LEADERS AND DEMOCRATIC RESURGENCE – NEW TOPICS

- **JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN (TOTAL REVOLUTION)**
  
  **THREE KEY CONTRIBUTIONS-**
  
  - Fight against corruption (advocated the office of Lokpal against corruption)
  - Principle of communitarian socialism (community, region and rashtra are the three key layers of true federation)
  - Championing of Total Revolution (Transformation of individual, society and state)
  - The essence of transformation according to JP revolves around ‘man who could be real catalyst of change in India’.

- **RAMMANOHAR LOHIA (SOCIALISM)**
  
  - Democratic Socialism—Economic objective (Food and Housing) and Non-Economic objective (Democracy and Freedom)
  - Chouburja Rajneeti (Centre, district, Region and Village)
  - Ram Manohar Lohia considered Capitalism and Socialism equally irrelevant for society.

- **PANDIT DEEN DAYAL UPADHYAYA (INTEGRAL HUMANISM)**
  
  Three Principles—
  
  - Primacy of whole, not part (Complete Development)
  - Supremacy of dharma (Internal conscience and pure human soul)
  - Autonomy of society (Casteless, Classless and conflict free society)
  - He opposed Capitalist Individualism and Marxist Socialism.

**SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS- 2 MARKS**

1. JP is known for which three key contributions?
   - Fight against corruption
   - Principles of communitarian socialism.
   - Championing of Total revolution.

2. What are the three symbols which the party of socialism should have according to Lohia?
   
   Ans.
   
   - Spade: Prepared to make efforts.
   - Vote: power of voting
   - Prison: willingness to make sacrifices.
3. What is the historic decision given by the court in the famous Keshvananda Bharati case?
   Ans. In this famous Keshvananda Bharati case, the Supreme Court gave a decision that there are some basic features of the constitution which cannot be amended by the Parliament at any cost or in any situation.

4. What was the controversy regarding the appointment of the Chief Justice A.N Ray in 1973?
   Ans. The appointment of the Chief justice A.N Ray in 1973 became politically controversial because in this appointment the government set aside the seniority of three judges who had given rulings against the stand of the government.

5. Who introduced Twenty Point Programme and why?
   Ans. The Congress government led by Indira Gandhi announced a Twenty Point Programme to bring law and order and restore efficiency.
   The Twenty-point Programme included:
   - Land reforms
   - Land Redistribution
   - Review of agricultural wages
   - Worker’s participation in management
   - Eradication of bonded labor

   Ans. The congress party did not lose elections all over the country, but it virtually swept through the southern states because:
   - The impact of emergency wasn’t felt equally in all the states.
   - Besides, the forced relocation and displacements, the forced sterilization were mostly concentrated in Southern states.

7. On whose petition Indira Gandhi’s election invalid was declared by the court.
   Ans. On an election petition filed by Raj Narain, a socialist leader, Indira Gandhi’s election was declared invalid on 12 June, 1975 by Allahabad High court.
   The petition challenged the election of Indira Gandhi on the ground that she had used the services of government servants in her election campaign.

8. List the implications of emergency.
   - Once an emergency is proclaimed, the federal distribution of powers practically suspended, and all powers are concentrated in the hands of the Union Government.
   - The government also gets the power to curtail or restrict all or any of the fundamental rights during the emergency.

9. Emergency is one of the most controversial episodes in Indian politics. Justify
   Ans.
   - One reason is that there are differing viewpoints about the need to declare emergency.
   - Another reason is that using the powers given by the constitution the government practically suspended the democratic functioning.
   - Finally, there are varying assessments of what the lessons of emergency are for the practice of democracy in India.

10. Explain the idea of First democratic Upsurge.
    Ans.
    Democratic upsurges are characterized by the increasing participation of the people in the democratic politics of the country. On the basis of this principle, social scientists have characterized three democratic upsurges.
    The First democratic Upsurge has been attributed from the 1950s till 1970s.
    This upsurge was based on the participation of adult voters to the democratic politics both at the centre and in states.
    The success of first three general elections proved the testimony of India’s first democratic upsurge.
11. Analyse the participation of the lower classes of the society in the Indian politics.

Ans.
- The ‘Second Democratic Upsurge’ has been interpreted as the increasing political participation of the lower classes during the 1980’s. It was conceived by Yogendra Yadav.
- The participation of lower classes has made Indian politics more accommodative and accessible for these classes.
- The participation of these classes into the organizational and political platforms gave them the opportunity to strengthen their self-respect and ensure empowerment in the democratic politics of the country.

12. Who led the Railway Strike in 1974? What was its main demand?

Ans. Railway Strike of 1974 was led by George Fernandes gave call for nationwide strike by all employees of the Railways for pressing their demands related to bonus and service conditions.


Answer:
1. In March 1977 elections, for the first time, Congress lost elections with winning 154 seats only. Janata Party and its allies won 330 seats out of 542 seats.
2. Congress lost from the states of Bihar, U.P., Haryana, Delhi and Madhya Pradesh.
3. Janata Party was formed of coalitions under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayana.
4. Janata Party called this election as a referendum on emergency.

14. Mention the issues on which the campaign of Janata Party was focused in the general elections of 1977.

Ans. The issues on which the campaign of Janata Party was focused in the general elections of 1977 were:
- A non-democratic character of the rule of the Congress.
- Excesses during the Emergency i.e., censorship of the Press, arrests, custodial deaths.

1. Explain lessons learnt from emergency imposed in 1975.

Ans.
- The emergency of 1975 at once brought out both the weaknesses and strengths of India’s democracy:
- The First lesson was felt that it was extremely difficult to do away with democracy in India as normal democratic functioning resumed within a short span of time.
- Secondly, ‘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 Council of Ministers.
- Thirdly, Emergency made everyone more aware of civil liberties. The courts too have taken an active role after the emergency in protecting civil liberties of individuals. Many civil liberties organizations came up after this experience.

However, it must be noted that few issues need to be reexamined:
- Should there be a limit to protest by parties and people?
- It was observed that institutions like police and administration didn’t function independently during emergency.

2. Evaluate the consequences of declaration of emergency in 1975?

The consequences of the declaration of emergency in 1975 were as follows:
1. It affected civil liberties of peoples i.e. in April 1976 it was proved that the government could take away citizens’ right to life and liberty by overruling of high courts under supreme courts and accepted government’s plea.

2. The Forty-Second Amendment was also passed to bring a series of changes in the constitution.

3. It affected the functioning of mass media also. Press censorship took place which banned freedom of the press. Newspapers were asked to get prior or approval for all material to be published.

4. Many cases were filed in the High Court and the Supreme Court by and on behalf of arrested persons but the government claimed that it was not even necessary to inform the arrested persons of the reasons and grounds of their arrest.

3. Explain the reasons for students’ movement of 1974 in Bihar and the role played by Jayaprakash Narayan in this movement.

Answer:

The reasons for the Student’s Movement of 1974 in Bihar:

Students came together in Bihar to protest against rising prices of food grains, cooking oil and other essential commodities.

ROLE OF JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

• Jayaprakash Narayan popularly referred to as JP or Lok Nayak, is remembered for leading the mid-1970s opposition against Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.
• Jaya Prakash Narayan is known for three key contributions: Fight against Corruption. Principle of Communitarian Socialism and Championing of ‘Total Revolution
• His principle of Communitarian Socialism views India as a society of communities encompassing three key layers. viz., community, region and rashtra.
• Based on the above principles, Jaya Prakash Narayan advocated transformation of individual, society and state through his call for ‘Total Revolution’
• His political transformation included the right to recall, the importance of village/Mohalla samities in democratic politics, and his call for Upper Ke Log to join political struggle for a clean politics in the country.
• The essence for transformation according to Jaya Prakash Narayan revolves around ‘Man’ who could be the real catalyst of change in India

4. What is Naxalite movement? Evaluate its role in Indian politics.

Answer:

The Naxalites were the Marxist and Leninist agricultural workers of Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar and adjoining areas which organised massive agitations against economic injustice and inequality and demanded redistribution of land to cultivators.

Role in Indian Politics:
1. Naxalite, did not participate in the elections formally but these were actively associated with parties.
2. Naxalites ensured a better representation of demands of deprived social sections in party politics.
3. These movements retained associations or relations alongwith the political parties either as an individual or as an organisations.

NCERT QUESTIONS:
Q 1. State whether the following statements regarding the Emergency are correct or incorrect.

a. It was declared in 1975 by Indira Gandhi.
b. It led to the suspension of all fundamental rights.
c. It was proclaimed due to the deteriorating economic conditions.
d. Many Opposition leaders were arrested during the emergency.
e. CPI supported the proclamation of the Emergency.


Q 2. Find the odd one out in the context of proclamation of Emergency.

a. The call for 'Total Revolution'.
b. The Railway Strike of 1974
c. The Naxalite Movement
d. The Allahabad High Court verdict
e. The findings of the Shah Commission Report

Ans. c. The Naxalite Movement

Q 3. Match the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Total Revolution</th>
<th>(i) Indira Gandhi</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>(b) Garibi Hatao</td>
<td>(ii) Jayaprapaksh Narayan</td>
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<td>(c) Students' Protest</td>
<td>(iii) Bihar Movement</td>
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Ans.

a. Total Revolution -(iii) Bihar Movement.
b. Garibi Hatao -(i) Indira Gandhi.
c. students' Protest -(ii) Jayaprapaksh Narayan.
d. Railway Strike -(iv) George Fernandes.

Q 4. What were the reasons which led to the mid-term elections in 1980?

Ans. The reasons that led to the mid-term elections in 1980 were as follows:

a. Janata Party lacked direction, leadership, and a common programme.
b. Janata Party government could not bring about a fundamental change in policies from those pursued by Congress.
c. There was a split in Janata Party and the government led by Morarji Desai which lost its majority in less than 18 months.
d. Charan Singh government was formed due to support of Congress party which later decided to withdraw its support resulting resignation of Charan Singh government within four months.

All the above mentioned reasons led midterm elections of 1980, which defeated Janata Party and again Congress-led bu Indira Gandhi came back to power by winning 353 seats.
Q 5. The Shah Commission was appointed in 1977 by the Janata Party Government. Why was it appointed and what were its findings?

**Ans.** The following were the reasons for the appointment of the Shah Commission:

a. The Shah Commission was appointed in May 1977 by the Janata Party government which was headed by Justice J.C. Shah, retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India.

b. To inquire “into several aspects of allegations of abuse of authority, excesses and malpractices committed and action taken in the wake of the Emergency proclaimed on the 25th June 1975”.

c. The Commission performed to examine various kinds of evidence to give testimonies even including Indira Gandhi to appear before the Commission but she refused to answer any questions.

**The following were the findings of the Shah Commission:**

a. It found many ‘excesses’ committed during Emergency.

b. Under preventive detention laws, nearly one lakh eleven thousand people were arrested.

c. Press censorship took place without any proper legal sanctions.

d. The Shah Commission report mentions that the General Manager of the Delhi Power Supply Corporation received verbal orders from the office of the Lt. Governor of Delhi to cut electricity to all newspaper presses at 2.00 a.m. on 26 June 1975. Electricity was restored two to three days later after the censorship apparatus had been set up.

e. There were other and more serious allegations regarding the exercise of governmental power by people who held no official position.

Q 6. What reasons did the Government give for declaring a National Emergency in 1975?

**Ans.** Emergency was proclaimed in response to a petition filed by Raj Narain, a socialist leader and a candidate who had contested against Indira Gandhi in 1971. The following were the reasons given by the Government for declaring a National Emergency in 1975:

1. On June 25, 1975, the government declared that there was a threat of internal disturbances and therefore, it invoked Article 352 of the Constitution.

2. Article 352 can declare emergency on ground of either internal or external disturbances.

3. The government decided that a grave crisis had arisen which made the proclamation of a state of emergency necessary.

4. Technically speaking this was within the powers of the government, for our Constitution provides for some special powers to the government once an emergency is declared.

5. President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad thus proclaimed emergency which became the most controversial episode in Indian Politics.
Q 7. The 1977 elections for the first time saw the Opposition coming into power at the Centre. What would you consider as the reasons for this development?

Ans. The 1977 elections were evolved as a shock to everyone as Congress party was defeated for the very first time and opposition party came into power. The following were the reasons for this development:

a. The opposition adopted the slogan ‘Save democracy’ against the imposition of emergency earlier.
b. The opposition campaigned non-democratic character of the rule which provided various excesses.
c. The opposition party highlighted the preventive and press censorship to favour public opinion.
d. Janata Party also ensured not to divide non-Congress votes.
e. Middle section of north India was moving away from Congress for whom Janata Party became a platform.
f. Hence, elections of 1977 emerged many other factors instead of emergency only.

Q 8. Discuss the effects of Emergency on the following aspects of our polity.

a. Effects on civil liberties for citizens.
b. Impact on the relationship between the Executive and Judiciary.
c. Functioning of Mass Media.
d. Working of Police and Bureaucracy.

Ans.

a. Effects on Civil Liberties for Citizens:

1. The government made large scale arrests under preventive detention.
2. Arrested political persons could not challenge arrest even Habeas corpus petitions.
3. Despite filing many petitions government claimed it not to be informed on grounds to arrested persons.
4. In April 1978, finally, it was proved that government could take away citizen’s right to life and liberty by overruling of high courts under the Supreme Court and accept the government’s plea.

b. Impact on Relationship between the Executive and Judiciary;

1. The Parliament brought in many new changes to the Constitution which made an amendment declaring that elections of Prime Minister, President and Vice-President could not be challenged in the Court.
2. The forty-second amendment was also passed during the Emergency. Among the various changes made by this amendment, one was that the duration of the legislatures in the country was extended from five to six years.
3. 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.

c. Functioning of Mass Media:

1. Press censorship took place which banned freedom of the press and newspapers were supposed to have prior approval before they publish any material i.e. RSS and Janata Islami were banned.
2. Protests, strikes and public agitations were also banned.
3. Various fundamental rights were also suspended including “Right to move to court” for the
4. Kannada writer Shivarama Karanth awarded with Padma Bhushan and Hindi writer Fanishwarnath Renu with Padmashri returned their awards in protest against suspension of democracy.
5. Newspapers mainly Indian Express and the statesman protested against censorship by leaving blank spaces where news items were censored.

d. **Working of Police and Bureaucracy:**

1. The actual implementation of the Emergency rule took place through the police and the administration.
2. These institutions could not function independently.
3. They were turned into political instruments of the ruling party.
4. According to the Shah Commission Report, the administration and the police became vulnerable to political pressures.
5. This problem did not vanish even after the Emergency.

Q 9. In what way did the imposition of Emergency affect the party system in India? Elaborate your answer with examples.

**Ans.** The elections after the Emergency set off the process of change in the party system:

a. Due to the absolute majority to party in power, leadership even dared to suspend the democratic process.

b. The makers of India’s Constitution trusted that all political parties would basically abide by the democratic norm.

c. Even during the Emergency, when the government would use extraordinary powers, its use would be within the norms of the rule of law.

d. This expectation led to the wide and open-ended powers given to the government in times of Emergency.

f. These were abused during the Emergency.

g. This political crisis was more serious than the constitutional crisis.

h. Tension and differences arose between institution based democracy and democracy based on spontaneous popular participation.

i. It was attributed to the incapability of the party system to incorporate the aspirations of the people.

j. For the first time, opposition parties came together to form a new party ‘Janata Party’ not to divide the non-Congress votes.

k. 1977 elections brought an end to one-party dominance and created a coalition government.