

## CHAPTER 1-CHALLENGES OF NATION BUILDING

### INTRODUCTION

The first decade after India's independence was marked by significant challenges in nation-building. These challenges included the violence and displacement caused by partition, which tested the idea of a secular India. The integration of princely states into the Indian union required immediate attention. Additionally, new internal boundaries had to be drawn to accommodate the linguistic aspirations of the diverse population. Despite these formidable challenges, India successfully navigated these issues in the early years of its independence.

### CHALLENGES FOR THE NEW NATION

**Independence and its promise:** India attained **independence** on 14-15 August 1947 after a long struggle against British colonialism.

The main goals of the national movement were **democracy and social justice** for all, especially the poor and the marginalized groups.

**Obstacles and opportunities:** India faced many challenges after independence, such as **partition, violence, displacement, diversity, and development**.

The leaders and the people of India remained committed to the promise of freedom and embarked on a journey to achieve their objectives.

### THREE CHALLENGES

**National Unity and Diversity:** India was a diverse nation with different **languages, cultures, and religions**. The immediate challenge was to maintain **national unity** while respecting regional and sub-national identities.

The partition of the country raised concerns about the survival and integration of India.

**Establishment of Democracy:** The Indian Constitution granted **fundamental rights** and extended the **right to vote** to all citizens. The challenge was to develop democratic practices in line with the constitutional framework.

India adopted a **parliamentary form of government** to ensure political competition within a democratic framework.

**Development and Well-being of Society:** The Constitution emphasized **equality and special protection** for socially disadvantaged groups and religious and cultural communities.

The **Directive Principles of State Policy** outlined welfare goals for **economic development and poverty eradication**.

The challenge was to formulate effective policies to achieve these objectives and uplift the entire society.

### INDEPENDENT INDIA'S RESPONSE

**On 14-15 August 1947**, India and Pakistan were created as two separate nation-states through the process of partition.

The division was a result of the '**two-nation theory**' proposed by the **Muslim League**, which claimed that Hindus and Muslims were distinct peoples and needed separate countries.

The **Congress opposed this theory** and the demand for Pakistan. However, various political developments, competition between the Congress and the Muslim League, and British involvement eventually led to the decision to create Pakistan.

### PROCESS OF PARTITION

**Basis of Partition:** The division of India into India and Pakistan was based on the principle of **religious majorities**.

Areas with a **Muslim majority would form Pakistan**, while the rest would remain with India.

**Challenges of Partition:** However, implementing this division presented numerous difficulties.

There were **two areas of concentration** for Muslim-majority populations: **one in the west and one in the east of British India**.

These two parts could not be joined, so **Pakistan** was created as **two separate territories**: West and East Pakistan.

**Resistance to Partition:** **Not all Muslim-majority areas** wanted to be part of Pakistan, such as the **North Western Frontier Province led by Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan**.

The province was made to merge with Pakistan **despite opposition**.

**Bifurcation of Provinces:** The provinces of Punjab and Bengal had large areas with non-Muslim majorities, so they were bifurcated based on religious majorities at the district level.

The decision on partitioning these provinces caused **significant trauma and uncertainty** among the people.

### CONSEQUENCES OF PARTITION

**Violence and Displacement:** The **partition of India in 1947** led to one of the largest and tragic population transfers in human history.

Killings and atrocities occurred on both sides of the border, fueled by **religious divisions**.

**Cities like Lahore, Amritsar, and Kolkata** became divided into communal zones.

**People were forced to abandon their homes** and flee, experiencing **immense suffering**.

Minorities on both sides of the border sought temporary shelter in refugee camps.

During the journey, refugees faced attacks, killings, and instances of rape.

**Women were abducted** and forced into conversion and marriage, sometimes killed by their own family members for **"family honor."**

**Children were separated** from their parents, and refugees faced years of living in camps.

**Cultural and Emotional Impact:** Writers, poets, and filmmakers have depicted the ruthlessness of killings and the trauma of displacement, referring to Partition as a **"division of hearts."**

Beyond the administrative and financial divisions, the Partition led to a violent separation of communities who had previously lived together.

Approximately **8 million people** were forced to migrate across the new border, with an estimated **500,000 to 1 million deaths** due to Partition-related violence.

**Identity and Secularism:** The Partition raised questions about **India's identity as a Hindu nation** and how it would treat its Muslim citizens and religious minorities.

Competing political interests and organizations sought to protect the interests of specific religious communities.

Most national movement leaders believed in equal treatment of all religions, leading to the ideal of a **secular nation** enshrined in the Indian Constitution.

### INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATE

During British rule, **British India was divided into two main categories**: the British Indian Provinces, directly under British control, and the Princely States, ruled by local princes who accepted British supremacy.

**The Princely States enjoyed** some degree of internal autonomy as long as they acknowledged the paramountcy or suzerainty of the British crown.

Princely States covered a **significant portion of the British Indian Empire's land area**, and a quarter of the Indian population lived under princely rule.

### PROBLEM OF INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATE

**The British Decision:** The British announced that with the end of their rule over India, paramountcy of the British crown over Princely States would also lapse.

This meant that all these states would become **legally independent**.

The British government left the decision of joining India or Pakistan or remaining independent to the princely rulers of these states, not to the people.

**The Challenge for India:** This was a serious problem and could threaten the **unity and democracy** of India.

Some rulers of Princely States, such as Travancore, Hyderabad, and Bhopal, announced their intention to remain independent or were averse to joining the Constituent Assembly.

This posed a challenge for the nation building process in India.

### India Before And After Partition



### GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH

**Role of Sardar Patel:** The interim government, led by Sardar Patel, opposed the division of India into small principalities.

The **Muslim League advocated for the states** to have the freedom to choose their own course.

Sardar Patel played a crucial role as India's Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister in negotiating with the rulers of princely states.

**Guiding Principles:** The government's approach was guided by three considerations:

**The desire of the people** in most princely states to become part of the Indian union.

**Flexibility in granting autonomy** to certain regions to accommodate plurality.

Given the backdrop of Partition and contest over territory, integration and consolidation of territorial boundaries were of supreme importance.

**Outcomes:** Peaceful negotiations led to most states contiguous to India's new boundaries joining the Indian Union.

The rulers of most states signed the **"Instrument of Accession,"** agreeing to be part of the Union of India. The cases of **Junagadh, Hyderabad, Kashmir, and Manipur** posed challenges and required resolution.

Junagadh's issue was resolved through a plebiscite confirming the people's desire to join India.

## HYDERABAD

**Nizam's Ambition:** Hyderabad State was the largest of the Princely States and was ruled by the Nizam, one of the world's richest men.

The Nizam wanted an **independent status** for Hyderabad and entered into a Standstill Agreement with India in November 1947.

**People's Movement:** A movement of the people of Hyderabad State against the Nizam's rule gathered force, led by the Communists and the Hyderabad Congress. The peasantry in the Telangana region and women joined the movement in large numbers.

The Nizam responded by unleashing a para-military force known as the **razakars** on the people, who committed atrocities and communal violence on non-Muslims.

**Army Intervention:** The central government had to order the army to tackle the situation.

**In September 1948,** Indian army moved in to control the Nizam's forces. After a few days of fighting, the Nizam surrendered.

This led to Hyderabad's **accession** to India.

## MANIPUR

**Accession of Manipur:** Manipur State was ruled by the Maharaja of Manipur, Bodhachandra Singh, who signed the Instrument of Accession with the Indian government in August 1947, on the assurance of internal autonomy.

Manipur became a constitutional monarchy after holding elections in June 1948, based on universal adult franchise. It was the first part of India to do so.

**Merger Controversy:** There were sharp differences in the Legislative Assembly of Manipur over the question of merger with India. The state Congress wanted it, but other parties were opposed to it.

The Government of India pressurised the Maharaja into signing a Merger Agreement in September 1949, without consulting the elected assembly.

This caused a lot of **anger and resentment** in Manipur, which are still felt today.

## REORGANISATION OF STATE

**The Linguistic Principle:** State boundaries during colonial rule were based on administrative convenience or territories annexed by the British or ruled by princely powers.

The national movement rejected these divisions and advocated for the **linguistic principle** as the basis of state reorganisation.

After Independence and Partition, the central leadership postponed linguistic reorganisation due to concerns of disruption and attention diversion from other challenges.

**The Andhra Movement:** Protests erupted in the Telugu-speaking areas, demanding a separate Andhra province.

Potti Sriramulu's indefinite fast and subsequent death intensified the movement for linguistic reorganisation in Andhra.

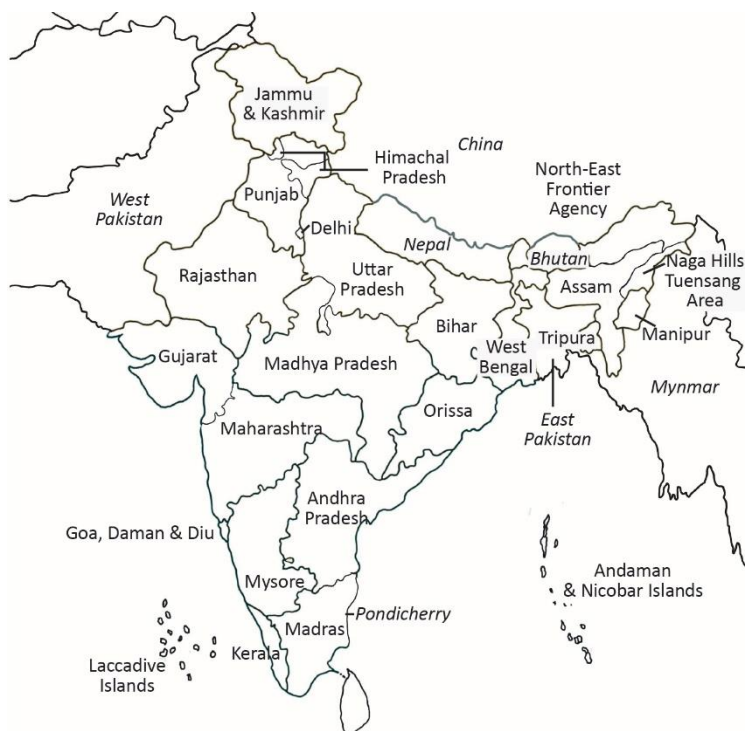
The Prime Minister announced the formation of a separate Andhra state in December 1952.

The formation of Andhra spurred similar movements for linguistic states across the country.

**The States Reorganisation Commission:** The States Reorganisation Commission was appointed in 1953 to examine boundary redrawing based on language.

The commission's report supported the creation of linguistic states.

The States Reorganisation Act was passed in 1956, leading to the creation of **14 states and six union territories**.



**The Impact of Linguistic States:** Linguistic states and the movements for their formation changed the nature of democratic politics, increased democratic participation, and reinforced national unity.

Accepting regional and linguistic claims reduced the threat of division and separatism, while acknowledging and embracing diversity became a cornerstone of Indian democracy.

### CREATION OF NEW STATES

**Linguistic States:** States reorganised on the basis of language after popular agitations and political negotiations in 1956, 1960 and 1966.

**North-Eastern States:** States carved out of Assam and other areas to address the aspirations and grievances of the people in the north-east in 1972 and 1987.

**Regional States:** States formed on the basis of regional culture or developmental issues after sub-regional movements and demands in 2000 and 2014.

#### Points to Remember

**Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (1875-1950):** Leader of the freedom movement; Congress leader; follower of Mahatma Gandhi; Deputy Prime Minister and first Home Minister of independent India; played an important role in the integration of Princely States with India; member of important committees of the Constituent Assembly on Fundamental Rights, Minorities, Provincial Constitution, etc.

**Potti Sriramulu (1901-1952):** Gandhian worker; left government job to participate in Salt Satyagraha; also participated in individual Satyagraha; went on a fast in 1946 demanding that



temples in Madras province be opened to dalits; undertook a fast unto death from 19 October 1952 demanding separate state of Andhra; died during the fast on 15 December 1952.

**Amrita Pritam (1919–2005):** A prominent Punjabi poet and fiction writer. Recipient of Sahitya Akademi Award, Padma Shree and Jnanapeeth Award. After partition she made Delhi her second home. She was active in writing and editing 'Nagmani' a Punjabi monthly magazine till her last.

**Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911-1984):** Born in Sialkot; stayed in Pakistan after Partition. A leftist in his political leanings, he opposed the Pakistani regime and was imprisoned. Collections of his poetry include **Naksh-e-Fariyadi, Dast-e-Saba and Zindan-Nama**. Regarded as one of the greatest poets of South Asia in the twentieth century. Urdu poem **Subh-e-azadi** was written by him.

### QUESTIONS

1. Consider the following statements:

India's independence was accompanied by widespread violence and displacement due to the partition of the country.

The primary goal of the Indian government after independence was to establish a totalitarian regime.

The leaders of independent India were primarily concerned with consolidating their own power and did not prioritize the welfare of the citizens.

How many of the statements given above accurately describe the challenges faced by India after attaining independence in 1947?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** India's independence was accompanied by widespread violence and displacement due to the partition of the country. The partition of India in 1947 resulted in communal violence and large-scale displacement of people along religious lines. The country faced significant social, political, and economic consequences as a result.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** The primary goal of the Indian government after independence was to establish a democratic regime, as mentioned in Jawaharlal Nehru's speech and agreed upon by the leaders of the national movement. India adopted a parliamentary form of government and enshrined democratic principles in its constitution.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** The leaders of independent India, including Jawaharlal Nehru and other prominent figures, were committed to the welfare of the citizens and the overall development of the nation. The government implemented various policies and programs aimed at addressing social and economic inequalities and uplifting the marginalized sections of society.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

2. Consider the following constitutional principles:

Fundamental rights and right to vote

Equality and special protection for disadvantaged groups and communities

Directive Principles of State Policy for welfare goals

Which of the constitutional principles given above guided independent India in addressing the challenges of Nation Building?

1 and 2 only

- 1 and 3 only
- 2 only
- 1, 2 and 3

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The Constitution of independent India granted fundamental rights to its citizens, ensuring their individual freedoms and liberties. These rights include the right to equality, freedom of speech and expression, right to life and personal liberty, and many others. Additionally, the Constitution extended the right to vote to every citizen, ensuring their political participation and representation in the democratic process.

**Statement 2 is correct:** The Constitution of India laid down the principle of equality, emphasizing that all individuals are equal before the law. It also recognized the need for special protection and affirmative action for socially disadvantaged groups and communities. These include Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Classes (OBCs), as well as religious and cultural minorities. The Constitution provided for reservations in educational institutions and public employment for these groups to promote their social and economic upliftment.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The Constitution of India included Directive Principles of State Policy, which outlined the welfare goals that democratic politics should strive to achieve. These principles serve as guidelines for the government to formulate policies and programs to promote social justice, economic development, and the overall well-being of the society. They include provisions for ensuring a just and equitable distribution of resources, improving the standard of living, promoting education and healthcare, protecting the environment, and working towards the eradication of poverty.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

3. Consider the following statements regarding Faiz Ahmed Faiz, a prominent South Asian poet:
- Faiz Ahmed Faiz was born in Sialkot and later migrated to India after partition.
  - Faiz Ahmed Faiz was a right-wing politician who supported the Pakistani regime.
  - Faiz Ahmed Faiz's poem 'Subh-e-azadi' reflects a sense of disappointment and disillusionment with the awaited dawn of freedom.
- How many of the statements given above are correct?
- Only one
  - Only two
  - All three
  - None

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** Faiz Ahmed Faiz was born in Sialkot, which is now part of Pakistan. After the partition of India in 1947, Faiz chose to stay in Pakistan instead of migrating to India.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** Faiz Ahmed Faiz was **not** a right-wing politician. He was known for his leftist political leanings and his progressive views. He often criticized the Pakistani regime and was even imprisoned for his political activism.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The extract from 'Subh-e-azadi' reflects a sense of disappointment and disillusionment with the awaited dawn of freedom. The poem captures the poet's longing for a brighter future and expresses the sentiment that the dawn of freedom they had anticipated has not yet arrived.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

4. Consider the following statements regarding Mohammad Ali Jinnah's views expressed in his Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in 1947:

Jinnah believed in promoting unity and harmony among the majority and minority communities in Pakistan.

Jinnah emphasized the need to eliminate the distinctions between different religious and caste groups within the Hindu and Muslim communities.

Jinnah advocated for a secular state where individuals could freely practice their respective religions without interference from the government.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** Jinnah's views as expressed in his address, lay emphasis on the idea that the divisions among different communities, including Hindus and Muslims, would eventually disappear over time. **Jinnah aimed to foster a sense of unity and co-existence among all communities in Pakistan.**

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** Although Jinnah acknowledged the presence of diverse religious and caste groups within the Hindu and Muslim communities, **he focused on the broader goal of unity and did not specifically address the elimination of internal distinctions within religious or caste groups.**

**Statement 3 is correct:** In his address, he emphasized that individuals were free to practice their religions, regardless of their religious or caste background. **Jinnah's vision for Pakistan was that the state would not interfere with matters of religion and that individuals would have the freedom to worship as they pleased.**

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

5. Consider the following statements regarding the partition of India in 1947:

The division of territory between India and Pakistan was based on the principle of religious majorities.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, also known as 'Frontier Gandhi,' strongly supported the two-nation theory and played a significant role in the formation of Pakistan.

The partition of Punjab and Bengal, two Muslim majority provinces, was carried out at the district or lower level to accommodate the religious majority.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**



**Statement 1 is correct:** The partition was based on the principle of religious majorities, often referred to as the 'Two-nation theory.' Areas where Muslims were in a majority were designated as Pakistan, while the remaining areas became part of India.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, popularly known as 'Frontier Gandhi,' was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi and a prominent leader of the Khilafat Movement and the Indian National Congress. He vehemently opposed the two-nation theory and the idea of Pakistan. He was a staunch supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity and believed in a united India.

**Statement 3 is correct:** Punjab and Bengal, both Muslim majority provinces, faced the challenge of accommodating the religious majority while having significant non-Muslim populations. As a result, the partition of these provinces was carried out at the district or even lower administrative levels, leading to the formation of West Punjab and East Bengal as part of Pakistan and the rest remaining with India.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

6. Consider the following statements regarding the reorganisation of states in India:

Punjab was granted statehood in 1956, along with other states, due to the demands of the Punjabi-speaking people.

Meghalaya, Manipur, and Tripura emerged as separate states in 1972 on the basis of linguistic considerations.

Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand, and Jharkhand were created in 2000 due to demands for separate states based on regional culture.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

None

Only one

Only two

All three

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** Punjab became a state in 1966, not 1956. This happened when Haryana and Himachal Pradesh were separated from Punjab. The desire for a Punjabi-speaking state was one reason for this change.

**Statement 2 is correct:** Meghalaya, Manipur, and Tripura became separate states in 1972. The reorganization was based, at least in part, on linguistic considerations.

**Statement 3 is correct:** Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand, and Jharkhand were indeed created as separate states in 2000. The demands for separate states were based on regional culture and complaints of regional imbalance in development.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

7. Consider the following statements about Amrita Pritam and her works:

Amrita Pritam was a renowned Punjabi poet and fiction writer.

She received several prestigious awards, including Sahitya Akademi Award, Padma Shree, and Jnanapeeth Award.

After the partition, she settled in Delhi and continued her literary career, working as an editor for the Punjabi monthly magazine called 'Nagmani.'

Amrita Pritam's notable works include the poem "Aaj Akhan Waris Shah Nun," which reflects on the tragic events of the partition and pays homage to the legendary Punjabi poet, Waris Shah.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

- Only one
- Only two
- Only three
- All four

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** Amrita Pritam was indeed a prominent Punjabi poet and fiction writer. She is widely recognized for her contributions to Punjabi literature and her distinctive writing style.

**Statement 2 is correct:** Amrita Pritam was a highly acclaimed writer and received numerous awards for her literary achievements. **She was honored with prestigious awards such as the Sahitya Akademi Award, Padma Shree (one of India's highest civilian honors), and the Jnanapeeth Award (India's highest literary award).**

**Statement 3 is correct:** After the partition of India in 1947, Amrita Pritam migrated to Delhi and made it her second home. She actively pursued her literary career and played a significant role as an editor for the Punjabi monthly magazine called 'Nagmani.'

**Statement 4 is incorrect:** While Amrita Pritam has written numerous notable works, the specific poem mentioned, 'Aaj Akhan Waris Shah Nun,' was not authored by her. The poem is actually attributed to Waris Shah himself, a legendary Punjabi poet from the 18th century. The poem serves as an inspiration for many artists and writers, including Amrita Pritam.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

8. Which of the following statements accurately describe the consequences of the partition in 1947?
- Cities like Lahore, Amritsar, and Kolkata became divided into communal zones, with people avoiding areas predominantly inhabited by a different religious community.
  - The ideal of a secular nation was reflected in the Indian Constitution, which enshrined the principle of equality for all religious groups.
  - The partition resulted in a Hindu-majority India and led to the mistreatment of religious minorities.
  - The partition primarily involved a division of properties, liabilities, and administrative apparatus, with minimal impact on communities.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- 1 and 3 only
- 3 and 4 only
- 2 and 4 only
- 1, 2 and 3 only

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** Cities like Lahore, Amritsar, and Kolkata became divided into communal zones, where people of different religious communities avoided areas predominantly inhabited by the other community. This division was a result of the communal tensions and violence that occurred during the partition.

**Statement 2 is correct: The ideal of a secular nation, which advocated for equality for all religious groups, was reflected in the Indian Constitution.** The leaders of the Indian national movement believed in treating all citizens equally, regardless of their religious affiliation. The constitution enshrined this principle of secularism and equality.

**Statement 3 is correct: While the leaders of the Indian national movement did not believe in the two-nation theory and aimed for a secular nation, the partition resulted in a Hindu-majority India and the creation of Pakistan as a separate Muslim nation.** The migration of Muslims to Pakistan led to tensions and mistreatment of religious minorities, including Muslims who chose to remain in India.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: While there were administrative concerns and financial strains associated with the partition, it had a significant impact on communities.** The violence, displacement, and communal tensions caused by the partition deeply affected the lives of people and resulted in the separation of communities who had previously lived together as neighbors. The division of properties and administrative apparatus was just one aspect of the broader consequences of the partition.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

9. In relation to Mahatma Gandhi's sacrifice and his efforts for peace, justice, and non-violence, consider the following statements:

Mahatma Gandhi actively participated in the Independence Day celebrations on 15th August 1947.

Mahatma Gandhi's presence in Kolkata during the communal riots greatly improved the situation.

In Delhi, Mahatma Gandhi undertook his last fast in January 1948 to ensure the equal treatment of Muslims in India and honour financial commitments to Pakistan.

The extremists from both Hindu and Muslim communities supported and admired Mahatma Gandhi's actions during his prayer meetings.

Nathuram Vinayak Godse assassinated Mahatma Gandhi during his evening prayer in Delhi on 30th January 1948.

Which of the statements given above are correct?

- 2, 3 and 5 only
- 2, 3, 4 and 5 only
- 1, 2 and 4 only
- 1, 3 and 5 only

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect: Mahatma Gandhi did not participate in any of the Independence Day celebrations on 15th August 1947.** He was in Kolkata dealing with the communal violence between Hindus and Muslims.

**Statement 2 is correct: Mahatma Gandhi's presence in Kolkata did have a positive impact on the situation, as he persuaded Hindus and Muslims to give up violence.** The situation greatly improved and the coming of independence was celebrated in a spirit of communal harmony. However, the riots between Hindus and Muslims erupted again, indicating that the restoration of communal harmony was short-lived.

**Statement 3 is correct: Mahatma Gandhi did undertake his last fast in January 1948 in Delhi.** The purpose of this fast was to ensure that Muslims were allowed to stay in India with dignity as equal citizens, and also to address the Indian government's decision not to honour its financial commitments to Pakistan.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: Extremists from both communities blamed Mahatma Gandhi for their conditions.** It implies that extremists did not support or admire his actions.

**Statement 5 is correct: Nathuram Vinayak Godse did assassinate Mahatma Gandhi during his evening prayer in Delhi on 30th January 1948,** bringing an end to Gandhi's lifelong struggle for truth, non-violence, justice, and tolerance.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

10. Which of the following statements regarding the integration of Princely States in post-Independence India is correct?

The British Indian Provinces enjoyed complete autonomy over their internal affairs, whereas the Princely States were directly governed by the British government.

The British government decided that all Princely States would become legally independent after the end of their rule over India.

The ruler of Travancore and the Nizam of Hyderabad were the only Princely States that announced their decision for independence before India's Independence.

The Princely States' refusal to join the Constituent Assembly posed a threat to the unity and democratic ideals of post-Independence India.

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect: In British India, the British Indian Provinces and the Princely States were both under the control of the British government.** However, the Princely States enjoyed some form of internal autonomy, while the British Indian Provinces were directly governed by the British.

**Option (b) is incorrect: The British government announced that with the end of their rule over India, the paramountcy of the British crown over Princely States would lapse.** This meant that the Princely States would have the choice to join either India or Pakistan or remain independent if they wished. It did not imply that all Princely States would become legally independent.

**Option (c) is incorrect: While the ruler of Travancore and the Nizam of Hyderabad did announce their decision for independence before India's Independence,** there were other Princely States as well that made similar or different decisions regarding their future status.

**Option (d) is correct: The response of the rulers of the Princely States, particularly their reluctance to join the Constituent Assembly, posed a threat to the unity and democratic ideals of post-Independence India.** Many Princely States were governed in a non-democratic manner, and the rulers were unwilling to grant democratic rights to their populations.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

11. Which of the following statements accurately reflects the government's approach towards the integration of princely states in India after independence?

The Muslim League and the Indian National Congress had a mutual agreement on the integration of princely states.

Sardar Patel, as India's Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister, played a crucial role in diplomatically negotiating with the rulers of princely states.

The interim government advocated for the division of India into small principalities of different sizes.

The issue of Junagarh was resolved through military intervention rather than a plebiscite.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect: The Muslim League and the Indian National Congress had differing views on the integration of princely states.** The Muslim League believed that states should have the freedom to choose their own course, while the Indian National Congress aimed for the integration of princely states into the Indian Union.

**Option (b) is correct: Sardar Patel played a historic role in negotiating with the rulers of princely states during the crucial period after Independence.** He used diplomacy and skillful persuasion to bring most of the princely states into the Indian Union.

**Option (c) is incorrect: The interim government took a firm stance against the division of India into small principalities.** They aimed for the integration of princely states into the Indian Union.

**Option (d) is incorrect: The issue of Junagarh was resolved through a plebiscite, which confirmed the people's desire to join India.** Military intervention was not the method used to resolve the issue.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

12. Which of the following statements about Hyderabad's history and the events surrounding its accession to India is **not** correct?

Parts of the old Hyderabad state are now part of Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh.

The movement against the Nizam's rule gained momentum, with the peasantry in the Telangana region leading the resistance.

The ruler of Hyderabad carried the title of 'Nawab', and he signed the Standstill Agreement with India in November 1947.

The Razakars, a para-military force unleashed by the Nizam, committed widespread atrocities targeting non-Muslims.

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct:** After Hyderabad's accession to India, the state was reorganized, and different regions became part of present-day Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh.

**Option (b) is correct: The movement against the Nizam's rule gained significant momentum, with the peasantry in the Telangana region playing a crucial role in leading the resistance against the oppressive rule of the Nizam.**

**Option (c) is incorrect: The ruler of Hyderabad did not carry the title of 'Nawab', but rather the title of 'Nizam'.** The Nizam of Hyderabad, Mir Osman Ali Khan, was the ruler of the princely state of Hyderabad. **He signed the Standstill Agreement with India in November 1947, not as a Nawab but as the Nizam.** The Standstill Agreement was a temporary arrangement to maintain the existing administrative and communication systems between Hyderabad and India while negotiations for Hyderabad's future were ongoing.

**Option (d) is correct: The Nizam of Hyderabad unleashed the Razakars, a para-military force, to suppress the movement against his rule.** The Razakars engaged in acts of violence, including murder, mutilation, rape, and looting, with non-Muslims being specifically targeted.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

13. Consider the following statements regarding Manipur's accession to India:

The Maharaja of Manipur, Bodhachandra Singh, signed the Instrument of Accession with the Indian government just before Independence, ensuring the maintenance of Manipur's internal autonomy.

Manipur held the first election based on universal adult franchise in India, with the state becoming a constitutional monarchy in June 1948.

There were contrasting views within the Legislative Assembly of Manipur regarding the merger of Manipur with India, with the state Congress supporting the merger and other political parties opposing it.

The Maharaja of Manipur signed the Merger Agreement with the Government of India in September 1949, without seeking the consent of the popularly elected Legislative Assembly of Manipur, leading to widespread anger and resentment in Manipur.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

All four

Only one

Only two

Only three

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** While it is true that the Maharaja of Manipur, Bodhachandra Singh, signed the Instrument of Accession with the Indian government before Independence, the assurance of maintaining Manipur's internal autonomy was not explicitly mentioned in the document. The Instrument of Accession primarily concerned the defense, external affairs, and communications of the princely state.

**Statement 2 is correct:** In June 1948, Manipur held elections that were based on universal adult franchise, making it the first part of India to do so. As a result, Manipur became a constitutional monarchy.

**Statement 3 is correct:** In the Legislative Assembly of Manipur, there were divergent opinions regarding the merger of Manipur with India. The state Congress party favored the merger, while other political parties in Manipur were opposed to it.

**Statement 4 is correct:** In September 1949, under pressure from the Government of India, the Maharaja of Manipur signed the Merger Agreement without consulting the popularly elected Legislative Assembly of Manipur. This action caused significant anger and resentment among the people of Manipur.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

14. Consider the following statements regarding the reorganization of states in India:

Manipur was the first part of India to hold an election based on universal adult franchise before its merger with India.

The reorganization of states in India was primarily based on administrative convenience and coincided with the territories annexed by the British government.

Which of the statements given above is/are correct?

Only 1

Only 2

Both 1 and 2

Neither 1 nor 2



**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** Manipur held an election based on universal adult franchise in June 1948, making it the first part of India to do so before its merger with India.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** During colonial rule, state boundaries were drawn based on administrative convenience or coincided with territories annexed by the British government or ruled by princely powers. However, after independence, the leaders of India rejected these divisions as artificial and instead aimed to reorganize states based on the linguistic principle. **The reorganization of states was intended to reflect the linguistic and cultural diversity of the country while maintaining national unity, and it was not primarily based on administrative convenience.**

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

15. The formation of linguistic states in India had the following impact(s):

It was a significant step towards accommodating regional demands and promoting democracy. The formation of linguistic states led to the disintegration of the country, as many had feared earlier.

Linguistic reorganization strengthened national unity by recognizing and accepting diversity.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The formation of linguistic states was a significant step towards accommodating the regional demands of different linguistic communities in India. It recognized the importance of language as a basis for identity and governance. By reorganizing states along linguistic lines, the government aimed to address the aspirations of various linguistic communities and promote a more inclusive and democratic political system.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** Contrary to the fears of some, the formation of linguistic states did not lead to the disintegration of the country. Although there were concerns that linguistic states might foster separatism and division, the decision to create linguistic states was made in recognition of regional and linguistic diversity. In fact, the formation of linguistic states helped strengthen national unity by accommodating diverse linguistic and cultural identities within the framework of a united India.

**Statement 3 is correct:** Linguistic reorganization of states played a crucial role in strengthening national unity by recognizing and accepting the diversity of languages and cultures in India. It demonstrated the commitment to accommodate regional aspirations and allowed different linguistic communities to have a sense of representation and self-governance. By acknowledging and respecting linguistic diversity, India embraced the principle of unity in diversity, which has been a foundational aspect of the country's identity.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

16. Consider the following statements about Potti Sriramulu:

Potti Sriramulu actively participated in the Salt Satyagraha and individual Satyagraha movements.

In 1946, Potti Sriramulu undertook a fast demanding the opening of temples in Madras province to dalits.

Potti Sriramulu's hunger strike in 1952 was in support of the creation of a separate state for Andhra.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Potti Sriramulu, a Gandhian worker, left his government job to participate in the Salt Satyagraha**, which was a significant civil disobedience movement led by Mahatma Gandhi against the British salt monopoly in India. **He also participated in individual Satyagraha**, which was a campaign for individual civil disobedience launched by Mahatma Gandhi to protest against certain laws and policies.

**Statement 2 is correct: In 1946, Potti Sriramulu went on a fast to demand that temples in the Madras province be opened to dalits**, who were considered to be from the lower caste and faced discrimination and exclusion from certain public spaces, including temples.

**Statement 3 is correct: Potti Sriramulu undertook a fast unto death from 19 October 1952, demanding the creation of a separate state for Andhra.** His hunger strike aimed to achieve linguistic reorganization in India, specifically the formation of a separate state for Telugu-speaking people, which eventually led to the formation of Andhra Pradesh. **Potti Sriramulu died in 15 December 1952 in Chennai.**

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 1/ Challenges of Nation Building

## CHAPTER 2: ERA OF ONE PARTY DOMINANCE

### Introduction

In the first decade after Independence, India faced the challenge of establishing democratic politics and conducting free and fair elections. The Congress party dominated the political landscape during this period, but opposition parties began to emerge with their distinct policies.

### CHALLENGE OF BUILDING DEMOCRACY

**GLOBAL CONTEXT:** LEADERS IN MANY COUNTRIES BELIEVED THEIR NATIONS COULDN'T AFFORD DEMOCRACY DUE TO CHALLENGES OF NATIONAL UNITY AND POTENTIAL CONFLICTS.

Non-democratic rule emerged in several post-colonial countries, taking the form of **one-party or military control**.

Indian leaders chose the **difficult path of democracy**, aligned with the freedom struggle's commitment to democratic ideals.

**Constitutional Framework:** The **Constitution was adopted in 1950**, followed by the establishment of the **Election Commission** for the first general elections.

Holding free and fair elections in India's vast size posed significant challenges, such as **delimitation and preparing accurate electoral rolls**.

**Conduct of the Election:** The first general election in India was a **mammoth exercise** with 17 crore eligible voters, including a significant illiterate population.

The **1952 general election**, despite skepticism, demonstrated the **feasibility of democratic elections** in diverse conditions.

The **election was competitive, with encouraging levels of participation**, and the results were accepted as fair even by the losers.

**Significance of the Election:** The success of India's general election of 1952 became a **landmark in the history of democracy worldwide**.

#### Changing methods of voting

In the first general election, steel boxes were used, with each box representing a candidate and their election symbol.

Voters were given blank ballot papers and had to drop their vote into the box of their chosen candidate.

The ballot boxes required detailed labeling in multiple languages and had to be prepared in advance by the presiding officer.

After the first two elections, the method was changed to printed ballot papers with names and symbols of all candidates.

Voters were required to stamp their vote on the name of their chosen candidate.

Towards the end of the 1990s, the Election Commission introduced Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs).

EVMs gradually replaced the traditional methods, and by 2004, the entire country had shifted to using EVMs for voting.

### CONGRESS DOMINANCE IN THE FIRST THREE GENERAL ELECTIONS

**The Popularity and Organization of the Congress Party:** The **Congress party** was expected to win the first general election due to its **popularity and organization** spread across the country.

**Jawaharlal Nehru**, the leader of the Congress, led the campaign and toured the country, further enhancing the party's chances of victory.

**The First General Election (1952):** The Congress party won **364 out of 489 seats** in the first Lok Sabha, far surpassing any other party.

The **Communist Party of India** came second with only **16 seats**.

The Congress had a strong presence in most states, winning a majority of seats in all states except **Travancore-Cochin, Madras, and Orissa**. However, the Congress also formed the government even in these states.

**The Second and Third General Elections (1957 and 1962):** In the second and third general elections, held in 1957 and 1962, the Congress maintained its dominant position, winning **three-fourths of the seats**.

The electoral system, based on the **first-past-the-post method**, artificially boosted the Congress' victory as it won a large number of seats despite not receiving a majority of the votes.

The **Socialist Party**, the second-largest party in terms of votes, secured more than **10 percent of the votes** but won only a small percentage of the seats.

The division of non-Congress votes among different rival parties and candidates allowed the Congress to stay ahead of the opposition and secure victory.

### Communist victory in Kerala

The **Communist Party of India (CPI)** formed the first democratically elected communist government in the world in Kerala in **1957**.

The CPI won **60 out of 126 seats** in the assembly elections and had the support of five independents. **E. M. S. Namboodiripad** became the chief minister.

**Policies:** The CPI implemented radical and progressive policies such as **land reforms, education reforms, and social welfare schemes**.

**Opposition:** The **Congress party**, which lost power in Kerala, launched a 'liberation struggle' against the CPI government, accusing it of being anti-national and anti-religious.

The Congress party also used its influence at the Centre to dismiss the CPI government in **1959** under **Article 356** of the Constitution.

This was widely criticized as a misuse of constitutional emergency powers.

### Socialist Party

**Origin:** Originated from the mass movement stage of the **Indian National Congress** before independence.

**Congress Socialist Party (CSP)** formed within the Congress in **1934** by young leaders seeking a more radical and egalitarian Congress.

In 1948, Congress amended its constitution, forcing the Socialists to form a separate **Socialist Party**.

**Ideology and Criticism:** Socialists believed in **democratic socialism**, distinguishing them from both Congress and Communists.

**Performance and Splits:** The Party's electoral performance was disappointing, achieving success only in a few pockets despite its presence in most states.

Socialist Party experienced splits and reunions, leading to the formation of various socialist parties like **Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, Praja Socialist Party, and Samyukta Socialist Party**.

**Leaders and Legacy:** Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan, Asoka Mehta, Acharya Narendra Dev, Rammanohar Lohia, and S.M. Joshi.

Several contemporary Indian parties trace their origins to the Socialist Party, such as **Samajwadi Party**, **Rashtriya Janata Dal**, **Janata Dal (United)**, and **Janata Dal (Secular)**.

## NATURE OF CONGRESS DOMINANCE

Many countries have experienced one-party dominance, but in most cases, it involved compromising democracy. **Examples** include **China, Cuba, Syria, Myanmar, Belarus, Egypt, and Eritrea**, where single-party rule or effective one-party states exist due to legal and military measures.

## REASONS FOR CONGRESS DOMINANCE

**Congress Party's Distinct Dominance:** The dominance of the Congress party in India occurred under democratic conditions, setting it apart from other cases.

**Legacy of the Freedom Struggle:** The Congress party's success can be traced back to its **legacy in the freedom struggle**.

**Leaders who played significant roles in the struggle** joined Congress and contested elections as its candidates.

Congress had a **well-organized structure and a head start over other parties**, having already started its campaign while others were still strategizing.

The Congress party had the advantage of being the **first major political party in India**.

It had already spread across the country and established an **organizational network down to the local level**.

The Congress, being a **national movement**, had an **all-inclusive nature**, contributing to its dominance.

## CONGRESS AS SOCIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL COALITION

**Evolution from Pressure Group to Mass Political Party:** Congress started in 1885 as a pressure group for the **educated, professional, and commercial classes**.

It transformed into a mass movement and eventually a **dominant political party** in the 20th century.

**Widening Social Base:** With each civil disobedience movement, the Congress **expanded its social base**.

It brought together **diverse groups** with often contradictory interests, including peasants, industrialists, urban dwellers, villagers, workers, and owners.

**Rainbow-like Social Coalition:** By the time of Independence, the Congress represented India's **diversity** in terms of classes, castes, religions, languages, and various interests.

It accommodated various groups and individuals with different beliefs, merging some identities within the party.

**Ideological Coalition:** It included revolutionaries and pacifists, conservatives and radicals, extremists and moderates, and represented the right, left, and all shades of the center.

**Platform for Multiple Groups and Interests:** Separate organizations and parties with their own constitution and organizational structure were allowed to exist within the Congress.

Some of these groups later separated from the Congress to become opposition parties.

**Managing Differences and Building Consensus:** Despite differing methods, specific programs, and policies, the Congress managed to contain and, to some extent, resolve differences.

The party focused on building a **consensus** among its members and various groups.

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

In the early 1920s, communist groups emerged in different parts of India, inspired by the **Bolshevik revolution in Russia**. These groups advocated **socialism** as the solution to India's problems.

From 1935, the communists primarily operated within the **Indian National Congress**.

In December 1941, the Communists decided to support the British in their war against **Nazi Germany**. This decision led to a parting of ways with other non-Congress parties.

The nature of Indian independence became a crucial question for the **Communist Party of India (CPI)** after 1947. The party believed that the transfer of power was not true independence, leading them to encourage violent uprisings in **Telangana**.

In 1951, the CPI abandoned the path of violent revolution and decided to participate in the **general elections**. The party won 16 seats in the first general election and emerged as the largest opposition party. CPI's support was **concentrated in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar, and Kerala**.

In 1964, the CPI underwent a major split due to an ideological rift between the **Soviet Union and China**. The pro-Soviet faction remained as the CPI, while the opponents formed the **Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)]**. Both parties continue to exist to this day.

### TOLERANCE AND MANAGEMENT OF FACTIONS

The Congress party in the first decade after Independence had a **coalition-like character**, which accommodated various groups and ideologies.

This approach enabled **compromise and inclusiveness**, making it difficult for the opposition to distinguish itself.

The Congress party's coalitional nature encouraged factions within the party, based on both ideological and personal considerations.

Instead of weakening the party, **internal factionalism became a strength** as it allowed leaders with different interests and ideologies to remain within the Congress rather than forming new parties.

The **Congress system, characterized by multiple factions** and centrist positions, dominated Indian politics during this period, with other parties influencing policy and decision-making indirectly from the margins.

### Bharatiya Jana Sangh

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh was formed in **1951**, with **Shyama Prasad Mukherjee** as its founder President. Its lineage can be traced back to the **Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)** and the **Hindu Mahasabha** before Independence.

The Jana Sangh emphasized the idea of **one country, one culture, and one nation**. The party advocated for the **reunification of India and Pakistan as Akhand Bharat**.

In the 1950s, the Jana Sangh remained on the margins of electoral politics. It secured only **3 seats** in the 1952 Lok Sabha elections and **4 seats** in the 1957 general elections.

Initial support came mainly from urban areas in **Hindi-speaking states** like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi, and Uttar Pradesh.

**Key leaders** of the Jana Sangh included **Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, and Balraj Madhok**.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) traces its roots back to the Bharatiya Jana Sangh.



## EMERGENCE OF OPPOSITION PARTIES

**Presence of Opposition Parties:** India had opposition parties alongside the Congress during this period.

The country had a **larger number of diverse and vibrant opposition parties** compared to many multi-party democracies.

Many non-Congress parties of today can trace their roots back to **opposition parties in the 1950s**.

**Role of Opposition Parties:** Opposition parties had token representation in the Lok Sabha and state assemblies but played a **crucial role in maintaining the democratic character of the system**.

They offered **sustained and principled criticism** of Congress policies and practices, keeping the ruling party in check.

Opposition parties **prevented anti-democratic sentiments from taking hold** and provided democratic alternatives.

**Mutual Respect and Inclusion in Early Years:** In the early years, there was **mutual respect** between Congress leaders and those of the opposition.

The interim government and the first general election included opposition leaders in the cabinet.

Personal relationships and respect for political adversaries declined as party competition intensified.

**Unique First Phase of Democratic Politics:** The **inclusive character of the national movement** led by the Congress allowed it to attract diverse sections, groups, and interests.

Congress' role in the freedom struggle gave it a **head start over other parties**.

Other political parties started gaining significance as Congress' ability to accommodate all interests declined.

### Points to Remember

**Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958):** Original name — Abul Kalam Mohiyuddin Ahmed; scholar of Islam; Freedom fighter and Congress leader; proponent of Hindu Muslim unity; opposed to Partition; member of Constituent Assembly; Education Minister in the first cabinet of free India.

**Deen Dayal Upadhyaya (1916-1968):** Full time RSS worker since 1942; founder member of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh; General Secretary and later President of Bharatiya Jana Sangh; initiated the concept of integral humanism.

**A.K. Gopalan (1904-1977):** Communist leader from Kerala, worked as a Congress worker initially; joined the Communist Party in 1939; after the split in the Communist Party in 1964, joined the CPI(M) and worked for strengthening the party; respected as a parliamentarian; Member of Parliament from 1952.

**Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (1889-1964):** A Gandhian and Freedom fighter; belonged to the royal family of Kapurthala; inherited Christian religion from her mother; member of Constituent Assembly; Minister for Health in independent India's first ministry; continued as Health Minister till 1957.

**Acharya Narendra Dev (1889-1956):** Freedom fighter and founding President of the Congress Socialist Party; jailed several times during the freedom movement; active in peasants' movement; a scholar of Buddhism; after independence led the Socialist Party and later the Praja Socialist Party.

**Babasaheb Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956):** Leader of the anti-caste movement and the struggle for justice to the Dalits; scholar and intellectual; founder of Independent Labour Party; later founded the Scheduled Castes Federation; planned the formation of the Republican Party of India; Member of Viceroy's Executive Council during the Second World War; Chairman, Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly; Minister in Nehru's first

cabinet after Independence; resigned in 1951 due to differences over the Hindu Code Bill; adopted Buddhism in 1956, with thousands of followers.

**Rafi Ahmed Kidwai (1894-1954):** Congress leader from U.P.; Minister in U.P. in 1937 and again in 1946; Minister for Communications in the first ministry of free India; Food and Agriculture Minister, 1952-54.

**Shyama Prasad Mukherjee (1901-1953):** Leader of Hindu Mahasabha; founder of Bharatiya Jana Sangh; Minister in Nehru's first cabinet after Independence; resigned in 1950 due to differences over relations with Pakistan; Member of Constituent Assembly and later, the first Lok Sabha; was opposed to India's policy of autonomy to Jammu & Kashmir; arrested during Jana Sangh's agitation against Kashmir policy; died during detention.

## QUESTIONS

1. Consider the following statements about India's first general election in 1952:

The Election Commission of India was established in 1952 to oversee the election process.

The Election Commission faced challenges in delimiting electoral constituencies and preparing accurate voter lists.

The election had a low turnout due to the illiteracy rate in the country.

The Indian experiment with universal adult franchise received criticism from international observers.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect: The Election Commission of India was actually set up in January 1950, not in 1952.** It was responsible for conducting and supervising the first general election in India.

**Statement 2 is correct: The Election Commission did face challenges in delimiting electoral constituencies, which involved drawing the boundaries of the constituencies, and in preparing accurate voter lists.** The task was time-consuming and complex, especially given the size of the country and the illiteracy rate of the population.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: The level of participation in the election was encouraging,** with more than half of the eligible voters turning out to vote on the day of elections.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: The observers outside India were impressed by the Indian experiment with universal adult franchise.** It proved that democratic elections could be held even in conditions of poverty or lack of education, countering the criticism that such elections were not feasible in such circumstances.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

2. Consider the following statements regarding the evolution of voting methods in India:

The ballot boxes used in the early elections had the candidate's symbol and name displayed in multiple languages, along with the constituency and polling booth details.

Initially, voters were required to put a stamp on the name of the candidate they wanted to vote for on the ballot paper.

The adoption of Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) in India took place around the late 1990s.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

- Only one
- Only two
- All three
- None

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** During the early elections, the ballot boxes used had the candidate's symbol and name displayed in multiple languages, including Urdu, Hindi, and Punjabi. Additionally, the details of the constituency, polling station, and polling booth were also mentioned on the boxes.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** In the initial elections, voters were provided with a blank ballot paper and had to physically drop it into the box of the candidate they wanted to vote for. The requirement to put a stamp on the candidate's name on the ballot paper came into practice later.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The adoption of Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) in India began in the late 1990s. By the year 2004, the entire country had shifted to using EVMs for voting purposes.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

3. Consider the following statements about Maulana Abul Kalam Azad:

He advocated for Hindu-Muslim unity and was opposed to the Partition of India.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was not a member of the Constituent Assembly.

He served as the Labour Minister in the first cabinet of independent India.

How many of the above pairs are correctly matched?

- Only one
- Only two
- All three
- None

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was a strong proponent of Hindu-Muslim unity and worked towards fostering harmonious relations between the two communities. He opposed the idea of partitioning India and believed in a united, secular India.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was indeed a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, which was responsible for drafting the Indian Constitution.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was appointed as the first Education Minister, and not Labour Minister of independent India and played a crucial role in shaping the educational policies of the country.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

4. Which of the following statements accurately describe the dominance of the Indian National Congress in the first three general elections in India?

The Congress party formed the government in all states, except Travancore-Cochin, Madras, and Orissa.

In the second and third general elections, the Indian National Congress maintained its dominance by winning three-fourths of the seats in the Lok Sabha.

The Congress party faced challenges in state assembly elections, notably in Kerala in 1957, where a coalition led by the Communist Party of India formed the government.

The Indian National Congress' victory in the elections was amplified by the first-past-the-post electoral system, which allowed the party to win a larger share of seats compared to its share of votes.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

3 and 4 only

1, 2 and 3 only

2 and 4 only

1, 2, 3 and 4

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The Indian National Congress formed the government in most states after the first general election. **However, it did not secure a majority in Travancore-Cochin, Madras, and Orissa, but still had a significant presence in these states.**

**Statement 2 is correct:** In the second and third general elections, held in 1957 and 1962 respectively, the Indian National Congress maintained its dominance by winning three-fourths of the seats in the Lok Sabha.

**Statement 3 is correct:** In the state assembly elections of Kerala in 1957, a coalition led by the Communist Party of India managed to form the government, posing a significant challenge to the dominance of the Indian National Congress.

**Statement 4 is correct:** The first-past-the-post electoral system in India tends to benefit the party that gets more votes, often resulting in that party winning a larger share of seats. In the case of the Indian National Congress, this system played a role in amplifying its victory by allowing it to secure a greater number of seats than its proportionate share of votes.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

5. Which of the following statements about the Socialist Party in India is correct?

The Socialist Party emerged as a result of the Congress amending its constitution in 1948 to allow dual party membership.

The Socialist Party achieved significant electoral success across various states of India.

The Socialists believed in the ideology of democratic socialism, which aligned them with both the Congress and the Communists.

The formation of the Socialist Party led to the creation of contemporary political parties like the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP).

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect:** The Socialist Party was formed within the Indian National Congress in 1934 by a group of young leaders who wanted a more radical and egalitarian Congress.

**The Congress amended its constitution in 1948 to prevent its members from having dual party membership.** This amendment forced the Socialists to form a separate Socialist Party in 1948.

**Option (b) is incorrect:** Although the Socialist Party had a presence in most states of India, it could achieve electoral success only in a few pockets. Its electoral performance caused disappointment to its supporters.

**Option (c) is correct:** The Socialists believed in the ideology of democratic socialism, which distinguished them both from the Congress and the Communists. They criticized the Congress for favoring capitalists and landlords while ignoring the workers and peasants.

**Option (d) is incorrect:** The formation of the Socialist Party did not lead to the creation of contemporary political parties like the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP). However, it did lead to the formation of other socialist parties such as the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, the Praja Socialist Party, and the Samyukta Socialist Party. Contemporary parties like the Samajwadi Party, the Rashtriya Janata Dal, Janata Dal (United), and the Janata Dal (Secular) trace their origins to the Socialist Party.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

6. Which of the following statements is correct regarding the dominance of the Congress party in India?

The Congress party was the only political party allowed to rule the country based on the constitution.

The Congress party's dominance in India was similar to the one-party dominance in countries like China, Cuba, and Syria.

The Congress party's dominance in India occurred under democratic conditions, with free and fair elections.

The Congress party's dominance in India can be attributed to legal and military measures.

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect:** The Indian constitution does not restrict the ruling of the country to only one political party. Multiple parties are allowed to participate in elections and compete for power.

**Option (b) is incorrect:** There existed a crucial difference between the dominance of the Congress party in India and the one-party dominance in other countries. While countries like China, Cuba, and Syria have legal and constitutional provisions that permit only one party to rule, the Congress party's dominance in India occurred within a democratic framework with multiple parties participating in free and fair elections.

**Option (c) is correct:** the Congress party's dominance in India happened under democratic conditions, with free and fair elections. Despite the presence of other political parties contesting elections, the Congress party consistently won elections.

**Option (d) is incorrect:** No any legal or military measures contributed to the Congress party's dominance in India. Instead, it attributes their success to factors such as the party's association with the freedom struggle, well-organized campaign strategies, an established organizational network, and inclusivity.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

7. Consider the following statements regarding Acharya Narendra Dev:

Acharya Narendra Dev was a founding member of the Congress Socialist Party.

Acharya Narendra Dev actively participated in the peasants' movement during the freedom movement.

Acharya Narendra Dev was a scholar of Buddhism.

Acharya Narendra Dev formed the Praja Socialist Party after independence.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

All four

Only one

Only two

Only three

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Acharya Narendra Dev was one of the founding members of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP).** The CSP was a socialist group within the Indian National Congress that advocated for a socialist agenda alongside the struggle for independence from British rule. Acharya Narendra Dev played a significant role in the formation and activities of the CSP.

**Statement 2 is correct: Acharya Narendra Dev actively participated in the peasants' movement during the freedom movement in India.** He recognized the importance of addressing the issues faced by rural peasants and worked to improve their socio-economic conditions. He championed the cause of land reforms and supported various movements and struggles of the peasants against exploitative practices.

**Statement 3 is correct: Acharya Narendra Dev was not only actively involved in the political and social spheres but was also a scholar of Buddhism.** He had a deep interest in Buddhist philosophy and teachings and conducted extensive research on the subject. His scholarly work on Buddhism contributed to the understanding and promotion of Buddhist principles in India.

**Statement 4 is incorrect:** After independence, Acharya Narendra Dev did play a significant role in the socialist movement. However, **he did not directly lead the Praja Socialist Party (PSP).** He was associated with the Socialist Party and served as its leader. **The Praja Socialist Party was a different political entity formed by Jaya Prakash Narayan.** While Acharya Narendra Dev and Jaya Prakash Narayan had a close association and worked together, they were involved in different political organizations.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

8. Consider the following statements regarding Dr. B.R. Ambedkar:

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a leader of the anti-caste movement and played a key role in the struggle for justice for Dalits.

He founded the Independent Labour Party and later established the Scheduled Castes Federation.

Dr. Ambedkar served as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council during the Second World War.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**



**Statement 1 is correct: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a prominent leader who fought against caste discrimination and worked tirelessly to secure social justice for Dalits.** He advocated for the rights and upliftment of the oppressed communities in India.

**Statement 2 is correct: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar founded the Independent Labour Party in 1936, which aimed to address the issues faced by the working class, especially the Dalits.** Later, in 1942, he formed the Scheduled Castes Federation, which focused on representing the interests of the Dalit community.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar did not serve as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council during the Second World War.** However, he did hold significant positions in the Indian government and had a prominent role in the drafting of the Indian Constitution.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

9. Consider the following statements about the Congress party's evolution:

The Congress party originated as a mass political party representing diverse social and ideological groups.

The Congress party was initially dominated by the English-speaking, upper caste, urban elite.

The Congress party maintained a homogenous leadership throughout its history.

The Congress party did not allow any other organizations or parties to exist within its structure.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: The Congress party started as a pressure group for the educated, professional, and commercial classes** but gradually expanded its social base with civil disobedience movements, bringing together diverse groups such as peasants, industrialists, urban dwellers, villagers, workers, and people from different classes, castes, religions, and languages.

**Statement 2 is correct: Initially, the Congress party was indeed dominated by the English-speaking, upper caste, upper middle-class, and urban elite.** However, over time, its leadership expanded to include leaders with a rural orientation and a more diverse representation.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: The Congress party's leadership expanded beyond the upper caste and upper-class professionals to include leaders with a rural orientation.** This indicates that the party's leadership became more diverse and heterogeneous over time.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: In pre-independence days, many organizations and parties with their own constitution and organizational structure were allowed to exist within the Congress.** Some of these, like the Congress Socialist Party, later separated from the Congress and became opposition parties. This indicates that the Congress party permitted the coexistence of other organizations and parties within its structure.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

10. Consider the following statements is true regarding the Communist victory in Kerala in 1957:
- The Communist Party won a majority of seats in the Kerala legislature.
  - The Congress party initiated a 'liberation struggle' against the elected Communist government.
  - The Communist government in Kerala was dismissed by the Congress government at the Centre.
  - The Communist victory in Kerala was the first instance of a Communist party coming to power through democratic elections.

Which of the statements given above are correct?

- 3 and 4 only
- 1, 2 and 3 only
- 2 and 4 only
- 1, 2, 3 and 4

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** In the assembly elections held in March 1957, the Communist Party won the largest number of seats in the Kerala legislature, securing 60 out of 126 seats.

**Statement 2 is correct:** After losing power in the state, the Congress party started a 'liberation struggle' against the elected Communist government. They opposed the radical and progressive policies promised by the Communists and claimed that the agitation was led by vested interests and religious organizations.

**Statement 3 is correct:** In 1959, the Congress government at the Centre dismissed the Communist government in Kerala under Article 356 of the Constitution. This decision was controversial and widely criticized as the first instance of the misuse of constitutional emergency powers.

**Statement 4 is correct:** The Communist victory in Kerala in 1957 was significant as it marked the first time a Communist party came to power through democratic elections in the world. The governor invited E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the leader of the Communist legislature party, to form the ministry.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

11. Which of the following statements about the Communist Party of India (CPI) are correct?
- The CPI emerged in the early 1920s, inspired by the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and advocating socialism as the solution for India's problems.
  - From 1935, the Communists primarily operated within the Indian National Congress.
  - In December 1941, the Communists decided to support the British in their war against Nazi Germany, resulting in a parting of ways with other non-Congress parties.
  - The CPI initially believed that the transfer of power in 1947 was not true independence and encouraged violent uprisings in Telangana.
  - In 1951, the CPI abandoned the path of violent revolution and chose to participate in the approaching general elections.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- 2, 3 and 5 only
- 1, 2, 3 and 4 only
- 1, 2 and 4 only
- 1, 3 and 5 only

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** In the early 1920s, communist groups emerged in different parts of India, drawing inspiration from the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. These groups believed in socialist principles and saw socialism as the solution to the problems affecting the country.

**Statement 2 is correct:** From 1935, the Communists started working mainly from within the Indian National Congress. They joined the Congress and operated as a faction within the party, advocating their socialist ideas and working towards their goals from within the Congress fold.

**Statement 3 is correct:** In December 1941, the Communists actually decided to support the British in their war against Nazi Germany. This decision aligned them with the Congress and resulted in a parting of ways with other non-Congress parties who did not support the British war effort.

**Statement 4 is correct:** Soon after independence, the CPI believed that the transfer of power in 1947 was not true independence. They viewed it as a sham and encouraged violent uprisings in Telangana as a response. However, these uprisings did not generate popular support and were eventually crushed by the armed forces.

**Statement 5 is incorrect:** The CPI actually abandoned the path of violent revolution and decided to participate in the approaching general elections, but this happened before the first general elections in 1951. The decision to participate in elections was made prior to 1951, indicating a shift in the party's approach.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

12. Which of the following statements best describes the role of factions within the Congress party in India during the early years of Indian politics?

Factions within the Congress party represented various ideological positions and engaged in healthy debate and discussion to shape party policies.

Factions within the Congress party were primarily driven by personal ambitions and rivalries, leading to internal conflicts and divisions.

Factions within the Congress party posed a challenge to the party's leadership by frequently leaving the party and forming new opposition parties.

Factions within the Congress party weakened the party's position by constantly pressurizing and criticizing its policies, often serving as alternatives to the ruling party.

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct:** Factions within the party represented different ideological positions and engaged in healthy debate and discussion to shape party policies. This statement highlights the inclusiveness and compromise that were the hallmarks of the coalition-like character of the Congress party.

**Option (b) is incorrect:** While factions within the Congress party did have personal ambitions and rivalries, leading to some internal conflicts, it does not capture the full picture. The statement overlooks the fact that despite these differences, the factions remained within the party and fought with each other rather than leaving the party and becoming an opposition. Therefore, it is not the best description of the role of factions within the Congress party.

**Option (c) is incorrect:** Even if a group was not happy with the party's position or power share, they would remain inside the party and fight other groups. This emphasizes the tolerance of internal differences within the Congress party.

**Option (d) is incorrect: Factions within the Congress party were not alternatives to the ruling party but rather constantly pressurized, criticized, censured, and influenced the Congress. They functioned as a balancing mechanism within the ruling party, and political competition took place within the Congress itself. Therefore, they were not separate opposition parties.**

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

13. Consider the following statements about the Bharatiya Jana Sangh:

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh was formed in 1951 by Shyama Prasad Mukherjee.

The party believed in the idea of one country, one culture, and one nation.

The Jana Sangh advocated for the reunification of India and Pakistan in Akhand Bharat.

The party strongly supported the granting of concessions to religious and cultural minorities.

In the 1952 general elections, the Jana Sangh secured a majority of seats in the Lok Sabha.

Which of the statements given above are correct?

1, 4 and 5 only

1, 2 and 3 only

2, 3 and 5 only

1, 2, 3, 4 and 5

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: The Bharatiya Jana Sangh was indeed formed in 1951 with Shyama Prasad Mukherjee as its founder-president.** Mukherjee played a significant role in establishing the party.

**Statement 2 is correct: The Jana Sangh emphasized the idea of one country, one culture, and one nation.** The party believed that India could achieve progress and strength by embracing and promoting Indian culture and traditions.

**Statement 3 is correct: The Jana Sangh called for the reunion of India and Pakistan in Akhand Bharat,** which refers to the concept of a unified Indian subcontinent that includes present-day India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and other neighboring regions.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: The Jana Sangh was opposed to the granting of concessions to religious and cultural minorities.** The party held a more conservative stance regarding such concessions.

**Statement 5 is incorrect: In the 1952 general elections, the Jana Sangh secured only three Lok Sabha seats.** It did not obtain a majority of seats in the Lok Sabha.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

14. During the early years of India's democracy, what role did opposition parties play in the political system?

Opposition parties had a majority representation in the Lok Sabha and state assemblies, allowing them to challenge the policies of the ruling Congress party effectively.

Opposition parties actively supported the Congress party and played a crucial role in maintaining the democratic character of the system.

The opposition parties were not significant during this period, as the Congress party accommodated all interests and aspirations for political power.

The presence of opposition parties was negligible, but they offered principled criticism of the Congress party's policies, preventing anti-democratic sentiments from emerging.

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect: During this period, opposition parties only had token representation in the Lok Sabha and state assemblies.** They did not have a majority representation, which means they did not have the power to challenge the policies of the ruling Congress party effectively.

**Option (b) is incorrect: Opposition parties did not actively support the Congress party.** Instead, these parties offered criticism and served as a democratic alternative to the Congress party. **They played a crucial role in maintaining the democratic character of the system** by providing checks and balances to the ruling party.

**Option (c) is incorrect: India had a larger number of diverse and vibrant opposition parties than many other multi-party democracies.** These parties may not have had significant representation, but their presence was important in maintaining the democratic character of the system and offering an alternative to the Congress party.

**Option (d) is correct: Opposition parties had a token representation but played a crucial role in maintaining the democratic character of the system.** They achieved this by offering sustained and often principled criticism of the Congress party's policies and practices. Their presence prevented anti-democratic sentiments from emerging.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance

15. Consider the following statements regarding Shyama Prasad Mukherjee:

He served as a minister in Jawaharlal Nehru's first cabinet after India's independence.

Shyama Prasad Mukherjee resigned from his ministerial position in 1950 due to disagreements over relations with Pakistan.

He supported India's policy of granting autonomy to Jammu & Kashmir.

Shyama Prasad Mukherjee was arrested during the Jana Sangh's protest against India's Kashmir policy.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Shyama Prasad Mukherjee was appointed as a minister in the first cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru,** the first Prime Minister of India, after India gained independence in 1947.

**Statement 2 is correct: Shyama Prasad Mukherjee did resign from his ministerial position in 1950.** The reason for his resignation was his disagreement with Jawaharlal Nehru's policy on handling relations with Pakistan.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: Shyama Prasad Mukherjee was opposed to India's policy of granting autonomy to Jammu & Kashmir.** He believed in the complete integration of Jammu & Kashmir into India and opposed the special status granted to the state.

**Statement 4 is correct: Shyama Prasad Mukherjee was indeed arrested during the Jana Sangh's protest against India's Kashmir policy.** He opposed the special status and autonomy given to Jammu & Kashmir and led an agitation against it.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 2/ Era of One-party Dominance





## CHAPTER 3: POLITICS OF PLANNED DEVELOPMENT

### INTRODUCTION

Independent India faced the challenge of economic development for the welfare of all citizens. The political decisions taken regarding development, debates surrounding them, their achievements, and limitations are important to understand. It examines the development strategy adopted in the first two decades after independence, the reasons behind this choice, its achievements, and limitations.

### POLITICAL CONTESTATION

Major decisions regarding economic development involve:

- weighing the interests of different social groups and
- considering the perspectives of present and future generations.

In a democratic system, such decisions should be taken or approved by the people through their **representatives**.

Expert advice from various fields, such as mining, environmentalism, and economics, should be considered in the decision-making process.

The final decision must be a political one

It should be made by representatives who understand the sentiments of the people.

After Independence, India had to make significant decisions which were interconnected and guided by a shared vision of:

- economic development**
- economic growth**
- social justice.**

There was disagreement on the role of the government in achieving this vision, including the need for **central planning and government involvement** in industries.

The resolution of these issues required **political judgment, consultations among political parties, and approval from the public.**

Understanding the process of development in India is crucial as it is intertwined with the history of politics in the country.

#### Orissa villagers protest against POSCO plant

The people who were facing displacement by the proposed POSCO-India steel plant in Jagatsinghpur district staged a demonstration outside the Korean company's office.

They demanded cancellation of the memorandum of understanding signed between the company and the Orissa government.

People tried to enter the office premises but the police prevented them.

Their main reason was that the company should not be allowed to set up its plant at the cost of their lives and livelihood.

This was organised by the **Rashtriya Yuva Sangathan and the Nabanirman Samiti.**

### LEFT AND RIGHT IDEOLOGY

In the politics of most countries, there are always references to parties and groups with a Left or Right ideology or leaning.

These terms characterise the position of the concerned groups or parties regarding social change and role of the state in effecting economic redistribution.

**Left** often refers to those who are in favour of the **poor, downtrodden sections and support government policies** for the benefit of these sections.

The **Right** refers to those who believe that **free competition and market economy** alone ensure progress and that the government should not unnecessarily intervene in the economy.

### IDEAS OF DEVELOPMENT

Different groups of people define "development" differently.

After Independence, there was a significant debate surrounding the concept of development in India, with the "West" serving as the benchmark for measuring progress.

The prevailing belief was that development meant becoming more like the industrialized countries of the West, associated with ideas of growth, material progress, and scientific rationality.

Two models of modern development were available:

**the liberal-capitalist model** prevalent in Europe and the US

**the socialist model followed by the USSR.**

Many in India, including leaders from the Communist Party of India, Socialist Party, and figures like Nehru, were impressed by the Soviet model, while there were few supporters of American-style capitalist development.

This reflected a consensus that had developed during the national movement, emphasizing the need for the government of free India to address economic concerns distinct from the colonial government's commercial functions.

There were debates within the nationalist leaders regarding the preferred path of development, with some favoring **industrialization** and others prioritizing **agricultural development and rural poverty alleviation.**

## PLANNING

There was a consensus that development should not be left solely to private actors, and there was a need for the government to **design and plan development.**

The idea of planning gained support globally in the 1940s and 1950s, influenced by experiences such as the Great Depression, post-war reconstruction in Japan and Germany, and the economic growth in the Soviet Union.

## PLANNING COMMISSION

The **Planning Commission** in India was established soon after Independence which played a crucial role in determining the country's development path and strategy with the **Prime Minister being its chairman.**

It became the most influential and central machinery for deciding what path and strategy India would adopt for its development.

The Planning Commission was set up in **March, 1950** by a simple resolution of the Government of India. It has an advisory role and its recommendations become effective only when the Union Cabinet approved these.

The Government of India replaced the Planning Commission with a new institution named **NITI Aayog (National Institution for Transforming India).** This came into existence on **1 January 2015.**

## BOMBAY PLAN

A section of the big industrialists got together in **1944** and drafted a joint proposal for setting up a planned economy in the country. It was called the **Bombay Plan.**

The Bombay Plan wanted the state to take **major initiatives in industrial and other economic investments.**

## BEGINNING OF INDIA'S FIVE-YEAR PLANS

The Planning Commission of India adopted the concept of five-year plans, similar to those in the USSR, for organizing the income and expenditure of country for the next five years.

The plan consists of two parts:

the **"non-plan" budget** for **routine expenses**

the **"plan" budget** for **long-term interventions** in the economy based on the plan's priorities.

Five-year plans allow the government to focus on the broader economic picture and make sustained interventions over time.

The release of the First Five Year Plan in 1951 generated significant excitement and sparked extensive discussions and debates among various segments of society.

The enthusiasm for planning peaked with the launch of the **Second Five Year Plan in 1956 and continued until the Third Five Year Plan in 1961.**

However, by the time the Fourth Plan was due to start in 1966, the novelty of planning had diminished, and India was facing severe economic crises, leading to a "**plan holiday.**"

Despite criticisms regarding the process and priorities of the plans, the foundation for India's economic development was firmly established through the planning framework.

#### **Plan Holiday**

"Plan holiday" refers to a period in India when the government temporarily suspended the implementation of the Five-Year Plans. This occurred during the Fourth Plan, which was scheduled to start in 1966. The decision to take a plan holiday was made due to various factors, including the economic challenges faced by the country at that time.

#### **THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN**

The First Five Year Plan (1951-1956) aimed to uplift the Indian economy from the cycle of **poverty.**

Economist **K.N. Raj**, involved in drafting the plan, argued that for the first two decades India should "hasten slowly" because a rapid rate of development could endanger democracy.

The First Five Year Plan addressed, mainly, the **agrarian sector including investment in dams and irrigation.**

Agricultural sector was hit hardest by Partition and needed urgent attention. Huge allocations were made for largescale projects like the Bhakra Nangal Dam.

**Land reforms** were identified as crucial for agricultural growth and overall development.

One of the basic aims of the planners was to **raise the level of national income**, which could be possible only if the people saved more money than they spent.

People's savings did rise in the first phase of the **planned process** until the end of the Third Five Year Plan.

Despite efforts, the increase in savings during the planned period was not as significant as anticipated.

From the early 1960s to the early 1970s, the proportion of savings in the country actually declined consistently.

#### **SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN (RAPID INDUSTRIALISATION)**

It was drafted under the leadership of **P. C. Mahalanobis** and mainly stressed on **heavy industries.**

Second plan wanted to bring about quick structural transformation by making changes simultaneously in all possible directions.

The goal of achieving a "**socialist pattern of society**" was declared by the Congress party at its **Avadi session**, which influenced the Second Five Year Plan.

The government implemented **tariffs on imports** to protect domestic industries, and to facilitate growth in both the public and private sectors.

With increasing savings and investment, following **industries were developed:**

- Electricity
- Railways
- Steel
- Machinery
- Communication.

**Industrialization** became a significant turning point in India's development, but it also presented challenges.

India had to rely on foreign exchange to acquire technology due to **technological backwardness.**

The emphasis on industry led to concerns about a possible shortage of food as agriculture received less investment compared to industry.

The Third Five Year Plan closely resembled the Second Plan, prompting critics to highlight an "**urban bias**" in the plan strategies.

Others thought that industry was wrongly given priority over agriculture and there were also those who wanted focus on agriculture-related industries rather than heavy ones.

**P.C.Mahalanobis(1893-1972)**

He was a scientist and statistician of international repute and founder of Indian Statistical Institute (1931).

He was architect of second plan and supported rapid industrialization in economy.

**Word Index**

**Downtrodden** : Not provided with opportunities because of having been treated unfairly by someone in authority.

**Consensus** : Agreement among a group of people

**Proposal** : a plan or an idea, which is suggested for people to think about and decide upon

**Economic crisis** : It occurs when a country's economy faces a sharp downturn as a result of a financial crisis.

**Agrarian sector** : relating to farming or farmers

**Tariff** : A tax imposed by the government of a country or by a supranational union on imports or exports of goods.

**QUESTIONS**

1. Which of the following statements best reflects the author's perspective on decision-making in a democracy?

Major decisions involving conflicting interests and long-term consequences should be solely determined by experts and technocrats to ensure unbiased outcomes.

In a democracy, major decisions with social and economic implications should involve public participation and political decision-making, informed by expert advice.

The government should delegate decision-making powers to businessmen, industrialists, and farmers for a more efficient and market-driven economic development.

The development of India should prioritize economic growth over social and economic justice, with minimal involvement of the government.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Option (b) is correct: There is a need for major decisions to be made or approved by the people themselves in a democracy.** The emphasis has been laid on the importance of public participation, political decision-making, and consultation among political parties. Expert advice is valued but should not override the ultimate political decision. While advice from experts is important, the final decision should be a political one made by people's representatives who are connected to the sentiments of the population.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 3/ Politics of Planned Development

2. Which of the following statements accurately describe the concepts of Left and Right in political ideology?

The Left advocates for government policies aimed at improving the conditions of marginalized sections of society, while the Right believes in minimal government intervention in the economy.

Left-leaning groups prioritize economic redistribution and social equality, whereas Right-leaning groups emphasize free market principles and limited government involvement.

The Left is characterized by its support for the underprivileged and its belief in government intervention for their welfare, while the Right favors a market-driven economy without excessive government interference.

Which of the statements given above are correct?

1 and 2 only

1 and 3 only

2 only

1, 2 and 3

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The Left typically supports government intervention and policies that aim to uplift marginalized groups and address social inequalities. Conversely, the Right tends to believe in limited government involvement in the economy, favoring free market principles.

**Statement 2 is correct:** Left-leaning groups tend to prioritize economic redistribution to reduce wealth disparities and promote social equality. In contrast, Right-leaning groups emphasize the importance of free market principles, such as competition and individual liberty, and prefer minimal government intervention in economic matters.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The Left supports government intervention to support underprivileged or disadvantaged groups, whereas the Right generally favors a market-driven economy with limited government interference, believing that free competition and individual initiative lead to progress.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 3/ Politics of Planned Development

3. Which of the following statements accurately reflects the perspective on development in India during the first decade after Independence?

Development in India was primarily measured against the standards of industrialized countries in the West.

The socialist model of development, as observed in the USSR, was widely embraced by the Indian leaders.

The capitalist model of development, similar to that of Europe and the US, was favored by most Indian leaders.

The nationalist leaders in India unanimously believed that poverty alleviation and economic redistribution should be the government's responsibility.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

1 and 4 only

1, 2 and 3 only

2 and 4 only

1, 2, 3 and 4

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** During the first decade after Independence, it was common for people in India to consider the 'West' as the standard for measuring development. The idea was to become more 'modern' and emulate the industrialized countries of the West.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** There were many in India who were impressed by the Soviet model of development, including leaders of the Communist Party of India, the Socialist Party, and even leaders like Nehru within the Congress. However, it does not indicate that the socialist model was 'widely' embraced by all Indian leaders.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** The capitalist model of development was not favored by most Indian leaders. In fact, there were very few supporters of the American-style capitalist development.

**Statement 4 is correct:** There was a consensus among nationalist leaders during the national movement that poverty alleviation and social and economic redistribution were primarily the responsibility of the government. It reflects the idea that the government of free India had different economic concerns compared to the colonial government, and addressing poverty and inequality was a priority.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 3/ Politics of Planned Development

4. In the context of Planning Commission, consider the following statements:

The Planning Commission was established through a resolution of the Indian Constitution.

The Planning Commission was responsible for approving the recommendations made by other commissions and bodies.

The Planning Commission had the authority to independently implement its recommendations.

The Planning Commission was replaced by NITI Aayog in 2015.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** The Planning Commission was not established through a resolution of the Indian Constitution. It was set up in March 1950 by a simple resolution of the Government of India, and it was not mentioned in the Constitution.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** The Planning Commission had an advisory role and its recommendations became effective only when approved by the Union Cabinet. It did not have the authority to approve recommendations made by other commissions and bodies.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** The Planning Commission did not have the authority to independently implement its recommendations. Its recommendations became effective only when approved by the Union Cabinet.

**Statement 4 is correct:** The Government of India replaced the Planning Commission with a new institution named NITI Aayog (National Institution for Transforming India) on January 1, 2015.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 3/ Politics of Planned Development

5. Which historical events and factors contributed to the consensus on the need for government planning in economic development?

The Great Depression in Europe

The inter-war reconstruction of Japan and Germany

The spectacular economic growth in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 1940s

The Bombay Plan proposed by private industrialists in 1944

The establishment of the Planning Commission in India after Independence

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

1, 4 and 5 only

1, 2 and 3 only



2, 3 and 5 only  
1, 2, 3, 4 and 5

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Option 1 is correct: The Great Depression in Europe contributed to the consensus on the need for government planning in economic development.** This event, characterized by a severe economic downturn and widespread unemployment, highlighted the limitations of unregulated markets and the need for state intervention to stabilize and stimulate the economy.

**Option 2 is correct: The inter-war reconstruction of Japan and Germany also played a role in the consensus for government planning.** Following World War I, both countries faced significant economic challenges and embarked on ambitious reconstruction efforts. These efforts involved extensive state involvement and planning to rebuild their economies and industries, demonstrating the effectiveness of government-led development strategies.

**Option 3 is correct: The spectacular economic growth in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 1940s contributed to the consensus on the need for government planning.** The Soviet Union's rapid industrialization and economic development during this period, often referred to as the 'Soviet Miracle,' showcased the potential benefits of centralized planning and state control over the economy.

**Option 4 is correct: The Bombay Plan, proposed by private industrialists in 1944, advocated for a planned economy in India and called for significant state involvement in industrial and economic investments.** This surprising endorsement from private actors challenged the assumption that industrialists and business entrepreneurs are averse to planning, reinforcing the idea that government-led development was a viable approach.

**Option 5 is correct: After India gained independence, the Planning Commission was established, with the Prime Minister as its Chairperson.** This institution became the central machinery for determining India's development path and strategy. Its creation reflects the commitment of the Indian government to planning and underscores the importance of government involvement in shaping the country's economic development.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 3/ Politics of Planned Development

6. Consider the following statements about India's five-year plans:

The Planning Commission of India introduced the concept of five-year plans based on the model followed by the USSR.

The first Five Year Plan was launched in 1961 and received widespread criticism for its ineffective implementation.

The five-year plans in India focused primarily on short-term goals and immediate interventions in the economy.

The government declared a 'plan holiday' during the Fourth Five Year Plan due to the declining interest in planning and economic crisis.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: The Planning Commission of India indeed adopted the concept of five-year plans from the USSR.** Inspired by the Soviet Union's successful implementation of planned economic development, India decided to implement its own series of five-year plans.

**Statement 2 is incorrect: The first Five Year Plan in India was launched in 1951, not 1961.** It aimed to develop the agricultural and industrial sectors and received considerable attention and excitement in the country. While there were criticisms of the plan, the statement does not specifically mention the first plan being ineffective in implementation.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** The question states that the five-year plans allowed the government to focus on the larger picture and make long-term interventions in the economy. **The plans were designed to guide the overall development of the country over a five-year period, incorporating both short-term and long-term goals.**

**Statement 4 is correct: By the time the Fourth Five Year Plan was due to start in 1966, the interest in planning had significantly declined, and India was facing an acute economic crisis.** As a result, the government decided to take a 'plan holiday,' which means a break from implementing a five-year plan. This decision was made due to the challenges faced by the country at that time.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 3/ Politics of Planned Development

7. Which of the following statements is correct regarding the First Five Year Plan in India?

The Plan identified land reforms as the primary obstacle to agricultural growth and emphasized their implementation.

K.N. Raj, a young economist involved in drafting the plan, advocated for rapid development to ensure the success of democracy.

The First Five Year Plan successfully raised the level of national income by reducing people's spending and increasing savings.

The proportion of savings in the country consistently increased from the early 1960s till the early 1970s.

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct: The First Five Year Plan recognized the pattern of land distribution in India as the principal obstacle to agricultural growth.** It identified land reforms as a key measure to address this issue and promote the country's overall development. The plan emphasized the implementation of land reforms to improve land distribution and enhance agricultural productivity.

**Option (b) is incorrect: K.N. Raj, a young economist involved in drafting the First Five Year Plan, actually argued for a cautious approach to development.** He believed that India should 'hasten slowly' for the first two decades to avoid endangering democracy. His viewpoint emphasized the need to balance development with the preservation of democratic values.

**Option (c) is incorrect: One of the aims of the planners during the First Five Year Plan was to raise the level of national income.** However, the plan did not focus on reducing people's spending. Instead, it sought to increase savings as a means to boost national income. The plan recognized that the basic level of spending was already low in the 1950s and could not be reduced further.

**Option (d) is incorrect: People's savings did rise during the first phase of the planned process until the end of the Third Five Year Plan.** However, the early 1960s till the early 1970s, the proportion of savings in the country actually dropped consistently.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 3/ Politics of Planned Development

8. Which statement accurately reflects the industrialization strategy during the Second Five-Year Plan in India?

The Second Five-Year Plan emphasized the development of agriculture-related industries over heavy industries.

The Second Five-Year Plan relied on extensive imports of technology to compensate for India's technological backwardness.

The Second Five-Year Plan imposed substantial tariffs on exports to protect domestic industries.

The Second Five-Year Plan aimed to achieve rapid structural transformation by implementing changes simultaneously in all possible directions.

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect: The Second Five-Year Plan focused on the growth of heavy industries rather than agriculture-related industries.** The plan aimed to promote industrialization and rapid economic development, with an emphasis on sectors such as electricity, railways, steel, machinery, and communication. The plan sought to transform India into an industrialized nation.

**Option (b) is incorrect: The industrialization efforts during the Second Five-Year Plan did require technology imports to address India's technological backwardness. However, the statement exaggerates the extent of reliance on extensive imports.** While India did import technology from the global market, it also focused on developing domestic industries and building technological capabilities within the country.

**Option (c) is incorrect: The Second Five-Year Plan aimed to protect domestic industries by imposing substantial tariffs on imports rather than exports.** The government-imposed tariffs on imports to create a protected environment for domestic industries, enabling their growth and development. The objective was to reduce dependence on imported goods and promote self-sufficiency in industrial production.

**Option (d) is correct: The plan, drafted by a team of economists and planners led by P. C. Mahalanobis, sought to bring about quick structural transformation by making changes in various sectors simultaneously.** The plan emphasized the development of heavy industries and aimed to propel industrial growth across multiple sectors.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 3/ Politics of Planned Development

9. Which renowned personality played a significant role in shaping India's scientific and statistical landscape, and advocated for rapid industrialization and the active participation of the public sector?  
Srinivasa Ramanujan

C.V. Raman

P.C. Mahalanobis

Jagadish Chandra Bose

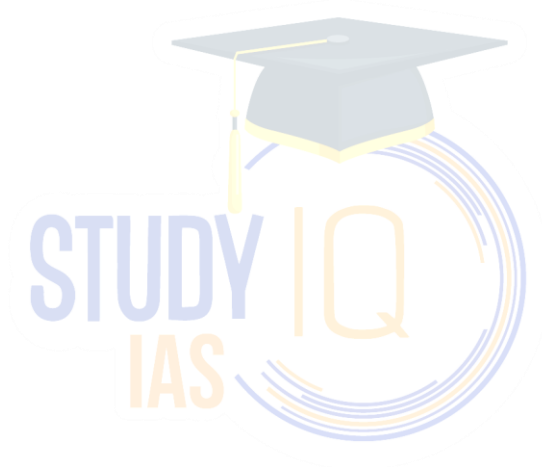
**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Option (c) is correct: P.C. Mahalanobis (1893-1972) was a prominent scientist and statistician of international repute. He is best known as the founder of the Indian Statistical Institute in 1931, an institution that played a crucial role in advancing statistical research and applications in India. Additionally, Mahalanobis was the architect of the Second Five-Year**

Plan of India, which spanned from 1956 to 1961. This plan aimed at promoting rapid industrialization in the country and emphasized the active involvement of the public sector in economic development. Mahalanobis believed that the government should play a significant role in industrial growth to ensure equitable distribution of resources and reduce socioeconomic disparities. Given his contributions to statistical research, the establishment of the Indian Statistical Institute, and his advocacy for rapid industrialization and the active role of the public sector, P.C. Mahalanobis is widely recognized as a key figure in shaping India's scientific and statistical landscape.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 3/ Politics of Planned Development



## CHAPTER 4: INDIA'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores **India's external challenges**, including the **innovative response of non-alignment**. Despite this approach, conflicts with neighbours led to **three wars** in 1962, 1965, and 1971, impacting the country's politics. The focus is on the **international context** shaping India's external relations, the **operational principles** guiding its foreign policy, the **history of relations with China and Pakistan**, and the **evolution of India's nuclear policy**.

### INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

**Post-War Reconstruction:** India faced significant challenges in the international context after Independence.

The world was dealing with post-war reconstruction, establishing international bodies, and the emergence of new countries due to the collapse of colonialism.

**India's Foreign Policy Objectives:** India's foreign policy aimed to respect the sovereignty of all nations and achieve security through peace, aligning with the Directive Principles of State Policy.

**Domestic and International Factors Influencing India's Foreign Policy:** Both domestic and international factors influenced India's foreign policy, with developing countries focusing on peace and development in their neighborhoods and occasionally influenced by more powerful states.

**India and the Cold War:** After World War II, developing nations often supported the foreign policy preferences of powerful countries providing aid or credits, leading to the division into the US-led camp and the Soviet-led camp.

India adopted a policy of non-alignment, refusing to align with either camp during the Cold War.

**India's Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era:** The end of the Cold War brought significant changes to international relations, but India's non-alignment remained a crucial aspect of its foreign policy approach.

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

**Article 51 of the Indian Constitution** lays down some Directive Principles of State Policy on 'Promotion of international peace and security'. "The State shall endeavour to (a) Promote international peace and security (b) Maintain just and honourable relations between nations (c) Foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised people with one another; and (d) Encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration."

### POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT

The Indian national movement was part of the global **anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle**.

The Indian National Army (INA) by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was a **link between India and overseas Indians** during the freedom struggle.

The foreign policy of independent India was influenced by the **ideals of the freedom struggle and the Cold war era**.

India pursued its national interests within the international context of the **UN, nuclear weapons, Communist China, and decolonisation**.

### NEHRU'S ROLE

Jawaharlal Nehru, the **first Prime Minister of India**, held a significant influence on the formulation and implementation of the country's **foreign policy between 1946 and 1964**.

As both the **Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister**, he played a crucial role in setting the national agenda. Nehru's foreign policy **had three main objectives**:

- preserving sovereignty
- protecting territorial integrity
- promoting rapid economic development

Nehru's **strategy** for achieving these objectives was **non-alignment**, meaning India would maintain independence from both the US-led bloc and the Soviet-led bloc during the Cold War.

While some parties and groups in India advocated for a pro-US foreign policy, Nehru had significant autonomy in shaping the country's foreign relations.

### DISTANCE FROM TWO CAMPS

Independent India pursued a **foreign policy of non-alignment**, distancing itself from both the **US-led NATO and the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact during the Cold War era**.

**India aimed to promote a peaceful world** and reduce Cold War tensions. While advocating non-alignment, India maintained an independent stance on various international issues, even though it faced challenges in balancing its positions.

**In 1956, India protested against Britain's attack on Egypt** over the Suez Canal issue but did not join the public condemnation of the USSR's invasion of Hungary in the same year.

**India's non-alignment policy** sometimes led to unease in its relations with the US, **as the US preferred a pro-Western alignment**.

Additionally, India's planned economic development strategy, which emphasized import-substitution and limited export-oriented growth, **limited its economic interaction with the outside world**.

### AFRO-ASIAN UNITY

**Vision for India's Role:** Nehru saw India playing a major role in world affairs, particularly in Asian affairs, given its size, location, and power potential.

Nehru's era saw India forging contacts with other newly independent states in Asia and Africa.

Nehru was a strong proponent of Asian unity throughout the 1940s and 1950s.

**Asian Relations Conference:** India, under Nehru's leadership, organized the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947, before attaining independence.

**Support for Indonesia's Freedom:** India actively supported Indonesia's freedom struggle against the Dutch colonial regime and convened an international conference in 1949 to aid their cause.

**Champion of Decolonization:** India firmly supported the process of decolonization and opposed racism, particularly apartheid in South Africa.

**The Bandung Conference (1955):** The Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, marked the pinnacle of India's engagement with newly independent Asian and African nations.

The **Bandung Conference paved the way** for the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

**Nehru as Co-Founder of NAM:** Nehru played a crucial role as a co-founder of the Non-Aligned Movement **during the First NAM Summit held in Belgrade in September 1961**.

### PEACE AND CONFLICT WITH CHINA

**Friendly Beginnings:** After the Chinese revolution in **1949**, India established a friendly relationship with China and was one of the first countries to recognize the communist government.

**Supporting China's Emergence:** Nehru strongly supported China's emergence from western domination and assisted the new government in international fora.



**Panchsheel:** In April 1954, Nehru and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai jointly declared the **Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence**, known as **Panchsheel**, to strengthen their bilateral relationship.

**High-Level Visits:** Leaders from both nations visited each other's countries, fostering warmth and friendship among the people.

**Border Security:** Initially, the Chinese-Indian border was guarded by paramilitary forces, not the army.

## Tibet

**Tibet, a plateau in central Asia**, has been a major issue of tension between India and China throughout history.

China has claimed administrative control over Tibet at various times, but Tibet has also been independent.

**In 1950, China took over control of Tibet**, leading to opposition from large sections of the Tibetan population.

India tried to persuade China to recognize Tibet's claims for independence.

The **Panchsheel agreement was signed in 1954**, where India conceded China's claim over Tibet through a clause about respecting each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

The Tibetan spiritual leader, Dalai Lama, accompanied the **Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai during a visit to India in 1956**, informing about the worsening situation in Tibet.

In 1958, an armed uprising in Tibet against China's occupation was suppressed by Chinese forces. In 1959, the **Dalai Lama sought asylum in India**, which led to strong protests from the Chinese government.

**Over the last half-century**, a large number of Tibetans have sought refuge in India and other countries, with significant settlements in **Delhi and Dharmashala**, Himachal Pradesh.

Many Indian political leaders and parties, including the **Socialist Party and Jan Sangh**, supported Tibet's independence cause in the **1950s and 1960s**.

China has created the Tibet Autonomous Region, which Tibetans oppose, claiming it as an integral part of China.

Tibetans also oppose China's policy of bringing in more Chinese settlers and dispute the autonomy granted to the region.

They fear that China aims to undermine the traditional religion and culture of Tibet.



## CHINESE INVASION, 1962

**Reasons Behind Tensions:** The relationship between India and China was strained by two significant developments.

**First, China's annexation of Tibet** in 1950 removed a historical buffer between the two countries, leading to **growing unease in India due to the suppression of Tibetan culture**. The **Dalai Lama sought political asylum** in India, further exacerbating tensions.

**Second, a boundary dispute** emerged between India and China, with conflicting claims over the Aksai Chin area in Ladakh and much of the state of **Arunachal Pradesh (then NEFA)**. Despite attempts at resolution, differences persisted, and border skirmishes occurred.

**Chinese Invasion: In October 1962**, during the **Cuban Missile Crisis**, China launched a swift and massive invasion into both disputed regions.

The conflict lasted for a week, with Chinese forces capturing key areas in Arunachal Pradesh. Although India managed to block Chinese advances in Ladakh, the eastern front witnessed Chinese troops nearly reaching the entry point of Assam plains.

**China declared a unilateral ceasefire** and withdrew its troops to pre-invasion positions.

**Impact of War:** The war dented India's image domestically and internationally, and it had to seek military assistance from the United States and the United Kingdom.

A no-confidence motion against Nehru's government was debated in the Lok Sabha, and the Congress lost key by-elections.

The conflict also **affected the Communist Party of India (CPI), leading to irreconcilable differences**. The pro-USSR faction moved closer to the Congress, while the pro-China faction split from the CPI and formed the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M).

The war also prompted the reorganization of India's Northeast region, with **Nagaland being granted statehood and Manipur and Tripura** gaining the right to elect their legislative assemblies.

### SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS SINCE 1962

It took more than a decade for India and China to resume normal relations. It was in 1976 that full diplomatic relations were restored between the two countries. Atal Behari Vajpayee was the first top level leader (he was then External Affairs Minister) to visit China in 1979. Later, Rajiv Gandhi became the first Prime Minister after Nehru to visit China. Since then, the emphasis is more on trade relations between the two countries. In the book, Contemporary World Politics, you have already read about these developments.

## WARS AND PEACE WITH PAKISTAN

**Kashmir Conflict:** The conflict between India and Pakistan started just after Partition, primarily over the dispute on Kashmir.

A proxy war erupted in Kashmir in 1947, leading to a **referral of the issue to the UN**.

Despite the Kashmir conflict, **both countries cooperated on various matters**, such as the restoration of abducted women during Partition and resolving a long-term dispute over sharing river waters through the **Indus Waters Treaty, signed in 1960**.

**War of 1965:** A more serious armed conflict between India and Pakistan occurred in 1965.

Pakistan launched **armed attacks in the Rann of Kutch area of Gujarat** in April 1965, followed by a larger offensive in Jammu and Kashmir in August-September.

In response, India conducted a counter-offensive on the **Punjab border, with the Indian army coming close to Lahore**.

**UN intervention led to the end of hostilities**, and the Tashkent Agreement was signed between Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistan's General Ayub Khan in January 1966.

The 1965 war worsened India's economic situation.

## BANGLADESH WAR, 1971

**Reasons:** In 1971, Pakistan faced a major internal crisis after its first general election produced a split verdict, with the Awami League winning in **East Pakistan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's party in West Pakistan.**

The Pakistani rulers refused to accept the democratic verdict and unleashed a reign of terror on East Pakistan, leading to a struggle for liberation by the people of Bangladesh.

India provided moral and material support **to the freedom struggle** and had to **bear the burden of about 80 lakh refugees who fled to India.**

**War of 1971:** Support for Pakistan came from the **US and China, while India signed a 20-year Treaty of Peace and Friendship** with the Soviet Union to counter the US-Pakistan-China axis.

**In December 1971**, a full-scale war broke out between India and Pakistan.

India achieved a decisive victory, leading to the creation of Bangladesh as a free country.

The war strengthened India's military image and boosted Indira Gandhi's popularity as Prime Minister.

The **Shimla Agreement** formalized the return of peace.

**Impact on India:** The **conflicts with neighbors** disrupted India's development planning, diverting scarce resources to the defense sector.

India had to embark on a military modernization drive **after the 1962 war with China, leading to a significant increase in defense expenditure.**

The **Department of Defence Production** was established in **November 1962** and the Department of Defence Supplies in November 1965.

The **Third Plan (1961-66)** was affected and it was followed by three Annual Plans and the Fourth Plan could be initiated only in 1969.

### KARGIL CONFRONTATION

In the early part of 1999 several points on the Indian side of the **LoC in the Mashkoh, Dras, Kaksar and Batalik areas** were occupied by forces claiming to be Mujahideens.

Suspecting involvement of the Pakistan Army, Indian forces started reacting to this occupation.

This led to a confrontation between the two countries. This is known as the Kargil conflict.

This conflict went on during **May and June 1999**. By 26 July 1999, India had recovered control of many of the lost points.

The Kargil conflict drew attention worldwide for the reason that only one year prior to that, both India and Pakistan had attained nuclear capability.

However, this conflict remained confined only to the Kargil region. In Pakistan, this conflict has been the source of a major controversy as it was alleged later that the **Prime Minister of Pakistan was kept in the dark by the Army Chief.**

Soon after the conflict, the government of Pakistan was taken over by the Pakistan Army led by the Army Chief, General Pervez Musharraf.

## INDIA'S NUCLEAR POLICY

India conducted its first nuclear explosion in **May 1974**.

Nehru believed in science and technology for India's rapid development and initiated the **nuclear program in the late 1940s for peaceful purposes.**

Nehru advocated for comprehensive nuclear disarmament and opposed nuclear weapons.

Despite India's pleas, the nuclear arsenal of major powers continued to grow.

**After China's nuclear tests in 1964**, the **five nuclear weapon powers** tried to impose the discriminatory **Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968** on the rest of the world.

India considered the NPT as discriminatory and refused to sign it.

India conducted its first nuclear test, terming it a **"peaceful explosion,"** reaffirming its commitment to using nuclear power only for peaceful purposes.

**Challenging Domestic Politics:** The period of the nuclear test was marked by difficult domestic politics, including economic turmoil due to the **Oil Shock of 1973** and agitations in the country.

Despite minor differences among political parties on external relations, Indian politics generally agrees on national integration, protection of international boundaries, and national interests.

Foreign policy has played a limited role in party politics, even during challenging times like the **three wars India faced from 1962 to 1971.**

### INDIA'S NUCLEAR PROGRAMME

**India opposed international treaties** like the **NPT and the CTBT** as they were seen as selectively applicable to non-nuclear powers, while legitimizing the monopoly of the five nuclear weapons states.

**In 1995, India opposed the indefinite extension** of the NPT, and it also refused to sign the CTBT. In response, India conducted nuclear tests in May 1998, demonstrating its capacity for military use of nuclear energy. Pakistan followed suit, increasing the risk of a nuclear exchange in the region.

The international community criticized the tests, leading to sanctions on both India and Pakistan, which were later waived.

India's nuclear doctrine advocates credible minimum nuclear deterrence with a **"no first use" policy**. It emphasizes India's commitment to global, verifiable, and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament, aiming for a nuclear weapons-free world.

### Points to remember

**V.K. Krishna Menon (1897-1974)**

Diplomat and minister; active in the Labour Party in UK between 1934-1947; Indian High Commissioner in UK and later head of India's delegation to UN; Rajya Sabha MP and later Lok Sabha MP; member of the Union Cabinet from 1956; Defence Minister since 1957; considered very close to Nehru; resigned after the India-China war in 1962.

### QUESTIONS

1. Consider the following statements regarding India's foreign policy during the 1950s and 1960s in the context of global politics:

India pursued a non-aligned foreign policy, refusing to align with either the United States or the Soviet Union.

India actively engaged in international conflicts to assert its sovereignty and security.

India primarily focused on domestic issues and did not actively participate in global politics.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: India adopted a non-aligned foreign policy during the Cold War. It refused to align with either the United States or the Soviet Union and instead maintained its neutrality and independence.** India played a significant role in the Non-Aligned Movement, which advocated for the interests of developing nations.

**Statement 2 is incorrect: India did not engage in international conflicts during the 1950s and 1960s. Instead, India focused on maintaining peace, promoting development, and asserting its sovereignty through diplomatic means.** India's foreign policy emphasized non-violence and peaceful coexistence.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: While India did prioritize addressing domestic issues, it also actively participated in global politics during the 1950s and 1960s.** India played a prominent role in the Non-Aligned Movement, championing the cause of developing nations and advocating for peace and disarmament on the international stage.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

2. Consider the following statements regarding the Directive Principles of State Policy on 'Promotion of international peace and security' under Article 51 of the Indian Constitution:

The State shall strive to maintain just and honorable relations between nations.

The State shall promote international peace and security.

The State shall prioritize national interests over international cooperation.

The State shall encourage settlement of international disputes by military intervention.

How many of the above statements are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** This statement aligns with the principles mentioned in Article 51 of the Indian Constitution. **It emphasizes the State's responsibility to foster just and honorable relations between nations, promoting mutual respect and cooperation.**

**Statement 2 is correct: Article 51 of the Indian Constitution mandates the State to endeavor to promote international peace and security.** It reflects the commitment of the State to work towards global peace and security through various diplomatic, political, and cooperative measures.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: The principles mentioned in Article 51 of the Indian Constitution do not imply prioritizing national interests over international cooperation.** Instead, they emphasize the promotion of international peace, just relations between nations, and respect for international law and treaty obligations.

**Statement 4 is incorrect:** Article 51 of the Indian Constitution, in relation to the promotion of international peace and security, specifically mentions encouraging settlement of international disputes by arbitration. **Military intervention is not mentioned as a means of resolving international disputes.**

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

3. Which of the following statements accurately reflects the policy of non-alignment adopted by India after attaining independence?

The policy of non-alignment was a result of India's isolation from the worldwide struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

The creation of the Indian National Army (INA) during the Second World War strengthened India's alignment with the superpowers, the US and the USSR.

India's foreign policy was shaped by its noble ideals and the global context of the Cold War era.



The policy of non-alignment was primarily driven by India's pursuit of economic dominance in the international arena.

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect:** The Indian national movement was not an isolated process and that it was part of the worldwide struggle against colonialism and imperialism. India had contacts with nationalist leaders of other colonies, indicating a connection and unity in their struggle.

**Option (b) is incorrect:** The creation of the Indian National Army (INA) by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose during the Second World War was not a factor that strengthened India's alignment with the superpowers, the US and the USSR. In fact, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose sought support from various countries, including Germany and Japan, in his fight against British colonial rule.

**Option (c) is correct:** India's foreign policy was influenced by the noble ideals that inspired its struggle for freedom, as well as the global context of the Cold War era. The interplay of domestic and external factors, including the prevailing international circumstances, shaped India's foreign policy decisions.

**Option (d) is incorrect:** While economic considerations are part of any nation's foreign policy, India's foreign policy was influenced by its struggle against colonialism and imperialism, as well as the global context of the Cold War era.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

4. Consider the following statements about Jawaharlal Nehru's role in India's foreign policy:
- Jawaharlal Nehru served as both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of India from 1946 to 1964.
  - Nehru's foreign policy aimed to preserve sovereignty, protect territorial integrity, and promote rapid economic development.
  - Nehru advocated for a pro-US foreign policy and aligned India with the bloc led by the United States.
  - Nehru's foreign policy strategy was primarily based on nonalignment and independence from any major power bloc.
- How many of the statements given above are correct?
- All four
  - Only one
  - Only two
  - Only three

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** Jawaharlal Nehru held the position of both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of India during the period mentioned, from 1946 to 1964. As the Prime Minister, he had significant influence over the formulation and implementation of India's foreign policy.

**Statement 2 is correct:** One of the major objectives of Nehru's foreign policy was to preserve India's hard-earned sovereignty and protect its territorial integrity. Additionally, he sought to promote rapid economic development in the country through various policies and initiatives.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** Nehru's foreign policy was based on the strategy of nonalignment. While there were some groups and political parties in India, such as the Bharatiya Jan



Sangh and the Swatantra Party, that favored a pro-US foreign policy, Nehru maintained a stance of nonalignment and sought to maintain independence from any major power bloc.

**Statement 4 is correct: Nehru's foreign policy strategy was indeed based on nonalignment, which meant maintaining independence and not aligning with any major power bloc such as the United States or the Soviet Union during the Cold War era.** Nehru believed in maintaining India's sovereignty and not becoming entangled in the rivalries of major powers.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

5. Consider the following statements about India's foreign policy during the Cold War era:
- India joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) to counter the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact.
  - India advocated the policy of non-alignment and did not join either the US-led camp or the Soviet-led camp.
  - India condemned the neo-colonial invasion of Egypt by Britain over the Suez Canal issue in 1956.
  - India publicly condemned the Soviet Union's invasion of Hungary in 1956.
- How many of the statements given above are correct?
- Only one
  - Only two
  - Only three
  - All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect: India did not join either of the two camps during the Cold War era.** India wanted to maintain a policy of non-alignment and keep away from military alliances led by the United States and the Soviet Union.

**Statement 2 is correct: India pursued a policy of non-alignment during the Cold War era.** India wanted to distance itself from the military alliances of the United States and the Soviet Union and maintain an independent foreign policy approach.

**Statement 3 is correct: In 1956, when Britain attacked Egypt over the Suez Canal issue, India led the world protest against this neo-colonial invasion. It highlights India's independent stand on international issues.**

**Statement 4 is incorrect: In the same year, when the Soviet Union invaded Hungary, India did not join in its public condemnation.** This suggests that India did not publicly condemn the Soviet Union's invasion of Hungary.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

6. Consider the following statements regarding India's role in promoting Afro-Asian unity during Nehru's era:
- India organized the Asian Relations Conference in 1947, prior to gaining independence, to foster Asian unity.
  - India actively supported the freedom struggle of Indonesia against the Dutch colonial regime by hosting an international conference in 1949.
  - The Bandung Conference held in 1955 in Indonesia marked the culmination of India's engagement with newly independent Asian and African nations.

Nehru co-founded the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and participated in its first summit held in Belgrade in 1961.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

- Only one
- Only two
- Only three
- All four

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: India indeed organized the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947, five months before gaining independence from British colonial rule.** The conference aimed to promote dialogue and understanding among Asian countries and to lay the foundation for future cooperation and unity in the region.

**Statement 2 is correct: India made earnest efforts to support Indonesia's fight for independence from Dutch colonial rule.** In 1949, India convened an international conference to garner support for Indonesia's freedom struggle. This conference aimed to rally international support and put pressure on the Dutch colonial regime to grant Indonesia its independence.

**Statement 3 is correct: The Bandung Conference, also known as the Afro-Asian Conference, took place in the Indonesian city of Bandung in 1955.** It marked a significant milestone in India's engagement with newly independent nations from Asia and Africa. The conference aimed to promote solidarity, cooperation, and non-alignment among these nations and contributed to the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

**Statement 4 is correct: Nehru was one of the co-founders of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), which emerged as a result of the Bandung Conference.** The first summit of the NAM was held in Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia, in September 1961. Nehru actively participated in this summit, further emphasizing India's commitment to non-alignment and fostering unity among developing nations.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

7. Consider the following statements about India's relationship with China:

India recognized China's communist government after the Chinese revolution in 1949.

Vallabhbhai Patel, along with Nehru, supported the idea of a friendly relationship with China.

The Indian and Chinese leaders jointly formulated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

The Chinese border was primarily guarded by the Indian army during the early years of their relationship.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

- Only one
- Only two
- Only three
- All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: After the Chinese revolution in 1949, India was one of the first countries to recognize the communist government in China.** India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, believed in the importance of supporting China as it emerged from the shadow of western domination.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** While Nehru supported a friendly relationship with China, Vallabhbhai Patel, another prominent leader in India at that time, expressed concerns about a possible Chinese aggression in the future. There were differing views among Indian leaders regarding the nature of India's relationship with China.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The joint enunciation of Panchsheel, also known as the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, took place on 29 April 1954. It was a significant step towards strengthening the relationship between India and China. The principles emphasized mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, and peaceful coexistence.

**Statement 4 is incorrect:** During the early years of India's relationship with China, the Chinese border was primarily guarded by paramilitary forces, not the Indian army. Nehru believed that maintaining paramilitary forces would suffice for border security and did not anticipate a military conflict with China. However, this perception changed later, leading to a significant military confrontation between India and China in 1962.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

8. Consider the following statements about the historical tensions between India and China regarding Tibet:

The Panchsheel agreement signed between India and China in 1954 recognized Tibet's claims for independence.

China has granted greater autonomy to Tibet than any other region within its territory.

The Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh in India supported China's claim over Tibet's independence in the 1950s and 1960s.

Tibetans in India and other countries dispute China's claim of Tibet being part of its territory and the policy of increasing Chinese settlers.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** The Panchsheel agreement, also known as the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, focused on principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. It did not specifically address Tibet's claims for independence.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** While China claims to have granted autonomy to Tibet by establishing the Tibet Autonomous Region, many Tibetans dispute the level of autonomy granted and believe that China aims to undermine Tibet's traditional religion and culture.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** The Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh in India actually supported the cause of Tibet's independence during the 1950s and 1960s.

**Statement 4 is correct:** Tibetans in India and elsewhere often dispute China's claim that Tibet is an integral part of its territory. They also oppose the policy of increasing Chinese settlers in Tibet, which they believe undermines Tibetan culture and identity.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

9. Which Indian diplomat and minister was actively involved in the Labour Party in the UK from 1934 to 1947, served as the Indian High Commissioner in the UK, and later headed India's delegation to the United Nations?
- Deen Dayal Upadhyaya  
A. K Gopalan  
V. K. Menon  
Rafi Ahmed Kidwai

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Option (c) is correct: V.K. Krishna Menon, also known as V.K. Menon, was an Indian diplomat and minister who was actively involved in the Labour Party in the UK from 1934 to 1947. He served as the Indian High Commissioner in the UK and later headed India's delegation to the United Nations.** Deen Dayal Upadhyaya was an Indian politician associated with the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (predecessor of the Bharatiya Janata Party). A.K. Gopalan was an Indian communist leader. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was an Indian independence activist and politician associated with the Indian National Congress. None of them fit the given description.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

10. Which of the following statements regarding the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 is correct?
- The Chinese invasion in 1962 was a response to India's support for Tibetan independence.  
India's opposition to China's annexation of Tibet strained the relationship between the two countries.  
The boundary dispute between India and China was primarily about the southern end of the long border.  
The Cuban Missile Crisis overshadowed the Chinese invasion, leading to a delayed response from the international community.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect: The Chinese invasion in 1962 was primarily a result of the boundary dispute and strategic considerations, rather than India's support for Tibetan independence.**

**Option (b) is correct: The annexation of Tibet by China and India's growing unease over the suppression of Tibetan culture did strain the relationship between the two countries.** The Dalai Lama seeking political asylum in India further added to the tension.

**Option (c) is incorrect: The main dispute between India and China was about the western and eastern ends of the long border, specifically the Aksai Chin area in Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh (then NEFA).**

**Option (d) is incorrect: The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Chinese invasion of 1962 were separate events, and there is no indication that the Cuban Missile Crisis overshadowed the Chinese invasion or led to a delayed international response.**

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

11. Which of the following statements regarding wars and peace between India and Pakistan is correct?

The Indian and Pakistani armies engaged in a proxy war in Kashmir during 1947, which led to a full-scale war between the two countries.

The Kashmir conflict prevented any form of cooperation between the governments of India and Pakistan.

The India-Pakistan Indus Waters Treaty, signed in 1960, successfully resolved the long-term dispute over the sharing of river waters.

The Tashkent Agreement, brokered by the Soviet Union in January 1966, resulted in a military victory for Pakistan during the 1965 war.

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect:** After the conflict began in 1947, a proxy war did break out between the Indian and Pakistani armies in Kashmir. **However, this proxy war did not escalate into a full-scale war between the two countries at that time.**

**Option (b) is incorrect:** Despite the Kashmir conflict, there were instances of cooperation between the governments of India and Pakistan. For example, both governments worked together to restore women abducted during Partition to their original families. Additionally, a long-term dispute about the sharing of river waters was resolved through mediation by the World Bank, leading to the signing of the India-Pakistan Indus Waters Treaty in 1960.

**Option (c) is correct:** The India-Pakistan Indus Waters Treaty, signed in 1960, indeed resolved the long-standing dispute over the sharing of river waters between the two countries. The treaty was signed by Indian Prime Minister Nehru and Pakistan's General Ayub Khan and has been effective in managing water resources between the two nations.

**Option (d) is incorrect:** The Tashkent Agreement, signed in January 1966, did not result in a military victory for either India or Pakistan during the 1965 war. It was a peace agreement brokered by the Soviet Union to end the hostilities between the two countries. The agreement was signed by Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistan's General Ayub Khan.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

12. Which of the following statements about the Bangladesh war in 1971 is correct?

The split verdict in Pakistan's first general election led to a demand for a federation by the Awami League in East Pakistan.

The Pakistani army arrested Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and unleashed a reign of terror on the people of East Pakistan.

India signed a 20-year Treaty of Peace and Friendship with China in August 1971 to counter the US-Pakistan-China axis.

The Indian army surrounded Dhaka from three sides within ten days, leading to the surrender of the Pakistani army.

The Shimla Agreement between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Mujib-ur Rahman formalized the return of peace between India and Bangladesh.

The Bangladesh war in 1971 resulted in a significant decrease in India's defense expenditure.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

2, 3 and 4 only

1 and 4 only

1, 3, 5 and 6 only

2, 4, 5 and 6 only

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The 1970 general election in Pakistan resulted in a split verdict, with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's party winning in West Pakistan and the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujib-ur Rahman sweeping through East Pakistan. The election outcome led to demands for a federation by the Awami League in East Pakistan.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** It was Sheikh Mujib-ur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, who was arrested by the Pakistani army in early 1971. The Pakistani army's actions led to a reign of terror on the people of East Pakistan, but Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was not arrested during this period.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** In response to the US-China rapprochement and their support for Pakistan, India signed a 20-year Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union in August 1971. The treaty aimed to counter the US-Pakistan-China axis and provided India with Soviet support if the country faced any attack.

**Statement 4 is correct:** During the Bangladesh war in 1971, the Indian army made rapid progress in East Pakistan. Within ten days, they surrounded Dhaka (the capital of East Pakistan, present-day Bangladesh) from three sides. The Pakistani army, numbering around 90,000, was eventually forced to surrender, leading to the liberation of Bangladesh.

**Statement 5 is incorrect:** The Shimla Agreement was signed between Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the President of Pakistan, on July 3, 1972. The agreement formalized the return of peace between India and Pakistan after the Bangladesh war, not between India and Bangladesh specifically.

**Statement 6 is incorrect:** The Bangladesh war in 1971 led to an increase, not a decrease, in India's defense expenditure. India had to divert scarce resources to the defense sector and embark on a military modernization drive. The war resulted in a significant strain on India's resources due to the need for military mobilization.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

13. Consider the following statements regarding the Kargil conflict of 1999:

The Kargil conflict occurred when forces claiming to be Mujahideens occupied several points on the Indian side of the LoC in the Mashkoh, Dras, Kaksar, and Batalik areas.

The Kargil conflict was limited to the Kargil region and did not escalate into a full-scale war between India and Pakistan.

The Kargil conflict drew international attention due to both India and Pakistan acquiring nuclear capabilities in the preceding year.

Following the Kargil conflict, the Prime Minister of Pakistan was alleged to have been kept unaware by the Army Chief, leading to a major controversy.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The Kargil conflict of 1999 started when forces claiming to be Mujahideens, but actually consisting of Pakistani soldiers and militants, occupied strategic positions on the Indian side of the Line of Control (LoC) in the Mashkoh, Dras, Kaksar, and Batalik areas.



**Statement 2 is correct: The Kargil conflict remained limited to the Kargil region and did not escalate into a full-scale war between India and Pakistan.** The Indian military launched Operation Vijay to push back the infiltrators and regain control of the occupied positions. The conflict was resolved without further escalation.

**Statement 3 is correct: The Kargil conflict drew international attention due to the nuclear capabilities of both India and Pakistan.** In 1998, India and Pakistan had conducted nuclear tests, becoming nuclear-armed nations. The proximity of the conflict to the nuclear-armed regions raised concerns about the potential for a nuclear confrontation between the two countries.

**Statement 4 is correct: Following the Kargil conflict, a major controversy emerged in Pakistan regarding the alleged lack of information provided to the Prime Minister by the Army Chief.** It was claimed that the Prime Minister of Pakistan at the time, Nawaz Sharif, was kept unaware of the extent of Pakistani involvement in the conflict. This controversy eventually led to the government of Pakistan being taken over by the Pakistan Army, led by General Pervez Musharraf.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

14. Which of the following statements about India's nuclear policy is **not** correct?

India conducted its first nuclear test in May 1974 under the leadership of Homi J. Bhabha.

India refused to sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968, considering it discriminatory.

The nuclear test conducted by India in 1974 was referred to as a peaceful explosion.

The Oil Shock caused by the Arab-Israel War in 1973 had no impact on India's nuclear program.

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct: India conducted its first nuclear test in May 1974, known as the 'Smiling Buddha' test, under the leadership of Homi J. Bhabha, who played a significant role in initiating India's nuclear program.**

**Option (b) is correct: India did not sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968.** India considered the treaty discriminatory because it was perceived to maintain a distinction between the nuclear weapon states (the US, USSR, UK, France, and China) and the non-nuclear weapon states.

**Option (c) is correct: India referred to its nuclear test conducted in 1974 as a peaceful explosion.** The purpose of the test was to demonstrate India's capability to generate atomic energy for peaceful purposes rather than developing nuclear weapons.

**Option (d) is incorrect: The Oil Shock resulting from the Arab-Israel War in 1973 did have an impact on India's nuclear program.** It led to economic turmoil in India, resulting in high inflation and affecting various sectors, including the nuclear program.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations

15. Which of the following statements about Shifting power alliance in world politics from 1970s to 1990s is correct?

The Janata Party government, which came to power in 1977, adopted a pro-Soviet foreign policy and sought closer ties with China.

India's foreign policy has shifted towards a more pro-US strategy due to Russia's declining global influence and the growing importance of economic interests.

The post-1990 ruling parties in India have consistently pursued a pro-Pakistan foreign policy, leading to criticism from the public.

The recent developments in Indo-Pakistan relations have resulted in the complete resolution of the Kashmir issue and the establishment of a lasting peace between the two countries.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

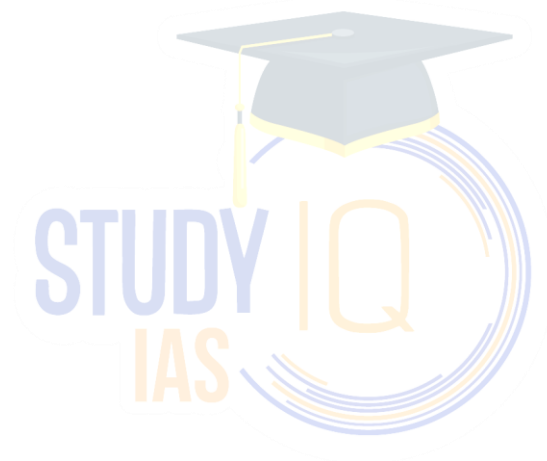
**Option (a) is incorrect: The Janata Party government announced it would follow genuine non-alignment and correct the pro-Soviet tilt in foreign policy.** It did not mention seeking closer ties with China.

**Option (b) is correct: India's foreign policy has shifted to a more pro-US strategy due to Russia's declining global pre-eminence and the influence of economic interests.**

**Option (c) is incorrect: The Post-1990 ruling parties did not consistently pursue a pro-Pakistan foreign policy.** The efforts have been made to restore normal relations with Pakistan, but does not indicate a consistent pro-Pakistan stance.

**Option (d) is incorrect: Kashmir continues to be the main issue between India and Pakistan,** and while efforts have been made to restore normal relations and negotiate durable peace, there is no mention of a complete resolution or lasting peace.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 4/ India's External Relations



## CHAPTER 5: CHALLENGES TO AND RESTORATION OF CONGRESS SYSTEM

### INTRODUCTION

As political competition became more intense, the Congress found it difficult to retain its dominance. It faced challenges from the opposition that was more powerful and less divided than before. The Congress also faced challenges from within, as the party could no longer accommodate all kinds of differences. It focuses on the political transition after Nehru and the leadership of Indira Gandhi, who played a significant role in overcoming these challenges.

### CHALLENGES OF POLITICAL SUCCESSION

The 1960s were labelled as the '**dangerous decade**' when unresolved problems like poverty, inequality, communal and regional divisions etc. could lead to a failure of the democratic project or even the disintegration of the country.

The passing of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in **May 1964** generated speculations about succession

There were doubts if the new leadership would be able to handle the multiple crises that awaited a solution.

It was feared that India would not be able to manage a **democratic succession**.

But succession after Nehru took place easily and proved all the critics wrong.

### FROM NEHRU TO SHASTRI

**K. Kamraj**, the president of the Congress party consulted party leaders and Congress members of Parliament for the succession after Nehru passed away.

**Lal Bahadur Shastri Ji** was unanimously chosen as the leader of the Congress parliamentary party and became the country's **next Prime Minister from 1964-1966**.

Shastri was a non-controversial leader from Uttar Pradesh who had been a Minister in Nehru's cabinet for many years.

He also participated in the freedom movement since 1930.

He was a Minister in Union Cabinet from 1951 to 1956 when he resigned after taking responsibility for the railway accident.

During Shastri's brief Prime Ministership, the country faced **two major challenges**:

**Food Crisis:** While India was still recovering from the economic implications of the war with China, failed monsoons, drought and serious food crisis presented a grave challenge.

**War with Pakistan:** The country also faced a war with Pakistan in 1965.

His famous slogan '**Jai Jawan Jai Kisan**', symbolised the country's resolve to face both these challenges.

Shastri's Prime Ministership came to an abrupt end on 10 January 1966, when he suddenly expired in **Tashkent**, then in USSR and currently the capital of Uzbekistan.

He was there to **discuss and sign** an agreement with **Muhammad Ayub Khan**, the then President of Pakistan, **to end the war**.

### FROM SHASTRI TO INDIRA GANDHI

The Congress party faced its **second challenge of political succession** within a span of two years.

The competition for leadership primarily revolved around **Morarji Desai and Indira Gandhi**.

**Morarji Desai** had previously held the position of Chief Minister of Bombay state and had served as a Minister at the central level.

**Indira Gandhi**, the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, had previously been the Congress President and had also served as the Union Minister for Information in the Shastri cabinet.

This contest for leadership was ultimately resolved through a secret ballot among Congress Members of Parliament (MPs), in which Indira Gandhi emerged victorious with the support of over **two-thirds** of the party's MPs.

Within a year of becoming Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi had to lead the party in a Lok Sabha election. Around this time, the economic situation in the country had further deteriorated, adding to her problems.

Faced with these difficulties, she set out to gain control over the party and to demonstrate her leadership skills.

**Indira Gandhi (1917-1984):**

She was Prime Minister of India from 1966 to 1977 and 1980 to 1984 and daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru

She participated in the freedom struggle as a young Congress worker

She served as a Congress President in 1958 and minister in Shastri's cabinet from 1964-1966.

She led the Congress party to victory in 1967, 1971 and 1980 general elections and credited with the slogan '**garibi hatao**'.

She implemented policy initiatives like **abolition of Privy Purse, nationalisation of banks, nuclear test and environmental protection.**

Indira Gandhi was **assassinated on October 31, 1984.**

**FOURTH GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1967****CONTEXT OF THE ELECTIONS**

In the years leading up to the fourth general elections, the country witnessed major changes.

The period was fraught with grave **economic crisis resulting from:**

successive failure of monsoons

widespread drought

decline in agricultural production

serious food shortage

depletion of foreign exchange reserves

drop in industrial production and exports combined with a sharp rise in military expenditure and

diversion of resources from planning and economic development.

Indira Gandhi's government decided **to devalue the Indian rupee** under the pressure from US. US dollar which could be purchased for less than Rs. 5 costed more than Rs. 7 after devaluation.

People started protesting against the **increase in prices, food scarcity and unemployment.**

The government saw the protests as a law and order problem and not as expressions of people's problems.

This further increased public bitterness and reinforced popular unrest.

The communist and socialist parties launched struggles for greater equality.

This period also witnessed some of the worst Hindu-Muslim riots since Independence.

**NON- CONGRESSISM**

Opposition parties were in the forefront of organising public protests and pressurising the government due to prevailing situations.

Parties that were entirely different and disparate in their programmes and ideology got together to **form anti-Congress** fronts in some states and entered into electoral adjustments of sharing seats in others.

They believed they had a chance to overthrow the Congress because of Indira Gandhi's inexperience and dispute within the Congress.

The **socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia** gave this strategy the name of '**non-Congressism**'. He also produced a theoretical argument in its defence.

Congress rule was undemocratic and opposed to the interests of ordinary poor people;

So the coming together of the non-Congress parties was necessary for reclaiming democracy for the people.

**Ram Manohar Lohia (1910-1967):**

He was a socialist leader and thinker; freedom fighter and among the founders of the Congress Socialist Party

He was Member of Lok Sabha (1963-67) known for original contribution to a non-European socialist theory.

He was best known for sharp attacks on Nehru,  
strategy of non-Congressism  
advocacy of reservation for backward castes  
opposition to English.

**C. Natarajan Annadurai (1909-1969):**

He served as the Chief Minister of Madras (Tamil Nadu) starting from 1967 and was a well-known journalist, popular writer, and captivating orator.

He was associated with the Justice Party in Madras province, but later he joined the Dravid Kazhagam in 1934.

In 1949, he established the DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) as a political party.  
Annadurai strongly advocated for Dravidian culture and vehemently opposed the imposition of Hindi, leading the anti-Hindi agitations.

**ELECTORAL VERDICT**

The fourth general elections to the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies were held in February 1967 where Congress faced the electorate for first time without Nehru.

The Congress managed to get a majority in Lok Sabha but half the ministers in Indira Gandhi's cabinet were defeated.

The **Congress lost majority** in as many as seven States and many contemporary political observers described the election results as a **'political earthquake'**.

In Madras State (now called Tamil Nadu), a regional party — the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) — came to power by securing a clear majority.

The DMK won power after having led a massive **anti-Hindi agitation** by students against the centre on the issue of imposition of Hindi as the official language.

This was the first time any non-Congress party had secured a majority of its own in any State. In the other eight States, coalition governments consisting of different non-Congress parties were formed.

**COALITIONS**

The elections of 1967 brought into picture the **phenomenon of coalitions**.

Since no single party had got majority, various non-Congress parties came together to form joint legislative parties (**called Samyukt Vidhayak Dal in Hindi**) that supported non-Congress governments.

In Bihar, the SVD government formed a coalition consisted of **the two socialist parties:**

SSP and PSP, along with the Communist Party of India (CPI) representing the left  
the Jana Sangh representing the right.

In Punjab, a similar coalition known as the **'Popular United Front'** was established which comprised the two rival Akali parties of that time, namely the Sant group and the Master group.

**DEFECTION**

**Defection** means an elected representative leaves the party on whose symbol he/she was elected and joins another party.

After the 1967 general election, the breakaway Congress legislators played an important role in installing non-Congress governments in three States namely Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.

The phrase "**Aya Ram, Gaya Ram**" originated at this time **due to the ongoing realignments and shifting of political alliances.**

#### **The story of 'Aya Ram, Gaya Ram'**

The expression '**aya ram, gaya ram**' became popular in the political vocabulary in India to describe the practice of **frequent floorcrossing by legislators.**

It meant, **Ram came and Ram went.** The expression originated in an amazing feat of floor crossing achieved by Gaya Lal, an MLA in Haryana, in 1967 who changed his party thrice in a fortnight.

It is said that when Gaya Lal declared his intention to quit the United Front and join the Congress, the Congress leader, Rao Birendra Singh brought him to Chandigarh press and declared "Gaya Ram was now Aya Ram".

Gaya Lal's feat was immortalised in the phrase "Aya Ram, Gaya Ram" which became the subject of numerous jokes and cartoons. Later, the Constitution was amended to prevent defections.

### **SPLIT IN THE CONGRESS**

#### **INDIRA VS. THE 'SYNDICATE'**

The real challenge to Indira Gandhi came from within her own party when she had to deal with the '**syndicate**', a group of powerful and influential leaders from within the Congress.

The Syndicate had played a role in the installation of Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister and they expected her to follow their advise.

She attempted to assert her position within the government and the party and chose her trusted advisors from outside the party.

**Challenges:** Indira Gandhi faced two key challenges during her time as Prime Minister.

The first challenge was to establish her **independence from the Syndicate**, a powerful group within the Congress party.

The second challenge was to **recover the lost ground** that the Congress party experienced in the 1967 elections.

**Strategy:** She adopted a very bold strategy and converted a simple power struggle into an ideological struggle.

She launched a series of initiatives to give the government policy a Left orientation.

She got the Congress Working Committee to adopt a **Ten Point Programme** in May 1967.

The programme included social control of banks, nationalisation of General Insurance, ceiling on urban property and income, public distribution of food grains, land reforms and provision of house sites to the rural poor.

While the 'syndicate' leaders formally approved this Left-wing programme, they had serious reservations about the same.

#### **The Congress "Syndicate"**

Syndicate was the informal name given to a **group of Congress leaders** who were in control of the party's organization and was led by K. Kamraj.

It included powerful State leaders like S. K. Patil, S. Nijalingappa, N. Sanjeeva Reddy and Atulya Ghosh.

This group had a decisive say in Indira Gandhi's first Council of Ministers and also in **policy formulation and implementation.**

After the split in leaders of congress, Indira Gandhi's Congress won the test of popularity and all these big and powerful men of Indian politics lost their power and prestige after 1971.

### **PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1969**

After President Zakir Hussain's death, the post of President of the India fell vacant.



Indira Gandhi's long time opponent and then speaker of the Lok Sabha, **N. Sanjeeva Reddy** was nominated as the official Congress candidate for the ensuing Presidential elections by the syndicate.

She retaliated by encouraging the then Vice-President, **V.V. Giri**, to fight as an independent candidate.

She also announced several policy measures like the **nationalisation of fourteen leading private banks** and the **abolition of the 'privy purse'** or the special privileges given to former princes.

Due to these issues, differences emerged between Morarji Desai (Deputy Prime Minister & Finance Minister) and the Prime Minister resulting in Desai leaving the government.

This time both the parties wanted a showdown which took place during the Presidential elections.

The then Congress President **S. Nijalingappa** issued a 'whip' asking all the Congress MPs and MLAs to vote in favour of Sanjeeva Reddy, the official candidate of the party.

Supporters of Indira Gandhi **requisitioned a special meeting of the AICC** (that is why this faction came to be known as '**requisitionists**') which was refused.

The Prime Minister openly called for a '**conscience vote**' which meant that the MPs and MLAs from the Congress should be free to vote the way they want.

The election ultimately resulted in the **victory of V.V. Giri and the defeat of Sanjeeva Reddy**.

This defeat formalized the split in party and congress president expelled PM from party and she claimed that her group was real congress.

By November 1969, the Congress group led by the 'syndicate' came to be referred to as the Congress (**Organisation**) and the group led by Indira Gandhi came to be called the Congress (**Requisitionists**).

Indira Gandhi projected the split as an ideological divide between socialists and conservatives, between the pro-poor and the pro-rich.

### **Abolition of Privy Purse**

The integration of the Princely States was preceded by an assurance that after the dissolution of princely rule, the then rulers' families would be **allowed to:**

retain certain private property

given a grant in hereditary or government allowance, measured on the basis of the extent, revenue and potential of the merging state.

This grant was called the privy purse.

At the time of accession, there was little **criticism of these privileges** since integration and consolidation was the primary aim.

Following the 1967 elections, Indira Gandhi supported the demand that the **government should abolish privy purses**.

Morarji Desai, however, called the move morally wrong and amounting to a '**breach of faith with the princes**'.

The government tried to bring a Constitutional amendment in 1970, but it was not passed in Rajya Sabha.

It then issued an ordinance which was struck down by the Supreme Court.

Indira Gandhi made this into a major election issue in 1971 and got a lot of public support.

Following its massive victory in the 1971 election, the Constitution was amended to remove legal obstacles for abolition of 'privy purse'.

### **THE 1971 ELECTION AND RESTORATION OF CONGRESS**

The split in the Congress reduced the Indira **Gandhi Government to a minority**. Yet her government continued in office with the support of a few other parties including the Communist Party of India and the DMK.

During this period the government made conscious attempts to project its socialist credentials.

Indira Gandhi vigorously campaigned **for implementing the existing land reform laws and undertook further land ceiling legislation**.

Indira Gandhi's government recommended the dissolution of the Lok Sabha in December 1970 in order to strengthen her party's position in the Parliament.

The fifth general election to Lok Sabha was held in **February 1971**.

### THE CONTEST

All the major non-communist, non-Congress opposition parties formed an electoral alliance known as the **Grand Alliance**.

The SSP, PSP, Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Swatantra Party and the Bharatiya Kranti Dal came together under this umbrella while the ruling party had an alliance with the CPI.

But the **new congress had something that its big opponents lacked** –

an issue

an agenda and,

a positive slogan

Grand Alliance lacked a coherent political program, with their main agenda being to remove Indira Gandhi.

Mrs. Gandhi put forward a positive programme captured in the famous slogan: **Garibi Hatao (Remove Poverty)**. She focused on-

growth of the public sector

imposition of ceiling on rural land holdings and urban property

removal of disparities in income and opportunity

abolition of princely privileges

The slogan of “garibi hatao” and the programmes that followed it were part of Indira Gandhi’s political strategy of building an independent nationwide political support base.

### OUTCOME AND AFTER EFFECTS OF ELECTION

The Congress(R)-CPI alliance won more seats and votes than the Congress had ever won in the first four general elections.

Congress(O), the party with so many stalwarts could get less than one-fourth of the votes secured by Indira Gandhi’s party and win merely 16 seats.

Congress party led by Indira Gandhi established its claim to being the ‘**real**’ Congress and restored to it the dominant position in Indian politics.

Soon after the 1971 Lok Sabha elections, a major political and military crisis broke out in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). These events added to **the popularity of Indira Gandhi**.

The opposition leaders admired her statesmanship.

Her party swept through all the State Assembly elections held in 1972.

She was seen not only as the protector of the poor and the underprivileged, but also a strong nationalist leader.

With two successive election victories, the dominance of the Congress was restored.

### RESTORATION OF CONGRESS SYSTEM

Congress relied entirely on the popularity of the supreme leader and it had a somewhat weak organisational structure.

While it won elections, it depended more on some social groups: the poor, the women, Dalits, Adivasis and the minorities.

She restored the Congress system by changing the nature of the Congress system itself.

While the Congress consolidated its position and Indira Gandhi assumed a position of unprecedented political authority-

the spaces for democratic expression of people’s aspirations actually shrank.

The popular unrest and mobilisation around issues of development and economic deprivation continued to grow.

#### Points to Remember

**Originally the election symbol of the Congress was a pair of bullocks.**

**K. Kamaraj (1903-1975):**

He was a freedom fighter, congress president and CM of Madras (Tamil Nadu).

He made efforts to spread education in Madras province and introduced mid-day meal scheme for school kids.

In 1963 he proposed that all senior Congressmen should resign from office to make way for younger party workers—this proposal is famous as the '**Kamaraj plan.**'

**S. Nijalingappa (1902-2000):**

He was member of Lok Sabha and Chief Minister of the then Mysore (Karnataka) State.

He was President of Congress during 1968-71 and regarded as the maker of modern Karnataka.

**Karpoori Thakur (1924-1988):**

He acted as a CM of Bihar and actively took part in labour and peasant movements.

He is known for his decision to introduce reservations for the backward classes in Bihar during his second Chief Ministership and was strong opponent of the use of English Language.

**V.V. Giri (1894-1980):**

He was the President of India from 1969 to 1974 and labour leader from Andhra Pradesh.

He was the acting President after the death of President Zakir Hussain.

Later, he resigned and contested presidential election as independent candidate and received support from Indira Gandhi for his election as President.

**QUESTIONS**

1. During Lal Bahadur Shastri's Prime Ministership from 1964 to 1966, consider the following statements:
- Lal Bahadur Shastri was chosen as the leader of the Congress parliamentary party by a unanimous vote.
  - Shastri had previously served as the Minister of Finance in Nehru's cabinet.
  - The economic implications of the war with China and failed monsoons posed significant challenges during Shastri's tenure.
  - Shastri passed away in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, while negotiating an agreement with Muhammad Ayub Khan to end the war with Pakistan.
- How many of the statements given above are correct?
- Only one  
Only two  
Only three  
All four

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** After Nehru's passing, K. Kamraj, the president of the Congress party, consulted party leaders and Congress members of Parliament and found a consensus in favor of Lal Bahadur Shastri. He was unanimously chosen as the leader of the Congress parliamentary party.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** Lal Bahadur Shastri served as the General Secretary of the Congress party and held important ministerial positions in the Union Cabinet during different periods. **Shastri's resignation from the position of Railway Minister occurred in 1956, after a major railway accident.** He accepted moral responsibility for the accident and stepped down from his role. This act showcased his commitment to principles and his willingness to take responsibility for failures under his leadership.

**Statement 3 is correct: Shastri's Prime Ministership, India faced two major challenges: the economic implications of the war with China and the problems caused by failed monsoons, drought, and a serious food crisis.** These challenges presented a grave situation for the country.

**Statement 4 is correct: Lal Bahadur Shastri's Prime Ministership came to an end when he suddenly expired in Tashkent, then in the USSR (now Uzbekistan).** He was in Tashkent to discuss and sign an agreement with Muhammad Ayub Khan, the then President of Pakistan, to end the war between India and Pakistan.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

2. Why did some senior Congress leaders support Indira Gandhi despite her political inexperience?

They believed that her administrative and political inexperience would make her dependent on their support and guidance.

They were impressed by her previous role as Congress President.

They thought that her close relation to Jawaharlal Nehru made her the rightful successor.

They believed that her experience as a Minister of Information would be beneficial in leading the country.

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct: Some senior Congress leaders supported Indira Gandhi despite her political inexperience because they believed that her lack of experience would compel her to rely on them for support and guidance.** They likely saw her as a potential leader who could be influenced and controlled by the more experienced and senior leaders within the party. This would give them a significant influence over the decision-making process and maintain their own positions of power within the party.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

3. Which of the following statements accurately describe the context and events surrounding the fourth general elections in India in 1967?

The economic crisis, including drought and food shortage, influenced the political landscape leading up to the elections.

The devaluation of the Indian rupee, influenced by the United States, resulted in increased prices of essential commodities.

The protests against the economic situation were seen by the government as expressions of people's problems rather than a law-and-order issue.

The period leading up to the elections witnessed armed agrarian struggles led by a group of communists who separated from the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

2 and 4 only

2 and 3 only

1, 2 and 4 only

1 and 3 only

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: The economic crisis, characterized by drought, decline in agricultural production, food shortage, and other factors, played a significant role in shaping the political environment before the 1967 elections.**

**Statement 2 is correct: The devaluation of the Indian rupee under pressure from the United States led to increased prices of essential commodities, contributing to the economic crisis and public dissatisfaction.**

**Statement 3 is incorrect: The government viewed the protests as a law-and-order problem rather than recognizing them as legitimate expressions of people's concerns, which further exacerbated public discontent**

**Statement 4 is correct: The period before the 1967 elections saw armed agrarian struggles and peasant agitations led by a faction that broke away from the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to form the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).**

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

4. Which political parties were the main contenders in the 1967 assembly elections in the Chomu constituency, Rajasthan?

Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party

Congress and Swatantra Party

Swatantra Party and Communist Party of India

Bharatiya Janata Party and Communist Party of India (Marxist)

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Option (b) is correct: In the 1967 assembly elections in the Chomu constituency, Rajasthan, the main contenders were the Congress party and the Swatantra Party.** The Congress party leader, Mohan Lal Sukhadia, was approached by Bhim Singh, a popular leader in the village of Devisar, to press the name of his friend from a nearby village as the Congress candidate. This implies that Bhim Singh was aligned with the Congress party. On the other hand, Sher Singh, the traditional dominant figure in village politics, had no option but to work for the Swatantra candidate, who was a jagirdar. Therefore, the main parties in the fray were Congress and the Swatantra Party.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

5. Consider the following statements:

Non-Congressism was a strategy adopted by opposition parties in India to challenge the dominance of the Congress party.

The main objective of non-Congressism was to promote the interests of ordinary poor people and establish a democratic system in the country.

Ram Manohar Lohia, a socialist leader, coined the term 'non-Congressism' and provided a theoretical argument in its defense.

Non-Congress parties formed anti-Congress fronts and entered into electoral adjustments in order to divide their votes and weaken the Congress party.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Non-Congressism refers to the coming together of various political parties that were opposed to the Congress party in India.** They aimed to challenge the Congress's monopoly on power and provide an alternative political platform.

**Statement 2 is incorrect: While non-Congress parties claimed to work for the interests of ordinary people and democracy, this statement does not specifically mention their objectives.** It is a broader claim that may not be directly related to the concept of non-Congressism.

**Statement 3 is correct: Ram Manohar Lohia, a prominent socialist leader in India, is credited with coining the term 'non-Congressism.'** He also provided a theoretical argument to support this strategy, highlighting the undemocratic nature of Congress rule and the need for non-Congress parties to reclaim democracy.

**Statement 4 is correct: Non-Congress parties, recognizing that the division of their votes allowed the Congress party to stay in power, formed anti-Congress fronts in some states.** They also entered into electoral adjustments, such as seat-sharing agreements, to prevent vote splitting and maximize their chances of defeating the Congress party in elections.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

6. Which of the following statements accurately describes the electoral verdict of the fourth general elections to the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies held in February 1967?

The Congress party faced the electorate for the first time without Nehru, which led to a significant shift in the political landscape.

The Congress party achieved a majority in the Lok Sabha, but with its lowest number of seats and share of votes since 1952.

The Congress party lost majority in seven states and was unable to form a government in two other states due to defections.

The Congress party's domination over the political landscape was significantly weakened after the election.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: The fourth general elections to the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies held in February 1967 were the first elections for the Congress party without Jawaharlal Nehru, who had been a prominent leader and the Prime Minister of India. Jawaharlal Nehru died in May 1964.** The absence of Nehru had an impact on the political dynamics of the election.

**Statement 2 is correct: While the Congress party managed to secure a majority in the Lok Sabha (the lower house of the Indian Parliament), it experienced a significant decline in the number of seats and share of votes compared to previous elections since 1952.**

**Statement 3 is correct: The Congress party lost its majority in seven states and could not form a government in two other states due to defections by its members.** The states where the Congress lost power were Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madras (now Tamil Nadu), and Kerala.



**Statement 4 is correct: The electoral verdict of the fourth general elections in 1967 marked a significant decline in the Congress party's dominance over the political landscape.** The party experienced setbacks in terms of seats, votes, and loss of power in several states, indicating a shift in the political dynamics of the time.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

7. Which Indian leader is known for their role in the socialist movement, as well as their critique of Jawaharlal Nehru and advocacy for reservation for backward castes?

Mahatma Gandhi  
Subhas Chandra Bose  
V. D. Savarkar  
Ram Manohar Lohia

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Option (d) is correct: The Indian leader known for their role in the socialist movement, as well as their critique of Jawaharlal Nehru and advocacy for reservation for backward castes, is Ram Manohar Lohia.** Ram Manohar Lohia was a prominent socialist leader and thinker in India during the mid-20th century. He was one of the founders of the Congress Socialist Party and later became the leader of the Socialist Party and the Samyukta Socialist Party. He served as a Member of the Lok Sabha from 1963 to 1967. Lohia was known for his original contributions to non-European socialist theory and was the founder editor of publications like Mankind and Jan. He was also known for his sharp criticisms of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, and his strategy of non-Congressism, which advocated for a political alternative to the Indian National Congress. Lohia also strongly advocated for reservation for backward castes, highlighting the need for social justice and equal opportunities for marginalized communities. Additionally, he opposed the use of English as the official language in India, advocating for the promotion of Indian languages.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

8. Consider the following statements about C. Natarajan Annadurai:

He was initially associated with the Justice Party in Madras province.

Annadurai formed the Dravid Kazaghham in 1934.

He was a proponent of Dravidian culture and opposed the imposition of Hindi, leading the anti-Hindi agitations.

Annadurai was a strong advocate for centralization of power and opposed greater autonomy to States.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one  
Only two  
Only three  
All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Initially, Annadurai was associated with the Justice Party in Madras province.** The Justice Party was a political party in British India and later in independent India that represented the non-Brahmin population.

**Statement 2 is incorrect: Annadurai did not form the Dravid Kazagham in 1934.** The Dravid Kazagham (Dravidian Association) was actually formed in 1944 by a group of intellectuals and social reformers in Madras Presidency.

**Statement 3 is correct: Annadurai was a strong proponent of Dravidian culture and opposed the imposition of Hindi by the central government.** He led the anti-Hindi agitations, which were popular movements against the dominance of Hindi and in support of the regional languages.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: Annadurai was a supporter of greater autonomy to States. He advocated for decentralization of power and believed in empowering the states to have more control over their affairs.** He was instrumental in shaping the principles and ideology of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) party, which he formed in 1949.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

9. Which of the following statements regarding the phenomenon of coalitions in India during the 1967 elections is **not** correct?

The coalitions formed during this time were known as Samyukt Vidhayak Dal (SVD) governments.

The SVD government in Bihar consisted of ideologically incongruent parties such as the socialist parties, the Communist Party of India (CPI), and the right-wing Jana Sangh.

The Popular United Front in Punjab included both rival Akali parties, communist parties, the Republican Party, and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh.

The coalition governments formed during this period were primarily supported by the Congress party.

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct: The coalitions formed during the 1967 elections in India were indeed known as Samyukt Vidhayak Dal (SVD) governments.** This term was used to describe the joint legislative parties that were formed by various non-Congress parties in order to support non-Congress governments.

**Option (b) is correct: The SVD government in Bihar during this period included ideologically incongruent parties such as the socialist parties - SSP (Samyukta Socialist Party) and PSP (Praja Socialist Party), along with the Communist Party of India (CPI) on the left and the right-wing Jana Sangh.**

**Option (c) is correct: In Punjab, the coalition government was known as the 'Popular United Front' and consisted of various parties.** It included both rival Akali parties at that time - the Sant group and the Master group. Additionally, it comprised both communist parties - the CPI and the CPI(M), the SSP, the Republican Party, and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh.

**Option (d) is incorrect: The coalition governments formed during the 1967 elections were not primarily supported by the Congress party.** In fact, the formation of these coalitions was a response to the Congress party's inability to secure a majority in the elections. The non-Congress parties came together to form these coalitions and support non-Congress governments.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

10. Consider of the following statements:

Non-Congress coalition governments in the States were able to establish stable and long-lasting administrations.

Indira Gandhi faced opposition solely from the political parties outside of the Congress.

The 'Syndicate,' a powerful group within the Congress, posed a significant challenge to Indira Gandhi's leadership.

Indira Gandhi focused on strengthening the Congress party's position in the States after the 1967 elections.

How many of the statements given above accurately describes the political situation in India during the late 1960s and the challenges faced by Indira Gandhi?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** After the 1967 elections, the Congress party did lose its majority at the national level but managed to retain power in some states. **Most non-Congress coalition governments in the States did not survive for long. They either lost their majority or had to impose President's rule.**

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** Indira Gandhi faced significant opposition from within her own party, particularly from the powerful and influential leaders known as the 'Syndicate.'

**Statement 3 is correct:** The 'Syndicate' was a group of influential leaders within the Congress who played a role in installing Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister. However, they expected her to follow their advice. When she attempted to assert her position and side-lined the Syndicate, it posed a challenge to her leadership.

**Statement 4 is correct:** Indira Gandhi adopted a bold strategy to regain the ground lost by the Congress in the 1967 elections. She launched initiatives with a left-wing orientation and implemented policies aimed at strengthening the Congress party's position in the States.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

11. Consider the following statements:

The Syndicate, led by K. Kamraj, consisted of influential Congress leaders like S. K. Patil, S. Nijalingappa, N. Sanjeeva Reddy, and Atulya Ghosh.

The Syndicate emerged as a dominant force within the Congress party after the split between Indira Gandhi's Congress (R) and the Congress (O).

Indira Gandhi's first Council of Ministers and policy formulation were heavily influenced by the Syndicate.

The Syndicate members retained their power and prestige even after the Congress split and the subsequent victory of Indira Gandhi's Congress (R) in the 1971 elections.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The Syndicate was an informal group within the Congress party that held significant power and influence. It was led by K. Kamraj, a former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and the President of the Congress party. Other prominent members of the Syndicate included S. K. Patil, S. Nijalingappa, N. Sanjeeva Reddy, and Atulya Ghosh, who were influential state leaders within their respective regions.

**Statement 2 is correct:** After the split in the Indian National Congress in 1969, two factions emerged: Indira Gandhi's Congress (R) (also known as Congress (Requisitionists)) and the Congress (O) (also known as Congress (Organization)). The leaders of the Syndicate, who were aligned with the Congress (O), stayed with that faction. The Syndicate held significant influence and control within the Congress (O) faction.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The Syndicate had a decisive say in Indira Gandhi's first Council of Ministers, which means they played a significant role in selecting the members of her cabinet. Additionally, the Syndicate members were influential in policy formulation and implementation during Indira Gandhi's early years as Prime Minister. They exerted considerable influence over decision-making within the party.

**Statement 4 is incorrect:** After the split, the Congress (R), led by Indira Gandhi, emerged as the dominant faction within the Congress party. In the 1971 elections, Indira Gandhi's Congress (R) secured a significant victory, while the Congress (O) faced a defeat. As a result, the Syndicate members, who were aligned with the Congress (O), lost their power and prestige. The Congress (R) faction, under Indira Gandhi's leadership, became the new center of power within the party.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

12. Consider the following statements regarding the role and functions of parliamentary committees in the Indian Parliament:

Karpoori Thakur was a follower of Mahatma Gandhi and actively participated in the freedom struggle.

Karpoori Thakur actively participated in labour and peasant movements and was a prominent freedom fighter.

Karpoori Thakur introduced reservations for backward classes in Bihar during his second term as Chief Minister.

Karpoori Thakur strongly advocated for the use of English language in Bihar.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** While Karpoori Thakur was involved in various social and political movements, he was not specifically known for being a follower of Mahatma Gandhi or actively participating in the freedom struggle. He was a staunch follower of Ram Manohar Lohia.

**Statement 2 is correct:** Karpoori Thakur was actively involved in labour and peasant movements, advocating for their rights. He also played a significant role as a freedom fighter.

**Statement 3 is correct:** Karpoori Thakur is well-known for his decision to introduce reservations for the backward classes in Bihar during his second term as Chief Minister. This move was aimed at providing social and educational opportunities for the underprivileged sections of society.

**Statement 4 is incorrect:** Karpoori Thakur was actually a strong opponent of the use of the English language. He believed in promoting regional languages and worked towards implementing policies that prioritized the use of Hindi and the local languages in Bihar.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

13. In the context of the Presidential elections of 1969 in India and the subsequent split in the Congress party, consider the following statements:

The Syndicate nominated N. Sanjeeva Reddy as the official Congress candidate for the Presidential elections, despite Indira Gandhi's objections.

Indira Gandhi encouraged V.V. Giri to run as an independent candidate in the Presidential elections.

The defeat of Sanjeeva Reddy in the Presidential elections led to the formal split in the Congress party, with Indira Gandhi's faction being referred to as the Congress (Requisitionists).

The split in the Congress party was projected by Indira Gandhi as an ideological divide between socialists and conservatives.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** The Syndicate, which was a faction within the Congress party, did manage to nominate N. Sanjeeva Reddy as the official Congress candidate for the Presidential elections. Mrs. Gandhi had her reservations about N. Sanjeeva Reddy but she did not have explicit objections to his nomination.

**Statement 2 is correct:** Indira Gandhi, in response to the Syndicate's nomination of Sanjeeva Reddy, encouraged V.V. Giri, who was then the Vice-President, to file his nomination as an independent candidate for the Presidential elections. This move was seen as a direct challenge to the official Congress candidate nominated by the Syndicate.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The defeat of Sanjeeva Reddy, the official Congress candidate, in the Presidential elections marked a significant turning point in the factional rivalry within the Congress party. Following Reddy's defeat, the split in the party became formalized. Indira Gandhi's faction, which had supported V.V. Giri, came to be referred to as the Congress (Requisitionists), while the faction led by the Syndicate was known as the Congress (Organisation).

**Statement 4 is incorrect:** While the split in the Congress party did result in ideological differences, with Indira Gandhi's faction aligning themselves as more socialist-oriented and the Syndicate's faction leaning towards conservatism, the statement specifically attributes this projection to Indira Gandhi. There is no explicit mention that it was solely Indira Gandhi who projected the split in this manner.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

14. Which of the following statements regarding the abolition of the privy purse in India is correct?

After integrating Princely States, rulers' families were assured to keep their hereditary privileges and allowances via the privy purse.

The demand to abolish the privy purse gained momentum after the 1967 elections, with Morarji Desai supporting the move as morally right.

The government's attempt to abolish the privy purse through a Constitutional amendment in 1970 was successful, resulting in its immediate removal.

Indira Gandhi made the abolition of the privy purse a significant campaign issue in the 1971 election, which garnered substantial public support.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- 1 and 4 only
- 2 and 3 only
- 2 and 4 only
- 1, 2 and 3 only

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** After the integration of Princely States in India, there was an assurance given to the rulers' families that they would be allowed to retain certain private property and receive a grant in hereditary or government allowance known as the privy purse.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** Morarji Desai did not support the abolition of the privy purse; in fact, he called it morally wrong and a breach of faith with the princes. The demand to abolish the privy purse was supported by Indira Gandhi, not Morarji Desai.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** The government's attempt to abolish the privy purse through a Constitutional amendment in 1970 was not successful. The proposed amendment was not passed in the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of the Indian Parliament.

**Statement 4 is correct:** Indira Gandhi made the abolition of the privy purse a major campaign issue in the 1971 election and received significant public support. Following the victory in the election, the Constitution was amended to remove legal obstacles for the abolition of the privy purse.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

15. Which of the following statements about the 1971 election and the restoration of Congress is correct?
- The split in the Congress party led to the formation of a strong opposition alliance called the Grand Alliance, consisting of major non-communist, non-Congress parties.
  - Indira Gandhi's government recommended the dissolution of the Lok Sabha in December 1970 to strengthen her party's position in Parliament and seek a popular mandate for her programs.
  - The new Congress faction, led by Indira Gandhi, had the support of the Communist Party of India and the DMK, which enabled her minority government to continue in office.
  - The Grand Alliance had a coherent political program centered around the slogan 'Garibi Hatao', while the new Congress lacked a positive agenda.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

- 1 and 4 only
- 2 and 3 only
- 2 and 4 only
- 1, 2 and 3 only

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** All the major non-communist, non-Congress opposition parties formed an electoral alliance known as the Grand Alliance. The SSP, PSP, Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Swatantra Party, and the Bharatiya Kranti Dal came together under this umbrella.

**Statement 2 is correct:** In order to end her dependence on other political parties, strengthen her party's position in Parliament, and seek a popular mandate for her programs, Indira Gandhi's government recommended the dissolution of the Lok Sabha in December 1970.



**Statement 3 is correct: The split in the Congress reduced the Indira Gandhi government to a minority.** However, her government continued in office with the issue-based support of a few other parties, including the Communist Party of India and the DMK.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: The new Congress had an issue, an agenda, and a positive slogan: 'Garibi Hatao' (Remove Poverty).** In contrast, the Grand Alliance did not have a coherent political program and their common program was to 'Indira Hatao' (Remove Indira).

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

16. Consider the following statements:

Indira Gandhi restored the Congress system by reverting to the old Congress party structure.

The new Congress party under Indira Gandhi relied heavily on the popularity of the supreme leader.

The new Congress party had a strong organizational structure accommodating various factions.

The new Congress party won elections primarily by securing the support of the poor, women, Dalits, Adivasis, and minorities.

How many of the statements given above accurately describe the changes brought about by Indira Gandhi in the Congress party and the Congress system?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect: What Indira Gandhi did was not a revival of the old Congress party, but rather a re-invention of the party.** She brought about significant changes and transformed the nature of the Congress system itself.

**Statement 2 is correct: The new Congress party relied entirely on the popularity of the supreme leader, which was Indira Gandhi at that time. The party's success was largely dependent on her popularity.**

**Statement 3 is incorrect: The new Congress party had a somewhat weak organizational structure.** It implies that the party did not have many factions and could not accommodate all kinds of opinions and interests.

**Statement 4 is correct: The new Congress party won elections and relied more on certain social groups such as the poor, women, Dalits, Adivasis, and minorities.** These groups played a crucial role in the party's electoral success.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 5/ Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System

## CHAPTER 6: THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRATIC ORDER

### INTRODUCTION

The chapter focuses on a critical period in Indian history when the Emergency was imposed in 1975 due to perceived internal disturbances. It explores the reasons for the imposition of Emergency, its implications on Indian democracy, and its consequences on party politics. The chapter also discusses the dramatic end of the Emergency and its impact on the Congress party, which faced defeat in the 1977 Lok Sabha elections.

### BACKGROUND OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY

Indira Gandhi had emerged as a towering leader with tremendous popularity.

This was also the period when party competition became bitter and polarized and witnessed tensions in the relationship between the government and the judiciary.

The Supreme Court found many initiatives of the government to be **violative of the Constitution**.

The Congress party took the position that this stand of the Court was against principles of democracy and parliamentary supremacy.

The Congress also alleged that the Court was a conservative institution and it was becoming an obstacle in the way of **implementing pro-poor welfare programmes**.

The parties opposed to the Congress felt that politics was becoming too personalised and that governmental authority was being converted into personal authority.

The **split in the Congress** had sharpened the divisions between Indira Gandhi and her opponents.

These certain events led to the **declaration of National Emergency in 1975**.

### ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY

The congress had given the slogan of “**Garibi hatao (remove poverty)**” during 1971 elections but the social and economic condition did not improve much.

**The Bangladesh crisis** had put a heavy strain on India’s economy.

**After the war with Pakistan**, the U.S government stopped all aid to India.

In the international market, oil prices increased manifold during this period which led to an all-round **increase in prices of commodities**.

Such a **high level of inflation** caused much hardship to the people.

**Industrial growth** was low and unemployment was very high.

Government **froze the salaries** of its employees which caused further dissatisfaction.

Monsoons failed in 1972- 1973 which resulted in a sharp **decline in agricultural productivity**.

There was a general atmosphere of dissatisfaction with the prevailing economic situation all over the country.

Non-Congress opposition parties were able to organise popular protests effectively.

There was also an increase in the activities of **Marxist groups** who did not believe in parliamentary politics.

These groups had taken to arms and insurgent techniques for the overthrow of the - capitalist order and, the established political system.

Known as **the Marxist-Leninist (now Maoist) groups or Naxalites**, they were particularly strong in West Bengal, where the State government took stringent measures to suppress them.

### GUJARAT AND BIHAR MOVEMENTS

Students’ protests in Gujarat and Bihar, both of which were Congress ruled States, had significant impact on the politics of the two States and national politics.

**Gujarat Protest:** In January 1974 students in Gujarat started an **agitation against rising prices** of food grains, cooking oil and other essential commodities, and **against corruption in high places**.

The students' protest was joined by major opposition parties leading to the imposition of President's rule in the state.

They demanded **fresh elections** to the state legislature.

Under intense pressure from students, supported by the opposition political parties, **assembly elections were held in Gujarat in June 1975** where **congress was defeated**.

**Bihar Protest:** In March 1974 students came together in Bihar to protest against rising prices, food scarcity, unemployment and corruption and they invited **Jayaprakash Narayan (JP)** to lead the student movement.

He agreed to it under the condition that the movement would not be restricted to Bihar and would continue to **be nonviolent**.

The students' movement assumed a political character and had **national appeal**.

**"Sampoorna Kranti ab nara hai, bhavi itihās hamara hai** [With Total Revolution as our motto, the future belongs to us]" was a slogan of Bihar movement.

In order to achieve true democracy, Jayaprakash Narayan called for the **dismissal of the Bihar-based Congress government** and called for a total revolution in **the social, economic, and political spheres**. The government, however, **refused to resign**.

The employees of the Railways also gave a call for a **nationwide strike** which threatened to paralyse the country.

In 1975, JP led a peoples' march to the Parliament which was one of the largest political rallies ever held in the capital.

However, there were many criticisms about his ideas and about the politics of mass agitations that he was employing. They were seen as anti-Congress and protests against the leadership of Indira Gandhi.

#### **Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan (JP) (1902-1979)**

He was a founder general secretary of the Congress Socialist Party and the Socialist Party.

He was a hero of the 1942 **Quit India movement**, became a Gandhian and was involved in the Bhoodan movement. He also took part in negotiations with the **Naga rebels** **peace initiative in Kashmir** ensured the **surrender of dacoits in Chambal**

He was **leader of Bihar movement** and became the symbol of opposition to Emergency and was the moving force behind the formation of Janata Party.

#### **Railway Strike of 1974**

The National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen's Struggle led by George Fernandes gave a call for nationwide strike by all employees of the Railways for pressing their **demands related to bonus and service conditions**.

The government was opposed to these demands so the employees went on a strike in 1974.

The strike by the Railway employees added to the atmosphere of labour unrest.

It also raised issues like rights of the workers and whether employees of essential services should adopt measures like strikes.

The government **declared the strike illegal**.

After 20 days without any settlement, the strike had to be called off because the government refused to give in to the demands of the striking employees and jailed several of their leaders, and sent the territorial army to guard railway tracks.

### **CONFLICT WITH JUDICIARY**

**Three constitutional issues emerged** which were -

Parliament's authority to abridge Fundamental Rights.

The Parliament curtail the right to property by making an amendment.

The Parliament amended the Constitution saying that it can abridge Fundamental Rights for giving effect to Directive Principles.

But the Supreme Court rejected these provisions which further strained the government-judiciary relationship.

In famous **Kesavananda Bharati Case**, the Court gave a decision that there are some basic features of the Constitution and the Parliament cannot amend these features.

**Controversial Appointment of Chief Justice:** Following the landmark Keshavananda Bharati case in 1973, a vacancy arose for the position of Chief Justice of India.

It had been a practice that the senior-most judge of the Supreme Court was appointed as the Chief Justice.

But the government disregarded the seniority of three judges and **appointed Justice A. N. Ray as the Chief Justice in 1973.**

The **appointment became politically controversial** because all the three judges who were superseded had given rulings against the stand of the government.

Thus, constitutional interpretations and political ideologies were getting mixed up rapidly.

People close to the Prime Minister started talking of the need for a judiciary and the bureaucracy 'committed' to the vision of the executive and the legislature.

### Declaration of Emergency

In a ruling issued on June 12, 1975 by Allahabad high court Indira Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha was declared invalid.

This decision was made in response to an **election petition** submitted by socialist candidate and leader **Raj Narain**, who ran against her in 1971.

This petition, challenged her on the ground that she had used the services of **government servants in her election campaign.**

Because to the High Court's ruling, she was technically no longer an MP and could not continue serving as prime minister until she was re-elected as an MP within six months.

On June 24, the Supreme Court **partially overturned** the High Court's decision, allowing her to continue serving as an MP but excluding her from participating in Lok Sabha sessions while her appeal was being decided.

### CRISIS AND RESPONSE

**Crisis:** The opposition political parties led by **Jayaprakash Narayan** pressed for Indira Gandhi's resignation and organised a massive demonstration in Delhi's Ramlila grounds on 25 June 1975.

He announced a **nationwide satyagraha** for her resignation and asked the army, police and government employees not to obey "**illegal and immoral orders**".

This too threatened to bring the activities of the government to a standstill.

**Response:** The response of the government was to declare a state of emergency.

On 25 June 1975, the government declared that there was a threat of internal disturbances and therefore, **it invoked Article 352 of the Constitution.**

Under the provision of this article the government could declare a state of emergency on **grounds of external threat or a threat of internal disturbances.**

The government decided that a grave crisis had arisen which made the proclamation of a state of emergency necessary.

Once an emergency is proclaimed, the federal distribution of powers remains practically suspended and all the powers are concentrated in the hands of the union government.

Secondly, the government also gets the **power to curtail or restrict** all or any of the Fundamental Rights during the emergency.

After midnight, the electricity to all the major newspaper offices was disconnected and in the early morning, large number of leaders and workers of the opposition parties were arrested.

The Cabinet was informed about it at a special meeting at 6 a.m. on 26 June, after all this had taken place.

### Consequences

All the strikes were banned, opposition leaders were arrested and the political situation became quite tense as a consequence of an emergency.

The government suspended the freedom of the Press, and newspapers were asked to get prior approval for all material to be published. This is known as **press censorship**.

Under the provisions of Emergency, the various **Fundamental Rights of citizens stood suspended**, including the right of citizens to move the Court for restoring their Fundamental Rights.

The government banned **Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Jamait-e-Islami**.

**Preventive Detention:** Under this, people are **arrested and detained** not because they have committed any offence, but on the apprehension that they may commit an offence.

Using preventive detention acts, the government made **large scale arrests** during the Emergency.

**Habeas Corpus:** Political leaders were arrested through habeas corpus petitions and they were not told their **grounds of arrest**. Many cases were filed in the High Courts and the Supreme Court on behalf of arrested persons.

The government claimed that it was not even necessary to inform the arrested persons of the reasons and grounds of their arrest.

Several High Courts gave judgments that even after the declaration of Emergency the courts could entertain a **writ of habeas corpus** filed by a person challenging his/her detention.

In April 1976, the constitution bench of the Supreme Court over-ruled the High Courts and accepted the government's plea.

It meant that during Emergency the government could take away the citizen's right to life and liberty.

There were many **acts of dissent and resistance** to the Emergency by newspapers, political workers, magazines and journalists.

The Parliament also brought in many new changes to the Constitution and an amendment was made declaring that elections of **Prime Minister, President and Vice-President could not be challenged in the Court**.

The **forty-second amendment** was also passed during the Emergency.

This amendment consisted of a series of changes in many parts of the Constitution and one was that the **duration of the legislatures** in the country was extended from **five to six years**.

This change was not only for the Emergency period, but was intended to be of a permanent nature.

Besides this, during an Emergency, **elections can be postponed by one year**. Thus, effectively, after 1971, elections needed to be held only in 1978 instead of 1976.

### LESSONS OF THE EMERGENCY

The Indian Emergency exposed the democratic system's strengths and weaknesses and we learned that it would be **extremely difficult to do away with democracy in India**.

Second, it revealed some ambiguities in the Constitution's Emergency Provision that have since been rectified.

Now, **'internal'** Emergency can be proclaimed only on the grounds of **'armed rebellion'**.

It is necessary that the advice to the President to proclaim Emergency must be given in writing by the Union Cabinet.

Thirdly, the Emergency made everyone more aware of the **value of civil liberties** and courts have actively taken role in protecting civil liberties of the individuals.

### ISSUES DURING THE EMERGENCY

There is a tension between routine functioning of a democratic government and the continuous political protests by parties and groups.

The actual implementation of the Emergency rule took place through the police and the administration and these institutions could not function independently.



They were turned into political instruments of the ruling party and according to the **Shah Commission Report**, the administration and the police became vulnerable to political pressures.

## **POLITICS AFTER EMERGENCY**

### **LOK SABHA ELECTIONS, 1977**

The opposition parties came together on the eve of the elections and formed a new party, known as the **Janata Party** and accepted the **leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan**.

Some other Congress leaders also came out and formed a separate party under the leadership of **Jagjivan Ram**. This party named as **Congress for Democracy**, later merged with the Janata Party. The Congress party was defeated in the Lok Sabha elections and **The Janata Party and its allies won 330 out of the 542 seats in the Lok Sabha**.

The Congress lost in every constituency in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Haryana and the Punjab and could win only one seat each in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh but it retained many seats in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Orissa and virtually swept through the southern States.

The main reason for this is the impact of Emergency was not felt equally in all the States.

The forced relocation and displacements, the forced sterilisations, were mostly concentrated in the northern States.

The middle castes from north India were beginning to move away from the Congress and the Janata party became a platform for many of these sections to come together.

### **JANATA GOVERNMENT**

The Janata Party government came to power after the 1977 elections and there was stiff competition among three leaders for the post of Prime Minister-

Morarji Desai

Chaudhary Charan Singh

Jagjivan Ram

Eventually **Morarji Desai became the Prime Minister** but that did not bring the power struggle within the party to an end.

The party lacked **direction, leadership, and a common programme** and could not bring about a fundamental change in policies from those pursued by the Congress.

Eventually the **party split and morarji desai lost its majority** in less than 18 months.

Another government headed by Charan Singh was formed on the assurance of the support of the Congress party but the Congress party later decided to withdraw its support.

**Fresh Lok Sabha elections were held in January 1980 and congress party led by Indira Gandhi defeated the janata party.** It won 353 seats and came back to power.

### **LEGACY OF EMERGENCY**

The Congress party now identified itself with a particular ideology, claiming to be **the only socialist and pro-poor party**.

The Congress's political success depended on attracting people on the basis of **sharp social and ideological divisions**

With the change in the nature of the Congress party, other opposition parties relied more and more on '**non-Congressism**'.

In an indirect manner the **issue of welfare of the backward castes** also began to dominate politics since 1977.

The northern States elected non-Congress governments in which the leaders of the backward castes played an important role.

The **issue of reservations for 'other backward classes'** became very controversial in Bihar and following this, the **Mandal Commission** was appointed by the Janata Party government at the centre.



**Constitutional crisis and Political crisis:** It can be described as a period of constitutional crisis and Political crisis because:

It had its origins in the constitutional battle over the jurisdiction of the Parliament and the judiciary.

The party in power had absolute majority and yet, its **leadership decided to suspend the democratic process.**

The makers of constitution trusted that all parties would abide by democratic norms and the govt. would use its extraordinary powers during emergency within the norms of rule of law.

This expectation led to the wide and open ended powers given to the government in times of Emergency.

These were **abused during the Emergency.**

This political crisis was more serious than the constitutional crisis.

**Role and Extent of mass protests:** There was clearly a tension between **institution-based democracy** and democracy **based on spontaneous popular participation.**

This tension may be attributed to the inability of the party system to incorporate the aspirations of the people.

#### **Points to Remember**

##### **Morarji Desai (1896-1995)**

He is a freedom fighter and a Gandhian leader who served as the Chief Minister of Bombay State and Deputy Prime Minister of India from 1967 to 1969.

He became the first Prime Minister of India from 1977 to 1979 from a **non-Congress party.**

##### **Chaudhary Charan Singh (1902-1987)**

He was a Prime Minister of India between July 1979 - January 1980 and was active in the politics of Uttar Pradesh.

He was supporter of agricultural and rural development

He left Congress party and founded Bharatiya Kranti Dal in 1967 and founded Lok dal.

He was one of the founders of the Janata Party in 1977 and became Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister (1977-79).

##### **Jagjivan Ram (1908–1986)**

He was Freedom fighter and Congress leader from Bihar and served as a Deputy Prime Minister of India (1977-79).

He was a member of –

Constituent Assembly

Member of Parliament since 1952 till his death

Labour Minister in the first ministry of free India

held various other ministries from 1952 to 1977

## **QUESTIONS**

1. During the period of Indira Gandhi's leadership, which of the following statements about Indian politics is correct?

The Congress party accused the judiciary of obstructing the implementation of pro-poor welfare programs.

The government and the judiciary had a harmonious relationship, with the Supreme Court supporting the government's initiatives.

Party competition during Indira Gandhi's leadership was characterized by cooperation and a lack of polarization.

The split in the Congress party reduced the divisions between Indira Gandhi and her opponents.

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct:** During Indira Gandhi's leadership, the Congress party alleged that the Supreme Court, as a conservative institution, was becoming an obstacle in implementing pro-poor welfare programs. They viewed the Court's stance as against the principles of democracy and parliamentary supremacy.

**Option (b) is incorrect:** The period witnessed tensions in the relationship between the government and the judiciary. The Supreme Court found many initiatives of the government to be violative of the Constitution, which indicates a lack of support for the government's initiatives.

**Option (c) is incorrect:** The party competition during this period became bitter and polarized. Therefore, it contradicts the statement that there was cooperation and a lack of polarization.

**Option (d) is incorrect:** The split in the Congress party actually sharpened the divisions between Indira Gandhi and her opponents. The split led to the formation of a rival faction within the Congress, which further intensified the political divisions within the party and the opposition to Indira Gandhi's leadership.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

2. Which of the following statements accurately reflects the economic context in India during the post-1971 period?

The slogan 'garibi hatao' (remove poverty) introduced by Congress during the 1971 elections successfully improved the social and economic conditions in India.

The Bangladesh crisis and the influx of eight million refugees from East Pakistan strained India's economy.

In the post-1971 period, oil prices in the international market decreased significantly, leading to a decline in the prices of commodities and a decrease in inflation.

The government took steps to increase industrial development and decrease joblessness, leading to a notable enhancement in the economy, especially in the rural areas.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect:** The economic condition in the country did not improve significantly after the elections of 1971-72, despite the Congress party's slogan of removing poverty. The following events, such as the Bangladesh crisis and the war with Pakistan, had a negative impact on India's economy.

**Option (b) is correct:** The Bangladesh crisis, which led to the influx of millions of refugees from East Pakistan into India, and the subsequent war with Pakistan had a heavy strain on India's economy. Additionally, the United States stopped providing aid to India after the war, further exacerbating the economic challenges.

**Option (c) is incorrect:** In the post-1971 period, oil prices actually increased manifold in the international market. The increase in oil prices led to an all-round increase in the prices of commodities, contributing to high inflation rates and causing hardship for the people.

**Option (d) is incorrect:** The industrial growth was low, and unemployment was very high, especially in rural areas. The government even froze the salaries of its employees as a cost-cutting measure, which further contributed to dissatisfaction among government employees.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

3. Which of the following statements accurately describe the students' movements in Gujarat and Bihar during the 1970s?

The students' movement in Gujarat led to the imposition of President's rule in the state and subsequent assembly elections, resulting in the defeat of the Congress party.

Jayaprakash Narayan (JP) played a significant role in leading the students' movement in Bihar and called for the dismissal of the Congress government.

The Bihar movement gained national appeal and influenced other parts of the country, with the support of non-Congress opposition parties.

The students' movements in Gujarat and Bihar were considered as protests against the leadership of Indira Gandhi, rather than opposition to the state governments.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** In Gujarat, the students' movement gained momentum and widespread support, leading to the imposition of President's rule in the state. Subsequently, assembly elections were held, and the Congress party was defeated.

**Statement 2 is correct:** In Bihar, Jayaprakash Narayan (JP) played a significant role in leading the students' movement. He demanded the dismissal of the Congress government in Bihar and called for a 'total revolution' in various spheres. His involvement gave the movement a political character and national appeal.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The Bihar movement began to influence national politics, with the support of non-Congress opposition parties. Jayaprakash Narayan received backing from parties like the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Congress (O), Bharatiya Lok Dal, Socialist Party, and others. The movement gained traction and started to spread to other parts of the country.

**Statement 4 is correct:** Both the Gujarat and Bihar movements were seen as protests against the leadership of Indira Gandhi rather than mere opposition to the state governments. Indira Gandhi believed that the movements were motivated by personal opposition to her.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

4. Which prominent Indian leader played a pivotal role in various political and social movements and later became the driving force behind the formation of the Janata Party?

V. V. Giri

S. Nijalingappa

Jayaprakash Narayan

K. Kamraj

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Option (c) is correct:** Jayaprakash Narayan, also known as Loknayak, was a prominent Indian leader who made significant contributions to Indian politics and social movements. In his youth, he was a Marxist and later became the founder and general secretary of the Congress Socialist Party and the Socialist Party. He played a heroic role in the 1942 Quit India movement but declined to join Nehru's cabinet. After 1955, he withdrew from active politics and embraced Gandhian principles. He was involved in various initiatives such as the Bhoodan movement, negotiations with Naga rebels, a peace initiative in Kashmir, and ensuring the surrender of decoits in Chambal. He gained fame as the leader of the Bihar movement and

emerged as a symbol of opposition to the Emergency imposed in India. He played a significant role in the formation of the Janata Party.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

5. In 1974, the National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen's Struggle led by George Fernandes called for a nationwide strike by all employees of the Railways. What were the consequences of this strike?

The strike led to a complete halt in railway services for over a week, causing inconvenience to the general public.

The economy of the country suffered as the transportation of goods, which heavily relied on trains, came to a standstill.

The government declared the strike illegal and took measures to suppress it, including arrests of strike leaders and deployment of the territorial army to protect railway tracks.

The strike raised questions about the rights of workers and the use of strikes by employees in essential services.

Despite lasting for twenty days, the strike ended without any settlement as the government refused to concede to the workers' demands.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

1, 4 and 5 only

1, 2 and 3 only

2, 3 and 5 only

1, 2, 3, 4 and 5

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** During the nationwide strike called by the National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen's Struggle in 1974, all employees of the Railways participated, resulting in the complete cessation of railway services. This disruption lasted for more than a week, causing inconvenience to the general public who relied on trains for transportation.

**Statement 2 is correct:** The strike had a significant impact on the country's economy as the transportation of goods heavily depended on the railway system. With the railways not operational, the movement of goods from one part of the country to another came to a standstill. This disruption in supply chains and logistics had adverse effects on businesses and the overall economy.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The government deemed the strike by railway employees as illegal and took actions to suppress it. They arrested many of the strike leaders and deployed the territorial army to protect railway tracks from any potential damage or disruption caused by the striking employees. These measures were aimed at maintaining law and order and ensuring the functioning of essential services.

**Statement 4 is correct:** The strike by railway employees in 1974 raised broader questions regarding the rights of workers and the appropriateness of strikes in essential services. The strike highlighted the concerns and demands of the workers, bringing attention to issues such as bonus payments and service conditions. It sparked debates and discussions about the rights of employees in essential services and whether they should resort to measures like strikes.

**Statement 5 is correct:** The strike continued for a duration of twenty days, during which the government and the striking employees failed to reach a settlement. The government refused to concede to the demands put forward by the striking workers related to bonus payments and service conditions. As a result, the strike had to be called off without any resolution or agreement being reached between the two parties involved.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

6. Consider the following statements regarding the conflict between the Parliament and the judiciary in India:

The Supreme Court ruled that the Parliament has the power to abridge Fundamental Rights.

The Parliament's amendment to allow abridgment of Fundamental Rights for implementing Directive Principles was rejected by the Supreme Court.

The Kesavananda Bharati Case established that the Parliament cannot amend the basic features of the Constitution.

The appointment of Justice A. N. Ray as the Chief Justice of India in 1973 was politically controversial due to the supersession of three senior judges who had ruled against the government.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** In the landmark case of *Golaknath v. State of Punjab (1967)*, the Supreme Court ruled that the Parliament does not have the power to abridge or take away any of the Fundamental Rights. This decision established the judiciary as the ultimate protector of Fundamental Rights in any conflict with the Parliament.

**Statement 2 is correct:** The Parliament amended the Constitution to allow the abridgment of Fundamental Rights for the implementation of Directive Principles. However, the Supreme Court rejected this provision, stating that the Parliament cannot abridge Fundamental Rights even for the purpose of implementing Directive Principles.

**Statement 3 is correct:** In the *Kesavananda Bharati Case*, the Supreme Court held that, though the Parliament has the power to amend the fundamental rights, there are certain basic features of the Constitution within the broad contours of the Preamble and the Constitution to carry out the objectives in the Preamble and the Directive Principles that cannot be amended by the Parliament. This landmark case established the doctrine of basic structure, which states that the Parliament's amending power is subject to certain implied limitations, and it cannot alter the essential features of the Constitution.

**Statement 4 is correct:** The appointment of Justice A. N. Ray as the Chief Justice of India in 1973 was politically controversial because the government superseded three senior judges who had given rulings against the government's stance. This move raised concerns about the independence of the judiciary and led to a further strain in the relations between the judiciary and the executive.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

7. Which of the following statements is true regarding the declaration of emergency in India in 1975?

Indira Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha was declared invalid by the Supreme Court.

The declaration of emergency was triggered by a massive demonstration organized by Jayaprakash Narayan.

The state of emergency was proclaimed under Article 352 of the Constitution.

The government's special powers during an emergency include the suspension of Fundamental Rights.

The proclamation of emergency was recommended by President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- 2, 3 and 5 only
- 2, 3, 4 and 5 only
- 1, 2 and 4 only
- 1, 3 and 5 only

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect: Justice Jagmohan Lal Sinha of the Allahabad High Court declared Indira Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha invalid, not the Supreme Court.**

**Statement 2 is correct: The opposition political parties led by Jayaprakash Narayan organized a massive demonstration in Delhi, demanding Indira Gandhi's resignation.** In response to the political crisis, the government declared a state of emergency.

**Statement 3 is correct: The government invoked Article 352 of the Constitution to declare a state of emergency.** Article 352 provides provisions for declaring an emergency in case of external threat or internal disturbances.

**Statement 4 is correct: During an emergency, the government has the power to curtail or restrict all or any of the Fundamental Rights.** The normal democratic functioning is suspended, and the government gains concentrated powers.

**Statement 5 is correct: The Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, recommended the imposition of emergency to President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed.** The President issued the proclamation immediately after the recommendation.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

8. Which of the following statements accurately describe the consequences of the Emergency imposed in India?

The government implemented press censorship, requiring prior approval for all published material.

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Jamait-e-Islami were banned by the government to prevent social and communal disharmony.

The Fundamental Rights of citizens, excluding the right to move the Court, were suspended during the Emergency.

The Supreme Court's judgment during the Emergency stated that the government had the authority to deprive citizens of their right to life and liberty.

The Parliament passed the forty-second amendment to the Constitution, which included changes such as reducing the duration of legislatures from six to five years.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- 1, 2 and 4 only
- 1, 3 and 5 only
- 2, 3 and 5 only
- 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**



**Statement 1 is correct:** During the Emergency, the government implemented press censorship, requiring prior approval for all published material. Newspapers had to seek approval before publishing any content.

**Statement 2 is correct:** To prevent social and communal disharmony, the government banned the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Jamait-e-Islami during the Emergency. These organizations were seen as potential sources of unrest.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** During the Emergency, the various Fundamental Rights of citizens stood suspended, including the right to move the Court for restoring their Fundamental Rights. However, it is important to note that other Fundamental Rights were also suspended, not just the right to move the Court.

**Statement 4 is correct:** The Supreme Court's judgment during the Emergency stated that the government could deprive citizens of their right to life and liberty. This judgment was controversial and closed the doors of the judiciary for citizens during the Emergency.

**Statement 5 is incorrect:** The Parliament passed the forty-second amendment to the Constitution during the Emergency, but it did not include changes to reduce the duration of legislatures from six to five years. Instead, it extended the duration of legislatures from five to six years. Later, the 44th Amendment of the Constitution restored the original term of the Lok Sabha and the state legislative assemblies to 5 years.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

9. Consider the following statements about the Emergency in India

The Emergency revealed the weaknesses and strengths of India's democracy, demonstrating the difficulty of abolishing democracy in the country.

The Constitution was amended after the Emergency to restrict the proclamation of an 'internal' Emergency only in the case of 'armed rebellion' and with written advice from the Union Cabinet.

The Emergency led to a greater awareness of the importance of civil liberties, prompting the courts to actively protect individual rights after the Emergency.

The critical years of the Emergency raised unresolved issues regarding the balance between routine government functioning and political protests.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The Emergency in India highlighted both the weaknesses and strengths of democracy. While some believed that India ceased to be democratic during the Emergency, normal democratic functioning was restored relatively quickly. This demonstrated the difficulty of completely eliminating democracy in India.

**Statement 2 is correct:** After the Emergency, amendments were made to the Constitution to address the ambiguities regarding the proclamation of an 'internal' Emergency. Now, an 'internal' Emergency can only be proclaimed on the grounds of 'armed rebellion,' and it is necessary for the Union Cabinet to provide the advice to the President in writing.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The Emergency increased awareness about the value of civil liberties, and after the Emergency, the courts played an active role in safeguarding the civil liberties

**of individuals.** This was a response to the judiciary's failure to effectively protect civil liberties during the Emergency. As a result, several civil liberties organizations emerged.

**Statement 4 is correct: The critical years of the Emergency raised unresolved issues regarding the balance between routine government functioning and political protests.** It questioned the extent of citizens' freedom to engage in protest activities and the limits to such protests. These issues have not been adequately addressed.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

10. Consider the following statements about the division of powers in the Indian Constitution:

The 1977 Lok Sabha elections resulted in a decisive victory for the Congress party.

The opposition parties formed a new party called the Janata Party before the 1977 elections.

The southern states of India experienced the strongest impact of the Emergency.

The Congress party retained a significant number of seats in Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Orissa in the 1977 elections.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect: In the 1977 Lok Sabha elections, the Congress party was actually defeated and did not achieve a victory.** The Congress party could win only 154 seats in the Lok Sabha, which was a significant decrease compared to its previous electoral performance.

**Statement 2 is correct: Before the 1977 elections, the major opposition parties in India came together and formed a new party called the Janata Party.** This party accepted the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan and played a crucial role in opposing the Emergency.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: The southern states of India did not experience the strongest impact of the Emergency.** The impact of the Emergency was not felt equally in all the states. The forced relocations and displacements, as well as the forced sterilizations, were primarily concentrated in the northern states.

**Statement 4 is correct: Despite the overall defeat of the Congress party in the 1977 elections, it managed to retain a significant number of seats in Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Orissa.** The Congress party virtually swept through the southern states, indicating its success in those regions.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

11. Which of the following statements accurately describe the Janata Party government that came to power after the 1977 elections in India?

The Janata Party government was marked by a cohesive and unified leadership.

The power struggle within the Janata Party ended with Morarji Desai becoming the Prime Minister.

The Janata Party government successfully implemented a comprehensive change in policies from those pursued by the Congress.

The Charan Singh-led government, formed after the split in the Janata Party, remained in power for approximately four months.

The Janata Party suffered a comprehensive defeat in the fresh Lok Sabha elections held in January 1980.

The experience of 1977–79 highlighted the voters' tendency to punish unstable and quarrelsome governments.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

2, 4, 5 and 6 only

3, 4 and 5 only

1, 2 and 3 only

1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** The Janata Party government was far from cohesive and faced stiff competition among three leaders for the post of Prime Minister. Therefore, the government did not have a cohesive and unified leadership.

**Statement 2 is correct:** Morarji Desai eventually became the Prime Minister. This implies that the power struggle within the Janata Party ended with his appointment.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** The Janata Party government could not bring about a comprehensive change in policies from those pursued by the Congress. Therefore, there was no successful implementation of a comprehensive policy change.

**Statement 4 is correct:** Another government headed by Charan Singh was formed after the split in the Janata Party, and it remained in power for just about four months.

**Statement 5 is correct:** The Janata Party suffered a comprehensive defeat in the fresh Lok Sabha elections held in January 1980.

**Statement 6 is correct:** The experience of 1977–79 taught a lesson in democratic politics, emphasizing that unstable and quarrelsome governments are severely punished by the voters.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

12. Consider the following statements:

The Congress party transformed into a socialist and pro-poor party under the leadership of Indira Gandhi.

The elections of 1977 witnessed a significant shift among the backward castes of north India, leading to the rise of non-Congress governments.

The political crisis during the Emergency was more severe than the constitutional crisis, as the government abused its extraordinary powers.

The tension between institution-based democracy and democracy based on mass protests highlighted the failure of the party system to address people's aspirations.

How many of the above statements accurately describes the political scenario during and after the Emergency in India?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** Congress party started shedding its character as an umbrella party accommodating leaders and workers of different ideological perspectives. The Congress

party now identified itself with a particular ideology, claiming to be the only socialist and pro-poor party. Therefore, the transformation of the Congress party into a socialist and pro-poor party is mentioned.

**Statement 2 is correct: The results of the 1977 elections were partly due to a shift among the backward castes of north India.** Non-Congress governments were elected in the northern states, and leaders of the backward castes played an important role in those governments.

**Statement 3 is correct: The Emergency period was a constitutional crisis as it originated from the battle over jurisdiction between the Parliament and the judiciary.** However, it was also a political crisis because the ruling party, despite having an absolute majority, decided to suspend the democratic process. There was abuse of extraordinary powers by the government during the Emergency, indicating that the political crisis was more serious than the constitutional crisis.

**Statement 4 is correct: The tension between institution-based democracy and democracy based on spontaneous popular participation, indicated a conflict between established institutions and mass protests.** This tension is attributed to the party system's inability to incorporate the aspirations of the people, suggesting a failure of the party system in addressing those aspirations.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

13. Consider the following statements about Jagjivan Ram:

He served as the Deputy Prime Minister of India from 1977 to 1979.

Jagjivan Ram was not a member of the Constituent Assembly of India.

He held the position of Food and Agriculture Minister in the first ministry of free India.

Jagjivan Ram served as a Member of Parliament from 1952 until his death.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Jagjivan Ram actively participated in the Indian freedom struggle and was associated with the Indian National Congress.** He played a significant role in Bihar politics. He served as Deputy Prime Minister of India from 1977 to 1979.

**Statement 2 is incorrect: Jagjivan Ram was indeed a member of the Constituent Assembly of India.** The Constituent Assembly was responsible for drafting the Indian Constitution, and Jagjivan Ram was a prominent member during that time.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: Jagjivan Ram did not hold the position of Food and Agriculture Minister in the first ministry of free India.** Instead, he served as the Labour Minister in the first ministry.

**Statement 4 is correct: Jagjivan Ram served as a Member of Parliament from 1952 until his death. He had a long and distinguished political career,** representing various constituencies over the years.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

14. Consider the following statements about Morarji Desai:

Morarji Desai served as the Chief Minister of Bombay State.  
Morarji Desai was a proponent of Khadi, naturopathy, and prohibition.  
Morarji Desai was the Deputy Prime Minister of India from 1967 to 1969.  
Morarji Desai was the first Prime Minister of India belonging to a non-Congress party.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

- Only one
- Only two
- Only three
- All four

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Morarji Desai served as the Chief Minister of Bombay State.** He held this position before India's states were reorganized and Bombay State was divided into Maharashtra and Gujarat in 1960.

**Statement 2 is correct: Morarji Desai was a strong advocate of Khadi, which refers to hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, as promoted by Mahatma Gandhi.** He also believed in the principles of naturopathy, a system of medicine that focuses on natural healing methods, and was a supporter of prohibition, advocating for the ban on alcohol consumption.

**Statement 3 is correct: Morarji Desai served as the Deputy Prime Minister of India from 1967 to 1969.** During this time, he worked under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and held the second-highest position in the Indian government.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: Morarji Desai was Prime Minister from 1977 to 1979—first Prime Minister belonging to a non-Congress party.**

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 6/ The Crisis of Democratic Order

## CHAPTER 7: REGIONAL ASPIRATIONS

### INTRODUCTION

Indian nationalism aimed to reconcile unity and diversity. In a democratic system, regional aspirations are seen as legitimate expressions and not considered anti-national. Political parties and groups can address the public based on their regional identity, aspirations, and specific regional issues.

### REGION AND THE NATION

**Movements for Autonomy:** The **Period of 1980's** marked by increasing regional aspirations for autonomy in India.

Movements sought greater autonomy for certain regions outside the Indian Union.

Many of these movements involved armed assertions by the people.

**Government Response:** Government responded with repression, leading to a breakdown of political and electoral processes.

Most struggles were protracted and eventually resolved through negotiated settlements or accords.

**Accords and Dialogues:** Accords were reached through dialogues within the constitutional framework.

The journey to the accord was tumultuous and often involved violence.

### INDIAN APPROACH

**Preserving Cultural Diversity:** Indian Constitution and nation-building emphasise the principle of preserving the distinct cultures of different regions and linguistic groups.

The goal is to live in a united society without erasing cultural diversity.

**Balancing Unity and Diversity:** Indian nationalism seeks to balance unity and diversity, unlike some European countries that view diversity as a threat.

India's approach is democratic, allowing political expression of regional aspirations without branding them as anti-national.

**Strengthening Regional Aspirations:** Democratic politics enables parties and groups to address people based on regional identity and aspirations, strengthening regional aspirations.

Democracy ensures that regional issues receive attention and accommodation in the policy-making process.

**Resolving Tensions and Conflicts:** However, tensions may arise as concerns for national unity or regional needs clash.

Political conflicts over regional power, rights, and existence are common in nations striving to respect diversity while maintaining unity.

### AREAS OF TENSION

**Immediate Post-Independence Challenges:** Coping with issues like partition, displacement, integration of princely States, and state reorganization.

**Kashmir Issue:** Conflict between India and Pakistan.

Central question of the political aspirations of the people in the Kashmir valley.

**North-Eastern Unrest:** Lack of consensus in some regions about being a part of India.

**Movements** demanding separation, like in Nagaland and Mizoram.

**Linguistic States Agitations:** Mass protests for the formation of linguistic States.

Regions affected included **Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Gujarat.**

**Language-related Protests:** Protests in Tamil Nadu against making Hindi the official national language.

**Demands** in the north for immediate **adoption of Hindi as the official language.**



**Punjabi Language Movement:** Agitations for a separate State for Punjabi speakers.

Resulted in the **creation of Punjab and Haryana in 1966.**

**Continuing Challenges:** Redrawing internal boundaries to address diversity.

Resolution of some issues remained complex, as seen in Kashmir and Nagaland.

New challenges arose in states like Punjab, Assam, and Mizoram.

### Dravidian Movement

**Origins and Objectives:** One of India's earliest regional movements, the Dravidian movement. Aimed to oppose Brahmin dominance and assert regional pride against North Indian political, economic, and cultural dominance.

**Means and Strategy:** Used democratic methods such as public debates and the electoral platform. No resort to armed conflict; achieved its goals through peaceful means.

**Formation of Dravidar Kazhagam (DK):** Formed under the leadership of E.V. Ramasami 'Periyar.' Strongly opposed Brahmin influence and asserted the cultural identity of South India.

**Evolution into Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK):** The DMK emerged as the successor to the DK. Launched agitations for the restoration of Tamil cultural history in schools, opposition to Hindi as the official language, and resistance against North Indian symbols of dominance.

**DMK's Political Influence:** Political agitations brought DMK to power in Tamil Nadu's Assembly elections of 1967. Dravidian parties have dominated Tamil Nadu's politics since then.

**Continued Dominance:** After the split, two major parties claimed the Dravidian legacy: DMK and AIADMK. Both parties have remained influential in Tamil Nadu's politics for over four decades.

**Regional Pride:** Dravidian parties like DMK, AIADMK, MDMK, PMK, and DMDK have kept alive the issue of regional pride in Tamil Nadu's politics. Tamil Nadu's regional politics demonstrates the compatibility of regionalism and nationalism.

### JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Jammu and Kashmir, despite having special status under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, faced violence, cross-border terrorism, and political instability with internal and external consequences.

The region comprises three social and political regions:

**Jammu:** Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh. Jammu is predominantly inhabited by Hindus, with Muslims, Sikhs, and others also residing there.

**Kashmir:** The Kashmir valley is mainly inhabited by Kashmiri Muslims, with a small minority of Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, and others.

**Ladakh:** Ladakh is a mountainous region with a sparse population, almost equally divided between Buddhists and Muslims.

The region's complexities and conflicts have led to significant loss of life, including innocent civilians, security personnel, and militants, as well as large-scale displacement of Kashmiri Pandits from the valley.

### ROOTS OF THE PROBLEM

**Princely State Status:** The roots of the problem in Kashmir can be traced back to the pre-1947 period when it was a Princely State ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh. The Maharaja desired an

independent status for the state, not aligning with either India or



Pakistan.

**Kashmiriyat:** The Pakistani leaders believed that Kashmir should be part of Pakistan due to its Muslim majority, but the people of the state identified themselves primarily as Kashmiris, not necessarily aligned with Pakistan. This sentiment of regional identity is known as Kashmiriyat.

**National Conference Movement:** A popular movement in the state, led by Sheikh Abdullah and the National Conference, sought to remove the Maharaja from power but was not in favor of joining Pakistan. Instead, they wanted a secular, independent Kashmir.

**Pakistan Supported Infiltration:** However, in October 1947, Pakistan sent tribal infiltrators to capture Kashmir, prompting the Maharaja to seek Indian military assistance.

India provided support and drove back the infiltrators after the Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession, which made Jammu and Kashmir part of India.

**UN Interference:** The issue was taken to the United Nations, which recommended a three-step process to resolve the dispute:

Pakistan had to withdraw its nationals from Kashmir,  
India needed to progressively reduce its forces, and  
a plebiscite was to be conducted in a free and impartial manner

However, no significant progress was made on this resolution. In the meantime, Sheikh Abdullah became the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, and India granted the state provisional autonomy under Article 370.

## EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL DISPUTES

**External Disputes:** Pakistan has always claimed that the Kashmir valley should be part of Pakistan. Pakistan sponsored a tribal invasion of the State in 1947, leading to a part of the State coming under Pakistani control.

Since 1947, Kashmir has remained a major point of conflict between India and Pakistan.

**Internal Disputes: Special Status under Article 370:** Kashmir was given a special status in the Indian Constitution through Article 370, providing greater autonomy compared to other states.

### Two Opposite Reactions:

Some outside of J&K believe that Article 370 hinders full integration with India and should be revoked.

Many Kashmiris feel that the autonomy granted by Article 370 is insufficient.

## KASHMIRI GRIEVANCES

**Unfulfilled Promise:** The promise of a plebiscite to determine accession was not fulfilled.

**Erosion of Special Status:** The special federal status guaranteed by Article 370 has eroded in practice.

**Demand for Autonomy:** There was a demand for the restoration of autonomy or 'Greater State Autonomy'.

**Concerns about Democracy:** Kashmiris feel that democracy in the rest of India has not been similarly institutionalized in Jammu and Kashmir.

## POLITICS SINCE 1948

**Sheikh Abdullah's Leadership (1953-1953):** Major land reforms and policies benefiting ordinary people.

Differences with the central government regarding Kashmir's status.

Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed in 1953 and detained for several years.

**Congress Influence (1953-1974):** Congress party exercised significant influence on Jammu and Kashmir politics.

A truncated National Conference, without Sheikh Abdullah, ruled with Congress support and later merged with the Congress.

Several attempts were made to reach an agreement between Sheikh Abdullah and the Indian government.

**Indira Gandhi's Agreement (1974):** In 1974, an agreement was reached between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah, leading to him becoming the Chief Minister.

National Conference revived and won a majority in the 1977 assembly elections.

**Leadership Transition (1982-1986):** After Sheikh Abdullah's death in 1982, his son, Farooq Abdullah, became the Chief Minister.

Farooq Abdullah was dismissed, and a breakaway faction of the National Conference briefly came to power.

**Resentment and Central Intervention:** Dismissal of Farooq Abdullah's government by the Centre led to resentment in Kashmir.

Confidence in democratic processes diminished.

Perception of Centre's intervention in State politics grew stronger when the National Conference allied with the Congress in 1986.

## INSURGENCY AND AFTER

**1987 Assembly Election: National Conference - Congress alliance** won a massive victory, and Farooq Abdullah returned as Chief Minister.

Widespread belief that the election results were rigged, leading to popular resentment against an inefficient administration.

**Rise of Insurgency:** Growing feeling that **democratic processes were being undermined** by the Centre.

Political crisis intensified with the rise of a militant movement demanding a separate Kashmiri nation.

By 1989, the State was in the grip of insurgency with support from Pakistan.

**Period of Violence and Armed Forces' Control: From 1990,** Jammu and Kashmir experienced violence from insurgents and army actions.

The State was under President's rule for several years, effectively under armed forces' control.

**Elections and Demand for Regional Autonomy:** Assembly elections were **held in 1996**, with the National Conference led by Farooq Abdullah coming to power and demanding regional autonomy.

**Fair election held in 2002**, leading to the replacement of the National Conference government with a PDP-Congress coalition.

## SEPARATISM AND BEYOND

**Various Strands of Separatist Politics:** Some separatists seek a separate Kashmiri nation, independent of India and Pakistan.

Others want Kashmir to merge with Pakistan.

A third strand demands greater autonomy for the State within the Indian Union.

**Demand for Intra-State Autonomy:** Jammu and Ladakh regions also seek greater autonomy within the State due to complaints of neglect and backwardness.

Intra-State autonomy demand is as strong as the **demand for State autonomy**.

**Shift from Militancy to Peace:** The initial period of popular support for militancy has transformed into a desire for peace. The **Centre has initiated negotiations** with various separatist groups.

Most separatists in dialogue are seeking to renegotiate the relationship of the State with India rather than demanding a separate nation.

**Plural Society and Politics in Jammu and Kashmir:** Jammu and Kashmir exemplifies a plural society with diversities of **religious, cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and tribal aspects**.

Divergent political aspirations coexist in the State.

Despite conflicts and diversities, the plural and secular culture of the State has remained largely intact.

## PUNJAB

In the 1980s, Punjab witnessed major developments due to changes in its social composition caused by Partition and the creation of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. **Akali Dal, formed in 1920** as the political wing of the Sikhs, led the movement for the creation of a Punjabi suba (state). As a result, Punjab became a Punjabi-speaking majority state during this period.

## POLITICAL CONTEXT

**Akalis in Power:** After reorganization, Akalis came to power in Punjab in **1967 and 1977 through coalition governments**.

Government dismissed mid-way through its term, lacked strong support among Hindus, and faced internal differentiation within the Sikh community.

**Anandpur Sahib Resolution (1973):** In the 1970s, some Akalis demanded political autonomy for the region.

The **Anandpur Sahib Resolution asserted regional autonomy and redefined the center-state relationship in India**.

The resolution also spoke of the aspirations of the Sikh qaum (community or nation) and aimed for Sikh dominance.

**Appeal and Movement:** The Resolution had limited appeal among Sikh masses.

In 1980, after the Akali government was dismissed, the **Akali Dal launched a movement on the water distribution issue**.

Some religious leaders raised the question of autonomous Sikh identity.

Extreme elements advocated secession from India and the creation of 'Khalistan.'

## CYCLE OF VIOLENCE

**Leadership Shift and Armed Insurgency:** Moderate Akalis' leadership passed to extremist elements, leading to armed insurgency.

Sikh militants made the **Golden Temple in Amritsar** their headquarters and turned it into an armed fortress.

**Operation Blue Star (June 1984):** Government of India carried out "**Operation Blue Star**" in the Golden Temple to flush out militants.

Operation was successful in removing militants but also damaged the historic temple and hurt Sikh sentiments.

Seen as an attack on Sikh faith, giving impetus to militant and extremist groups.

**Assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (October 31, 1984):** Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards as revenge for Operation Blue Star.

**Violence erupted against the Sikh community** in Delhi and northern parts of India, resulting in the death of more than two thousand Sikhs in Delhi alone.

**Apology (2005):** In 2005, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh expressed regret over the killings and apologised to the nation for the anti-Sikh violence.

## ROAD TO PEACE

**Rajiv Gandhi - Longowal Accord (1985):** After coming to power in 1984, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi reached an agreement with **Harchand Singh Longowal**, the president of the Akali Dal.

**Accord aimed to bring normalcy to Punjab: Transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab.**

Appointment of a commission to resolve the border dispute between Punjab and Haryana.

**Set up a tribunal** to decide the sharing of Ravi-Beas river water among Punjab, Haryana, and Rajasthan.

Compensation and better treatment for those affected by militancy.

Withdrawal of the application of **Armed Forces Special Powers Act** in Punjab.

**Challenges to Peace: Militancy and counter-insurgency violence** led to police excesses and human rights violations.

Fragmentation of the Akali Dal added to political challenges.

President's rule was imposed, and the normal electoral and political process was suspended.

**Eradication of Militancy and Return of Peace (1990s):** Security forces eventually eradicated militancy, but the losses incurred by both Sikhs and Hindus were significant.

**Peace returned to Punjab** by the middle of the 1990s.

**In 1997, the Akali Dal (Badal) and the BJP** scored a major victory in the first normal elections in the post-militancy era.

**Return to Economic Development and Social Change:** Punjab is once again preoccupied with questions of economic development and social change.

While religious identities remain important, politics has gradually moved back along secular lines.

## NORTH-EAST

**Geographical and Demographic Overview:** North-East consists of seven States, known as the 'seven sisters'.

**Covers only 4% of India's population** but holds about **twice its area**.

Connected to the rest of India through a 22-kilometer corridor, sharing boundaries with China, Myanmar, and Bangladesh, serving as India's gateway to SouthEast Asia.

**Political Reorganisation:** Tripura, Manipur, and Khasi Hills of Meghalaya were princely States that merged with India after Independence.

**Nagaland State was created in 1963, followed by Manipur, Tripura, and Meghalaya in 1972, and Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh as separate States in 1987.**



**Historical Challenges:** Partition of India in **1947** led to the **North-East** becoming landlocked and affected its economy.

Neglect in developmental terms and isolated politics due to limited connectivity with the rest of India.

Demographic changes due to influx of migrants from neighboring States and countries.

**Complex Demands:** Isolation, complex social character, and backwardness contribute to varied demands from different States in the North-East.

## DEMANDS FOR AUTONOMY

**Background:** At Independence, the entire region except Manipur and Tripura comprised the State of Assam.

Non-Assamese communities felt imposition of Assamese language and protested, leading to opposition and riots.

**Formation of Autonomy Demands:** Leaders of major tribal communities formed the Eastern India Tribal Union, later transformed into the All Party Hill Leaders Conference in 1960.

Demanded separate tribal State(s) to be carved out of Assam.

**Result: Creation of several States** - Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Arunachal Pradesh - apart from upgrading Tripura and Manipur into States by 1972.

**Continued Autonomy Demands:** Post reorganisation, demands for autonomy persisted in Assam from communities like **Bodos, Karbis, and Dimasas**.

Demands sought separate States, leading to mobilization, popular movements, and insurgency.

Due to challenges in creating smaller States, provisions of federal set-up were used to address autonomy demands.

**Karbis and Dimasas** were granted autonomy under District Councils, and Bodos were granted an Autonomous Council.

## SECESSIONIST MOVEMENTS

### MIZO INSURGENCY

Mizos believed they were not part of British India and sought independence from the Indian union.

**Mizo National Front (MNF)** led by Laldenga started an armed campaign for independence in 1966.

MNF received support from Pakistan and shelter in East Pakistan, leading to a two-decade-long guerrilla war.



Indian security forces responded with repressive measures, causing more anger and alienation among the people.

Political maturity of both sides made a difference.

In 1986, **Rajiv Gandhi** negotiated a **peace agreement** with **Laldenga**, granting full-fledged statehood to Mizoram with special powers.

MNF agreed to give up secessionist struggle, and Laldenga became the Chief Minister.

Today, Mizoram is one of the most peaceful and developed states in the region.

## NAGALAND STRUGGLE

Nagas, led by **Angami Zaphu Phizo**, declared independence from India in **1951**.

Naga National Council launched an armed struggle for Naga sovereignty.

A section of Nagas signed an agreement with the Indian Government, but other rebels rejected it.

The Nagaland problem still awaits a final resolution.

## MOVEMENTS AGAINST OUTSIDERS

### ASSAM MOVEMENT (1979-1985)

**All Assam Students' Union (AASU)** led an anti-foreigner movement.

Assamese people suspected illegal Bengali Muslim settlers from Bangladesh were encroaching on resources and reducing them to a minority.

Movement demanded deportation of outsiders who entered the State after 1951.

Involved protests, blockades, and violent incidents, leading to loss of property and lives.

In 1985, an accord was signed with the Rajiv Gandhi-led government, agreeing to identify and deport migrants.

AASU and Asom Gana Sangram Parishad formed a regional political party called Asom Gana Parishad (AGP), which came to power in 1985.

### CURRENT SCENARIO

**The Assam Accord** brought peace but did not completely solve the issue of immigration.

The issue of "**outsiders**" continues to be a live issue in the politics of Assam and other North-Eastern states.

Tripura and some other places face a similar problem of the original inhabitants being reduced to a minority in their own land.

Hostility towards Chakma refugees in Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh also reflects this issue.

### Sikkim's Merger

**Pre-Independence Status:** Sikkim was a 'protectorate' of India, not fully part of India but also not a sovereign country. India handled its defence and foreign relations, while internal administration was under Chogyal, the monarch of Sikkim.

**Demands for Integration:** The Chogyal faced difficulties in dealing with the democratic aspirations of the people. Sikkim's population was predominantly Nepali, but the Chogyal was seen as favoring the minority Lepcha-Bhutia community. Leaders from the Nepali community sought support from the Indian government.

**Democratic Elections and Integration:** In 1974, the first democratic elections in Sikkim were won by Sikkim Congress, which advocated greater integration with India. The Sikkim Assembly passed a resolution in April 1975 seeking full integration with India.

**Referendum and Merger:** A referendum was hastily organized, showing popular approval for integration. The Indian Parliament accepted the request, and Sikkim became the 22nd State of the Indian union.

**Chogyal's Opposition:** The Chogyal did not accept the merger and accused the Indian government of foul play and use of force. However, the merger had widespread popular support and did not become a divisive issue in Sikkim's politics.

### ACCOMMODATION AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

**Regional Aspirations are Inherent in Democratic Politics:** Expression of regional issues is natural in democratic societies, even in larger countries like India.

National integration requires acknowledging and addressing these aspirations.

**Seeking Solutions through Negotiations:** Suppression of regional movements can exacerbate tensions.

Negotiated settlements and reconciliation can be effective in resolving regional conflicts.

The example of Mizoram illustrates the power of political settlement in addressing separatist movements.

**Importance of Power Sharing:** Merely having formal democratic structures is not enough.

Regional parties and groups must be given a share in power at the state level.

The regions should have a say in national-level decision making to prevent feelings of injustice and alienation.

**Addressing Regional Imbalance in Economic Development:** Regional disparities in economic development can contribute to feelings of discrimination.

Policies should address backwardness and promote balanced development to mitigate inter-regional migrations.

**Appreciating the Constitution's Farsightedness:** India's federal system and special provisions for states like J&K and the North-East showcase the Constitution's flexibility and accommodative approach to diversity.

These provisions have been vital in resolving complex political problems.

**Flexibility and Accommodation in India's Constitutional Framework:** India's constitutional design encourages regional aspirations without encouraging separatism.

This flexibility has allowed politics in India to embrace regionalism as a part of democratic politics.

### Goa's liberation

**Background:** After India's independence in 1947, Portugal refused to withdraw from its territories - Goa, Diu, and Daman. Portuguese rule in Goa involved suppression, denial of rights, and forced religious conversions.

**Liberation in 1961:** In December 1961, the Indian government sent the army, liberating Goa, Diu, and Daman in just two days. The territories became a Union Territory.

**Identity and Merger:** Some wanted Goa to merge with Maharashtra due to the shared Marathi language (MGP). Others, led by the UGP, desired to preserve Goa's unique identity, particularly the Konkani language.

**Opinion Poll and Statehood:** In 1967, an 'opinion poll' showed the majority of Goans preferred to remain separate from Maharashtra. In 1987, Goa became a state within the Indian Union.

### Points to Remember

**E.V. Ramasami Naicker (1879-1973):** Known as Periyar (the respected); strong supporter of a theism; famous for his anti caste struggle and rediscovery of Dravidian identity; initially a worker of the Congress party; started the self-respect movement (1925); led the anti-Brahmin movement; worked for the Justice party and later founded Dravidar Kazhagam; opposed to Hindi and domination of north India; propounded the thesis that north Indians and Brahmins are Aryans.

**Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah (1905-1982):** Leader of Jammu and Kashmir; proponent of autonomy and secularism for Jammu and Kashmir; led the popular struggle against princely rule; opposed to Pakistan due to its non-secular character; leader of the National Conference; Prime Minister of J&K immediately after its accession with India in 1947; dismissed and jailed by Government of India from 1953 to 1964 and again from 1965 to 1968; became Chief Minister of the State after an agreement with Indira Gandhi in 1974.

**Sant Harchand Singh Longowal (1932-1985):** Sikh political and religious leader; began his political career in mid-sixties as an Akali leader; became president of Akali Dal in 1980; reached an agreement with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on key demands of Akalis; assassinated by unidentified Sikh youth.

**Master Tara Singh (1885-1967):** Prominent Sikh religious and political leader; one of the early leaders of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC); leader of the Akali movement; supporter of the freedom movement but opposed to Congress' policy of negotiating only with the Muslims; after Independence, he was the senior most advocate of formation of separate Punjab State.

**Laldenga (1937-1990):** Founder and leader of the Mizo National Front; turned into a rebel after the experience of the famine in 1959; led an armed struggle against India for two decades; reached a settlement and signed an agreement with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1986; became the Chief Minister of the newly created State of Mizoram.

**Angami Zapu Phizo (1904-1990):** Leader of the movement for independent Nagaland; president of Naga National Council; began an armed struggle against the Indian state; went 'underground', stayed in Pakistan and spent the last three decades of his life in exile in UK.

**Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khangsarpa (1904):** Leader of democracy movement in Sikkim; founder of Sikkim Praja Mandal and later leader of the Sikkim State Congress; in 1962 founded the Sikkim National Congress; after an electoral victory, he led the movement for integration of Sikkim with India; after the integration, Sikkim Congress merged with the Indian National Congress.

**Rajiv Gandhi (1944-1991):** Prime Minister of India between 1984 and 1989; son of Indira Gandhi; joined active politics after 1980; reached agreements with militants in Punjab, Mizoram and the students' union in Assam; pressed for a more open economy and computer technology; sent Indian Army contingent on the request of Sri Lankan government, to sort out the Sinhala Tamil conflict; assassinated by suspected LTTE suicide bomber.

## QUESTIONS

1. In the context of liberation of Goa and subsequent events, consider the following statements:

Goa, Diu, and Daman were under Portuguese colonial rule until their liberation in 1961 by the Indian army.

The Indian government used military force to liberate Goa, Diu, and Daman from Portuguese control.

Following liberation, Goa, Diu, and Daman became separate states.

An opinion poll was conducted in 1967 to determine whether Goa should merge with Maharashtra or retain a separate identity.

Which of the statements given above are correct?

3 and 4 only

1 and 3 only

2 and 3 only

1, 2 and 4 only

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** After India gained independence from British rule in 1947, Portugal continued to hold onto its colonial territories in Goa, Diu, and Daman. However, in 1961, the Indian government sent its army to liberate these territories from Portuguese control.

**Statement 2 is correct:** In order to liberate Goa, Diu, and Daman from Portuguese rule, the Indian government employed military force. The Indian army carried out a swift operation, named **Operation Vijay (17-19 December 1987)**, that resulted in the liberation of these territories after just two days of military action.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** After their liberation, Goa, Diu, and Daman did not become separate states. Instead, they became **Union Territories of India**. They remained under the administrative control of the Indian central government. **Goa attained statehood in 1987**, while Daman and Diu are still Union Territories of India.

**Statement 4 is correct:** In 1967, the Indian Central Government conducted a special 'opinion poll' in Goa to gauge the preference of the people regarding their future status. The poll aimed to determine whether the people wanted Goa to merge with the neighbouring state of Maharashtra or to retain a separate identity. This referendum-like procedure allowed the majority to vote in favor of Goa remaining a separate entity, leading to its continuation as a Union Territory till 1987.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

2. Which of the following statements about Sikkim's merger with India is/are correct?

Sikkim was a fully sovereign country before its merger with India in 1975.

Sikkim's defence and foreign relations were managed by the Chogyal, Sikkim's monarch.

The majority of Sikkim's population belonged to the Nepali community.

The first democratic elections in Sikkim were held in 1975, following its merger with India.

The Chogyal accepted the merger with India and fully supported the decision.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

2, 4 and 5 only

3 only

1, 3, 4 and 5 only

1 and 2 only

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect: At the time of India's independence, Sikkim was not a fully sovereign country.** It was a protectorate of India, which meant that while it was not a part of India, it also did not have full sovereignty. Sikkim's defence and foreign relations were managed by India, while the power of internal administration was with the Chogyal, Sikkim's monarch.

**Statement 2 is incorrect: Sikkim's defence and foreign relations were not managed by the Chogyal. Instead, they were looked after by India.** The Chogyal had power over internal administration, but defence and foreign relations were under India's control.

**Statement 3 is correct: While the Lepcha-Bhutia community was considered a minority in Sikkim, the overwhelming majority of Sikkim's population was Nepali.** This played a significant role in the democratic aspirations of the people and the push for greater integration with India.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: The first democratic elections in Sikkim were held in 1974, not 1975.** These elections were swept by the Sikkim Congress, which advocated for greater integration with India. The assembly then passed a resolution in April 1975, asking for full integration with India.

**Statement 5 is incorrect: The Chogyal did not accept the merger with India. In fact, he and his supporters accused the Government of India of foul play and the use of force.** However, despite the Chogyal's opposition, the merger enjoyed popular support among the people of Sikkim and did not become a divisive issue in the state's politics.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

3. Consider the following statements:

The Indian government resorted to armed repression to suppress regional autonomy movements outside the Indian Union.

The Indian Constitution denied the rights of different regions and linguistic groups to retain their own culture.

The Indian approach to diversity sought to balance the principles of unity and diversity.

The Indian approach to diversity mirrored that of European countries, perceiving cultural diversity as a threat to the nation.

How many of the statements given above accurately reflect the Indian approach to regional aspirations and diversity during the 1980s?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect: Regional aspirations for autonomy often involved armed assertions by the people, but it does not indicate that the Indian government responded with armed repression.** Instead, it states that the movements were often

concluded through negotiated settlements or accords between the central government and the groups leading the autonomy movement.

**Statement 2 is incorrect: Indian approach to diversity was based on the principle that different regions and linguistic groups have the right to retain their own culture.** The Indian nation sought to balance unity and diversity, without negating the significance of regional identities.

**Statement 3 is correct: Indian approach to diversity aimed to strike a balance between unity and diversity. It recognized the importance of regional aspirations and allowed them to be politically expressed through democratic politics.** 'The Democracy allows the political expressions of regional aspirations and does not look upon them as anti-national.'

**Statement 4 is incorrect: Indian approach to diversity was different from that of many European countries.** While some European countries viewed cultural diversity as a threat to the nation, India embraced diversity and sought to accommodate regional aspirations within the framework of a united social life.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

4. Consider the following statements:

The issue of Jammu and Kashmir was primarily a conflict between India and Pakistan, without any consideration for the political aspirations of the people of the Kashmir valley.

The demand for linguistic states led to mass agitations in regions such as Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Gujarat.

The creation of Punjab and Haryana in 1966 resolved the demand for a separate state by the Punjabi-speaking population.

The reorganization of states through redrawing internal boundaries successfully resolved all challenges related to diversity in India.

How many of the statements given above accurately describe the challenges faced by India in the early years of nation-building?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect: The issue of Jammu and Kashmir was not only a conflict between India and Pakistan, but it also involved the political aspirations of the people of the Kashmir valley.** The region witnessed demands for self-determination and autonomy, leading to ongoing tensions between India, Pakistan, and Kashmiri separatist groups.

**Statement 2 is correct: The demand for linguistic states triggered mass agitations in regions like Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Gujarat.** The protests were primarily driven by the linguistic identities and cultural aspirations of these regions.

**Statement 3 is correct: The demand for a separate state by the Punjabi-speaking population was resolved with the creation of Punjab and Haryana in 1966.** This decision aimed to address the linguistic and regional aspirations of the Punjabi-speaking people.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: While the reorganization of states and redrawing internal boundaries helped address some challenges related to diversity, it did not completely resolve all problems.** There were ongoing issues and demands in various regions even after the creation of new states.



**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

5. Consider the following statements about Jammu and Kashmir:

The people of Kashmir believed that the majority Muslim population of the state justified its merger with Pakistan.

The National Conference, led by Sheikh Abdullah, wanted to get rid of the Maharaja but was against joining Pakistan.

In 1947, Pakistan sent tribal infiltrators to capture Kashmir, leading to the Maharaja seeking Indian military help.

The United Nations recommended a plebiscite to resolve the Kashmir issue, but no progress was made under this resolution.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** While Pakistani leaders believed that the majority Muslim population in Jammu and Kashmir justified its merger with Pakistan, the people of the state themselves identified as Kashmiris and had their own aspirations, including the option of an independent status.

**Statement 2 is correct:** The National Conference, led by Sheikh Abdullah, aimed to remove the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir from power but was not in favor of joining Pakistan. The National Conference was a secular organization with a long association with the Indian National Congress.

**Statement 3 is correct:** In 1947, Pakistan sent tribal infiltrators into Kashmir, which prompted the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir to seek assistance from the Indian military to counter the infiltration and protect the region.

**Statement 4 is correct:** The United Nations passed a resolution in 1948 recommending a three-step process to resolve the Kashmir issue, which included a plebiscite. However, no significant progress has been made under this resolution to date.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

6. Consider the following statements about the politics of Jammu and Kashmir:

In 1947, Pakistan sponsored a tribal invasion of the State, resulting in one part of the State coming under Pakistani control.

The special provisions under Articles 370 and 371 in the Indian Constitution confer full integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India.

Kashmiris believed that the autonomy provided by Article 370 was sufficient, and there were no major grievances.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** In 1947, following the partition of India, Pakistan sponsored a tribal invasion of Jammu and Kashmir. As a result, one part of the State came under Pakistani control, which is referred to as 'Azad Kashmir' by Pakistan.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** The special provisions under Article 370 in the Indian Constitution granted a special autonomous status to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. It did not confer full integration with India. However, it is worth noting that Article 370 was revoked by the Indian government in 2019, leading to bifurcation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir into Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir and Union Territory of Ladakh.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** There was a section of Kashmiris who believed that the autonomy conferred by Article 370 was not enough. They had grievances related to the unfulfilled promise of a plebiscite, erosion of the special federal status, and the perceived lack of institutionalized democracy in the state.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

7. Consider the following statements about the Dravidian movement in India:

The Dravidian movement aimed to establish a separate Dravida nation through armed struggle.

The Dravidian movement used democratic means such as public debates and electoral platforms to achieve its objectives.

The Dravidian movement was limited to the state of Tamil Nadu due to lack of support from other South Indian states.

The DMK and the AIADMK are the two main political parties that claim the Dravidian legacy in Tamil Nadu.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** Although some sections of the Dravidian movement had ambitions of creating a separate Dravida nation, the movement itself did not take up arms. It primarily used democratic means like public debates and the electoral platform to achieve its goals.

**Statement 2 is correct:** The Dravidian movement, including organizations like Dravidar Kazhagam (DK) and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), utilized democratic methods such as public debates and participating in elections to pursue their objectives. They engaged in political activism rather than resorting to armed struggle.

**Statement 3 is correct:** Although the initial vision of the Dravidian movement spoke in terms of encompassing the entire South India, the movement faced limited support from other states. As a result, it became primarily focused on Tamil Nadu, where it gained significant political influence.

**Statement 4 is correct:** Following the split of the Dravidar Kazhagam (DK), the political legacy of the Dravidian movement was transferred to the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK). The DMK, along with the All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK), emerged as the two main political parties in Tamil Nadu, both claiming the Dravidian legacy.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

8. Consider the following statements regarding the political developments in Jammu and Kashmir after 1948:

Sheikh Abdullah, after becoming the Prime Minister, implemented major land reforms and policies benefiting ordinary people.

The leadership that succeeded Sheikh Abdullah enjoyed significant popular support.

The Congress party, with the support of a truncated National Conference, gained direct control over the Jammu and Kashmir government after 1953.

Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq of the Indian National Congress became the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir after a constitutional change in 1965.

Farooq Abdullah, the son of Sheikh Abdullah, succeeded him as Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir and remained in power until his death in 1982.

Which of the statements given above are correct?

1, 3 and 4 only

2, 3, 4 and 5 only

1, 2 and 4 only

1, 2, 3 and 5 only

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** Sheikh Abdullah, after assuming the position of Prime Minister, initiated significant land reforms and implemented policies that aimed to benefit the common people. However, his differences with the central government regarding the status of Kashmir led to his dismissal in 1953.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** The leadership that succeeded Sheikh Abdullah did not enjoy as much popular support as he did, and they were unable to effectively govern the state primarily due to the support they received from the central government. Their rule was marked by allegations of malpractices and rigging in elections.

**Statement 3 is correct:** After Sheikh Abdullah's dismissal, a truncated National Conference, without his involvement, initially remained in power with the active support of the Congress party. Eventually, the National Conference merged with the Congress, granting the Congress direct control over the government in Jammu and Kashmir.

**Statement 4 is correct:** In 1965, a constitutional change was made in Jammu and Kashmir, designating the position of Prime Minister as Chief Minister. As a result, Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq of the Indian National Congress became the first Chief Minister of the state.

**Statement 5 is incorrect:** After Sheikh Abdullah's death in 1982, the leadership of the National Conference passed to his son, Farooq Abdullah, who became the Chief Minister. However, he was dismissed by the Governor, and a breakaway faction of the National Conference briefly came to power.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

9. Which of the following statements about the political developments in Jammu & Kashmir is **not** correct?

The 1987 Assembly election in Jammu & Kashmir was widely believed to be rigged, leading to a popular resentment against the inefficient administration.

The rise of insurgency in Jammu & Kashmir in 1989 was fuelled by moral, material, and military support from Pakistan.

The National Conference led by Farooq Abdullah came to power in the 1996 Assembly elections, advocating for regional autonomy for Jammu & Kashmir.

The coalition government of Mufti Mohammed Sayeed and the BJP came into power after the 2014 elections in Jammu & Kashmir.

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct: The 1987 Assembly election in Jammu & Kashmir was marred by allegations of rigging.** Many people believed that the election results did not reflect the popular choice and that the entire election process was manipulated. This led to a significant resentment among the people against the inefficient administration.

**Option (b) is correct: In 1989, Jammu & Kashmir witnessed a surge in insurgency, with militants mobilizing around the cause of a separate Kashmiri nation.** It is widely acknowledged that these **insurgents received moral, material, and military support from Pakistan**. This support contributed to the intensification of the insurgency and the subsequent violence in the region.

**Option (c) is correct: In the 1996 Assembly elections in Jammu & Kashmir, the National Conference led by Farooq Abdullah emerged victorious and formed the government.** The National Conference advocated for regional autonomy for Jammu & Kashmir, reflecting the political aspirations of the people in the region.

**Option (d) is incorrect: The coalition government of Mufti Mohammed Sayeed and the BJP did come into power in Jammu & Kashmir, but it was formed after the 2015 elections, not the 2014 elections.** The 2014 elections witnessed a high voter turnout but resulted in a hung assembly, leading to the formation of a coalition government later.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

10. Consider the following statements about the political development in Punjab during the 1980s:
- The Akali Dal, formed in 1920 as the political wing of the Sikhs, led the movement for the formation of a Punjabi-speaking state.
  - The reorganisation of Punjab along linguistic lines occurred in the 1950s, similar to the rest of the country.
  - The Akali Dal came to power in Punjab in 1977 as a single-party government.
  - The Anandpur Sahib Resolution passed in 1973 aimed to redefine the centre-state relationship and strengthen federalism in India.
- How many of the statements given above are correct?
- Only one
  - Only two
  - Only three
  - All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: The Akali Dal, which was formed in 1920 as the political wing of the Sikhs, played a significant role in advocating for the creation of a Punjabi-speaking state.** They led the movement for the formation of a separate state called 'Punjabi suba,' which eventually led to the reorganization of Punjab in 1966.

**Statement 2 is incorrect: While the rest of the country underwent reorganization along linguistic lines in the 1950s, Punjab had to wait until 1966 for the creation of a Punjabi-speaking state.** The delay was due to various factors, including the partition of India in 1947 and subsequent reorganization of states.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: The Akali Dal did come to power in Punjab, but not as a single-party government. In both 1967 and 1977, when the Akalis came to power, it was**

**through coalition governments.** Their political position remained precarious, and their government was dismissed by the central government mid-way through its term.

**Statement 4 is correct: The Anandpur Sahib Resolution, passed in 1973, aimed to redefine the center-state relationship in India and strengthen federalism.** It asserted regional autonomy and addressed the aspirations of the Sikh community. The resolution was a plea for greater decentralization of power and autonomy for states in India.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

11. Which of the following statements accurately summarizes the cycle of violence in Punjab during the 1980s?

The movement began with moderate Akalis, but later shifted to an armed insurgency led by extremists, which led to a military operation in the Golden Temple.

The assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards sparked nationwide violence against Sikhs.

The government's military operation in the Golden Temple was widely seen as an attack on the Sikh faith, fuelling the growth of militant and extremist groups within the Sikh community.

The anti-Sikh violence following Indira Gandhi's assassination lasted for about a week, killing thousands of Sikhs in Delhi and other parts of India.

Which of the statements given above are correct?

1 and 4 only

1, 2 and 3 only

2 and 4 only

1, 2, 3 and 4

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The statement accurately summarizes the initial stages of the cycle of violence in Punjab. It mentions that the leadership of the movement shifted from moderate Akalis to extremist elements, leading to armed insurgency. **The militants took refuge in the Golden Temple, which resulted in the government's military operation known as 'Operation Blue Star' in June 1984.** This operation involved a large-scale military assault on the Golden Temple complex, which is considered one of the holiest sites for Sikhs.

**Statement 2 is correct:** The statement accurately describes the aftermath of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's assassination. It states that the assassination was carried out by her Sikh bodyguards who sought revenge for Operation Blue Star. **The assassination triggered widespread violence against the Sikh community, lasting for almost a week and resulting in the loss of thousands of Sikh lives.** The violence was particularly severe in Delhi and other parts of northern India, where mobs targeted Sikh homes and businesses, killing men, women, and children.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The statement correctly highlights the perception of the government's military operation in the Golden Temple as an attack on the Sikh faith. **This perception further fuelled the growth of militant and extremist groups within the Sikh community. Many Sikhs saw Operation Blue Star as a desecration of their holiest shrine and an attack on their religion, leading to increased support for separatist movements.**

**Statement 4 is correct:** The statement provides an accurate account of the anti-Sikh violence that occurred after Indira Gandhi's assassination. **It mentions the duration of the violence, the high death toll, the areas most affected (such as Delhi), and the delayed restoration of normalcy. It also notes the lack of effective punishment for the**

**perpetrators of the violence.** Many human rights organizations have criticized the Indian government for its failure to prosecute those responsible for the anti-Sikh violence.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

12. Consider the following statements regarding the peace process in Punjab after the Rajiv Gandhi - Longowal Accord:

The Rajiv Gandhi - Longowal Accord was reached in 1992, bringing an end to the cycle of violence in Punjab.

The agreement included the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and the appointment of a commission to resolve the border dispute with Haryana.

The Punjab Accord led to the complete eradication of militancy in Punjab by the mid-1990s.

The Akali Dal (Badal) and the BJP formed an alliance and achieved a significant victory in the first post-militancy era elections in Punjab in 1997.

The peace process in Punjab resulted in a complete shift towards religion-based politics rather than secular politics.

Which of the statements given above are correct?

2, 3 and 5 only

2 and 4 only

1 and 4 only

1, 3 and 5 only

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** The Rajiv Gandhi - Longowal Accord, also known as the Punjab Accord, was actually reached in July 1985. It was a step towards bringing normalcy to Punjab but did not immediately end the cycle of violence.

**Statement 2 is correct:** The Rajiv Gandhi - Longowal Accord included the provision for transferring Chandigarh, which was a disputed territory, to Punjab. It also mentioned the appointment of a commission to address the border dispute between Punjab and Haryana.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** While the Punjab Accord was an important step in the peace process, it did not lead to the immediate or complete eradication of militancy in Punjab. The cycle of violence continued for several more years before peace was eventually restored by the mid-1990s.

**Statement 4 is correct:** After the post-militancy era, the Akali Dal (Badal) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) formed an alliance and achieved a significant victory in the first normal elections in Punjab in 1997. This marked a major political development in the state.

**Statement 5 is incorrect:** While religious identities remained important for the people of Punjab, the peace process did not result in a complete shift towards religion-based politics. Instead, politics gradually moved back along secular lines, indicating a return to a more inclusive and diverse political landscape.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

13. Consider the following statements regarding the North-East region of India:

The North-East region shares its boundaries with China, Myanmar, and Bangladesh, serving as India's gateway to South East Asia.



Nagaland State was created in 1963, while Manipur, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh became separate States in 1972.

The demands for autonomy in the North-East region were primarily triggered by the imposition of Assamese language on non-Assamese communities.

The North-East region witnessed significant political reorganization, with Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh becoming separate States in 1987.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The North-East region of India shares its borders with China, Myanmar (formerly known as Burma), and Bangladesh. It is strategically located and serves as India's gateway to South East Asia.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** Nagaland State was indeed created in 1963. Manipur, Tripura, and Meghalaya became separate states in 1972, but Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh became separate states in 1987.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The demands for political autonomy in the North-East region were largely fuelled by concerns of non-Assamese communities who felt that the Assam government was imposing the Assamese language on them. These demands led to protests and opposition riots throughout the state.

**Statement 4 is correct:** Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh did indeed become separate states in 1987. This was part of the significant political reorganization that took place in the North-East region over the years.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

14. Consider the following statements regarding the secessionist movements in Mizoram and Nagaland:

Mizoram gained independence from India in 1986 through a peaceful negotiation between Laldenga and Rajiv Gandhi.

The Mizo National Front (MNF) in Mizoram received support from the Pakistani government during their armed campaign for independence.

A section of Nagas in Nagaland declared independence from India in 1951 under the leadership of Angami Zaphu Phizo.

A section of the Nagas in Nagaland signed an agreement with the Indian government, leading to a resolution of the conflict.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect:** Mizoram did not gain independence from India in 1986. Instead, a peace agreement was signed between the Indian government and the Mizo National Front (MNF) led by Laldenga. As per the accord, Mizoram was granted full-fledged

statehood with special powers, and the MNF agreed to give up their secessionist struggle. Laldenga became the Chief Minister of Mizoram. The agreement marked a turning point in the history of Mizoram and brought peace to the region, but it did not lead to independence.

**Statement 2 is correct: During their armed campaign for independence, the Mizo National Front (MNF) in Mizoram received support from the Pakistani government.** The MNF fought a guerrilla war and found shelter in the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). The support from the Pakistani government aided the MNF in their struggle against the Indian army.

**Statement 3 is correct: Under the leadership of Angami Zaphu Phizo, a section of the Nagas in Nagaland declared independence from India in 1951.** The Naga National Council launched an armed struggle for the sovereignty of the Nagas.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: While a section of the Nagas in Nagaland signed an agreement with the Indian government, it did not lead to a resolution of the conflict.** The agreement was not acceptable to other rebels, indicating that the problem in Nagaland still awaits a final resolution.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

15. Which of the following statements regarding movements against 'outsiders' in the North-East of India is **not** correct?

The Assam Movement was driven by concerns of indigenous Assamese becoming a minority due to the influx of illegal Bengali Muslim settlers from Bangladesh.

The All Assam Students' Union (AASU) led the anti-foreigner movement, demanding the deportation of all outsiders who entered Assam after 1951.

The Assam Accord, signed in 1985, successfully resolved the problem of immigration and brought lasting peace to the region.

In Tripura, the original inhabitants have become a minority in their own land, leading to hostility towards Chakma refugees in Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh.

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct: The Assam Movement, also known as the Assam Agitation, was indeed primarily driven by the fear among indigenous Assamese people that the illegal Bengali Muslim settlers from Bangladesh would reduce them to a minority in their own land.**

**Option (b) is correct: The All Assam Students' Union (AASU) played a crucial role in leading the anti-foreigner movement during the Assam Agitation.** They demanded the identification and deportation of all outsiders who entered Assam after 1951.

**Option (c) is incorrect: The Assam Accord, signed in 1985 between the Government of India and AASU leaders, aimed to address the issues related to illegal immigration, but it did not completely resolve the problem of immigration.** While it brought temporary peace and resulted in the formation of a regional political party called Asom Gana Parishad (AGP), the issue of 'outsiders' and immigration continues to be a live issue in Assam and other states in the North-East.

**Option (d) is correct: In Tripura, the original inhabitants have indeed become a minority in their own land due to migration and resettlement, leading to hostility towards Chakma refugees in Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh.**

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

16. Which of the following statements best summarizes the lessons drawn from the cases of regional aspirations and national integration in India?

Regional aspirations are unique to India and should be suppressed to maintain national unity.  
Democratic negotiations should be employed to address regional aspirations rather than resorting to suppression.

Power sharing at the state level is unnecessary as long as formal democratic structures are in place.

Regional imbalances in economic development have no impact on the feeling of regional discrimination.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect: Regional aspirations are a part of democratic politics and not abnormal.** There is an emphasis on the need for democratic negotiations to address regional aspirations rather than suppression.

**Option (b) is correct:** This statement accurately summarizes one of the lessons drawn from the cases of regional aspirations and national integration in India. The emphasis has been laid on democratic negotiations, as they are the best way to respond to regional aspirations, leading to reconciliation and reduced tensions in various regions.

**Option (c) is incorrect: The significance of power sharing at the state level asserts that formal democratic structures alone are insufficient.** Regions must have a share in deciding the destiny of the nation to avoid feelings of injustice and alienation.

**Option (d) is incorrect: Regional imbalance in economic development contributes to the feeling of regional discrimination.** If some states remain poor while others develop rapidly, it leads to regional imbalances and inter-regional migrations.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

17. Consider the following statements about E.V. Ramasami Naicker, also known as Periyar:

Periyar was a strong supporter of atheism and played a significant role in the anti-caste struggle and rediscovery of Dravidian identity.

Periyar initially worked with the Congress party before starting the self-respect movement in 1925.

Periyar led the anti-Brahmin movement and worked for the Justice party before founding Dravidar Kazhagam.

Periyar advocated for the dominance of Hindi and believed in the superiority of North Indians and Brahmins as Aryans.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: E.V. Ramasami Naicker, also known as Periyar, was a prominent advocate of atheism.** He strongly opposed the caste system and worked towards the upliftment of marginalized communities. Periyar played a crucial role in the Dravidian movement, which aimed to assert and celebrate the cultural and linguistic identity of the Dravidian people in South India.

**Statement 2 is correct: Periyar began his political career as a member of the Indian National Congress.** However, he later distanced himself from the Congress and established the self-respect movement in 1925. The self-respect movement aimed to promote self-respect, social equality, and justice for all individuals, particularly the non-Brahmin communities.

**Statement 3 is correct: Periyar indeed led the anti-Brahmin movement, which challenged the social and political dominance of Brahmins in Tamil Nadu.** He worked with the Justice party, an organization representing the non-Brahmin communities, before eventually founding his own political party called Dravidar Kazhagam. Dravidar Kazhagam focused on the rights and empowerment of Dravidians and fought against caste-based discrimination.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: Periyar was known for his opposition to Hindi imposition and the perceived dominance of North India.** He believed in promoting the regional identity of South India and the rights of non-Brahmin communities. **Periyar did not endorse the notion of Brahmin or North Indian superiority; instead, he challenged such notions and sought social equality for all.**

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

18. Which of the following statements about Master Tara Singh is correct?

Master Tara Singh was a prominent Sikh religious and political leader who played a key role in the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC).

Master Tara Singh was one of the early leaders of the Indian National Congress and actively participated in the freedom movement.

Master Tara Singh supported the Congress' policy of negotiating only with the Muslims during the freedom movement.

After Independence, Master Tara Singh opposed the formation of a separate Punjab State and advocated for a united India.

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct: Master Tara Singh was indeed a prominent Sikh religious and political leader.** He actively participated in the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC), which is a central organization responsible for managing gurudwaras (Sikh places of worship) in India.

**Option (b) is incorrect: Master Tara Singh was not associated with the Indian National Congress.** Although he supported the freedom movement, his leadership and activism were primarily focused on Sikh concerns and the Akali movement, which sought to address issues faced by Sikhs in British India.

**Option (c) is incorrect: Master Tara Singh did not support the Congress' policy of negotiating exclusively with Muslims.** Instead, he advocated for a more inclusive approach and opposed the Congress' emphasis on separate negotiations with the Muslim League. He believed in direct negotiations with all communities to ensure Sikh interests were adequately represented.

**Option (d) is incorrect: After India's Independence, Master Tara Singh became a senior advocate for the formation of a separate Punjab State.** He strongly believed that Sikhs deserved their own state and actively campaigned for the creation of Punjab as a distinct entity within the Indian union.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

19. Consider of the following statements about Kazi Lhendup Dorji:

Kazi Lhendup Dorji was the leader of the democracy movement in Sikkim.

Kazi Lhendup Dorji founded the Sikkim National Congress in 1962.

Kazi Lhendup Dorji led the movement for the integration of Sikkim with Bhutan.

After the integration of Sikkim with India, the Sikkim Congress merged with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Kazi Lhendup Dorji played a significant role as the leader of the democracy movement in Sikkim.** He founded the Sikkim Praja Mandal and later became the leader of the Sikkim State Congress.

**Statement 2 is correct: In 1962, Kazi Lhendup Dorji founded the Sikkim National Congress,** which was a political party that advocated for the integration of Sikkim with India.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: Kazi Lhendup Dorji led the movement for the integration of Sikkim with India, not Bhutan.** He played a pivotal role in campaigning for Sikkim's merger with India and led the movement for its integration.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: After the integration of Sikkim with India, the Sikkim Congress merged with the Indian National Congress, not the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).** The Indian National Congress is one of the major political parties in India.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 7/ Regional Aspirations

## CHAPTER 8: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIAN POLITICS

### INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, the rise of **coalition politics** has brought complex outcomes, raising controversial implications for **democracy**. Key issues include the impact of **coalition politics**, **Mandalisation** on political representation, the legacy of the **Ramjanambhoomi movement**, and the influence of a new **political consensus** on choices. Studying India's political history is crucial to understanding the present, though politically sensitive.

### CONTEXT OF THE 1990S

**Defeat of Congress in 1989:** Congress party's seats reduced from 415 in 1984 to 197 in 1989.

Marked the end of the 'Congress system' in Indian politics.

Congress remained an important party but lost its earlier centrality.

**Rise of the 'Mandal issue':** National Front government implemented the Mandal Commission's recommendation in 1990.

Reserved central government jobs for Other Backward Classes (OBCs).

Led to violent 'anti-Mandal' protests across the country.

Shaped politics since 1989, with ongoing debates over OBC reservations.

**Economic Policy Changes:** Initiation of structural adjustment program and economic reforms.

Implemented by Rajiv Gandhi, became visible in 1991.

Radical changes in the direction of the Indian economy since independence.

Policies faced criticism from various movements and organizations.

**Demolition of Babri Masjid:** Symbolic event that triggered various changes in the country's politics.

Culminated in the demolition of the disputed structure at Ayodhya in December 1992.

Intensified debates about Indian nationalism and secularism.

**Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi:** Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated in May 1991 during an election campaign in Tamil Nadu.

Led to a change in leadership of the Congress party.

Narasimha Rao became the Prime Minister.

### ERA OF COALITIONS

**Election Results of 1989:** Congress party faced defeat.

No clear majority for any party.

**Congress in the Opposition:** Despite being the largest party, Congress chose opposition.

Due to the lack of a clear majority in the Lok Sabha.

**The National Front's Formation:** Alliance of Janata Dal and regional parties.

Surprisingly received support from BJP and Left Front.

**Coalition Government Formed:** National Front formed a coalition government.

BJP and Left Front stayed out of the government.

### DECLINE OF CONGRESS

**Decline of Congress Dominance:** Defeat of the Congress party marked the end of its dominance.

Congress no longer held a preeminent position in Indian politics.

**Indira Gandhi's Leadership:** Under Indira Gandhi's leadership, Congress maintained its dominant position.

Managed to establish a strong political presence.

**Emergence of Challenges:** The dominance of Congress was challenged in the late sixties.

Congress faced new challenges to its predominant position.

**Era of Multi-Party System:** After 1989, the Indian political landscape witnessed a shift.

Several parties emerged, leading to a multi-party system.



**Coalition Governments:** No single party secured clear majorities since 1989.

Coalition governments with regional parties became common.

**BJP's Clear Majority:** BJP obtained a clear majority in the 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha elections.

## ALLIANCE POLITICS

**Emergence of Dalit and OBC Parties:** In the 1990s, powerful parties and movements representing Dalit and backward castes (OBCs) gained prominence.

These parties were also strong advocates of regional identity and assertiveness.

**United Front Government (1996):** The United Front government came to power in 1996, supported by Janata Dal and several regional parties.

Unlike in 1989, the BJP did not support this government. Instead, the Congress extended its support.

**Shifting Alliances:** The political equations were highly unstable, leading to shifting alliances.

In 1989, both the Left and the BJP supported the National Front government to keep the Congress out of power.

In 1996, the Left continued supporting the non-Congress government, while the Congress joined in to keep the BJP out of power.

**BJP's Rise:** Despite facing opposition, the BJP steadily strengthened its position through the 1991 and 1996 elections.

It emerged as the largest party in 1996 but couldn't secure a majority in the Lok Sabha.

**BJP-led Coalition Government:** To form a government, the BJP led a coalition government from May 1998 to June 1999.

Atal Bihari Vajpayee was the Prime Minister during both the NDA (National Democratic Alliance) governments formed in 1998 and 1999.

**Re-election:** The BJP-led government was re-elected in October 1999, and Atal Bihari Vajpayee remained the Prime Minister for its full term.

**Emergence of Coalition Politics:** In 1989, coalition politics became a prominent feature in India, marking a long phase of alliances and shared governance.

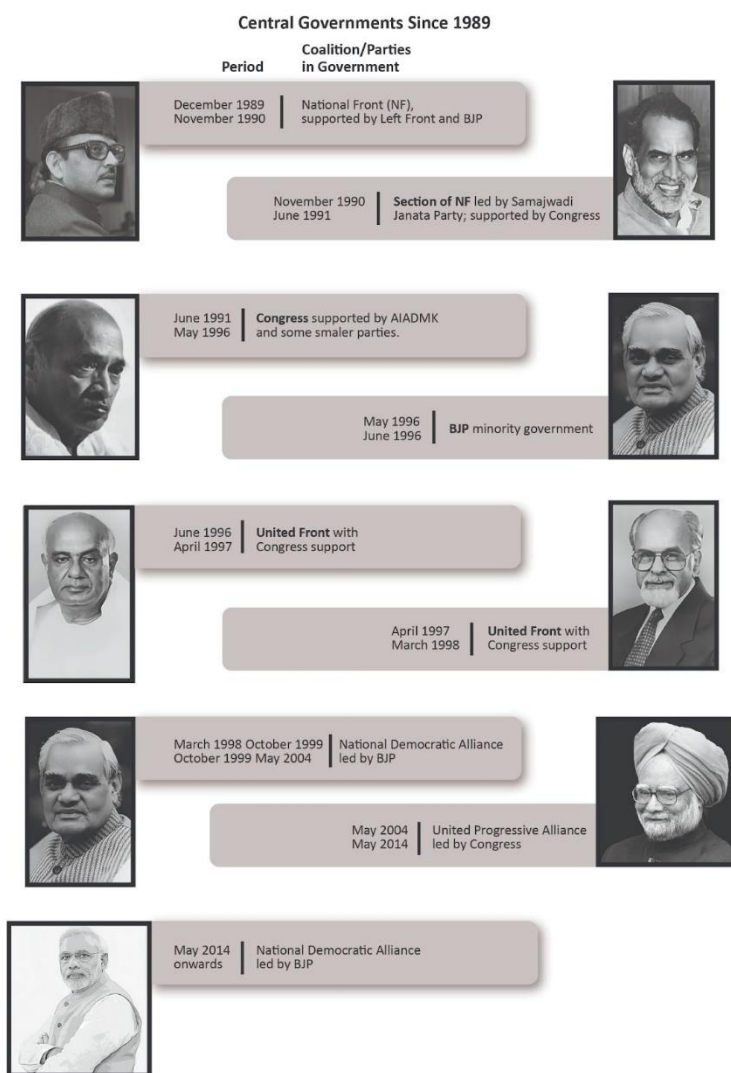
**Multiple Coalition Governments:** Since 1989, there have been eleven coalition governments at the center, either as full-fledged coalitions or minority governments supported by other parties.

**Participation of Regional Parties:** Coalition governments were formed only with the participation or support of various regional parties.

This trend applied to the National Front in 1989, the United Front in 1996 and 1997, NDA in 1998 and 1999, NDA in 1999, UPA in 2004 and 2009.

**Congress and the Coalition System:** Earlier, the Congress party itself represented a "coalition" of diverse interests and social groups, but since the late 1960s, sections of the party left to form their separate political parties.

**Rise of Regional Parties:** The rise of regional parties weakened the Congress party, but no single party could replace it.



## POLITICAL RISE OF OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES

**The Rise of Other Backward Classes (OBCs):** The period saw the rise of Other Backward Classes (OBCs) as a political force.

**Definition of Other Backward Classes (OBCs):** Other Backward Classes (OBCs) refer to communities other than Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) who suffer from educational and social backwardness.

They are also referred to as 'backward castes' or 'backward classes'.

**Decline in Congress Support:** The support for the Congress among many sections of the 'backward castes' had declined.

**Space for Non-Congress Parties:** This created a space for non-Congress parties that drew more support from these communities.

**The Rise of Non-Congress Parties:** The rise of these parties was first seen at the national level in the form of the Janata Party government in 1977.

**Powerful Rural Base:** Many of the constituents of the Janata Party, like Bharatiya Kranti Dal and Samyukta Socialist Party, had a powerful rural base among some sections of the OBCs.

## MANDAL IMPLEMENTED

**Janata Dal united** political groups with strong support among Other Backward Classes (OBCs). **The National Front** government implemented the Mandal Commission's recommendations, shaping OBC politics.

Intense national debate on job reservation for OBCs raised awareness of their identity.

Mandal Commission mobilized OBC groups, leading to new parties advocating OBC opportunities in education and employment.

OBC parties demanded fair administration representation and political power due to their significant presence in Indian society.

## THE MANDAL COMMISSION

**Background of the Mandal Commission:** In 1978, the Janata Party government established the Mandal Commission to investigate the social and educational backwardness of various castes in India.

The Janata Party came to power after defeating the Congress party in the elections following the Emergency.

The Commission was chaired by **B.P. Mandal**, a former chief minister of Bihar, belongs to one of the backward castes.

**Recommendations of the Mandal Commission Report:** The Commission's report, submitted in 1980, recommended a reservation of 27% of seats in educational institutions and government jobs for the Other Backward Classes (OBCs).

The term OBCs included many castes other than the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs), who already had reservations.

The report also proposed various other measures, such as land reform, to improve the socio-economic conditions of the OBCs.

**Controversies and Opposition:** The government did not implement the Mandal Commission report immediately, leading to widespread discontent among OBC communities.

The report triggered agitation and violence, particularly in northern India, with upper-caste groups opposing the idea of reservations for OBCs.

**Legal Challenges and Supreme Court Verdict:** The Mandal Commission report faced legal challenges, and the Supreme Court was approached to scrutinize its validity.

In 1992, the Supreme Court upheld the validity of the report and its recommendations but made some modifications.

The legal case challenging the Mandal Commission report is commonly known as the Indira Sawhney case, named after one of the petitioners who contested it in court.

**Current Consensus on OBC Reservations:** Over time, the policy of reservations for OBCs has gained support from all major political parties in India.

## POLITICAL FALLOUTS

**Formation of the Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation (BAMCEF) in 1978:** BAMCEF was not an ordinary trade union of government employees.

It aimed to empower the political power of the 'Bahujan' – SC, ST, OBC, and religious minorities.

BAMCEF gained significant influence among Dalit communities.

**Emergence of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP):** BSP emerged as a major political player in several states, primarily supported by Dalit voters in Punjab, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh.

In 1989 and 1991 elections, BSP achieved a breakthrough in Uttar Pradesh, becoming a significant political force.

**Pragmatic Politics and Expanding Support:** BSP's success was based on pragmatic politics, catering to the aspirations of the majority Dalit population.

Initially supported mainly by Dalit voters, it expanded its support to various other social groups across India.

**Competition with Other Parties:** Dalit politics and OBC politics have developed independently and often compete with each other.

OBC (Other Backward Classes) politics also gained prominence, presenting a challenge to the BSP's influence.

**Importance of Dalit Voters:** Despite expanding support, BSP's strongest support still comes from Dalit voters.

Dalit communities have become a crucial demographic in Indian politics.

**Impact on India's Political Landscape:** The rise of Dalit political organizations has changed the dynamics of Indian politics.

These organizations have influenced policy discussions and the focus on social justice.

**Dalit Empowerment:** The political empowerment of Dalits has led to increased representation and visibility in decision-making processes.

## COMMUNALISM, SECULARISM, DEMOCRACY

**Background:** During this period, the rise of politics based on religious identity led to a debate about secularism and democracy.

**Formation of Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS):** After the Emergency, Bharatiya Jana Sangh merged into Janata Party.

After the fall of Janata Party and its breakup, supporters of erstwhile Jana Sangh formed the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 1980.

**BJP's Ideology Evolution:** Initially, BJP adopted a broader political platform than Janata Sangh and embraced "Gandhian Socialism" as its ideology.

Later, it emphasized Hindu nationalist elements in its ideology, known as "Hindutva."

Believed a strong nation can be built on a strong and united national culture (Hindu culture).

**Supreme Court's Shah Bano Case (1985):** A 62-year-old divorced Muslim woman filed a case for maintenance from her former husband.

Supreme Court ruled in her favor.

BJP criticized Congress government's action as an unnecessary concession and appeasement of the minority community.

**BJP's "Hindutva" Strategy:** BJP pursued politics of "Hindutva" and mobilized the Hindu community.

Argued that a strong nation can be built on the basis of strong Hindu culture.

**Opposition and Controversy:** Government's decision to nullify Supreme Court's judgment was opposed by many women's organizations, Muslim groups, and intellectuals.

BJP criticized Congress for unnecessary appeasement of minorities.

## AYODHYA DISPUTE

**Dispute over the Babri Masjid:** Conflict began in the late 19th century in Ayodhya.

Some Hindus believe it to be Lord Rama's birthplace.

**Court Order - Unlocking the Babri Masjid:** Faizabad District Court ordered the premises to be unlocked in February 1986.

Hindus allowed to offer prayers at the site.

**Historical Background: Babri Masjid:** Built in the 16th century by Mir Baqi, Emperor Babur's general.

Significant historical importance.

**Communal Tensions- Escalation to National Issue:** Local dispute turned into a national concern.

Communal tensions between Hindus and Muslims.

**Lockdown and Mobilization:** Mosque locked in the late 1940s due to the court case.

Mobilization efforts initiated by both sides.

**Major Organizations Involved:** RSS and VHP played prominent roles.

Generated public support for their respective stances.

**Rath Yatra: BJP's Public Support:** BJP organized a massive Rath Yatra from Somnath to Ayodhya.

Aimed to gain public support for their cause.

**Communal Violence:** The situation led to a highly charged atmosphere.

Instances of communal violence occurred.

## DEMOLITION AND AFTER

**December 1992 - Karseva and Escalating Tension:** Organizations supporting the temple construction organized a Karseva by devotees in Ayodhya.

Tension escalated all over the country and particularly in Ayodhya.

**Supreme Court Order and Protection of Disputed Site:** The Supreme Court ordered the State government to ensure the safety of the disputed site.

The aim was to prevent any harm to the disputed site amid the growing tension.

**Demolition of the Mosque and Nationwide Clashes:** On 6 December 1992, a large gathering in Ayodhya demolished the mosque, leading to violent clashes between Hindus and Muslims nationwide.

The demolition triggered unrest and violence between the two communities for over two weeks.

## AFTERMATH OF AYODHYA EVENTS

**Dismissal of State Government:** The BJP-led State government was dismissed by the Centre following the events in Ayodhya.

**Condemnation of Demolition:** Most political parties condemned the demolition as a violation of secular principles.

**Debate over Secularism:** India faced a significant debate on the exploitation of religious sentiments for electoral gains.

**Freedom of Religious Communities:** India's democratic politics is based on the freedom of religious communities to join any party, without forming community-based political parties.

**Challenges to Communal Amity:** The democratic atmosphere of communal harmony faced multiple challenges since 1984.

**Anti-Sikh Riots:** In February-March 2002, similar violence erupted against Muslims in Gujarat, adding to the complexity of the issue.

## GUJARAT RIOTS

**Godhra Train Burning Incident: Immediate Provocation:** A train full of Karsevaks returning from Ayodhya was set on fire at Godhra station.

**Casualties:** Fifty-seven people died in the train fire, leading to suspicion against Muslims for the incident.

**Subsequent Large-Scale Violence: Aftermath of Godhra:** Large-scale violence against Muslims erupted in various parts of Gujarat from the next day.

**Duration:** The violence continued for almost a whole month.

**Death Toll: Human Cost:** The riots resulted in the death of nearly 1,100 people, with the majority being Muslims.

**Criticism by National Human Rights Commission: Government's Role:** The Gujarat government was criticized by the National Human Rights Commission for its failure to control the violence, provide relief to the victims, and prosecute the perpetrators.

**Election Commission's Response: Postponed Elections:** The Election Commission of India ordered the postponement of assembly elections in Gujarat due to the volatile situation.

**Danger of Using Religious Sentiments for Politics:** The Gujarat riots emphasized the danger of exploiting religious sentiments for political purposes, posing a significant threat to democratic politics.

### EMERGENCE OF A NEW CONSENSUS

The period after 1989 is seen sometimes as the period of decline of Congress and rise of BJP. If you want to understand the complex nature of political competition in this period, you have to compare the electoral performances of the Congress and the BJP.

### LOK SABHA ELECTIONS 2024

**2004 Lok Sabha Elections:** In the 2004 elections, the Congress party formed coalitions in a significant way.

**Defeat of the NDA:** The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) was defeated, and a new coalition government led by the Congress, known as the United Progressive Alliance (UPA), came to power.

**Support from Left Front:** The UPA government received support from the Left Front parties.

**Partial Revival of Congress:** Congress party saw a partial revival, increasing its seats for the first time since 1991.

**Narrow Margin of Victory:** The elections witnessed a negligible difference in votes polled by the Congress and its allies and the BJP and its allies.

**Four Groups of Parties:** The 1990s saw the emergence of four groups of parties - those in coalition with Congress, those in alliance with BJP, Left Front parties, and other parties not part of any of these three.

**Implications:** The situation suggests a multi-cornered political competition and a divergence of political ideologies.

### GROWING CONSENSUS

Growing consensus among most parties is a significant development in India's politics. Despite severe competition and conflicts, a broad agreement has emerged on crucial issues. **This consensus consists of four elements:**

**Agreement on new economic policies:** Most political parties support the new economic policies despite opposition from some groups.

They believe these policies will lead the country to prosperity and enhance its status of economic power in the world.

**Acceptance of social and political claims of backward castes:** Political parties recognize the social and political claims of backward castes, and they advocate for reservation of seats for them in education and employment.

All major political parties now support reservation for the backward classes.

**Power-sharing arrangements:** State-level parties have gained power and played a central role in the country's governance, making the distinction between state-level and national-level parties less important.

Coalition politics based on pragmatic considerations rather than ideological differences has become prominent.

**Identification of new forms, visions, and development paths:** Populist movements and organizations are concurrently identifying new forms, visions, and paths of development for addressing issues such as poverty, displacement, minimum wages, livelihood, and others.

These momentous changes are shaping the future of politics in India, fostering a more competitive and consensus-driven political landscape.



**Points to Remember**

**Kanshi Ram (1934-2006):** Proponent of Bahujan empowerment and founder of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP); left his central government job for social and political work; founder of BAMCEF, DS-4 and finally the BSP in 1984; astute political strategist, he regarded political power as master key to attaining social equality; credited with Dalit resurgence in north Indian States.

**B.P. Mandal (1918-1982):** M.P. from Bihar for 1967-1970 and 1977-1979; chaired the Second Backward Classes Commission that recommended reservations for Other Backward Classes; a socialist leader from Bihar; Chief Minister of Bihar for just a month and a half in 1968; joined the Janata Party in 1977.

**QUESTIONS**

1. Consider the following developments occurred in the 1990s in India:

The defeat of the Congress party in the 1989 Lok Sabha elections marked the end of the 'Congress system.'

The rise of the 'Mandal issue' resulted in widespread peaceful processions and marches among the masses

The initiation of the structural adjustment programme brought about radical changes in the Indian economy starting in 1991.

The demolition of the disputed structure at Ayodhya in December 1990 intensified debates about Indian nationalism and secularism.

The assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991 resulted in Atal Bihari Vajpayee becoming the Prime Minister of India.

Which of the statements given above are correct?

2, 3 and 5 only

1 and 3 only

4 and 5 only

1, 2 and 4 only

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The Congress party, which had previously enjoyed a dominant position in Indian politics, suffered a significant defeat in the 1989 Lok Sabha elections. The party, which had won 415 seats in the previous election in 1984, was reduced to only 197 seats in 1989. **This election marked a decline in the Congress party's centrality in the Indian party system, signaling the end of what political scientists refer to as the 'Congress system.'**

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** The 'Mandal issue' refers to the implementation of the Mandal Commission's recommendation by the National Front government in 1990. The Mandal Commission recommended that a certain percentage of government jobs in India should be reserved for the Other Backward Classes (OBCs). **When the government decided to implement these reservations, it sparked widespread protests and demonstrations across the country. These protests, often referred to as 'anti-Mandal' protests, turned violent in various parts of India.** The issue of OBC reservations became a contentious topic and played a significant role in shaping Indian politics since 1989, as it raised debates on social justice, caste-based reservations, and representation.

**Statement 3 is correct:** **The Indian economy witnessed a significant shift in economic policies starting in 1991, known as the structural adjustment program or the new economic reforms. Although the process was initiated by Rajiv Gandhi, the reforms became more visible and widespread in 1991.** The new economic policies aimed to

liberalize and open up the Indian economy, introducing market-oriented reforms, deregulation, and globalization.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: In December 1992, not 1990, the disputed structure known as the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya was demolished.** This event had significant repercussions in Indian politics and society. **It symbolized a major point of contention between different religious communities and intensified debates surrounding Indian nationalism and secularism.** The demolition of the Babri Masjid led to communal tensions and had a profound impact on the political landscape of the country.

**Statement 5 is incorrect:** Rajiv Gandhi, the former Prime Minister of India, was assassinated in May 1991 by a Sri Lankan Tamil linked to the LTTE during an election campaign tour in Tamil Nadu. **Following his death, the Congress party emerged as the single largest party in the subsequent elections. Narsimha Rao, a senior Congress leader, was chosen as the Prime Minister of India.** Thus, the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi led to a change in leadership within the Congress party.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 8/ Recent Developments in Indian Politics

2. Which of the following statements accurately describes the political scenario in India after the 1989 elections and the decline of the Congress party?

The Congress party formed a coalition government with the National Front, consisting of Janata Dal and other regional parties.

The BJP and the Left Front joined the National Front-led coalition government.

The era of coalition governments began, with no single party securing a clear majority in the Lok Sabha elections from 1989 to 2014.

The defeat of the Congress party led to the emergence of a single dominant party in Indian politics.

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect:** While the National Front, which was an alliance of Janata Dal and some other regional parties, formed a coalition government after the 1989 elections, **the Congress party did not join this government.** Instead, the Congress party decided to sit in the opposition.

**Option (b) is incorrect:** Although the National Front formed a coalition government, **neither the BJP nor the Left Front joined this government.** The National Front received support from these two diametrically opposite political groups, but they did not become part of the ruling coalition.

**Option (c) is correct:** After the 1989 elections, **no single party secured a clear majority of seats in the Lok Sabha elections until 2014.** This led to the formation of coalition governments at the Centre, with regional parties playing a crucial role in forming ruling alliances.

**Option (d) is incorrect:** The defeat of the Congress party **did not result in the emergence of a single dominant party to replace it.** Instead, it marked the beginning of an era of multi-party system and coalition governments in India.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 8/ Recent Developments in Indian Politics

3. Consider the following statements:

The emergence of parties representing Dalit and backward castes led to increased regional assertion and played a significant role in the United Front government.

The BJP supported the United Front government in 1996 to keep the Congress party out of power, aligning with the Left for the same purpose as in 1989.

The BJP, after emerging as the largest party in the 1996 election, formed a majority government and implemented its policies successfully until 1999.

Since 1989, India has experienced a trend of coalition governments or minority governments supported by other parties.

How many of the statements given above accurately reflects the dynamics of alliance politics in India during the 1990s and early 2000s?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The statement reflects the fact that in the 1990s, parties representing Dalit and backward castes gained prominence and regional assertiveness.

These parties, along with several regional parties, formed the United Front government in 1996. The Congress party supported this coalition government.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** In 1996, the BJP did not support the United Front government. Instead, the Congress party supported the United Front government to keep the BJP out of power. The alignment between the BJP and the Left to keep the Congress out of power occurred in 1989, not 1996.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** While the BJP emerged as the largest party in the 1996 election, it could not form a majority government due to opposition from other parties. The BJP government formed in 1996 was a coalition government that lacked a majority in the Lok Sabha and could not implement its policies effectively. It later formed a coalition government in 1998, which lasted until 1999.

**Statement 4 is correct:** Since 1989, there has been a trend of coalition governments or minority governments supported by other parties in India. These governments have relied on the participation or support of regional parties to form a government at the central level. However, this trend changed in 2014 when a single party, the BJP, won a majority on its own and formed a government without relying heavily on coalition or regional party support.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 8/ Recent Developments in Indian Politics

4. Consider the following statements about the political rise of Other Backward Classes (OBCs) in India:

The term 'OBC' refers to communities other than Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) who suffer from educational and social backwardness.

The decline of Congress support among backward castes created an opportunity for non-Congress parties to gain political influence.

The Janata Party government in 1977 was the first national-level expression of the rise of non-Congress parties supported by some sections of the OBCs.

The implementation of the recommendations of the Mandal Commission by the National Front government in the 1980s further shaped the politics of OBCs.

Parties representing OBCs demanded better opportunities in education, employment, and a fair share of political power due to their significant representation in Indian society.

Which of the statements given above are correct?

- 1, 4 and 5 only
- 1, 2 and 3 only
- 2, 3 and 5 only
- 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: OBC refers to the administrative category known as 'Other Backward Classes,' which includes communities that are not classified as Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes.** These communities are recognized as socially and educationally disadvantaged.

**Statement 2 is correct: The support for the Congress party among sections of backward castes had declined,** creating a space for non-Congress parties to appeal to these communities and gain political influence.

**Statement 3 is correct: The Janata Party government, formed in 1977, consisted of political groups with strong support among OBCs.** Parties like the Bharatiya Kranti Dal and the Samyukta Socialist Party, which had a powerful rural base among OBC sections, were part of the Janata Party coalition.

**Statement 4 is correct: The National Front government in the 1980s decided to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission, which had been set up to identify and address the issues faced by OBCs.** This implementation had a significant impact on OBC politics and the mobilization of OBC communities.

**Statement 5 is correct: Parties representing OBCs advocated for improved opportunities in education and employment for OBC communities.** They also raised concerns about the fair distribution of political power, emphasizing that OBCs, being a significant segment of Indian society, should have adequate representation and a fair share of political power.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 8/ Recent Developments in Indian Politics

5. Which political organization was formed in 1978 with a strong position in favor of political power for the 'bahujan' groups in India?
- Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)
  - Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation (BAMCEF)
  - Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti
  - Bahujan Dalit Party (BDP)

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Option (b) is correct: In 1978, the Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation (BAMCEF) was formed.** This organization was not an ordinary trade union of government employees, but rather a political organization that took a strong position in favor of political power for the 'bahujan' groups in India, which include the Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST), Other Backward Classes (OBC), and religious minorities. BAMCEF played a significant role in advocating for the rights and representation of these marginalized communities in the political sphere.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 8/ Recent Developments in Indian Politics

6. What does the term 'Hindutva' mean according to V. D. Savarkar?

- Advocating for minority rights
- Embracing Gandhi's principles of socialism
- Promoting religious tolerance and diversity
- Hindu culture alone can provide the base for a strong and united nation

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Option (d) is correct: Hindutva, as defined by V.D. Savarkar, implies that Hindu culture alone can provide the base for a strong and united Indian nation.** According to Savarkar's definition, to be a member of the Indian nation, individuals must not only accept India as their 'fatherland' (pitrubhu) but also as their holy land (punyabhu). This ideology asserts that a strong nation can be built only on the foundation of a strong and united national culture, which, in the case of India, is believed to be Hindu culture.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 8/ Recent Developments in Indian Politics

7. Which event led to the mobilization of Hindu and Muslim communities and escalated a local dispute into a major national question, causing communal tensions in India?

- The initiation of a court case in the late 1940s, resulting in the locking up of the Babri Masjid.
- The construction of the Babri Masjid by Mir Baqi, the General of Mughal emperor Babur, on the alleged site of Lord Rama's birthplace.
- The BJP's decision to make the Ayodhya dispute its major electoral and political plank.
- The court order unlocking the Babri Masjid premises in Ayodhya, allowing Hindus to offer prayers at the site.

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is incorrect: In the late 1940s, a court case was initiated regarding the ownership and status of the Babri Masjid. As a result, the mosque was locked up, and it remained closed while the matter was being decided in court.** This legal battle continued for several decades and contributed to the ongoing dispute over the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya.

**Option (b) is incorrect: The Babri Masjid was a 16th-century mosque built in Ayodhya by Mir Baqi, who was a General in the army of Mughal emperor Babur.** According to some Hindu beliefs, the mosque was constructed after demolishing a temple that was believed to be the birthplace of Lord Rama.

**Option (c) is incorrect: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), along with other organizations like the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), made the Ayodhya dispute a significant electoral and political issue.** They organized various symbolic and mobilizational programs, including a large-scale march called the Rathayatra from Somnath in Gujarat to Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh. This move by the BJP aimed to generate public support and gain political advantage.

**Option (d) is correct: The Faizabad district court in February 1986 ordered the unlocking of the Babri Masjid premises in Ayodhya. This event allowed Hindus to enter the site and offer prayers, as they considered it to be a temple.** This action sparked mobilization and tensions between Hindu and Muslim communities.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 8/ Recent Developments in Indian Politics

8. Consider the following statements:

The Uttar Pradesh State government, with the BJP as the ruling party, was dismissed by the Centre.

Clashes between Hindus and Muslims erupted in Mumbai in January 1993.

Most political parties expressed support for the demolition and condemned secularism.

How many of the events given above are correct regarding post-demolition of the mosque in Ayodhya in December 1992?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** After the demolition of the mosque in Ayodhya, the State government of Uttar Pradesh, which was led by the BJP, was dismissed by the central government.

**Statement 2 is correct:** The demolition of the mosque in Ayodhya led to widespread violence and clashes between Hindus and Muslims in many parts of the country, including Mumbai, in January 1993.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** Most political parties condemned the demolition of the mosque and declared that it was against the principles of secularism. There was widespread criticism of the event and its implications for religious harmony and the treatment of minority communities in India.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 8/ Recent Developments in Indian Politics

9. Which of the following statements regarding the political scenario in India after the 2004 Lok Sabha elections is correct?

The Congress party formed a coalition government known as the United Progressive Alliance.

The BJP and its allies received more votes than the Congress and its allies in the 2004 elections.

The new economic policies have been widely opposed by most political parties.

State-level parties have become less relevant in national politics.

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct:** After the 2004 Lok Sabha elections, the Congress party formed a coalition government known as the United Progressive Alliance (UPA). The UPA government was led by the Congress party and received support from various regional and left-leaning parties.

**Option (b) is incorrect:** In the 2004 elections, there was a negligible difference between the votes polled by the Congress and its allies and the BJP and its allies. Therefore, it implies that the two parties received a similar number of votes.

**Option (c) is incorrect:** While there are groups opposed to the new economic policies, most political parties are in support of them. The parties believe that these policies would lead the country to prosperity and economic power.

**Option (d) is incorrect:** The distinction between state-level and national-level parties is becoming less important. State-level parties are sharing power at the national level and have played a central role in the country's politics in the last twenty years or so. This implies that state-level parties have become more relevant in national politics.



**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 8/ Recent Developments in Indian Politics

10. Consider the following statements about Kanshi Ram, the proponent of Bahujan empowerment and founder of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP):

Kanshi Ram left his central government job to pursue social and political work.

Kanshi Ram founded BAMCEF, DS-4, and finally the BSP in 1984.

Kanshi Ram regarded political power as the master key to achieving social equality.

Kanshi Ram is credited with the Dalit resurgence in north-eastern Indian states.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** Kanshi Ram indeed left his central government job to dedicate himself to social and political work. He believed in advocating for the rights and empowerment of marginalized communities, particularly the Dalits.

**Statement 2 is correct:** Kanshi Ram founded several organizations throughout his career. He initially founded BAMCEF (All India Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation) and DS-4 (Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti) before establishing the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in 1984. These organizations were aimed at mobilizing and empowering marginalized communities.

**Statement 3 is correct:** Kanshi Ram firmly believed that political power was essential for attaining social equality. He saw political empowerment as a means to challenge the existing power structures and address the social and economic disparities faced by marginalized communities.

**Statement 4 is incorrect:** Kanshi Ram is primarily credited with the Dalit resurgence in north Indian states, particularly Uttar Pradesh. There is no specific evidence to suggest his direct influence or involvement in the Dalit resurgence in north-eastern Indian states.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 8/ Recent Developments in Indian Politics

11. Consider the following statements regarding the Mandal Commission and its recommendations:

The demand for reservations for backward castes in north India and at the national level gained significant momentum during the tenure of the Janata Party government in 1977-79.

The Mandal Commission was appointed by the central government to investigate the extent of economic and social backwardness among various communities.

The Mandal Commission recommended reserving 30% of seats in educational institutions and government jobs for backward castes.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** The demand for reservations for backward castes in north India and at the national level did gain significant momentum during the tenure of the Janata Party government in 1977-79. The Chief Minister of Bihar, Karpoori Thakur, was a pioneer in raising this demand, and his government introduced a new policy of reservations for Other Backward Classes (OBCs) in Bihar.

**Statement 2 is incorrect:** Mandal Commission, officially known as the Second Backward Classes Commission, was appointed by the central government in 1978 to investigate the extent of educational and social backwardness among various sections of Indian society and recommend ways to improve the conditions of the backward classes. The first commission appointed in this regard was the Kaka Kalelkar Commission in 1953-55.

**Statement 3 is incorrect:** The Mandal Commission recommended reserving 27% of seats in educational institutions and government jobs for backward castes, not 30%. The commission arrived at this recommendation after conducting a survey that revealed the low presence of backward castes in both educational institutions and public services.

**Source:** Class 12<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Politics in India since Independence/ Chapter 8/ Recent Developments in Indian Politics

