with political parties but in reality they are supported by different political parties.

- g) Negative role of education:** our educational system tends to enhance regional loyalties and foster communal feelings. There are many such institutions of higher education, which tends to evoke communal feelings amongst the students. The students of dominant communities control the students unions in respective universities and freely indulge in communal politics. The colleges and schools are also the nurseries of communalism. The teachers frequently give air to their communal prejudices. This negative role of the educational institutions is simply mortifying.
- h) Decline of democratic institutions:** over the past two decades, the democratic institutions have gradually declined. The party system and the federal structure have lost their inner strength. The judiciary too doesnot seem to command its earlier strength. The press has been under continuous pressures, and state governments have been reduced to the status of municipalities. This complete discrediting of major political institutions has created a vacuum for communal forces to move in and play a destructive role.
- i) Vested interests of communal elites:** today, what we could observe is that the leaders of various communities are not interested in the building of a just society to fullfill the basic needs of the toiling masses and middle classes. The primary interest of the communal elites is now to secure a strong hold over the Indian polity. To that end, they seek support base within their respective communities and then organise them on communal lines. Strong religious prejudices, lack of mutual understanding and socio religious stereotypes lend themselves easily to be exploited.
- j) Socio economic factors:** the logic of socio-economic system continues to provide favourable ground for the

spread of communalism. Even after so many years of independence, destitution of poverty continue to stalk over half of the people of this land. Amongst all the glitters of modernity, ignorance and illiteracy continues to prevail among large masses of the country. India's underdeveloped capital economy has failed to solve the basic problems of poverty, unemployment and inequality which breeds frustration and generate unhealthy competition for the inadequate social and economic opportunities available to the country. At times it is also found that the clever politicians make use of the religious differences between communities to mask the basic economic and political issues.

Thus, what we can see is that several reasons have contributed towards the growth of communalism in our country.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. On the basis of which theory, was our country partitioned?

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Q2. What kind of negative role is being played by the educational institutions to foster feelings of communalism?

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4.3.2 MEASURES TO CONTAIN COMMUNALISM

The problem of communalism has taken such a drastic shape in India that no political party or leader can tackle it. It is impossible to root it out from the country. Even the communal division of territory is no remedy. However, there is a ray of hope that communalism can be contained and that too with an collective effort. Let us now, take a look into some of such measures:

- 1) There is no dearth of secular, democratic and non-communal elements in the country. These progressive and non-sectarian forces should wage a joint ideological struggle to eradicate the evil influence of communalism from the Indian's minds. Besides, every effort should be made to remove the genuine grievances of minorities, but at the same time the policy of appeasement and compromises for political gains must be given up.
- 2) The economic and political developments in the country have tended to increase economic disparities and inequalities. Those communities which remain backward even after sixty four years of independence, must be brought at par with other communities so that their sense of security is enhanced. So long as various communities are not brought at par, some of them will continue to be obsessed with the need of their separate identity and the Hindus will continue to suspect the Muslims extra-territorial loyalties.
- 3) In the opinion of some people, the abolition of religion may be a valuable ideal for ending communalism. But it cannot be operationalised since we cannot wipe out our entire past. So the best course of achieving composite nationhood is a balanced development of the two major communities viz. the Hindus and the Muslims.

- 4) Special courts should be constituted to hold speedy trials of those who are found involved in engineering communal riots. Besides, there should be stringent laws prescribing adequate punishment for these evil doers.
- 5) There is a need to educate the people to disabuse their minds of the communal virus cleverly being spread by communalists of all hues and colours. The All India Radio and the Doordarshan can be used as a medium to spread awareness.
- 6) Curbs and restraints should be imposed on religious processions which are symbolic. The processions should avoid such routes as are sensitive . since the indiscriminate use of loud speakers has the potential of creating communal tensions, it should be avoided.
- 7) There is no sense in destroying history nor there is any use in mutilating it. History should be taught with a correct and balanced perspective.

The sweep of these suggestions is very wide and it is time that the governments start taking them seriously. However, there can be no two opinions that communalism cannot be successfully tackling its underlying causes.

<p>Check Your Progress 3</p> <p>Note: Use the lines below for your answers.</p> <p>Q1. Mention any two suggestions put forwarded in order to combat communalism?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
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4.4 LANGUAGE POLITICS IN INDIA

Our country India has an extra-ordinary complex pattern of linguistic grouping. No nation can ever surpass it in sheer multiplicity of languages. It has therefore, not just one language problem but a complex of language problems. Language can be a powerful unifying as well as divisive force. It can bind and unite and promote brotherhood. It can also separate and divide and can enhance hatred. Since, the days, the East India Company began to get its roots on Indian soil, propagation of English became its cherished goal. As the days passed on, use of Hindi and Urdu in official work decreased and that of English gradually increased. A time came when English was used as a link language for the whole of India.

But language created a great problem in post independent era and continues to be one of the heavyweights on the country's political system. During the days of freedom struggle national leaders always promised the masses that Indian languages will be fully developed in free India and even states will be reorganised on the basis of languages, so that each language got full opportunity to develop and grow. But when Constituent Assembly discussed the problem of national language for India, it found that the task was not easy. In the country there was a strong section which believed that English should be continued as the national language of India, while almost all provinces claimed that in their language there was so much of rich material that alone could take the pride place of being the national language of India. This gradually led to severe resentment from different quarters. In due course several measures were adopted to resolve the language problem in our country. So, let us take a look into those measures.

4.4.1 STEPS TAKEN TO RESOLVE THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

The constitutional provisions regarding language have not been fully operationalised in so far as the development and acceptance of Hindi as the official language is concerned. Infact, conflict over the status of Hindi has assumed the form of a conflict between Northern and Southern States. The government of India has been trying to resolve the issue but the efforts have so far not been very successful. In this respect, the following developments deserve our attention.

- 1) **The Official Language Commission:** in 1955, a 21 member Official language commission headed by B.G Kher was appointed by the government of India in order to make recommendations to the President as to (a) the progressive use of the hindi language for the official purposes of the union, (b) the restriction on the use of English language for all or any of the official purpose of the Union, (c) the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348 of the Constitution, (d) the form of the numerals to be used for one or more specified purposes of the Union (e) the preparation of a time-schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and as a language of communication between the Union and the State governments and between one state government and another.

In its report it forwarded certain recommendations which included the following: (a) the increased use of Hindi for official purposes in place of English. It justified its decision stating that more and more people spoke and understood Hindi and not because Hindi was superior to other regional languages, (b) though restrictions were

imposed on the use of English, it was to be taught in secondary schools principally as a language of comprehension and not as a literary language, (c) the state governments were free to use their regional languages for all judicial and administrative purposes, but this entailed with dealings with other state governments or with the Union government, the medium of Communication should be Hindi (d) the setting up of the National Academy of Languages preferably at Hyderabad for developing India's fifteen (now 18) major recognised languages.

The report and the passing of the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, gave rise to strong linguistic movements in different parts of the country like Punjab, Madras, Assam etc.

- 2) **Three Language Formula:** in order to resolve the language conflict, the government came forward with the 'Three Language Formula' in 1959, which called for compulsory teaching of three languages. In the non-hindi states, the students were to be taught English, Hindi and one more modern Indian language. In the Hindi speaking states, the students were to learn English, Hindi and one more regional language. This formula was adopted to secure the study of Hindi by all the states without replacing or eliminating English as well as to satisfy the supporters of regional languages.

However, States like Tamil Nadu refused to accept it and decided to teach its students only two languages viz. Tamil and English. States like Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan decided to do away with the teaching of English. Other states adopted it but with great hesitation.

- 3) **Official Language Act 1963:** in 1963, the Official Language Act was passed by the Union Parliament. It extended the use of English beyond 1965 and gave it the

status of an additional official language. It could be used for all official purposes but the correspondence between the Union government and the Hindi speaking states was to be done in Hindi in future. With regard to non-Hindi states, English translations of the Hindi letters were to be sent. It was further held that the Governor of a State, with the prior consent of the President, could permit the use of Hindi as the Official Language of the State for the judgement orders or decrees of the High Courts but an English version of the same had also to be provided.

However, in Tamil Nadu, a strong and violent anti-Hindi and anti-Centre agitation developed. In Andhra Pradesh too there was a reaction against the Act and the State Legislature adopted a bill retaining the use of English for the transaction of legislative business. In West Bengal anti-Hindi riots broke out and screening of Hindi films had to be discontinued. Similarly, in different parts of the country anti-Hindi riots broke out. The country as a whole came under the shadow of unhealthy and violent language agitation.

Thereafter, the Official Language Act 1963 was amended and it was laid down that English would continue as long as all states, whose official language was not Hindi, did not agree to terminate the use of English. This assured the states that Hindi was not imposed upon them.

- 4) **Kothari Commissions and its Recommendations:** Since some states did not implement the three language formula in the true spirit, the government of India appointed an education commission-the Kothari Commission. It submitted its report in 1966 and proposed a modification of the three language formula i.e. in addition to the regional language, either Hindi or English or another modern Indian or a European language should be taught to students. Further that the adoption of regional languages in the

universities should be completed within 10 years and till then, all Indian institutions should continue to use English.

The report however gave rise to further doubts. Whereas the Education Minister, Mr. Triguna Sen declared in the Lok Sabha that the government had accepted the principle that regional languages should be adopted as the medium of education, the State Education Ministers Conference expressed doubts about its desirability. This gave rise to another language controversy. A conference of the Vice Chancellors of Indian Universities then resolved that change over to regional languages should be carried through in 5 to 10 years at the under graduate level but at the same time importance of English should be maintained in addition to the regional languages, particularly at the higher level of studies. However, the controversy did not end.

- 5) **The Official Language Act 1967:** the government decided to amend the Official Language Act 1963 for the purpose of implementing some of the recommendations of the Kothari Commission despite opposition from the Jana Sangh and the SSP which supported the demand for making Hindi the Official Language and securing its status as such and from the DMK which opposed the non-grant of alternative official language status to English. The Amendment Bill was passed by the Parliament in 1967. It accepted: i) the continuance of English till switch over to Hindi was made, ii) the introduction of regional languages as the medium of instructions in the universities and iii) the need for popularising Hindi in India.

These recommendations evoked strong opposition from the supporters and opponents of Hindi. Anti-English riots broke out in Madras and soon spread to Andhra and Karnataka. The government of India strongly defended its Language policy. It decided that during the transitional

period, English was to continue in the interest of keeping pace with the advances in knowledge that were taking place in the world. The language agitations got diluted gradually thereafter.

In the 1970's, the linguistic issue remained dormant. The National Integration Panel of the NCERT, in its report 1972, called upon the government to popularise Hindi in non-Hindi speaking areas. However, in the 1980's, serious linguistic trouble broke out in Karnataka following the release of the Gorkale Committee report which recommended the adoption of Kannada and not Sanskrit as the first language of the State. This was opposed by the Kannada speaking people of the State. Gradually opposition broke out in different belts.

- 6) The Sarkaria Commission Report and the issue of Language:** in its report, the Sarkaria Commission took note of the continued language controversy and strongly criticised it. It cautioned against the politicisation of language which had the potential of threatening the very foundations of Indian democracy. It recommended that the process of developing the official language, the forms, style and expressions and various regional languages of India including English, should not be discarded. It would be against the mandate of the Constitution. It recommended that the three language formula should be effectively implemented and the interests of linguistic minorities must be strictly protected. It highlighted the role of the Inter-Governmental Council and the Zonal Councils in the neutralisation of the politicisation of the language issue in our country.

No one can or should deny the need that the country must develop its national language. We could also see that the government of India from time to time has adopted measures to serve the purpose.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: Use the lines below for your answers

Q1. State in brief the ‘Three Language Formula’ as was adopted by the government?

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Q2. What were the recommendations made by the Kothari Commissions of 1966?

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4.5 LET US SUM UP

Lastly we can sum up stating that all the languages in India are rich in their respective ways. The supporters of Hindi language should never underestimate the love of the minorities for their languages. They should popularize the use of Hindi in all parts of the country but neither through imposition nor through unhealthy, counter productive, illogical and ill-timed declarations. The minorities should also come out of their bigoted love for their regional languages and should help the process of the development of Hindi as the Hindustani languages. The ‘Three Language Formula’ continues to be the best available alternative but its implementation must free itself from both anti-Hindi and pro-Hindi lobbies. The people of India must most willingly accept the use of Hindi along with their respective mother tongue. We must shun linguistic communalism and adopt a truly secular way of life and learn and use as many Indian languages as we can.

KEY WORDS

Propagate: breed from the parent stock.

Composite: made up of various parts.

Prejudices: preconceived biased opinion.

Radicalism: holding extreme and fundamental political views.

Toleration: allow the existence or occurrence without any interference.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS/ ARTICLES

Kearney, R.N, *Politics and Modernisation in South and South East Asia*

Prakash, Karat, *Language and Nationality Politics in India.*

Mehata, V.R, *Ideology, Modernisation and Politics in India.*

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- According to Cooley, “When a class is somewhat hereditary, we call it caste”.

Ans: to Q2

- First reason is the desire of the low caste communities, not to give up the special privileges granted to them.
- second is the fear of domination by other castes, because of which they people always feel that they should vote in

favour of their caste members to make them victorious, otherwise they will be dominated by other castes.

Check Your progress 2

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- The 'two nation' theory was used to partition our country.

Ans: to Q2.

- Our educational system tends to enhance regional loyalties and foster communal feelings.
- There are many such institutions of higher education, which tends to evoke communal feelings amongst the students.
- The students of dominant communities control the students unions in respective universities and freely indulge in communal politics.
- The colleges and schools are also the nurseries of communalism.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Special courts should be constituted to hold speedy trials of those who are found involved in engineering communal riots. Besides, there should be stringent laws prescribing adequate punishment for these evil doers.
- There is a need to educate the people to disabuse their minds of the communal virus cleverly being spread by communalists of all hues and colours. The All India Radio

and the Doordarshan can be used as a medium to spread awareness.

Check Your Progress 4

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- It called for compulsory teaching of three languages.
- In the non-hindi states, the students were to be taught English, Hindi and one more modern Indian language.
- In the Hindi speaking states, the students were to learn English, Hindi and one more regional language.
- This formula was adopted to secure the study of Hindi by all the states without replacing or eliminating English as well as to satisfy the supporters of regional languages.

Ans: to Q2.

- Proposed a modification of the three language formula i.e. in addition to the regional language, either Hindi or English or another modern Indian or a European language should be taught to students.
- Further that the adoption of regional languages in the universities should be completed within 10 years and till then, all Indian institutions should continue to use English.

UNIT 5

COALITION POLITICS IN INDIA

STRUCTURE

- 5.0 Objective
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Coalition Politics in India
- 5.3 Nature of Coalition Politics
- 5.4 Coalition Politics In India : History Of Evolution
 - 5.4.1 Coalition Politics at The National Level.
 - 5.4.2 Coalition Politics at State Level
- 5.5 Let Us Sum Up

Key Words

Some Useful Books/Articles

Answers To Check Your Progress

5.0 OBJECTIVE

In the one of the above unit we have dealt in details about the different political parties existing in India both national and regional and also the reasons behind the growth of regional parties. Now, the existence of these political parties has resulted in the emergence of a new trend name coalition politics. This unit aims to:

- *describe* Coalition politics in India.
- *explain* the nature of coalition politics in our country.
- *state* the history and evolution of coalition politics in our country.
- *relate* Coalition politics at the national level and state level.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Before analyzing the nature of Coalition Politics in India, Let us understand the meaning of Coalition Politics. Coalition Politics means a system of governance by a group of political parties or by several political parties. When several political parties collaborate to form a government and exercise the political power on the basis of a common agreed programme / agenda, we can describe such a system as coalition politics or coalition government. Such a government it usually organized when no party is in a position to get a majority in the parliament, and some parties form a coalition group or an alliance or a united front for forming a government. It is called a post-poll coalition or a power-sharing coalition. It also happens when before an election several parties form an alliance or a coalition group, and which after

getting a majority or after emerging as the single largest group in the legislature, forms a government in which all coalition partners find a berth/ berths in the Council of Ministers. It is called a pre-poll coalition and is considered to be better than post-poll power-sharing coalition. The former works on the basis of a common manifesto or agenda for governance which gets popular support in elections, the latter works on the basis of a post-poll working agenda or programme.

5.2 COALITION POLITICS IN INDIA

Every student of Indian Political System today accepts that the era of coalition politics has now finally arrived. After the fourth Lok Sabha elections (1967), there were established several coalition government in some of the Indian states . It was, however, viewed as an adhoc development. Between 1971-1989, India continued to be governed by single party majority governments. It was only around 1989-96 that the beginning of the politics of coalition government really took place in Indian Political System. The emergence of the era of hung Lok Sabhas with 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th and 14th Lok sabhas as Hung Houses, gave birth to the age of coalition governments in India. In April – May 2009, the 15th Lok Sabha elections resulted in the near-majority for Congress – led UPA. There after the UPA coalition got installed to power. India continue to be ruled by a coalition governmet. It is also the case some state governments working in several states of Indian Union. In some states of the Union (west Bengal, Maharashtra, kerala, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Pudducherry, Jharkhand, J & K and few others) coalition governments have been continuously at work.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. After which particular period did coalition politics had its growth in India?

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Q2. What actually gave birth to the growth of coalition politics in our country?

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5.3 NATURE OF COALITION POLITICS

We can identify the following features of Coalition Politics :

1. Coalition Politics is a collaborative-cooperative efforts in which some political parties together exercise political power i.e. form a government to make binding decisions for the whole society.
2. A coalition government is organized by two or more political parties.
3. At times, some political parties form a pre-poll alliance and contest the elections collectively by adopting a common agenda / programme and by fielding common candidates in various constituencies. After getting a majority in the elections, the coalition partners collectively form a government. It is called a pre-poll coalition.
4. At time when no party is in a position to get a majority some parties form a coalition for organizing a government. The

coalition partners then share the exercise of power of the state. It is called a power-sharing or post-poll coalition government.

5. Before or after the organization of a coalition government, the coalition partners prepare a common programme which incorporate a set of mutually agreed politics and principles. The exercise of power is undertaken for implementing the agreed policies and programmes. In case the coalition alliance or group is organized before the elections, a common election manifesto is prepared, adopted and released.
6. The coalition group / alliance either elects or selects a coalition leader in advance or elects such a leader after the elections. The coalition government is organized under the leadership of such a person.
7. Coalition government is always based upon a compromise or agreement. In decision-making all the coalition partners try to practice decision –making by consensus. Each coalition partner has to accommodate the wishes, desire and policies of other coalition partners.
8. A coalition government has usually a large sized council of Ministers because all the coalition partners have to be given berths in the ministry.
9. A parliamentary democracy working with a multi-party system offers a rich ground for the birth and operation of Coalition Politics.

On the basis of these features we can say that coalition politics comes into operation either through a pre-poli coalition alliance or a post-poll alliance and a coalitions group of several political parties forms the government of the state.

Check your progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Name three unique feature of coalition politics in India?

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5.4 COALITION POLITICS IN INDIA: HISTORY OF EVOLUTION

In contemporary times, coalition politics continues to be in operation in India at the national level as well as in some of the states of the Indian Union. The history of coalition politics in India can be traced from the pre-independence years. After the 1937 election, a sort of coalition government was formed in Punjab. The interim government established in India in 1946 was also a sort of coalition government as it included the representative of the congress, the Muslim League, the Akali Dal and some other groups. Fourteen representatives were included in this government, 6 from Congress, 5 from Muslim League, I from Akali Dal, 1 from Anglo – Indian community and 1 from Parsee community, Leader of the Congress, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister.

After the dawn of independence, coalition politics was practiced in a very limited way during 1952-89. The Congress party played a dominant rule in Indian Politics and there was little scope for coalition politics (1967-71 and 1979-80 were small exceptions). However after 1989, particularly after 1996 the organization of coalition governments has become a regular feature of Indian political system. At present coalition politics is in operation both at the centre and in some states. We can study coalition Politics in India in two parts:

(a) Coalition Politics at the National Level.

(b) Coalition politics at the State level.

So, now we shall look into the gradual development of coalition politics from these two aspects.

5.4.1 COALITION POLITICS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

1. First coalition politics at the centre 1977: In January 1977, four political parties-Bhartya Lok Dal, Congress O, Jan Sangh and some rebel congressmen united to form the Janata Party. It was designed to bring at one platform all anti-Congress parties and to work for the defeat of the Congress in the next elections. The Janata Party constituents contested these elections under one symbol and a common manifesto. In these elections, the Congress(I) suffered a defeat and Janata Party and its supporters won as many as 300 seats in the Lok Sabha. It formed the first non-Congress government at the Centre and it was a coalition government in the sense that its constitutents has maintained their individualities even after forming the government. However, during its rule from 1977-79, political instability and inefficiency continued to characterize the Indian political system. In 1979, it suffered a split and in its place Lok Dal became the ruling party as the Congress extended to it support from outside. However, this government also failed to remain in power for more than six months. It failed to face the parliament even for a day. In 1980, election to the Lok Sabha were held and in these the Congress scored a victory and ended the first era of coalition experiment, and this situation continued upto 1989.

2. Second Coalition Government-National Fron Government 1989: In 1989, several Congressmen resigned their membership and formed a Jana Morcha to oppose the Congress and provide an alternative to it. The Jana Morcha leaders joined hands with some other parties like Janata Party and Lok Da. A National Front was formed to contest 1989 elections, particularly for opposing the

Congres. In these elections, no party was in a position to win majority and yet National Front emerged as a potent political force. It formed the government at the Centre with outside support from the BJP and the Left parties. The National Front government worked as a coalitions government for about 18 months. Its rule was characterized by inefficiency and instability due to the presence of strong differences among its partners as well as due to its dependence on the BJP and the Left. It was replaced by the Janta Dal (S) government which was supported by the Congress. However, this government could work for only six months. This experiment of coalition politics also was almost a failure.

In 1991 elections to the Lok Sabha, no party was in a position to secure a majority. The Congress got 225 seats and emerged as the single largest party. The BJP came second with 19 seats. In Jun, 1991, a minority government of the Congress was installed in office and it was in a position to hold power upto 1996. The 1996 and 1998 election produced Hung Lok Sabhas and between 1996-98 four government were formed and each one was a coalition government.

3. Establishment of two united Front Governments 1996-98 and Coalition Politics: In the 1996 elections, the BJP emerged as the single largest party with 161 Lok Sabha seats and the Congress came second with 140 seats. The President invited the BJP to form a government which was done but this government could last for only 13 days. Thereafter, several political parties (JD, CPI, CPM, Congress (Tiwari), DMK, TDP, TMC, ML) organized a United Front and elected Sh. H.D. Deve Gowda as its leader. It also prepared a Common Minimum Programme (CMP). After the resignation of the BJP government on 28th May, 1996, the United Front staked its claim to form the government. The Congress decided to extend to it support from outside. Consequently, the United Front formed its government and it was a coalition government. The CPI joined this government while the CPM decided to give it only outside support.

The United Front government of PM H.D. Deve Gowda could last for about a year and during this period it tried to implement the policies and programmes contained in the CMP. However, dependence upon the Congress to implement the policies and due to some internal contradictions, it could not work very effectively. In April 1997, it had to be replaced by the second United Front government under the Prime Ministership of Sh. I.K. Gujral, under pressure from Congress in favour of change of leadership. The second United Front government was again a coalition government and dependent upon the Congress support. It could work smoothly for only six months and after the withdrawal of support by the Congress in November 1998, it became a caretaker government. During June 1996 to March 1998, coalition politics remained operational. As constituents of the United Fronts, regional parties like the TDP, DMK and AGP became very active and played a key role, both in decision-making as well as in the selection of the leader of the coalition. However, lack of coordination among the coalition partners and the pressure tactics adopted by the Congress kept the activities and functions of the two coalition governments circumscribed.

4. BJP-led Coalition Government March 1998 to April 1999:

The 1998 elections again produced a Hung Lok Sabha with BJP as the single largest party with 182 seats and its alliance got a total of 253 seats. The Congress got 140 seats and came second. The BJP-led alliance (BJP, SAD, Shiv Sena, AIADMK, BJB, Lok Shakti, DMK, Janata Party, JP, BJP and others) formed a coalition government under the Prime Ministership of Sh. Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The TDP, and Trinamool Congress extended its support from outside. On 19th March, 1998, the BJP-led alliance formulated and adopted the National Agenda for Governance (NAG) listing the agreed policies, programmes and decisions of the alliance. Right from day one, this coalition government found the going difficult both because of the problem of coordination among alliance partners in general as well as due to the pressure tactics and irresponsible attitude of its ally AIADMK and the Janata Party. The government found it difficult to have a smooth

sailing and consequently found it problematic to implement the NAG. It, however, took the decision to make India a nuclear power as well as a missile power (Five Nuclear testes were conducted on May 11 & 13, 1998).

By April 1999, there developed serious differences between it and the AIADMK. The latter decided to leave the government and withdraw its support. Consequently, the coalition got Reduced to a minority. The president called upon the government to seek a confidence vote in the Lok Sabha. The BJP-led coalition government failed to secure the confidence vote on 19th April, 1999, This led to the resignation of the government. The failure of other parties to form an alternative government paved the way for the dissolution of the Lok Sabha. The BJP-led coalition government, thereafter became a caretaker government. It continued to perform this role upto 12th October, 1999 and had to lead the country during the Kargil war (May-July 1999). This coalition exercise was neither a fully successful operation and nor even a fully unsuccessful exercise.

5. Working of National Democratic Alliance Government From 1999 to May 2004 and Coalition Politics: The election for the 13th Lok Sabha were held in September-October 1999. Prior to these the BJP formed an alliance-the Natinal Democratic Alliance (NDA) with 23 other parties and adopted a common election manifesto. Later on, the Janata Da(United) also joined this alliance. The Congress made electoral arrangements or understanding with some political parties (CPI, BSP, RJD, RPI and AIADMK) in different states, but did not try to forge a full alliance. The left front , particularly the CPM tried to revive the Third Front, but with little success. The emerging Indian political scene reflected the possibility of the rise of three groups in the Indian party system.

In these elections, the NDA was in a position to secure a simple majority-296 seats in the 13th Lok Sabha. Later on, the National Conference and some other elected MPs decided to join it and its majority improved to 304 seats. On 13th October, 1999, the

NDA government-the BJP-led NDA government under Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, came to power, Initially 70 ministers were inducted in Council of Ministers, but a few days later 4 more ministers were added. The jumbo size of the ministry reflected fully the large number of constituents of the NDA- a coalition of 24 parties. The NDA coalition government tried to rule the country by implementing the policies and programmes contained in the NDA election manifesto. The NDA was a large sized alliance and it had to remain face to face with the problem of coordination among all the alliance partners. The coalition politics remained at work and it reflected the problem of governance by a large coalition alliance. The regional parties always tried to get more and more doles/advantages- TDP for Andhra, Trinamool Congress for West Bengal, DMK for Tamil Nadu and SAD for Punjab. The NDA Coalition did provide a stable government to the country but at the same time it had to face repeated challenges and threats from its coalition partners, even from the Shiv Sena. It tried to rule by consensus but the exercise was always difficult. It got reflected over such issues as CTBT, Women Reservation Bill, Bofors, Ayodhya Ram Mandir, the need to contain communalism, terrorism, violence and corruption.

6. Working of United Progressive Alliance Coalition Government from May 22, 2004 to date: In May 2004, a new coalition government- the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government replaced the BJP-led coalition government. It was a 19 party coalition government (CPM and CPI gave it support from outside.) After its installation, the UPA government worked quite smoothly till July 2008 when over the issue of signing the Indo-US Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement the Left Parties decided to withdraw its support from the UPA government. There upon the Congress was in a position to win the support of JMM and Samajwadi Party and to win a confidence vote in the Lok Sabha. This enabled the Congress-led UPA coalition government to complete its full term of five years. It created institutional mechanisms like National Advisory Council

and the Co-ordination Committee to overcome its political difficulties.

However, during May 2004 to July 2008 the dependence of Congress-led UPA coalition government for support on CPM, CPI and some parties, did act as a source of some limitation on its working. Further, some of its regional partners also tried to influence its policies and decisions and this gave rise to the possibility of regionalization of national decision-making process. However, the leadership of PM Manmohan Singh and UPA chairperson Smt. Sonia Gandhi enabled this coalition government to overcome some of its difficulties. In July 2008, the Left Parties withdrew their support to this coalition government. However it was successful in getting support from JMM, the SP (Mulayam) and some others. This enabled it to win a trust vote from the Lok Sabha. There after it quite successfully met the grave security situation resulting from terrorist attacks in Mumbai. The UPA successfully completed its full tenure of five years.

In April-May elections for the 15th Lok Sabha were held and in these, the Congress-led UPA was again in a position to get a majority. It even improved its strength in the Lok Sabha and was now not dependent on the support of either the Left Parties or of some other parties like the RJD, LJP and SP(Mulayam). The loss of some popularity and seats by its opponent alliance, the BJP-led NDA, further gave it an additional strength. In June 2009, the second Congress-led UPA government came to be organized. It was held to be a more stable and strong coalition government. It has been now quite efficiently carrying out its work under the leadership of PM Manmohan Singh and his team of ministers. The organization of this coalition government has once again demonstrated the fact that the era of coalition governments has finally arrived in India, even though the Congress has been trying hard, under the leadership of Rahul Gandhi, to regain its traditional strong position in Indian politics.

However still, no one can deny or ignore the compulsions of coalition politics. The organization of a jumbo sized Council of

Ministers and the problem of distribution of portfolios among the coalition partners have reflected this fact. Nevertheless, no one deny the fact this coalition has the potential to deliver good governance under the Prime Ministership of Dr. Manmohan Singh. The strong position of the Congress in this coalition and its freedom from the interferences of the Left Parties (which was the case during May2004 to July2008) has given rise to the optimism that this coalition government will be a stable government and work hard for making India a fully developed country and a super power in the world.

Check your progress 3

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. What is the name of the present coalition party functioning in our country?

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Q2. In which year was the first coalition party formed at the centre in India?

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5.4.2 COALITION POLITICS AT STATE LEVEL

1. Kerela: While coalition politics at the central level has been relatively a recent phenomenon, at the state level it has been in operation right after the first general elections(1952) when the Congress formed a coalition government in Kerela. In 1954, the CPI-led coalition government replaced this congress-led coalition.

Since that time Kerala has been living with coalition-rules. Even at present, Kerala is being governed by the LDF coalition.

2. West Bengal: In West Bengal also, the Left Front- a coalition of left parties led by the CPM has been continuously in power since 1977. A coalition government under CPM leadership has been ruling West Bengal for more than 30 years. It appears that coalition politics has got firm roots in West Bengal. Elections held in May 2006 fully demonstrated it. However, after the big decline of popularity and seats suffered by the CPM CPI and other Left Parties, the position of Left Coalition in West Bengal now appears to somewhat weak. But the Left Parties can regain their popularity by resolving their internal disagreements. West Bengal is destined to be ruled in future either by the Left coalition or the Congress-Trinmool coalition.

3. Punjab: In Punjab, the first coalition government was organized by the SAD and Jana Sangh after the Fourth General Elections. However, this coalition failed to work properly due to two main factors: (i) the emergence of strong differences between the Akhil and the Jana Sangh; and (ii) a split in the Akali Dal. In 1972, the Congress was in a position to get majority in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha and it formed a government-which remained in power till 1977. In 1977, the SAD and the Jana Sangha secured a majority and both the parties formed the government, However, this coalition could last only upto 1980, when fresh elections were held in which the Congress returned to power and ruled the state till 1985. in 1985, the SAD came to power, but if failed to hold power due to internal factionalism and groupism. Punjab, once again came under President Rule which continued upto 1992. In 1992 elections, the Congress got a clear majority and formed the government. This government completed its full tenure of five years.

The 1997 elections to the Punjab Vidhan Sabha were contested by the SAD and BJP in an alliance. This alliance was in a position to get a thumping majority. In fact the SAD was in a position to secure a majority of seats of its own. However, it decided to exercise power in alliance with the BJP. This coalition

ruled Punjab for five years 1977-2002. Both the coalition partners were in position to coordinate their efforts and views. However, the SAD continued to live with internal factionalism and splits. In 1999, the Tohra faction formed an separate political party SHSAD and Ravi Inder Singh faction started posing problems for the SAD. It was because of such a situation well as due to the inability of the coalition government to work very effectively that the alliance failed to fair well in the September 1999 Lok Sabha elections. In February 2002 Punjab Vidhan elections, the SAD-BJP alliance suffered a defeat at the hands of the Congress. However after five years of Congress rule (February 2002 to Feb. 2007) Punjab witnessed the return of SAD-BJP coalition rule. Presently, Punjab continues to live with coalition politics.

Apart from this, we also need to mention some other states, where coalition politics was duly experienced. These states include Haryana, U.P, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Jammu & Kashmir, Manipur, Assam, Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Goa.

From this review, it becomes fully evident that coalition politics has finally come to characterize Indian political system.

Check your Progress 4

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1.In Punjab which parties got together to form a coalition government?

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Q2.Name two states in North East India, which had experienced coalition politics?

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5.5 LET US SUM UP

In fact, coalition politics has become a feature of Indian Political system. All the national level parties are now fully aware of the fact that neither of them can individually get a majority (at the centre), at least in the near future. Several states are presently living with coalition governments. The coalition era has really dawned in India. All political parties accept this reality. In fact coalition politics involve power sharing between national level and regional level political parties, has been acting as a good source for the emergence of collaborative, cooperative, and competitive approach in Indian federal politics.

KEY WORDS

Coalition: temporary alliance of political parties for combined action.

Alliance: union or agreement to cooperate.

Manifesto: Public declaration of policies and aims.

Stringent: strict and precise.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS/ARTICLES

Ogg, F.A, *Coalitions in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol.2.*

Chabbra, H.K, *Government and Politics in India.*

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- After the fourth Lok Sabha elections of 1967.

Ans: to Q2.

- The gradual increase in the number active political parties both at the centre and the states led to the emergence of coalition politics.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- At time when no party is in a position to get a majority some parties form a coalition for organizing a government. The coalition partners then share the exercise of power of the state. It is called a power-sharing or post-poll coalition government.
- Before or after the organization of a coalition government, the coalition partners prepare a common programme which incorporate a set of mutually agreed politics and principles. The exercise of power is undertaken for implementing the agreed policies and programmes. In case the coalition alliance or group is organized before the elections, a common election manifesto is prepared, adopted and released.
- The coalition group / alliance either elects or selects a coalition leader in advance or elects such a leader after the elections. The coalition government is organized under the leadership of such a person.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- It is the United Progressive Alliance.

Ans: to Q2.

- The first coalition party at the centre was formed in the year 1977.

Check Your Progress 4

Your answer should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Siromani Akali Dal and Jana Sangh

Ans: to Q2.

- Manipur and Assam.

BLOCK 5
DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALISATION IN INDIA

UNIT 1
RURAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA
DURING 1954-1992

STRUCTURE

- 1.0 Objective
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Local Self – Government in India
 - 1.2.1 Rural Local Government in India: Panchayat Raj
 - 1.2.2 Working of Panchayati Raj During 1954-1992: Defects
- 1.3 Let Us Sum Up

Key Words

Some Useful Books/Articles

Answers To Check Your Progress

1.0 OBJECTIVE

In this unit, you should be able to:

- *discuss* the establishment of Rural local government in India in the form of Panchayati Raj system.
- *describe* the working of Panchayati Raj from 1954-1992 and its various defects.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The success of a democratic system largely depends upon the existence and efficient operation of a system of Local Self – Government at the grassroots levels. Local self Government, which is also known as ‘Local Government’ is a system of direct and active involvement of the people of a local area into the administration of local affairs, for the satisfaction of local needs with the help of local resources and through organized local efforts. The father of the nation always believed in the establishment of Panchayati Raj and decentralisation rather than centralisation of power and authority. Accordingly, the Constitution makers, in the Directive Principles of State Policy enjoined upon the governments, both in the centre as well as in the states, that the Panchayati Raj institutions should be established as quickly as possible so that the people in the grassroots could get an opportunity to device plans for their self development. So, in this unit we shall take a detail account of this aspect.

1.2 LOCAL SELF – GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

Local Self-Government is always a means for providing political education and training to the people without which they cannot become well-functioning and active participants in the democratic system. Through their participation in the administration of Local Self Government, the people get psychologically and socially involved in the process of politics and their achievements at the local level always contribute towards the

achievement of the goal of nation – building. Local Self-Government provides a very useful opportunity to the people for receiving self-education and training. It has been because of this quality that all the political scientists accept and advocate the importance of Local Self – Government as the training school for democracy and development. The constitution of India gave a directive to the state to establish, maintain and operationalise a system of Local Government, and the Indian state has been maintaining a system of Local Government in both Urban and Rural areas. In fact, each part of India whether Urban or Rural, is being locally administered for the satisfaction of local needs by a Local Government.

1.2.1 RURAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA : PANCHAYAT RAJ

Rural Local Government in India is Known by the popular name Panchayati Raj. It has been in operation since the early years of independence and it has the responsibility to satisfy the local needs and aspirations of the rural people who constitute more than 70 % of the whole population. The India state acting under the constitution directive given under Art 40 (To organize village panchayat and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government) took immediate steps for systematically organizing Panchayati Raj in India.

A) Establishment of Panchayati Raj in India.

Organisation of Panchayati Raj in India came as a revolutionary step in the direction of democratic decentralisation and rural development. The launching of Community Development Programme on 2nd October, 1952 set the stage for the organization of Panchayati Raj. On 2nd October, 1953 the National Extension Service was launched. These were initiated as government programmes but were designed to secure the involvement of the rural people in the task of rural development. However, the inadequate success registered by these programmes during the first Five year Plan period necessitated the need to review their

working. This task was assigned to the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee.

In October 1957, this Committee submitted its report and suggested the organisation of Panchayat Raj System. It was to act both as an instrument of rural local self –government as well as community development. The committee recommended the creation of a three tier structure – panchayat at the village level, Panchayat Samiti at the block level and Zila parishad at the district level – for securing the objectives of local self – government and rural development through the efforts of the rural community under the guidance and help of the government.

The recommendations of Balwant Rai Mehta Committee were accepted by the National Development Council in 1958 and the Central Government called upon the States to implement these recommendations in their respective areas through appropriate legal enactments. On 2nd October, 1959, Rajasthan came to be first State of the Union to provide for Panchayati Raj. Likewise the other states also India came under Panchayati Raj System. It still continues to be in operation.

B) Organisation Structure of Panchayati Raj: Panchayati Raj is a three tier system designed to secure the creation of institutions of self-government.

- I. Panchayat at the village level acting as a directly elected local organization entrusted with the task of securing local needs and civic amenities for the people living in the village, i.e. the Panchayat area.
- II. Panchayat Samiti at the block level acting at the intermediate level as the main agency for handling the community development programmes designed for securing the development of rural areas. It is constituted by representative of the panchayat areas which fall within a block and some ex-office members. It has at its disposal a team of trained officials headed by a BDPO.
- III. Zilla Parishad at the district level forms the third tier of the Panchayati Raj. It performs, in most of the States, a coordinating role. It coordinates the working of Panchayati Samities working within a district.

Check your progress 1
Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. The creation of which programme finally set the stage for the creation of Panchayati Raj in India?

Q2. Name the three specific division under the Panchayati Raj System as was recommended by the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee?

1.2.2 WORKING OF PANCHAYATIRAJ DURING 1954-1992: DEFECTS

It was in 1959 that Panchayati Raj, as modelled on the recommendation of the B.R Mehta Committee, was first introduced in Rajasthan. By 1968, almost all the states of Indian Union had introduced it in their respective areas. Since, each state passed its own acts for implementation, there came to be several features of Panchayati Raj introduced by them. However, they all kept the recommendations of the B.R Mehta Committee report intact. Most of the states adopted the three tier system, while some brought about some changes in the functions of the respective organs. In orissa, the District Advisory Council was established in 1969 in place of the Zilla Parishad.

During 1959-1992, the Panchayati raj worked successfully in achieving its objectives but only in some respects. However its working also brought about some short comings which prevented it from becoming fully successful. It virtually failed to produce a

qualitative change in rural India. living standards in rural India improved but that too partially and only in some states. It was mainly because the Panchayati Raj system had to face several hindrances in its way. Socio-economic limitations adversely affected its operation.

The different hindrances faced by the institution in this period (1959-1992) can be summarised under the following points:

- 1) Illiteracy and ignorance
- 2) Inexperienced representatives.
- 3) Groupism and factionalism
- 4) Lack of political awareness
- 5) Lack of funds for these institutions.
- 6) Ineffectiveness of Gram Sabha.
- 7) Party politics.
- 8) Benefits mostly went to the superior class.
- 9) Structural defects such as lack of adequate powers for the panchayat samitis, lack of trained and efficient staff, excessive government interferences, small area of the block, lack of good relation between the panchayati raj staff and the rural people etc etc.

All these hindrances were mainly responsible for the inadequate success of panchayati raj institution in that period.

Check your progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Enlist atleast four defects in the working of the panchayats in the period between 1959-1992?

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1.3 LET US SUM UP

Thus, we have seen how the desire for decentralising the Indian polity finally led to the formation of local self government in India. It can be remarked that, it indeed was a very positive approach in achieving the principles of democracy. But then again we have seen the several difficulties on the part of the government as well as the people led to its failure, though it revived later on.

KEY WORDS

Decentralisation: transfer of power from central to local authority.

Groupism: politics of different groups.

Ignorance: lack of knowledge.

Intermediate: coming between two things, place, time, people etc.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS/ARTICLES

Maheshwari, S.R, *Rural development in India*.

Rao, V.K.R.V, *Socialism in India*.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- It was the launching of the Community Development Programme on 2nd October, 1952.

Ans: to Q2.

- Panchayat at the village level.

- Panchayat Samiti at the block level.
- Zilla Parishad at the district level.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Illiteracy and ignorance
- Inexperienced representatives.
- Groupism and factionalism
- Lack of political awareness

UNIT 2

73 RD AMENDMENT 1992 ACT

STRUCTURE

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 The 73rd Amendment Act
- 2.3 Eleventh Schedule (Article 243g)
- 2.4 Let Us Sum Up

Key Words

Some Useful Books/Articles

Answers To Check Your Progress

2.0 OBJECTIVE

This unit shall help you to:

- *describe* the 73rd Amendment Act passed in the year 1992
- *explain* the Eleventh Schedule under the Indian Constitution.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

For eliminating the defects noticed in the working of Panchayat Raj as well as for giving a wider representing base and more powers to the Panchayati Raj institutions, the Parliament enacted the 73rd Amendment Act, 1992. Its purpose was to revamp the Panchayati Raj in such a way as should ensure its regular, active and efficient working in the rural areas and enable it to help the process of rapid socio-economic development of rural India. The new Act maintained the three tier structure of Panchayati Raj but at the same time amended their compositions and powers.

2.2 THE 73RD AMENDMENT ACT

As already mentioned above the 73rd Amendment Act, 1992 was mainly enacted to revamp the Panchayati Raj institution in our country. Let us take a look into the provisions of the Act.

The following have been the main provisions of the 73 rd Amendment Act.

- (A) Gram Sabha.** A Gram Sabha may exercise such powers and perform such functions at the village level as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide.
- (B) Constitution of Panchayat.** (1) There shall be constituted in every State, Panchayats at the village, intermediate and district levels in accordance with the provisions of this part. (2) Notwithstanding anything in clause (1), Panchayats at the intermediate level may not be constituted in a State having a population not exceeding twenty lakhs.

(C) Composition of Panchayat.

- (1) Subject to the provisions of this Part, the Legislature of a State may, by law, make provisions with respect to the composition of Panchayats :

Provided that the ratio between the population of the territorial area of a Panchayat at any level and the number of seats in such Panchayat to be filled by elections shall so far as practicable, be the same throughout the State.

- (2) All the seats in the panchayat shall be filled by person chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the panchayat area and for the purpose, each panchayat area shall be divided into territorial constituencies in such manner that the ratio between the population of each constituency and the number of seats allotted to it shall, so far as practicable, be the same throughout the panchayat area.

(3) The Legislature of a state may, by law provide for the representation;

- Of the chairpersons of the panchayat at the village level, in the panchayats at the intermediate level or, in the case of a state not having panchayats, at the district level:
- Of the chairpersons of the Panchayats at the intermediate level, in the Panchayats at the district level;
- Of the members of the House of the People and the members of the Legislative Assembly of the State representing constituencies which comprise wholly or partly a Panchayat area at a level other than the village level, in such Panchayat.
- Of the members of the council of States and the members of the Legislative Council of the state, where they are registered as electors within :
 - (i) A Panchayat area at the intermediate level :
in Panchayat at the intermediate level.

(ii) A Panchayat area at the district level, in Panchayat at the district level.

(4) The chairperson of a Panchayat and other members of a Panchayat whether or not chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the Panchayat area shall have the right to vote in the meetings of the Panchayats.

(5) The Chairperson of –

(a) A panchayat at the village level shall be elected in such manner as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide ; and

(b) A Panchayat at the intermediate level or district level shall be elected members thereof.

(D) Reservation of Seats.

(1) Seats shall be reserved for –

(a) The Scheduled Castes ; and

(b) The Scheduled Tribes in every Panchayat and the number of seats so reserved shall bear , as nearly as may be, the same proportion as the population to the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in the panchayat as the population of the Scheduled Castes in that panchayat area or of the Scheduled Tribes in the Panchayat area bears to the total population of that area and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat.

(1) Not less than one third of the total number of seats reserved under clause (1) shall be reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes or, as the case may be, the Scheduled Tribes.

(2) Not less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for woman belonging to the Scheduled Casts and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat shall be reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a panchayat.

- (3) The offices of the Chairpersons in the panchayat at the village or any other level shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and women in such manner as the Legislature of a State may, by law provide.
- (4) Provided that the number of offices of Chairpersons reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the Panchayats at each level in any State shall bear, as near as may be, the same proportion to the total number of such offices in the panchayat at each level as the population of the Scheduled Castes in the State or of the Scheduled Tribes in the State bears to the total population of the state:

Provided further that the number of offices reserved under this clause shall be allotted by rotation to different Panchayat at each level.

(5) The reservation of seats under clauses (1) and (2) and the reservation of offices of Chairpersons (other than the reservation for women) under clause (4) shall cease to have effect on the expiration of the period specified in Article 334.

(6) Nothing in this part shall prevent the <+> Legislature of a State from making any provision for reservation of seats in any Panchayat or offices of Chairpersons in the Panchayat at any level in favour of backward class of citizens.

(E) Duration of Panchayats etc.

(1) Every Panchayat, unless sooner dissolved under any law for the time being in force, shall continue for five years from the date appointed for its first meeting and no longer.

(2) No amendment of any law for the time being in force shall have the effect of causing dissolution of a Panchayat at any level, which is functioning immediately before such amendment, till the expiration of its duration specified in clause (1).

(3) An election to constitute a panchayat shall be completed –

- (a) before the expiry of its duration specified in clause (1)

(b) before the expiration of a period of six months from the date of its dissolution :

Provided that where the remainder of the period for which the dissolved Panchayat would have continued is less than six months, it shall not be necessary to hold any election under this clause for constituting the panchayat for such period.

(5) A Panchayat constituted upon the dissolution of a Panchayat before the expiration of its duration shall continue only for the remainder of the period for which the dissolved Panchayat would have continued under clause (1) had it not been so dissolved.

(F) Disqualifications for membership. (1) A person shall be disqualified for being chosen as, and for being member of a panchayat:

(a) If he is so disqualified by or under any law for the time being in force for the purpose of elections to the Legislature of the state concerned:

Provided that no person shall be disqualified on the ground that he is less than twenty five years of age, if he has attained the age of twenty-one years ;

(b) If he is so disqualified by or under, any law made by the Legislature of the State.

(c) If any question arises as to whether a member of a panchayat has become subject to any of the disqualifications mentioned in clause (1) the question shall be referred for the decision of such authority and in such manner as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide.

(G) Powers, authority and responsibility of Panchayat.

Subject to the provisions of the Constitution, the Legislature of a State may, by law endow the Panchayats with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self government and such law may contain provisions for the devolution of powers and responsibility upon Panchayats at the

appropriate level, subject to such conditions as may be specified therein with respect to –

- (a) The preparation of plans for economic development and social justice;
- (b) The implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice as may be entrusted to them including those in relation to the matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule.

**(H) Powers to impose taxes by any Funds of the panchayats.
The Legislature of a State may, by law:**

- (a) Authorize a panchayat to levy, collect and appropriate such taxes, duties, tolls and fees in accordance with such procedure and subject to such limits;
- (b) Assign to a Panchayat such taxes, duties, tolls and fees levied and collected by the State Government for such purpose and subject to such condition and limits ;
- (c) Provide for making such grants-in-aid to the panchayat from the Consolidated Fund of the State; and
- (d) Provide for constitution of such Funds of the crediting all moneys received, respectively, by or on behalf of the Panchayats and also for the withdrawal of such moneys therefrom as may be specified in the law.

(I) Constitution of Finance Commission to review financial position. (1) The Governor of a State shall, as soon as may be within one year from the commencement of the Constitution (Seventy – third Amendment) Act, 1992 and thereafter at the expiration of every fifth year, constitute a Finance Commission to review the financial position of the panchayats and to make recommendations to Governor as to:

(a) The principals which should govern :

- (i) The distribution between the State and the panchayats of the net proceeds of the taxes, duties, tolls and fees leviable by the state, which may be

divided between them under this Part and the allocation between the panchayat at all levels of their respective shares of such proceeds;

- (ii) The determination of the taxes, duties, tolls and fees which may be assigned to or appropriated by, the panchayat; and
 - (iii) The grants-in-aid to the panchayat from the Consolidated fund of the State;
- (b) The measures needed to improve the financial position of the Panchayats ; and
- (c) Any other matter referred to the Finance Commission by the Governor in the interests of sound finance of the Panchayat.

(2) The legislature of a State may, by law provide for the composition of the Commission, the qualifications, which shall be requisite for appointments as members thereof and manner in which they shall be selected.

(3) The Commission shall determine their procedure and shall have such powers in the performance of their functions as the legislature of the State may, by law, confer on them.

(4) The Governor shall cause every recommendation made by the Commission under this article together with an explanatory memorandum as to the action taken thereon to be laid before the Legislature of the State.

(J) Audit of account of Panchayat. The Legislature of a State may by law, make provision with respect to the maintenance of accounts by the panchayats and the auditing of such accounts.

(K) Elections to the Panchayat. (1) The superintendence, direction and control of the preparation of electoral rolls for and the conduct of all elections to the Panchayat all be vested in a State Election Commission Consisting of a State Election Commissioner to be appointed by the Governor.

(2) Subject to the provisions of any law made by the Legislature of a state, the conditions of service and tenure of office

of the State Election Commissioner shall be such as the Governor may by rule determine.

Provided that the State election Commissioner shall not be removed from his office except in like manner and on the like grounds as judge of High Court and the conditions of service of the State Election Commissioner shall not be varied to his disadvantage after his appointment.

(2) The Governor of a State shall, when so requested by the State Election Commission make available to the State Election Commission such staff as may be necessary for the discharge of the functions conferred on the State Election Commission by clauses (1).

(3) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the Legislature of a State may by law make provision with respect to all matters relating to, or in connection with elections to the Panchayat.

(L) Application to Union Territories. The provisions of this part shall apply to the Union Territory, have effect as if the references to the Governor of a State were reference to the Administrator of the Union Territory appointed under Article 239 and reference to the Legislature or the Legislative Assembly, to that Legislative Assembly.

Provided that the President may, by public notification, direct that the provisions of this Part shall apply to any Union Territory or part thereof subject to such exceptions and modification as he may specify in the notification.

(M) Part not to apply to certain areas. Nothing in this Part shall apply to scheduled areas referred to in clause (1), and the tribal areas referred to in clauses (2), of Article 244.

(1) Nothing in this part shall apply to :

(a) the states of Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram :

(b) the Hill Areas in the State of Monipur for which District Council exists under any law for the time being in force.

(2) Nothing in this Part :

(a) relating to Panchayat at the district level shall apply to the hilly areas of the district of Darjeeling in the State of West Bengal for which Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council exists under any law for the time being in force.

(b) Shall be construed to affect the functions and powers of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council constituted under such law.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution :

(a) The Legislature of a State referred to in sub-clause (a) of clause (2) may, by law, extend this Part to that State, except the areas, if any referred to in clause (1), if the legislative Assembly of that State passes a resolution to that effect by a majority of the total membership of that House and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of that House present and voting:

(b) Parliament may, by law, extend the provisions of this part to the scheduled areas and the tribal areas referred to in clause (1) subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be specified in such law, and no such law shall be deemed to be an amendment of this Constitution for the purpose of Article 368.

(N) Continuance of existing laws and Panchayats, Notwithstanding anything in this Part, any provision of any law relating to panchayats in force in a State immediately before the commencement of the constitution (Seventy –Third) Amendment Act, 1992, which is inconsistent with the provisions of this part, shall continue to be in force until amended or repealed by a competent Legislature or other competent authority or until the expiration of one year from such commencement, whichever is earlier:

Provided that all the Panchayats existing immediately before each commencement shall continue till the expiration of their duration, unless sooner dissolved by a resolution passed to that effect by a Legislative Council, by each House of the Legislature of that State.

(O) Bar to interference by courts in electoral matter. Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution :

(a) The validity of any rule relating to the delimitation of constituencies or the allotment of seats for such constituencies,

made or purporting to be made under Article 243K, shall not be called in question in any court :

(b) No election to any panchayat shall be called in question except by an election petition presented to such authority and in such manner as is provided for by or under any law made by the Legislature of a State.

Amendment of Article 280, In clause (3) of Article 280 of the Constitution, after sub clause (b) the following sub clause shall be inserted , namely :

(b) The measure needed to augment the Consolidated fund of a State, to supplement the resources of the Panchayats in the State on the basis of the recommendations made by the Finance Commission of the State.

These were the main provisions of the Act.

Check your progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. What type of powers is entrusted upon the gram Sabha?

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2.2.1 Salient Features of 73rd Amendment Act

The main features of the 73rd Amendment Act have been :

1. Strengthening of Gram Sabha as the foundation level institution of Panchayati Raj.
2. To maintain and streamline the organization and functions of the three tiers of Panchayati Raj . Panchayati Raj i.e. Panchayat, Panchayat Samit and Zilla Parishad.

3. The states whose populations were less than 20 lacs were exempted from organizing the intermediate level i.e. Panchayat Samities.
4. Directs election of members of Panchayats, Panchayat Samities and Zilla Parishads and their heads (Sarpanches). However chairpersons of Panchayat Samities and Zilla Parishad were to be elected indirectly.
5. Reservation of seats in Panchayati Raj institutions for SCs, STs, women and women belonging to SCs & STs (1/3rd seats were reserved for women)
6. 1/3rd offices of Sarpanches of Panchayats and heads of Panchayt Samities and Zilla Parishads of a state were also reserved for women.
7. The Panchayati Raj institutions were to enjoy a fixed tenure of five years. In case of every dissolution, the new institution was to enjoy the remaining tenure of the previous institution.
8. Responsibility for conducting elections of Panchayati Raj institutions of a state was to be with the state election commission.
9. Panchayats were given more functions, additional finance and definite sources of revenue.

Each state was to constitute a finance commission after every five years. It was to review the financial position of Panchayats and make recommendations regarding the distribution of revenue between the state and the panchayats.

Check your progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Mention atleast four features of the 74th Amendment Act?

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2.3 ELEVENTH SCHEDULE (Article 243G)

The Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution was added and it enumerated 29 subjects which were to be within the jurisdiction of Panchayats.

- Agriculture, including agricultural extension.
- Land improvement, implementation of land reforms, land consolidation and soil conservation.
- Minor irrigation, water management and watershed development.
- Animal husbandry, dairying and poultry.
- Fisheries.
- Social forestry and farm forestry.
- Minor forest produce.
- Small scale industries, including food processing industries.
- Khadi, village and cottage industries.
- Rural housing.
- Drinking water.
- Fuel and fodder.
- Roads, culverts, bridge, ferries, waterways and other means of communication.
- Rural electrification, including distribution of electricity.
- Non-conventional energy sources.
- Poverty alleviation programme.
- Education, including primary and secondary schools.
- Technical training and vocational education.
- Adult and non-formal education.
- Libraries.
- Cultural activities.

- Markets and fairs.
- Health and sanitation, including hospitals, primary health centres and dispensaries.
- Family welfare.
- Woman and child development.
- Social welfare, including welfare of the handicapped and mentally retarded.
- Welfare of the weaker sections and in particular, of the scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.
- Public distribution system.
- Maintenance of community assets.

These were the provisions enlisted in the Eleventh Schedule.

Check your progress 3

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Enlist atleast five clause as enlisted in the Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution?

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2.4 LET US SUM UP

The enforcement of the 73rd Act marked the beginning of process of devolution of power and decentralisation of administrative experience. This constituted an important step in the drive towards the strengthening of the democratic process at the grassroots. In the main this act provided for reservation of seats for S.T's and S.C's in proportion to their population. Seats were also

reserved for women. It is indeed a major landmark in the history of grassroots politics in our country.

KEY WORDS

Delemitation: fix the limits or boundaries of.

Elevation: to bring to a higher position.

Conservation: preservation of the natural surrounding.

Consolidated: make or become strong or solid.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS/ARTICLES

Maheshwari, S.R, *Rural development in India.*

Khan, I.H, *Government in Rural India.*

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- The powers entrusted upon the Gram Sabha are similar to those of the Legislature in the States.

Check Your Progress 2

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Directs election of members of Panchayats, Panchayat Samities and Zilla Parishads and their heads (Sarpanches). However chairpersons of Panchayat Samities and Zilla Parishad were to be elected indirectly.
- Reservation of seats in Panchayati Raj institutions for SCs, STs, women and women belonging to SCs & STs (1/3rd seats were reserved for women)

- 1/3rd offices of Sarpanches of Panchayats and heads of Panchayat Samities and Zilla Parishads of a state were also reserved for women.
- The Panchayati Raj institutions were to enjoy a fixed tenure of five years. In case of every dissolution, the new institution was to enjoy the remaining tenure of the previous institution.

Check Your Progress 3

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Minor irrigation, water management and watershed development.
- Animal husbandry, dairying and poultry.
- Fisheries.
- Social forestry and farm forestry.
- Minor forest produce.

UNIT 3

URBAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

STRUCTURE

3.0 Objective

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Urban Local Government

3.2.1 The Constitution 74 The Amendment
Act 1992

3.3 Twelfth Schedule (Article 243w)

3.4 Let Us Sum Up

Key Words

Some Useful Books/Articles

Answers To Check Your Progress

3.0 OBJECTIVE

After learning about the 73rd Amendment Act, now you shall come to:

- *identify* the coming up local government in urban India.
- *state* the enactment of the 74th Amendment Act and its provisions.
- *describe* the Twelfth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

More than 26 per cent population of India lives in urban areas and a trend towards rapid urbanization has been distinctly visible. These are about 2500 towns in India and in each municipal town a unit of urban local government is at work. In big cities Municipal Corporation are at work and in other cities / urban areas. Municipal Councils are at work. For fast urbanizing areas which are currently and basically rural areas, Nagar Panchayats, Notified Area Committees and Town Area Committees have been established. For cantonments, Boards have been established. Besides these, some special institutions like Improvement Trusts, Port Trusts, Town Planning bodies, Urban Development Agencies, Housing Boards, have also been established. All these come under the domain of the Urban local government. So, now we shall deal with it in details.

3.2 URBAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Since the dawn of independence, the urban Local Government has been working at the grassroot level. Urban Local government is engaged in meeting local needs with local resources and through a local council organized by the local people. In 1992, the Constitution 74th Amendment Act was passed for revamping the Urban Local Government with a view to ensure for its stability,

more representativeness and more powerful role. A Study of Urban Local Government therefore must begin by studying the Constitution 74th Amendment Act 1992. So, let us first start with the 74th Amendment Act.

3.2.1 THE CONSTITUTION 74TH AMENDMENT ACT 1992

By this Act Part IX A was inserted in the Constitution. After defining the Municipal area and the Municipal, the Amendment Act lays down rules regarding the organization powers, functions and finances of the institutions of Urban Local Government.

These can be described as follows :

1. **Constitution of Municipalities:** (1) There shall be constituted in every State –
 - (a) A Nagar Panchayat (by whatever name called) for a transitional area, that is to say, an area in transition from a rural area to an urban area ;
 - (b) A Municipal Council for a smaller urban area ; and
 - (c) A Municipal Corporation for a larger urban area, in accordance with the provisions of this Part :

Provided that a Municipality under this clause may not be constituted in such and urban area or part thereof as the Government may, having regard to the size of the area and the municipal services being provided or proposed to be provided by an industrial establishment in that area and such other factors as he may deem fit, by public notification, specify to be and industrial township.

(2) In this Article, “a transitional area”, “a smaller urban area” or “a larger urban area” means such area as the Governor may, having regard to the population of the area, the density of the population therein, the revenue generated for local administration, the percentage of employment in non-agriculture activities, the economic importance or such other factors as he may deem fit specify by public notification for the purpose of this Part.

II. Composition of Municipalities.(1) Save as provided in clause (2), all the seats in a Municipality shall be filled by persons chosen by direct election from the territorial constituencies in the Municipal area and for this purpose each Municipal area shall be divided into territorial constituencies to be known as wards.

(2) The Legislature of a state may, by law, provide, -

(a) for the representation in a Municipality of

(i) Persons having special knowledge or experience in Municipal administration ;

(ii) The members of the House of the people and the members of the Legislative Assembly of the State representing constituencies which comprise wholly or partly the Municipal area;

(iii)The members of the council of States and the members of the Legislative Council of the State registered as electors within the Municipal area;

(iv) The Chairpersons of the Committees constituted under clause (5) of Article 243S :

Provided that the persons referred to in paragraph (i) shall not have the right to vote in the meetings of the Municipality;

(b)The manner of election of the Chairperson of a Municipality.

III. Constitution and Composition of Wards Committee, etc.

(1) There shall be constituted Wards Committees, consisting of one or more wards, within the territorial area of a Municipality having a population of three lakhs or more.

(2) The Legislature of a State may, by law, make provision with respect to-

(a) The composition and the territorial area of a ward Committee;

(b) The manner in which the seats in a Wards Committee shall be filled.

- (3) A member of a Municipality representing a ward within the territorial area of the wards Committee shall be a member of that committee.
- (4) Where a Wards committee of-
 - (a) One ward, the member representing that ward in the Municipality; or
 - (b) Two or more wards, one of the members representing such wards in the Municipality elected by the members of the Wards Committee shall be the chairperson of that committee.
 - (c) Nothing in this Article shall be deemed to prevent the Legislature of a State from making any provision for the constitution of Committees in addition to the Wards Committees.

I. Reservation of seats.

(1) Seats shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in every Municipality and the number of seats so reserved shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in that Municipality as the population of the scheduled Castes in the Municipal area or of the Scheduled Tribes in the Municipal area bears to the total population of that area and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality.

(2) Not less than one-third of the total number of seats reserved under clause (1) shall be reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes or, as the case may be, the scheduled Tribes.

(3) Not less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Municipality shall be reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality.

(4) The office of Chairpersons in the Municipalities shall be reserved for the scheduled Castes, the scheduled Tribes and

women in such manner as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide.

(5) The reservation of seats under clauses (1) and (2) and the reservation of office of Chairpersons (other than the reservation for women) under clause (4) shall cease to have effect on the expiration of the period specified in Article 334.

(6) Nothing in this Part shall prevent the Legislature of a State from making any provision for reservation of seats in any Municipality or office of Chairpersons in the Municipalities in favour of backward class of citizens.

V. Duration of Municipalities, etc.

(1) Every Municipality, unless sooner dissolved under any law for the time being in force, shall continue for five years from the date appointed for its first meeting and no longer :

Provided that a Municipality shall be given a reasonable opportunity of being heard before its dissolution.

(2) No amendment of any law for the time being in force shall have the effect of causing dissolution of a Municipality at any level, which is functioning immediately before such amendment, till the expiration of its duration specified in clause (1).

(3) An election to constitute a Municipality shall be completed, -

(a) Before the expiry of its duration specified in clause (1);

(b) Before the expiration of a period of six months from the date of its dissolution :

Provided that where the remainder of the period for which the dissolved Municipality would have continued is less than six months, it shall not be necessary to hold any election under this clause for constituting the Municipality for such period.

(4) A Municipality constituted upon the dissolution of Municipality before the expiration of its duration shall continue only for the remainder of the period for which the dissolved Municipality would have continued under clause (1) had it not been so dissolved.

VI. Disqualification for membership. (1) A person shall be disqualified for being chosen as, and for being a member of a Municipality –

- (a) If he is so disqualified by or under any law for the time being in force for the purposes of elections to the Legislature of the State concerned :

Provided that no person shall be disqualified on the ground that he is less than twenty-five years of age, if he has attained the age of twenty-one years;

- (b) If he is so disqualified by or under any law made by the Legislature of the State.

(2) If any question arises as to whether a member of a Municipality has become subject to any of the disqualifications mentioned in clause (1), the question shall be referred for the decision of such authority and in such manner as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide.

VII. Powers, authority and responsibilities of Municipalities etc. Subject to the provisions of this constitution, the Legislature of State may, by law endow –

- (a) The Municipalities with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-government and such law may contain provision for the devolution of powers and responsibilities upon Municipalities, subject to such conditions as may be specified therein, with respect to –

(i) The preparation of plans for economic development and social justice ;

(ii) The performance of functions and the implementation of schemes as may be entrusted to them including those in relation to the matter listed in the Twelfth scheduled;

- (b) The Committees with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to carry out the responsibilities conferred upon them including those

in relation to the matters listed in the Twelfth Schedule.

VIII. Power to impose taxes by, and funds of the Municipalities. The Legislature of a State may, by law –

- (a) Authority a Municipality to levy, collect and appropriate such taxes, duties, tolls and fees in accordance with such procedure and subject to such limits;
- (b) Assign to a Municipality such taxes, duties tolls and fees levied and collect by the State Government for such purpose and subject to such conditions and limits;
- (c) Provide for making such grants-in-aid to the Municipalities from the consolidated Fund of the State; and
- (d) Provide for constitution of such funds for crediting all moneys received respectively, by or on behalf of the Municipalities and also for the withdrawal of such moneys therefrom, as may be specified in the law.

IX. Finance Commission. (1) The Finance Commission constituted under Articles 243-I shall also review the financial position of the Municipalities and make recommendation to the Governor as to –

- (a) The principles which should govern -**
 - (i) The distribution between the State and the Municipalities of the net proceeds of the taxes, duties, tolls and fees levied by the State, which may be divided between them under this part and the allocation between the Municipalities at all levels of the respective shares of such products;
 - (ii) The determination of the taxes, duties, tolls and fees which may be assigned to or appropriated by the Municipalities;
 - (iii) The grants –in-aid to the Municipalities from the Consolidated Fund of the State;
- (b) The measure needed to improve the financial position of the Municipalities;

(c) Any other matter referred to the Finance Commission by the Governor in the interests of sound finance of the Municipalities.

(2) The governor shall cause every recommendation made by the commission under this Article together with an explanatory memorandum as to the action taken thereon to be laid before the Legislature of the state.

X. Audit of accounts of municipalities. The legislature of a state may, by law, make provisions with respect to the maintenance of accounts by the Municipalities and the audit of such accounts.

XI. Election to the Municipalities.(1) The superintendence direction and control of the preparation of electoral rolls for, and the conduct of, all election to the Municipalities shall be vested in the State Election commission referred to in Article 243 K.

(2) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the Legislature of a State may, by law, make Provision with respect to all matters relating to or in connection with, elections to the Municipalities.

XII. Application to Union Territories. The Provisions of this part shall apply to the Union territories and shall, in their application to a Union Territory, have effect as if the references to the Governor of a State were references to the Administrator of the Union territory appointed under Article 239 and reference to the Legislature or the Legislative Assembly of a State were references in relation to a Union territory having a Legislative Assembly to that Legislative Assembly :

Provided that the president may, by public notification, direct that the provisions of this part shall apply to any Union territory or part thereof subject to such exceptions and modifications as he may specify in the notification.

XIII. Part not to apply to certain areas. (1) Nothing in this part shall apply to the scheduled areas referred to in clause

(1) and the tribal areas referred to in clause (2), of Article 244.

(2) Nothing in this part shall be construed to affect the functions and powers of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council constituted under any law for the time being in force for the hill areas of the district of Darjeeling in the state of West Bengal.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in this constitution, parliament may, by law extend the provisions of this part to the scheduled areas and the tribal areas referred to in clause (1) subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be specified in such law, and no such law shall be deemed to be an amendment of this constitution for the purpose of Article 368.

XIV. Committee for District Planning. (1) There shall be constituted in every State at the district level a District Planning Committee to consolidate the plans prepared by the Panchayat and the Municipalities in the district and to prepare a draft development plan for the district as a whole.

(2) The Legislature of a State may, by law, make provision with respect to –

(a) the composition of the District Planning Committee;

(b) the manner in which the seats in such Committees shall be filled :

Provided that not less than four-fifths of the total number of members of such Committee shall be elected by , and from amongst, the elected members of the Panchayat at the district level and of the Municipalities in the district in proportion to the ration between the population of the rural areas and of the urban areas in the district;

(c) the functions relating to district planning which may be assigned to such Committees;

(d) The manner in which the chairpersons of such Committees shall be chosen.

(3) Every District Planning committee shall, in preparing the draft development plan, -

(a) have regard to –

(i) matters of common interest between the Panchayats and the Municipalities including spatial planning, sharing of water and other physical and natural resources, the integrated development of infrastructure and environmental conservation;

(ii) The extent and type of available resources whether financial or otherwise;

(b) Consult such institutions and organizations as the Government may, by order, specify.

(4) The Chairperson of every District Planning Committee shall forward the development plan, as recommended by such committee, to the Government of the state.

XV. Committee for Metropolitan planning. (1) There shall be constituted in every Metropolitan area a Metropolitan Planning committee to prepare a draft development plan for the Metropolitan area as a whole.

(2) The Legislature of a State may, by law make provision with respect to

(a) The composition of the Metropolitan planning Committees.

(b) The manner in which the seats in such Committees shall be filled :

(c) Provided that not less than two-thirds of the members of such Committee and be elected by, and from amongst, the elected members of the Municipalities and Chairpersons of the Panchayats in the Metropolitan area in proportion to the raion between the population of the Municipalities and of the Panchayat in that area.

(d)The representation in such Committees of the Government of India and the Government of the state and of such organizations and institutions and institutions as may be deemed necessary for carrying out of functions assigned to such Committees;

(e) The functions relating to planning and coordination for the Metropolitan area which may be assigned to such Committees;

(f) The manner in which the chairpersons of such Committee shall be chosen.

(3) Every Metropolitan Planning Committee shall, in preparing the draft development plan, -

(a) have regard to –

(i) The plans prepared by the Municipalities and the Panchayats, in the Metropolitan area;

(ii) Matters of common interest between the Municipalities and the Panchayats, including coordinated spatial planning of the area, sharing of water and other physical and natural resources, the integrated development of infrastructure and environmental conservation;

(iii) The overall objective and priorities set by the Government of India and the Government of the state ;

(iv) The extant and nature of investments likely to be made in Metropolitan area by agencies of the Government of India and of the Government of the State and other available resources whether financial or otherwise;

(b) consult such institutions an organizations as the Governor may, by order, specify.

4) The Chairperson of every Metropolitan Planning Committee shall forward the development plan as recommended by such Committee, to the Government of the State.

XVI. Continuance of existing Laws an Municipalities.

Notwithstanding anything in this part, any provision of any law relating to Municipalities in force in a State immediately before the commencement of the Constitution (Seventy-Forth Amendment) Act, 1992, which is inconsistent with the provisions of this Part, shall continue to be in force until amended or repealed by a competent Legislature or other competent authority or until

the expiration of one year from such commencement, which over is earlier:

Provided that all the Municipalities existing immediately before such commencement shall continue till the expiration of their duration, unless sooner dissolved by a resolution passed to that effect by the Legislative Assembly of that State or, in the case of a State having a Lagislative Council, by each House of the Legislature of that State.

XVII. Bar to interference by courts in electoral matters, Notwithstanding anything in this Consitution,-

- a) The validity of any law relating to the declimitation of constituencies or the allotment of seats to such constituencies, made or purporting to be made under Article 243ZA shall not be called in question in any court;
- b) (b) no election to any Municipality shall be called in question except by an election petition presented to such authority and in such manner as is provided for by or actions made by the Finance Commission of the State.

Check your progress 1

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. What are the clause for reservation of seats in the municipalities?

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Q2. What is the duration of functioning provided to municipalities?

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3.3 TWELFTH SCHEDULE(Article 243W)

The Twelfth Schedule of the Constitution provides for the following provisions:

1. Urban planning including town planning.
2. Regulation of land-use and construction of buildings.
3. Planning for economic and social development.
4. Roads and bridges.
5. Water supply for domestic, industrial and commercial purposes.
6. Public health, sanitation conservancy and solid waste management.
7. Fire services.
8. Urban forestry, protection of the environment and promotion of ecological aspects.
9. Safeguarding the interests of weaker sections of society, including the handicapped and mentally retarded.
10. Slum improvement and upgradation.
11. Urban poverty alleviation.
12. Provision of urban amenities and facilities such as parks, gardens, playgrounds.
13. Promotion of cultural, educational and aesthetic aspects.
14. Burials and burial grounds; cremations, cremation grounds and electric crematoriums.
15. Cattle pounds; prevention of cruelty to animals.
16. Vital Statistics including registration of births and deaths.

17. Public amenities including street lighting, parking lots, bus stops and public conveniences,

18. Regulation of slaughter houses and tanneries.”

Two provisions (243I &243K) of 73rd Amendment Act (Revamping of Panchayati Raj) were repeated in this Amendment Act. These laid down the provision regarding: constitution of Finance Commission for reviewing for finances and regular of elections for the local Government.

Check your progress 2

Note: Use the lines below for your answers.

Q1. Enlist atleast five provisions under the Twelfth Schedule of the Constitution?

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Q2. Which two provisions of the 73rd Amendment Act are repeated in the 74th Amendment Act?

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3.4 LET US SUM UP

After the passing of the 74th Amendment Act, all the states of the Union were to enact and amend their respective Municipal Acts. This work was accomplished by 1994. The Urban local governments in all states were organised in their new forms with effect from1994. Lastly, we can very well comment that with the commencement of this actthe urban set up in India became very systematic and organised.

KEY WORDS

Crematorium: Place for cremating corpses.

Notification: inform or give notice.

Urbanising: to convert an area into a town or a city.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS/ARTICLES

Maheshwari, S.R, *Rural development in India*.

Khan, I.H, *Government in Rural India*.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Seats shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in every Municipality and the number of seats so reserved shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in that Municipality as the population of the scheduled Castes in the Municipal area or of the Scheduled Tribes in the Municipal area bears to the total population of that area and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality.
- Not less than one-third of the total number of seats reserved under clause (1) shall be reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes or, as the case may be, the scheduled Tribes.
- Not less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Municipality shall be

reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality.

- The office of Chairpersons in the Municipalities shall be reserved for the scheduled Castes, the scheduled Tribes and women in such manner as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide.
- The reservation of seats under clauses (1) and (2) and the reservation of office of Chairpersons (other than the reservation for women) under clause (4) shall cease to have effect on the expiration of the period specified in Article 334.
- Nothing in this Part shall prevent the Legislature of a State from making any provision for reservation of seats in any Municipality or office of Chairpersons in the Municipalities in favour of backward class of citizens.

Ans: to Q2.

- Every Municipality, unless sooner dissolved under any law for the time being in force, shall continue for five years from the date appointed for its first meeting.

Check Your Progress 1

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- Urban planning including town planning.
- Regulation of land-use and construction of buildings.
- Planning for economic and social development.
- Roads and bridges.
- Water supply for domestic, industrial and commercial purposes.

Ans: to Q2.

- Two provisions (243I & 243K) of 73rd Amendment Act (Revamping of Panchayati Raj) were repeated in the 74th Amendment Act.

UNIT 4
GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER LOCAL
SELF-GOVERNMENT

STRUCTURE

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Government Control over the Local Government Bodies

4.3 Let Us Sum Up

Key Words

Some Useful Books/Articles

Answers To Check Your Progress

4.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be in a position to:

- *explain* the means by which the government controls the local self government bodies more specially the urban local government.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that local government bodies were created with the purpose of empowering the grassroots with decentralisation as the ultimate motive, the ground realities are somewhat different. The government has adopted several measures to control these bodies, which again is a limitation on the powers of these bodies. Let us now see, how the government tries to control the local bodies.

4.2 GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODIES

Although, the 73rd and the 74th Amendment of the Constitution has granted sufficient autonomy to rural and urban local government and these have been accorded constitutional status, these are not completely free from government control. The urban local government institutions work within the limits prescribed by the state municipal Act which creates and governs them.

Further, the state government exercise its control over these bodies in several other ways –

1. **Legislative Control:** Local bodies are set up by the laws passed by the legislature. Government can bring changes in their organization powers and functions through a law passed by the legislature.

2. **Financial Control:** Government undertakes the audit of the accounts of these local bodies from time to time for checking irregularities committed by these institutions while spending money. For raising loans from the financial institutions, Municipal councils have to seek the prior approval of the government.
3. **Control through Government Officials:** Executive Officers of urban local bodies are government officials and the government exercises its control over these bodies through these officials. Executive Officer and the Commissioner of Municipal Corporation are the key instruments of governmental control over the urban local bodies. The Director Urban Local Bodies also performs such a role.
4. **Power to Dismiss the Urban Local Institutions:** Under 74th amendment to the constitution, these institutions have been given a stable 5 years tenure. However, even then, if in the opinion of the government, an institution is not competent to perform its duties or persistently makes default in the performance of duties, the government can dismiss it even before the expiry of its term.
5. **Administrative Control :**(i) The Government can seek any report, record or information from the Municipal councils and corporations, (ii) The government can appoint any officer of its own to scrutinize and examine the work done by a Municipal Corporation Council (iii) The sanction in respect of the bye-laws passed by a Municipal Corporation/Council has to be obtained from the government, etc.

These were some of the measures adopted by the Government in order to control the local government bodies.

Check your progress 1
Note: Use the lines below for your answers.
Q1. Mention atleast three checks adopted by the Indian government to control the local bodies?
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4.3 LET US SUM UP

Thus, Indian Political system has within it as well-organised and well-functioning system of rural and urban local government. These grassroot level local government institutions serve as instruments for providing political education and training to the people of India or well as these act as very useful means for securing the socio-economic development of Indian villages and cities. No doubt their working has not been fully successful in sucuring the desired goals, nevertheless, they have the potential to develop and to become stronger and efficient organs of local development with local resources local efforts and local representatives. The Constitution 73rd and 74th Amendment Act have made a bold attempt to ensure their continuity, stability, representativeness and sutonomy to function as valuable systems of self-governance.

KEY WORDS

Irregularities: not regular, contrary to a rule, moral principle or custom.

Empowering: to authorise or to give power

Scrutinise: to examine carefully.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS/ARTICLES

Maheshwari, S.R, *Rural development in India*.

Sikri, S.L, *Indian Government and Politics*,2002,Kalyani Publishers,New Delhi.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Your answers should include the following points.

Ans: to Q1.

- **Legislative Control:** Local bodies are set up by the laws passed by the legislature. Government can bring changes in their organization powers and functions through a law passed by the legislature.
- **Financial Control:** Government undertakes the audit of the accounts of these local bodies from time to time for checking irregularities committed by these institutions while spending money.
- **Administrative Control :**(i) The Government can seek any report, record or information from the Municipal councils and corporations, (ii) The government can appoint any officer of its own to scrutinize and examine the work done.