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Democratic Resurgence

Inside the CHAPTER

- National Emergency
- Movements Before the Emergency
- Democratic Upsurges
- Famous Personalities and Their Theories

The existence of democracy in India over the years has failed to solve the problem of illiteracy and democracy. A chain of events between 1973 and 1975 brought new challenges to India's democratic politics and the institutional balance sought by the Constitution. Such developments led to the imposition of state emergency in June 1975-77 across the country. The period of emergency is considered one of the most controversial period of independent India's history.

National Emergency

Since 1967 significant changes took place in Indian politics. Indira Gandhi emerged as a successful leader with huge popularity among the people. Party competition during this period became bitter and polarised. This period also 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 termed this stand of the court as against the principles of democracy and parliamentary supremacy. Congress also described court as a conservative institution which was becoming an obstacle in the implementation of programmes for pro-poor. The opposition felt that the

Economic Situation

The social and economic conditions in the country didn't improve much despite the Congress had won the elections of 1971 on the slogan of garibi hatao.

The following points highlight the economic condition in India in the post-emergency Congress rule

- The Bangladesh had worsened the conditions of Indian Economy. Almost eight million people crossed over the East Pakistan border in India.
- After the Bangladesh war, US Government stopped all aid to India. Oil Prices increased manifold which caused all round increase in prices of commodities during this period.
- Prices increased by 23 per cent and 30 per cent in 1973 and 1974 respectively. People had to suffer lots of hardship because of high level of inflation.
- Industrial growth was low and unemployment was very high particularly in the rural areas.
- The failure of monsoons in 1972-73 resulted in a rapid decline in agricultural productivity. Food grain production declined by 8 per cent.

- The Marxist group also launched arms struggle to overthrow the capitalist order and established political system. Maoist or Naxalites group were particularly strong in West Bengal, where the State Government took strict measures to suppress them.

Movements Before the Emergency

The Students' protests in Gujarat and Bihar states which were ruled by Congress had far reaching impact on the state as well as national politics.

Protests in Gujarat

In January 1974, students in Gujarat started a protest against rising prices of food grain, cooking oil and other essential commodities as well as against corruption. Major opposition parties joined the student's protest and thus, it became widespread resulting into the imposition of President's rule in Gujarat. The opposition parties demanded fresh elections.

Moraji Desai, a prominent leader of Congress (O) was the main rival of Indira Gandhi. He declared to go on an indefinite fast if fresh elections were not held in the state. Under intense pressure from opposition and political parties, assembly elections were held in Gujarat in June 1975 and Congress was defeated in this elections.

Protests in Bihar

In March 1974 in Bihar, students came together to protest against the rising prices, food shortage, unemployment and corruption. They invited Jayaprakash Narayan (JP), who had given up active politics and was involved in social work. They requested him to lead the student movement.

He accepted it on the condition that the movement will remain non-violent and will not confine itself to Bihar. **Jayaprakash Narayan** demanded the dismissal of Congress Government in Bihar. He called for Total Revolution in the social, economic and political spheres for establishing true democracy.

He wanted to spread the Bihar movement to other parts of the country. In 1975, Jayaprakash led a peoples' march towards the Parliament. Alongside the agitation led by Jaya Prakash Narayan, a nationwide strike by all employees of the Railways was led by the George Fernandes.

Bihar movement was one of the largest political rallies ever held in the capital. Jayaprakash Narayan was supported by the non-Congress opposition parties like the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the Congress (O), the Bhartiya Lok Dal, Socialist

Railway Strike of 1974

The National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen's Struggle, led by George Fernandes, has called for a state wide strike by all railway employees to press their demands for bonuses and better working conditions. These demands were met with opposition from the government. As a result, in May 1974, the employees of India's largest public sector undertaking went on strike. The railway workers' strike heightened the mood of unrest in the workplace.

It also raised concerns such as worker rights and whether or not employees of critical services should engage in strike action. The strike was considered illegal by the authorities. The strike had to be called off after twenty days without a settlement because the government refused to fulfill the striking employees' demands, jailed several of their leaders and deployed the territorial army to safeguard railway tracks.

Naxalite Movement

In 1967 a peasant uprising took place in the Naxalbari police station area of Darjeeling Hills district in West Bengal under the leadership of the local cadres of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Beginning from the Naxalbari police station, the peasant movement spread to several states of India and came to be referred broadly as the Naxalite movement.

In 1969, one branch broke off from the CPI (M) and a new party, Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI-ML) was formed under the leadership of Charu Majumdar. It argued that democracy in India was pretence and decided to adopt a strategy of protracted guerrilla warfare in order to lead to a revolution.

Methods Adopted by Naxalites

- The Naxalite Movement has used force to snatch land from the rich landowners and give it to the poor and the landless.
- Its supporters advocated the use of violent means to achieve their political goals.
- The Naxalite Movement has been a splintered into various parties and organisations. Some of these parties, like the CPI-ML (Liberation) participated in open, democratic politics.
- Currently about 75 districts in nine states (Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh) are affected by Naxalite violence. Most of these are very backward areas inhabited by adivasis.

Reason of Naxalite Movement

- In these areas the sharecroppers, under-tenants and small cultivators are denied their basic rights with regard to security of tenure or their share in produce, payment of fair wages etc.

Conflict with Judiciary Before Emergency

The Indian Government had many differences with the judiciary. There was a long drawn conflict between Parliament and judiciary over each other's roles. There were three issues which had emerged

- (i) The Supreme Court said that the Parliament could not abridge Fundamental Rights including right to property.
- (ii) The court said that the Parliament could not amend in such a way that rights got curtailed.
- (iii) The Parliament amended the Constitution on the ground that Fundamental Rights could be abridged for implementing directive principles. The Supreme Court rejected this proposition.

All three factors strained the relations between the government and judiciary. Further tension was added between executive and judiciary.

A vacancy of Chief Justice of India had arisen in 1973. As per practice, the senior most Judge of Supreme Court was appointed as the Chief Justice. But in 1973, AN Ray was appointed as the Chief Justice removing the seniority of three judges which generated a political controversy. Political ideology and constitutional interpretation got mixed up rapidly.

Declaration of Emergency

On 12th June, 1975 another issue was raised in which ruling of the Allahabad High Court declared Indira Gandhi's election invalid. This petition was filed by Raj Narain, a socialist challenging Indira Gandhi's election as invalid as she has used government machinery for election campaign. The High Court declared her election as invalid so legally she was no more an MP and therefore, could not remain the PM unless once again elected as an MP within six months.

A political turmoil emerged after the Allahabad High Court decision. The opposition parties led by JP Narayan organised a massive demonstration in Ram Leela grounds on 25th June, 1975 for resignation of Indira Gandhi. JP announced a nationwide Satyagraha for her resignation and asked the army, the police and government employees not to obey 'illegal immoral orders'.

Indira Gandhi's government responded to this crisis by declaring a state of Emergency. On 25th June, 1975, the government argued that there was a threat of internal disturbances and therefore, she imposed Emergency under Article 352 of the Constitution. During the National Emergency, Indian Constitution provided it special powers

- Government also gets power to restrict all or any of the Fundamental Rights during the emergency.
- Emergency is seen as an extraordinary condition in which democratic politics cannot function normally. On the night of 25th June, 1975, the President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed was recommended to impose Emergency by Indira Gandhi. He immediately issued proclamation which was observed implemented on next day.

Check Point
01

1. Congress described Court as the which was becoming an obstacle in the implementation of programmes for pro-poor.
2. When the students in Gujarat started a protest against rising prices of food grain, cooking oil and other essential commodities?
3. Who demanded the dismissal of Congress Government in Bihar?
4. (CPI-ML) was formed under the leadership of
5. Indira Gandhi imposed Emergency under Article of the Constitution.

Consequences of Imposing Emergency

- With imposition of Emergency, agitation and strikes were stopped and banned. Many opposition leaders and workers were put up in jail and the political atmosphere became quite but little tense as well.
- Government suspended the freedom of Press. Press Censorship was imposed on newspapers and they were asked to get prior approval for all content to be published. This is known as press censorship.
- Due to fear of social and communal disharmony, government banned Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Jamait-e-Islami. Protests, strikes and public agitation were also disallowed.
- Fundamental Rights and right of citizen to move to the court for restoring their Fundamental Rights also had been suspended under the Emergency.
- The government made extensive use of preventive detention. Under preventive detention, people were arrested and detained not because they have committed offence but on the apprehension that they may commit an offence and moreover arrested persons were not informed about the reason of their arrest and also could not challenge their arrest through habeas corpus petitions.
- Many cases were brought by and on behalf of arrested individuals in the High Courts and Supreme Court, but the government contended that it was not even necessary to tell

- The Supreme Court's constitution bench overruled the High Courts in April 1976 and approved the government's plea. It meant that the government may take away a citizen's right to life and liberty during an emergency. This judgment closed the doors of judiciary for the citizens and is regarded as one of the most controversial judgements of the Supreme Court.
- Many journalists were arrested for writing against the emergency.
- Kannada writer Shivarama Karnath awarded with Padma Bhushan and Hindi writer Fanishwaranath Renu awarded with Padma Shri returned their awards in protest against the suspension of democracy.
- Many political workers went underground and organised protest against the government.
- Newspapers like Indian express and Statesman protested against the censorship by resorting to leaving blank spaces of censored news. Magazines like Seminar and Mainstream closed down.
- An amendment was made in the background of ruling of Allahabad High Court that henceforth, nobody can challenge the elections of PM, President, and Vice-President.
- The 42nd amendment was also passed during emergency which was considered as the most controversial amendment. It attempted to reduce the power of the Supreme Court and High Court to pronounce upon the constitutional validity of laws. It laid down the fundamental duties of Indian citizens to the nation. This amendment brought about the most widespread changes to the Constitution in its history and is also called a 'mini-Constitution' or the 'Constitution of Indira'.
- The government also passed certain amendments to Constitution curbing powers of judiciary and President. It even extended tenure of the Parliament from 5 to 6 years.

Controversies Regarding Emergency

The most controversial episode in Indian politics was Emergency due to the following reasons

'Internal disturbances' as mentioned by the Constitution became the reason for declaring Emergency. Emergency was never proclaimed on this ground prior to 1975.

- There were differing view points on the need to implement emergency.
- By using the powers of Constitution, the government practically suspended democratic functioning or lessons we learn from Emergency.
- Shah Commission later found out that excesses were committed during emergency and the lessons we learn from Emergency.

collective actions are not good for democracy. Congress contended that use of extra-parliamentary methods hindered development and lead to instability as all energy had to be spent on maintenance of law and order.

In this regard, Indira Gandhi wrote to Shah Commission that Emergency was implemented as subversive forces tried to dislodge the government by using extra-constitutional methods. Some parties like CPI backed the Congress during emergency and said there was an international conspiracy against the unity of the India.

Views Against the Emergency

Leaders like JP felt that since independence people had a right to protest. Movements of Bihar and Gujarat were peaceful. Those arrested were never tried for anti-national activities. There was no need to implement measures like emergency to curb such protest.

Critics of emergency argued that India had history of such movements including freedom movement and also people had the right to protest against government in democracy. Even the Home Ministry which was monitoring the internal situation of the country did not express any concern about law and order situation in the country. Even if some agitations had overstepped their limits, there was no need to suspend the democratic functioning of the country. Critics also held that Indira Gandhi had misused constitutional provision for saving her personal power instead of saving the country.

Issues During the Emergency Period

It was said that government misused its emergency powers in the name of maintaining law and order, restoring efficiency and implementing pro-poor programmes. For this purpose, Indira Gandhi launched twenty point programme which included

- Land reforms
- Land redistribution
- Review of agricultural wages
- Workers' participation in management
- Eradication of bonded labour, etc.

During the early months of Emergency, urban middle classes were happy that frequent agitation came to an end and discipline was enforced on government employees. The poor and rural people also expected effective implementation of the welfare programmes. Thus, different sections of society had different

that were taking place. The Shah Commission held that nearly one lakh eleven thousand people were arrested under the preventive detention laws during Emergency.

There were other allegations against those who didn't hold any official position. Like for instance, Sanjay Gandhi the younger son of PM was not holding any official position yet he gained control over the administration and allegedly interfered in the functioning of the government. His role in the demolition and forced sterilisation in Delhi became very controversial.

Apart from the arrests of political workers and the restrictions on the press, the emergency directly affected the lives of common people. Torture and custodial deaths occurred during the emergency. Arbitrary relocation of poor people also took place and over enthusiasm about population control led to cases of compulsory sterilisation.

Lessons Learnt from the Emergency

The Emergency showed both the weaknesses and strengths of India's democracy. Many observers thought that India ceased to be democratic during the Emergency but normal democratic functioning resumed within a short span of time. The lessons learnt from Emergency are discussed below

- It was proved that no emergency can destroy the democratic spirit of India.
- It brought out the ambiguities related to emergency provisions in the Constitution. Internal emergency can now be proclaimed only on the grounds of armed rebellion and any such advice to President must be written from the Council of Ministers.
- It made everyone aware of the importance of civil liberties. Courts also took an active role in restoring and protecting civil liberties of people.
- The most valuable lesson we learnt from emergency is that governments which are perceived to be anti-democratic are severely punished by the voters.
- Lastly we have learnt that governments which are unstable and quarrelsome are punished by voters.

Politics After Emergency

The experience of emergency was quite visible in 1977 Lok Sabha elections. The 1977 elections after emergency was decisive as opposition parties fought on the slogan of save democracy. All the leaders and activists were released from the jail.

Lok Sabha Elections, 1977

In January 1977, after eighteen months of Emergency, the

All the major opposition parties came together on the eve of elections and formed a new party known as 'Janata Party' under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan. Some leaders of the Congress who were opposed to the Emergency also became part of this new party.

Some of the Congress leaders also came out and formed a separate party under the leadership of Jagjivan Ram named as Congress for democracy, but later it merged with Janata party. The Janata Party campaign was focused on the non-democratic character of the rule and on the various excesses that took place during the Emergency period.

The formation of Janata Party also ensured that non-Congress votes would not be divided. The results took everyone by surprise as for the first time since Independence the Congress party got defeated in the Lok Sabha elections and was able to win only 154 seats and its shares of votes fell to less than 35%. The Janata Party and its allies won 330 seats out of 542 in the Lok Sabha and Janata party itself won 295 seats and thus enjoyed a clear majority.

The Congress lost in every constituency in Bihar, Delhi, Haryana and Punjab and could win only one seat in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh and retained many seats in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Orissa and virtually swept through the Southern States. Indira Gandhi was defeated from Rae Bareilly as was her son Sanjay Gandhi from Amethi. The middle class from North India were beginning to move away from the Congress and the Janata Party became a platform for many of the sections to come together.

Constitutional Crisis

- The Emergency and the period around it can be described as a period of **constitutional crisis** because it had its origins in the constitutional battle over the jurisdiction of the Parliament and the judiciary.
- On the other hand, it was also a period of political crisis. The party in power had absolute majority and yet, its leadership decided to suspend the democratic process. The makers of India's Constitution trusted that all political parties would basically abide by the democratic norm.
- Even during the Emergency, when the government would use extraordinary powers, its use would be within the norms of the 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.
- Another critical issue that emerged during this period was the role and extent of mass protests in a parliamentary democracy. There was clearly a tension between institution-based democracy and democracy based on

Check Point
02

1. The First Democratic Upsurge could be attributed to
2. The Third Democratic Upsurge represents a competitive
3. championed the idea of 'Democratic Socialism' while associating with democracy.
4. Who gave the philosophy of 'Integral Humanism'?
5. Deendayal Upadhyaya advocated Indianisation of Democracy, particularly with a focus on Economic Democracy. (True/False)

Democratic Upsurges

Increasing participation of the people in the democratic politics of the country is broadly characterised as democratic upsurge. Based on this principle, social scientists have characterised three democratic upsurges in post-independence history of India.

The **First Democratic Upsurge** could be attributed from the 1950s till 1970s which was based on the participation of Indian adult voters to the democratic politics both at the centre and in states. Falsifying the Western myth that the success of democracy requires modernisation, urbanisation, education and access to media, the successful holding of elections to both Lok Sabha and legislative assemblies all across states on the principle of parliamentary democracy were the testimony of India's first democratic upsurge.

During the 1980's, the increasing political participation of the lower classes of the society such as SCs, STs and OBCs has been interpreted as **second democratic upsurge** by political experts. This participation has made Indian politics more accommodative and accessible for these classes. Although this upsurge has not made any major change in the standard of living of these classes, especially Dalits, the participation of these classes into the organisational and political platforms gave them the opportunity to strengthen their self-respect and ensure empowerment in the democratic politics of the country.

The era of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation from the early 1990s is attributed to the emergence of a competitive market society encompassing all important sectors of economy, society and polity thus paving way for the **Third Democratic Upsurge**. The third democratic Upsurge represents a competitive electoral market which is based not on the principle of survival of the best but rather the survival of the ablest.

It underlines three shifts in India's electoral market: from State to Market, from Government to Governance, from State as Controller to State as Facilitator.

Moreover, the third democratic upsurge seeks to promote the participation of the people in the political process.

Famous Personalities and Their Theories

Jayaprakash Narayan and Total Revolution

Jayaprakash Narayan, popularly referred to as JP or Lok Nayak (The People's Leader), was an Indian independence activist, theorist, socialist and political leader.

Jayaprakash Narayan is known for three key contributions

- (i) Fight Against Corruption.
- (ii) Principle of Communitarian Socialism.
- (iii) Championing of 'Total Revolution'.

He was the first leader in post-independence India who undertook a tirade against corruption through the participation of youth, particularly in Gujarat and Bihar. He advocated the office of Lokpal against corruption. His principle of Communitarian Socialism views India as a society of communities encompassing three key layers, viz., community, region and rashtra—all combine together as an example of true federation.

Based on the above principles, Jayaprakash Narayan advocated transformation of individual, society and state through his call for 'Total Revolution'. His call for total revolution sought to encompass moral, cultural, economic, political, educational and ecological transformations.

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 Jayaprakash Narayan revolves around 'Man' who could be the real catalyst of change in India.

Concept of Total Revolution

He defined Total Revolution as a combination of seven revolutions

- (i) Social Revolution (Establishing equality and brotherhood in the society).
- (ii) Economic Revolution (Decentralisation of economy and making efforts to bring about economic equality by taking village as the unit of development).
- (iii) Political Revolution (Ending political corruption, decentralisation of politics and making public partner by giving them more rights).
- (iv) Cultural Revolution (Defending Indian culture and regeneration of cultural values in common man).
- (v) Educational Revolution (Making education occupation based and changing of education system).
- (v) Spiritual Revolution (Developing moral and spiritual

Ram Manohar Lohia and Socialism

Ram Manohar Lohia was a socialist leader and thinker, freedom fighter and among the founders of the Congress Socialist Party, after the split in the parent party, the leader of the Socialist Party and later Samyukta Socialist Party member. He was one of the proponents of socialism in India. He championed the idea of 'Democratic Socialism' while associating with democracy.

Lohia considered both capitalism and communism equally irrelevant for Indian society. His principle of Democratic Socialism has two objectives

- The economic objective in the form of food and housing.
- The non-economic objective in the form of democracy and freedom.

Lohia advocated Chouburja Rajneeti in which he opines four pillars of politics as well as socialism: Centre, Region, District and Village – all are linked with each other. Giving consideration to affirmative action, Lohia argued that the policy of affirmative action should not only be for the downtrodden but also for the women and the non-religious minorities.

Based on the premise of Democratic Socialism and Chouburja Rajneeti, Lohia supported a 'Party of Socialism' as an attempt of merging all political parties. The Party of Socialism according to Lohia should have three symbols, viz., Spade [prepared to make efforts], Vote [power of voting] and Prison [Willingness to make sacrifices].

Deendayal Upadhyaya and Integral Humanism

Deendayal Upadhyaya was a philosopher, sociologist, economist and politician. He presented the philosophy which is known as 'Integral Humanism' which was intended to present an 'indigenous socio-economic model' in which human being remains at the centre of development.

The aim of Integral Humanism is to ensure dignified life for every human being while balancing the needs of the individual and society. It supports sustainable consumption of natural resources so that those resources can be replenished. Integral Humanism enhances not only political but also economic and social democracy and freedom.

As it seeks to promote diversity, it is best suited for a country as diverse as India. The Philosophy of Integral Humanism is based on the following three principles

- (i) Primacy of whole, not part
- (ii) Supremacy of Dharma
- (iii) Autonomy of Society

to him, capitalist and socialist ideologies only consider the needs of the human body and mind, so they are based on materialistic purpose whereas spiritual development is equally considered important for the complete development of human being which is missing in both capitalism and socialism.

His philosophy was based on the internal conscience, pure human soul to be called Chhitti, Deendayal Upadhyaya envisaged a classless, casteless and conflict-free social system. He advocated Indianisation of Democracy, particularly with a focus on Economic Democracy.

For him, decentralisation and Swadeshi are the foundation of Economic Democracy. His philosophy broadly revolved around the principle of Arthayaam which states that both the absence and prominence of arths lead to the destruction and denigration of Dharma which is central to Integral Humanism.

Check Point 03

1. Which amendment was passed by the government during the Emergency?
2. Newspapers like and protested against the censorship by resorting to leaving blank spaces of censored news.
3. After Emergency, the opposition parties fought the Lok Sabha elections on the slogan of
4. Which party emerged as a platform for many sections after the 1977 Lok Sabha elections?
5. The first Democratic Upsurge could be attributed to

TERMS TO KNOW

- **Succession** The act or process of following and taking the place of someone.
- **Contest** Compete and attempt to win a struggle for victory between opposing forces of interest.
- **Constituency** A group of voters in a specified area who elect representative to a legislative body. Each state has many electoral constituencies.
- **Defection** When an elected representative leave the party to join other.
- **Left-wing** The radical, reforming and socialist section of a political party/ system determined to work for society's welfare.
- **Privy Purse** It was the grant or allowances made to ruling families of erstwhile Princely States.
- **Whip** It is an official in a political party whose primary purpose is to ensure party discipline in a legislature.
- **Conscience Vote** It means to vote without pressure from

NCERT FOLDER

- State whether the following statements regarding the Emergency are correct or incorrect.
 - It was declared in 1975 by Indira Gandhi.
 - It led to the suspension of all Fundamental Rights.
 - It was proclaimed due to the deteriorating economic conditions.
 - Many opposition leaders were arrested during the Emergency.
 - CPI supported the proclamation of the Emergency.

Ans. (i) Correct (ii) Correct
 (iii) Incorrect (iv) Correct
 (v) Correct

- Find the odd one out in the context of proclamation of Emergency.
 - The call for 'Total Revolution'
 - The Railway Strike of 1974
 - The Naxalite Movement
 - The Allahabad High Court verdict
 - The findings of the Shah Commission Report

Ans. (iii) The Naxalite Movement

- Match the following.

(A) Total Revolution	(1) Indira Gandhi
(B) Garibi Hatao	(2) Jayaprakash Narayan
(C) Student's Protest	(3) Bihar Movement
(D) Railway Strike	(4) George Fernandes

Ans. (A) → (2) (B) → (1)
 (C) → (3) (D) → (4)

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

Ans. Janata Party had many differences within itself. It lacked direction, leadership and a common programme. The Janata Party could not make any fundamental change to policies. Disagreements among members prevented it to do so.

The Janata Party split after 18 months of its formation. Gaining from the scenario, Chaudhary Charan Singh

a defeat and Congress seemed to gain its position back. Congress won 353 out of 542 seats in Lok Sabha. Congress restored itself again in 1980 Lok Sabha elections.

- The Shah Commission was appointed in 1977 by the Janata Party Government. Why was it appointed and what were its findings?
 or Explain the findings of Shah Commission constituted after the end of Emergency of 1975.

Delhi 2009

Ans. In May 1977, the Janata Party Government appointed Shah Commission of inquiry headed by Justice J.C. Shah, retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India. It was appointed to look into the misuse of authority by government and conduct of unethical practices like demolition of Jhuggis, forced sterilisation, etc which were conducted in the wake of Emergency. The commission gathered various evidences and recorded witnesses to give testimonies.

The findings of Shah Commission were

- It found out that Preventive Detention was widely used by the government. Around one lakh eleven thousand arbitrary arrests were made by the government.
- Newspapers were asked to get permission before publishing of any matter. In Delhi, Lieutenant Governor ordered General Manager of Delhi Power Supply to cut off the power supply of news press till they establish censorship apparatus.
- Jhuggi Jhopri were forcefully relocated in the barren area of Delhi and people were forcefully sterilised.

- What reasons did the Government give for declaring a National Emergency in 1975?

Ans. The massive frequent protest, agitation and disruption led by the opposition parties under the leadership of JP and tussle between Indian Government and Judiciary prompted government to declare state of Emergency on 25th June, 1975.

Government justified the declaration of Emergency on the following reasons

- There was a threat of internal disturbances which caused serious crisis which made declarations of Emergency necessary.
- In democracy, opposition parties must allow the elected ruling party to govern according to its policies. Frequent agitation, protest and disruption derailed government and democracy as well.

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?

or Explain any factors responsible for the defeat of the Congress Party in 1977 elections. **All India 2013**

or 'The 1977 elections for the first time saw the opposition coming to power at the centre.'

Examine any six reasons for this change. **Delhi 2012**

or 'Governments that are perceived to be anti-democratic are severely punished by the voters.'

Explain the statement with reference to the Emergency period of 1975-77.

All India, 2010, Delhi 2008

or 'Government that seem to be unstable and quarrelsome are severely punished by the voters.'

Explain with reference to Janata Party rule.

All India 2008

Ans. In January 1977, after 18 months of Emergency, government decided to hold the election. Decision was quick, parties did not have enough time for preparation. Janata Party which had formed during pre-Emergency period by coalition of various anti-Congress and anti-Emergency parties decided to fight against Congress. Result of 1977 came out with a big surprise to the country. For the first time since independence, Congress had lost in centre. Janata Party won 330 out of 542 seats.

The main reasons behind Congress defeat in 1977 were

- Misuse of constitutional provisions.
- Imposition of Emergency had negative impact on the image of Congress.
- During Emergency, Congress had used harsh measures like forced sterilisation, forced relocations, displacement, etc. That is why, people decided not to elect Congress representative to next Lok Sabha election and Janata Party, which gave public a bright look of democracy and was sympathetic towards public, was elected.
- The opposition fought the election on the slogan of 'Save democracy'. People's verdict was decisively against the excesses of emergency.
- Aspiration of regional leaders were growing.
- The middle class from North India, where the impact of Emergency was at its peak moved away from Congress and the Janata Party became a platform for different groups of people to come together.

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

(ii) Impact on relationship between the Executive and Judiciary.

(iii) Functioning of Mass Media.

(iv) Working of Police and Bureaucracy.

Ans. (i) **Effect on Civil Liberties for Citizens**

- Large scale arrest of leaders and workers of the opposition parties were made under Preventive Detention act.
- Forced relocation and sterilisation of poor.
- Suspension of Fundamental Rights and available constitutional remedies.

(ii) **Impact on Relationship between the Executive and Judiciary**

- Rising conflict between government and judiciary.
- In the background of the ruling of Allahabad High Court, an amendment was brought that elections of Prime Minister, President and Vice President cannot be challenged in the court.
- 42nd Amendment was also passed to bring series of changes in constitution like duration of legislature, etc.

(iii) **Functioning of Mass Media**

- Government imposed press censorship suspending the freedom of press, newspapers and magazine to publish anti-government contents. Newspapers were asked to get prior permission from government before publishing any content.
- Newspaper like Indian Express and Statesmen protested against press censorship by leaving blank spaces where news items were censored.

(iv) **Working of Police and Bureaucracy**

- Government used police and bureaucracy to commit suppression, torture and atrocities on leaders and workers of opposition parties.
- Police and bureaucracy were misused to meet agenda of ruling party.

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

Ans. The imposition of Emergency brought opposition parties together to form new party 'Janata Party' to stop the split of the non-Congress vote.

Atrocities, torture and suppression committed during the Emergency helped to the opposition parties under the leadership of JP in mobilising and organising people against Indira Gandhi. The election of 1977 brought to an end the Congress dominance at centre first time since independence.

Post-Emergency brought backward caste politics into the

10. Read the passage and answer the questions below.
Indian democracy was never so close to a two-party system as it was during the 1977 elections. However, the next few years saw a complete change.

Soon after its defeat, the Indian National Congress split into two groupsThe Janata Party also went through major conclusions..... David Butler, Ashok Lahiri and Pranoy Roy. —Partha Chatterjee

- (i) What made the party system in India look like a two-party system in 1977?
- (ii) Many more two parties existed in 1977. Why then are the authors describing this period as close to a two-party system?
- (iii) What caused splits in Congress and the Janata Parties?

Ans. (i) The emergence of Janata Party as a majority winner at centre first time since independence looked like a two-party system.

(ii) Although more than just two parties existed in 1977, however, author described this period as close to a two-party system because only two major parties Congress and Janata Party have mass base support and mobilisation to form majority government.

(iii) The split in Congress took over the issue of Presidential election in 1969 and in Janata Party, split occurred due to internal deadlock over the post of Prime Ministership in 1979.

CHAPTER PRACTICE

Objective Type Questions

Multiple Choice Questions (MCQs)

1. Which judge of the Allahabad High Court declared Indira Gandhi's election as invalid?
(a) Om Prakash Trivedi (b) Jagmohan Lal Sinha
(c) Narain Dutt Ojha (d) Kunj Behari Srivastava

Ans. (b) Jagmohan Lal Sinha

2. Which of the following were included in the Twenty point programme launched by Indira Gandhi?
(a) Land redistribution
(b) Land reforms, review of agricultural wages
(c) Workers participation in management, eradication of bonded labour
(d) All of the above

Ans. (d) All of the above

3. Which of the following were the consequences of emergency imposed in 1975?
(a) The government made large scale arrest under preventive detention
(b) Press Censorship was imposed on newspapers
(c) Fundamental Rights were suspended
(d) All of the above

Ans. (d) All of the above

4. Name the leader who quit active politics after 1995 and became Gandhian and was involved in Bhoodan movement.
(a) Charu Majumdar
(b) Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan
(c) Jagjivan Ram
(d) Morarji Desai

Ans. (b) Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan

5. Which of the following statement (s) is/are correct about the proclamation of emergency in 1975?
(a) Power politics became personalised
(b) Bitter party competition
(c) Tensed relations between the government and judiciary.
(d) All of the above

- (a) The Janata Party could not keep together due to the internal conflict
(b) It had good leaders
(c) It lacked common programme
(d) Both (a) and (c)

Ans. (d) Both (a) and (c)

7. Arrange the following in the chronological order:
1. Shah Commission Appointed
2. Railway Strike led by George Fernandes
3. Declaration of Emergency by President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed
4. Peasant uprising in Naxalbari Police Station

Codes

- (a) 1, 2, 3 and 4 (b) 4, 2, 3 and 1
(c) 2, 1, 4 and 3 (d) 3, 1, 2 and 4

Ans. (b) 4, 2, 3 and 1

8. List I and List II select the correct answer using the codes given below.

List I	List II
A. Jagjivan Ram	1. Prime Minister of India 1966-77 and 1980-1984
B. Chaudhary Charan Singh	2. Prime Minister of India between July 1979-1980 January.
C. Morarji Desai	3. Deputy Prime Minister of India in 1979
D. Indira Gandhi	4. Prime Minister 1977-79

Codes

- A B C D A B C D
(a) 1 4 3 2 (b) 3 2 4 1
(c) 2 4 3 1 (d) 4 3 2 1

Ans. (b) 3 2 4 1

9. Which of the following statements is incorrect about Jayaprakash Narayan?
(a) He was the first leader in post-independence India who undertook a tirade against corruption.
(b) He advocated transformation of individual, society and state.
(c) His philosophy was based on the premise of Democracy, Civilism and Gandhian Politics.

- Ans.** (c) His philosophy was based on the premise of Democratic Socialism and Chouburja Rajneeti.
- 10.** Choose the wrong statement from the given options.
- Lohiya was one of the proponents of socialism in India.
 - Deendayal Upadhyaya championed the idea of 'Democratic Socialism' while associating with democracy.
 - Lohiya was a leader of Socialist Party.
 - Lohia considered both capitalism and communism equally irrelevant for Indian society.

Ans. (b) Deendayal Upadhyaya championed the idea of 'Democratic Socialism' while associating with democracy.

- 11.** Why did the Janata Party government appoint a Commission of Inquiry headed by Justice JC Shah in May 1977? (CBSE 2020)

- To inquire into several aspects of allegations of abuse of authority, excesses and malpractices committed during Emergency.
- To inquire into matters related to constitutional provisions.
- To give suggestive measures to the government regarding the actions taken during Emergency.
- All of the above

Ans. (a) To inquire into several aspects of allegations of abuse of authority, excesses and malpractices committed during Emergency.

- 12.** Match the following.

List-I	List-II
A. Social Revolution	1. Revolution in the way of thinking.
B. Cultural Revolution	2. Developing moral and spiritual values.
C. Spiritual Revolution	3. Establishing equality and brotherhood in the society.
D. Thought Revolution	4. Regeneration of cultural values in common man.

Codes

- | | A | B | C | D |
|-----|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| (b) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| (c) | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| (d) | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 |

Ans. (c) 3 4 2 1

- 13.** Match the following.

Column A	Column B
A. First Prime Minister belonging to a Non-Congress Party.	1. George Fernandes
B. The Leader who led people's march to the Parliament in 1975.	2. Morarji Desai
C. The Philosopher who presented the philosophy of Integral Humanism.	3. Jayaprakash Narayan
D. The Leader associated with the Railway strike of 1974.	4. Deendayal Upadhyaya

Codes

- | | A | B | C | D |
|-----|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| (b) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| (c) | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| (d) | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 |

Ans. (c) 2 3 4 1

- 14.** Match the following.

Column A	Column B
A. Leader of the Naxalite Movement	1. Fakruddin Ali Ahmed
B. The Judge of Allahabad High Court who passed a judgment against Indira Gandhi on 12th June, 1975.	2. Charu Majumdar
C. The President who issued the proclamation of emergency in 1975.	3. Ram Manohar Lohiya
D. Chouburja Rajneeti was advocated by this leader.	4. Jagmohan Lal Sinha

Codes

- | | A | B | C | D |
|-----|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | 1 | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| (b) | 2 | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| (c) | 3 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| (d) | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 |

Ans. (b) 2 4 1 3

15. What does the above picture depicts?



- (a) Leaders of Congress beaten by public.
- (b) Defeat of Congress in 1990's General election.
- (c) Defeat of Congress in General Elections for the first time after independence.
- (d) Split in Congress due to internal politics.

Ans. (c) Defeat of Congress in General Elections for the first time after independence.

16. What does the above picture [cartoon] depicts?



- (a) Situation of common public during emergency.
- (b) Situation of political leaders of opposition parties during emergency.
- (c) Pro-poor policy started by congress during emergency.
- (d) None of the above.

Ans. (a) Situation of common public during emergency.

Assertion-Reason Questions

Directions (Q. Nos. 17 and 18) *In the questions given below, there are two statements marked as Assertion (A) and Reason (R). Read the statements and choose the correct option.*

Codes

- (c) A is true, but R is false.
- (d) A is false, but R is true.

17. **Assertion (A)** Emergency is one of the most controversial episodes in Indian Politics.

Reason (R) The constitution simply mentioned 'Internal disturbances' as the reason for declaring emergency.

Ans. (b) Both A and R are true, but R is not the correct explanation of A.

18. **Assertion (A)** The aim of Integral Humanism is to ensure dignified life for every human being while balancing the needs of the individual and society.

Reason (R) It supports sustainable consumption of natural resources so that those resources can be replenished.

Ans. (a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.

Passage Based Objective Type Questions

1. Study the following passage carefully and answer the questions that follow.

The Emergency made everyone more aware of the value of civil liberties. The Courts too, have taken an active role after the Emergency in protecting the civil liberties of the individuals. This is a response to the inability of the judiciary to protect civil liberties effectively during the Emergency.

- (i) National Emergency was imposed on
- (a) 12th June, 1975
 - (b) 15th June, 1975
 - (c) 25th June, 1975
 - (d) 26th June, 1975

Ans. (c) 25th June, 1975

- (ii) Which Fundamental Right of the citizens was affected the most during the Emergency period?
- (a) Right to Equality
 - (b) Freedom of Speech and Expression
 - (c) Cultural and Educational Rights
 - (d) Right Against Exploitation

Ans. (b) Freedom of Speech and Expression

- (iii) Why did the judiciary start taking an active role after the Emergency in protecting the civil liberties of the individuals?

- (a) Because it is an independent body.
- (b) Because it is the sole protector of citizen's rights.

Ans. (c) Because it was unable to protect the civil liberties and Fundamental Rights during the Emergency period.

- (iv) Why there should not be any restriction on the Right to Civil Liberties?
- (a) Some limit on civil liberties in the name of national security.
 - (b) Community rights overcome the individual rights.
 - (c) Limiting Civil liberty will protect the rights of a community.
 - (d) All of the above

Ans. (d) All of the above

- 2.** Read the passage given below and answer the following questions.

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. It is clear that an Emergency is seen as an extraordinary condition in which normal democratic politics cannot function.

- (i) Who among the following was the President of India during Emergency?
- (a) VV Giri
 - (b) Morarji Desai
 - (c) Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed
 - (d) Ram Manohar Lohia

Ans. (c) Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed

- (ii) On what grounds Emergency was imposed?
- (a) External Threats
 - (b) Internal disturbances
 - (c) Terrorist Attacks
 - (d) Both (a) and (b)

Ans. (b) Internal disturbances

- (iii) Under which Article, Emergency was imposed in India?
- (a) Article 350
 - (b) Article 352
 - (c) Article 356
 - (d) Article 360

Ans. (b) Article 352

- (iv) Which of the following were the implications of Emergency?
- (a) All the powers got concentrated in the hands of the Union Government.
 - (b) Government also get the power to curtail all or

(c) Federal distribution of power remains practically suspended during that time.

(d) All of the above

Ans. (d) All of the above

- 3.** Read the passage given below carefully and answer the following questions. **All India 2019**

Emergency is one of the most controversial episodes in Indian politics. One reason is that there are different 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. As the investigations by the Shah Commission after the emergency found out, there were many 'excesses' committed during the emergency. Finally, there are varying assessments of what the lessons of emergency are for the practice of democracy in India.

- (i) In what way democratic functioning was suspended in Emergency?
- (a) There was press censorship.
 - (b) Large number of leaders and workers of opposition parties were arrested.
 - (c) Agitation and strikes were stopped and banned.
 - (d) All of the above

Ans. (d) All of the above

- (ii) In which year Shah Commission was appointed?
- (a) 1976
 - (b) 1977
 - (c) 1978
 - (d) 1979

Ans. (b) 1977

- (iii) For how many months Emergency was imposed in India?
- (a) 13 months
 - (b) 15 months
 - (c) 18 months
 - (d) 19 months

Ans. (c) 18 months

- (iv) Which of the following lessons of Emergency are helpful for the practice of democracy in India?
- (a) No emergency can destroy the democratic spirit of India.
 - (b) It brought out the ambiguities related to emergency provisions in the Constitution.
 - (c) Governments which are perceived to be anti-democratic are severely punished by the voters.
 - (d) All of the above

4. Read the given passage carefully and answer the questions that follow.

The opposition to Emergency could keep the Janata party together only for a while. Its critics felt that Janata Party lacked direction, leadership and a common programme. The Janata Party Government could not bring about a fundamental change in policies from those pursued by the Congress. The Janata Party split and the government which was led by Morarji Desai lost its majority in less than 18 months. Another government headed by Charan Singh was formed on assurance of the support of the Congress Party.

CBSE 2020

- (i) In which year did the Janata Party government came to power?
(a) 1976 (b) 1977 (c) 1978 (d) 1979

Ans. (b) 1977

- (ii) Which of the following reasons were responsible for the split of the Janata Party?

- (a) It lacked direction, leadership and a common programme.
(b) A stiff competition among the leaders of the Janata Party for the post of Prime Minister.
(c) There was no fundamental change in policies from those pursued by the previous Congress Government.
(d) Both (a) and (b)

Ans. (d) Both (a) and (b)

- (iii) Why could the Charan Singh government remain in power for just about four months only?

- (a) As it formed the government on the assurance of the support given by the Congress Party.
(b) The Congress Party later decided to withdraw its support from his government.
(c) Due to split of Janata Party.
(d) Both (a) and (b)

Ans. (d) Both (a) and (b)

- (iv) For how many months does the previous government of Morarji Desai last?

- (a) 9 months (b) 11 months
(c) 14 months (d) 18 months

Ans. (d) 18 months

obey illegal and immoral orders. He led a massive demonstration on 25th June, 1975. All these changed the political mood of the country against Congress.

2. What is Preventive Detention? How it was used during Emergency?

Ans. Preventive Detention is a provision under which people could be arrested even if he/she have not committed any crime. Suspicion to do so is enough to arrest him/her. During Emergency, government used it as an instrument to deal with opposition and people protesting against government. Hundreds of people were arrested under this provision.

3. Mention any two reasons due to which Janata Party won the election of 1977? **Delhi 2008**

Ans. The two reasons were

- (i) Non-democratic outlook of Congress favoured Janata Party.
(ii) Formation of the Janata Party also ensured that non-Congress votes would not be divided.

4. Describe any two outcomes of the Naxalite movements. **All India 2010**

Ans. Two outcomes of the Naxalite movements were

- (i) Naxalite movement was strong, particularly in West Bengal spread to the different parts of India. Nine states had been affected by their activities.
(ii) Human rights activists declared government for using violent and harsh measures against them and criticised government for violating the human rights.

5. Evaluate the impact of national emergency declared in June, 1975. **Delhi 2019**

Ans. Impacts of emergency declared in June, 1975 were

- (i) Fundamental Rights were suspended.
(ii) The power of Judiciary were limited.

6. Why were newspapers censored during Emergency?

Ans. Newspapers were censored during Emergency to avoid anti-government feeling among people. Government ordered the press of various newspapers to get prior permission before publishing any matter.

7. Why is the 'Emergency' and the period around it known as the period of Constitutional crisis? Explain. **Delhi 2013**

Ans. The Emergency and the period around it can be described as a period of constitutional crisis because it had its origin in the constitutional battle over the jurisdiction of the Parliament and the Judiciary.

Very Short Answer Type Questions

1. What prompted nationwide Satyagraha against

8. Highlight any two constitutional issues between the Parliament and the Judiciary during the 1970s.

All India 2019

Ans. Two constitutional issues between the Parliament and Judiciary during the 1970s were

- On the issue of Fundamental Right and right to property, the Supreme Court denied the amendment to Constitution. While on the issue of Fundamental Right giving effect to Directive principles, Parliament amended the Constitution, but later Supreme Court rejected it.
- Court gave a decision that there are some basic features of the Constitution and the Parliament cannot amend these basic features. This created tension between Parliament and Judiciary.

9. Analyse the grave crises that compelled the government to impose a state of Emergency in the country.

CBSE 2019

Ans. The grave crises that compelled the government to impose a state of Emergency were

- Bihar and Gujarat Movements created unrest in the country. Students were protesting against the price rise and against the established government in these states.
- Increase in Naxalite activities against the government became violent in nature. Naxalite had an anti-government view even harsh measures by government could not stop them.

10. Identify two special constitutional powers which the government gets once Emergency is proclaimed.

CBSE 2019

Ans. Two special constitutional powers which the government gets during Emergency are

- Once an Emergency is proclaimed, the federal distribution of powers remains practically suspended and all the powers are concentrated in the hands of Union Government.
- The government gets the power to suspend the Fundamental Rights of the Citizens. It can also suspend the Freedom of expression through suspending the freedom of press.

Short Answer Type Questions

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

Delhi 2014

Ans. Reasons for the students movement of 1974 in Bihar were as follows

- Rising prices of foodgrains, cooking oil and other

Role played by Jayaprakash Narayan in this movement were as follows

- He demanded the dismissal of the Congress Government in Bihar and gave a call for total revolution in the social, economic and political spheres.
- In 1975, he led a people's march to the Parliament.

2. Analyse any three lessons learnt from the Emergency of 1975.

Delhi 2015

Ans. The three lessons of Emergency were

- Though many observers who thought that India ceased to be democratic during the Emergency but it proved wrong and normal democratic functioning reduced within a short span of time and in this context it is said that it is extremely difficult to do away with democracy in India.
- It highlighted some ambiguities regarding the Emergency provision in the constitution that have been corrected. Now 'internal' Emergency can be proclaimed only on the grounds of 'armed rebellion' and advice to President to proclaim Emergency must be given in writing by the Council of Ministers.
- Emergency made everyone realise the value of the civil liberties. The court too have become active after the Emergency in protecting the civil liberties of the individuals.

3. How did Janata Party make the 1977 elections into a referendum on the Emergency imposed in 1975? Explain.

Delhi 2016

Ans. Janata Party made the election of 1977 into a referendum on the Emergency imposed in 1975 in the following ways

- Janata Party's campaign focussed on the non-democratic character of the rule and on the various excesses that took place during this period.
- In the backdrop of arrests of thousands of persons and the censorship of the press, the public opinion was against the Congress.
- Jayaprakash Narayan who led the party became the popular symbol of restoration of democracy.
- The party ensured that non-Congress votes would not be divided.

4. How did the Emergency of 1975 benefit the Indian democratic set-up?

All India 2009

Ans. The Emergency of 1975 benefitted the Indian democratic set-up in following manner

- It checked the issues of regionalism and separatism.
- As a reaction to the Emergency, various parties united and fought against Congress in the elections of 1977 which consolidated the democracy.

5. Write a short note on Jayaprakash Narayan.

Ans. Jayaprakash Narayan, popularly referred to as JP or Lok Nayak (The People's Leader), was an Indian independence activist, theorist, socialist and political leader. Jayaprakash Narayan is known for three key contributions: Fight Against Corruption, Principle of Communitarian Socialism and Championing of 'Total Revolution'.

He was the first leader in post-independence India who undertook a tirade against corruption through the participation of youth, particularly in Gujarat and Bihar. He advocated the office of Lokpal against corruption. His principle of Communitarian Socialism views India as a society of communities encompassing three key layers, viz., community, region and rashtra—all combine together as an example of true federation.

6. Discuss the views against the Emergency given by the critics.

Ans. Some of the views against the Emergency are discussed below

- Critics of emergency argued that India had history of such movements including freedom movement and also people had the right to protest against government in democracy.
- As Emergency was imposed to curb the law and order situation but on the other hand, the Home Ministry which was monitoring the internal situation of the country did not express any concern about law and order situation in the country.
- Even if some agitations like Bihar and Gujarat had overstepped their limits, there was no need to suspend the democratic functioning of the country.
- Critics also held that Indira Gandhi had misused constitutional provision for saving her personal power instead of saving the country.

Long Answer Type Questions

1. Why is Emergency considered to be one of the most controversial episodes in Indian politics?

Analyse any three reasons. Delhi 2009

or "The Emergency declared on 25th June, 1975 is seen as a blur on Indian democracy." All India 2016

or Assess the controversies relating to the declaration of Emergency in 1975 in India.

Ans. Emergency is one of the most controversial episodes in Indian politics. Most of promises by the government remained unfulfilled that were simply meant to divert attention from the excesses that were taking place. They question the use of Preventive Detention on such a large scale. Many prominent political leaders were arrested. In

press, sometimes without proper legal sanctions. 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 of all newspaper presses at 2:00 am on 26th June, 1975. Electricity was restored two to three days later after the censorship apparatus had been set-up.

Democracy remained suspended during Emergency. Democratic way of expression of feeling, anger, dissatisfaction, etc through protest, agitation, etc were crushed bitterly by government. Emergency was imposed by the Government despite having majority to crush the democratic movement against the ruling party. Government suspended the freedom of press, newspapers were asked to take permission before publishing any matter. Fundamental Rights of citizens were suspended including the right to move to the court for restoring Fundamental Rights.

2. Describe any three major political developments that took place in India after the lifting of Emergency in 1977.

Ans. Three major political developments that took place in India after the lifting of Emergency in 1977 were as follows

(i) **Janata Party** It accepted the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan. Some leaders of the Congress who opposed the Emergency also joined this new party. 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 which later merged with the Janata Party. Janata Party made this election into a referendum on the Emergency. Its campaign was focussed on the non-democratic character of the rule and torture, atrocities, suppression, etc that took place during Emergency.

(ii) **Result of 1977 Elections** The final result of 1977 election was surprising because the Congress was defeated in the Lok Sabha elections for the first time since independence. In North India, it was a massive electoral wave against the Congress. The Congress lost in every constituency in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Haryana and the Punjab. It could hardly win any seat each in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Indira Gandhi was defeated from Rae Bareilly and her son Sanjay Gandhi from Amethi. The impact of Emergency was not felt equally in all the states. The forced relocations and displacements, the forced sterilisation, were mostly concentrated in the Northern states. The middle castes from North India were moving away from the Congress and Janata party became a platform for many of these sections to come together.

and Jagjivan Ram for the post of Prime Minister. Finally, Morarji Desai became the Prime Minister but internal power struggle within the party continued. The Janata Party Government did not bring any fundamental change in policies that pursued by the Congress.

The Janata Party split and the government led by 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. Fresh elections to Lok Sabha were held in January 1980 in which Janata Party lost badly, particularly in North India where it had swept the polls in 1977. Congress party under the leadership of Indira Gandhi repeated its great victory. It won 353 seats and formed the government.

- 3.** Assess any three happenings which were responsible for the downfall of the Congress Party in the 1977 elections. **All India 2014**

Ans. Three happenings which were responsible for the downfall of the Congress Party in the 1977 elections were

- The major opposition parties had already come closer in the pre-Emergency period. They came together on the eve of the elections and formed a new party known as the Janata Party.
- Some leaders of the Congress who were opposed to the Emergency also joined this new party. Some other Congress leaders also came out and formed a separate party under the leadership of Jagjivan Ram.
- The Janata Party's campaign focussed on the non-democratic character of the rule and on the various excesses that took place during the Emergency.

The opposition to Emergency could keep the Janata Party together only for a while because the party lacked direction, leadership and a common programme.

- 4.** Explain the major outcome of 1977 Lok Sabha elections.

Ans. The major outcomes of 1977 Lok Sabha elections were

- The Janata Party successfully achieved what it desired for. The democratic outlook attracted the masses and result of 1977 Lok Sabha elections worked in its favour.
- The result of 1977 Lok Sabha elections was a big shock and surprise to Congress and Janata Party respectively.
- It was for the first time when Congress had lost the election at centre ever since the independence.
- Janata Party won 330 out of 542 seats, while

- In North India, Congress had bitterest experience. In Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Haryana and Punjab, Congress rule was outrightly rejected.
- Indira Gandhi from Rae Bareilly and her son Sanjay Gandhi from Amethi were defeated too.
- Congress managed to save many seats in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Odisha and Southern states and this was a great relief to the Congress.
- Congress managed to do so, because the impact of Emergency was comparatively less in Southern part. North India witnessed the harshest measures like displacement of people, sterilisation, etc. Janata Party also gave a perfect alternative to the people of North India. People began to move away from Congress, specially the middle class.

- 5.** Analyse the circumstances responsible for the declaration of a state of Emergency in India on 25th June, 1975. **Delhi 2016**

or Examine any six reasons for the imposition of Emergency in India 1975. **All India 2014**

or What reasons, do you think, were responsible for the declaration of Emergency in 1975? Examine any two reasons. **All India 2013**

or Describe any three events that led to the imposition of emergency in 1975. **Delhi 2019**

Ans. The circumstances which led to the proclamation of Emergency were

- Bihar and Gujarat's movement created an unrest in the country. Students were protesting against the price rise and against the established Government in the states. Congress as ruling party failed to handle these protests. Leadership by influential leaders further gave them a momentum against government.
- Increase in Naxalite activities against government and violent nature troubled the government. Naxalite had an anti-government view. Even harsh measures by government could not stop them.
- George Fernandes gave a call for nationwide strike to all the railwaymen. Their demands were suppressed by the government. Shutdown of such a big institution created a havoc in the country.
- Declaration of Indira Gandhi's 1971 election invalid was a last straw. Jayaprakash Narayan organised a massive demonstration demanding her resignation. The situation was tense and Emergency was declared on 25th June, 1975.
- Call of total revolution by Jayaprakash Narayan and unexpected people movement in Delhi.
- Jayaprakash Narayan announced a nationwide Satyagraha for resignation and asked the army, the police and government employees not to obey illegal

6. Evaluate the consequences of declaration of Emergency in 1975. **All India 2014**
or Explain any four consequences of Emergency declared on 25th June, 1975. **Delhi 2012**

Ans. Consequences of declaration of Emergency in 1975 were as follows

- (i) During Emergency, democracy was suspended the federal distribution of powers remains practically suspended and all the powers were concentrated in the hands of the Union Government. It was made clear that a democratic country like India could not do away from democracy. Wide protest against Emergency arose to restore democracy.
- (ii) Several changes to Constitution came into existence, e.g. election of Prime Minister, President and Vice President could not be challenged in the Supreme Court. 42nd Amendment came during this time and duration of legislature increased from 5 to 6 years.
- (iii) The government also gets the power to curtail or restrict all or any of the Fundamental Rights during the Emergency.
- (iv) During Emergency, government gets extra powers. They have the power to suspend the Fundamental Rights of the citizens. Measures like Preventive Detention could be used by government. Right to move the court for the restoration of Fundamental Rights were taken away.
- (v) Government ordered newspaper press to censor the matter. The prior approval of government was made necessary before publishing any article in newspaper to avoid anti-government feeling.

7. Explain the three democratic upsurges that emerged in the post- independence history of India.

Ans. Increasing participation of the people in the democratic politics of the country is broadly characterised as democratic upsurge. Social scientists have characterised three democratic upsurges in post-independence history of India that are discussed below

- The 'First Democratic Upsurge' could be attributed from the 1950s till 1970s which was based on the participation of Indian adult voters to the democratic politics both at the centre and in states. Falsifying the western myth that the success of democracy requires modernisation, urbanisation, education and access to media, the successful holding of elections to both Lok Sabha and legislative assemblies all across states on the principle of parliamentary democracy were the testimony of India's first democratic upsurge.
- During the 1980's, the increasing political participation of the lower classes of the society such

change in the standard of living of these classes, especially Dalits, 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.

- The era of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation from the early 1990s is attributed to the emergence of a competitive market society encompassing all important sectors of economy, society and polity thus paving way for the 'Third Democratic Upsurge'. The Third Democratic Upsurge represents a competitive electoral market which is based not on the principle of survival of the best but rather the survival of the ablest. It underlines three shifts in India's electoral market: from State to Market, from Government to Governance, from State as Controller to State as Facilitator.

8. Explain the idea of Socialism advocated by Ram Manohar Lohia.

Ans. Ram Manohar Lohia was a socialist leader and thinker, freedom fighter and among the founders of the Congress Socialist Party, after the split in the parent party, the leader of the Socialist Party and later Samyukta Socialist Party member.

- He was one of the proponents of socialism in India. He championed the idea of 'Democratic Socialism' while associating with democracy.
- Lohia considered both capitalism and communism equally irrelevant for Indian society.
- His principle of Democratic Socialism has two objectives
 - The economic objective in the form of food and housing.
 - The non-economic objective in the form of democracy and freedom.
- Lohia advocated Chouburja Rajneeti in which he opines four pillars of politics as well as socialism: Centre, Region, District and Village, all are linked with each other. By giving consideration to affirmative action, he argued that the policy of affirmative action should not only be for the downtrodden but also for the women and non-religious minorities.
- He supported a 'Party of Socialism' as an attempt of merging all political parties based on the premise of democratic socialism and Chouburja Rajneeti. The party of Socialism according to Lohia should have three symbols, viz, Spade (prepared to make efforts), Vote (power of voting) and Prison (willingness to make sacrifices).

9. Discuss the philosophy of Integral Humanism advocated by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya in

'indigenous socio-economic model' in which human being remains at the centre of development.

- The aim of Integral Humanism is to ensure dignified life for every human being while balancing the needs of the individual and society. It supports sustainable consumption of natural resources so that those resources can be replenished. Integral Humanism enhances not only political but also economic and social democracy and freedom.
- The Philosophy of Integral Humanism is based on the following three principles
 - Primacy of whole, not part
 - Supremacy of Dharma
 - Autonomy of Society
- Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya opposed both Western 'Capitalist Individualism' and 'Marxist socialism'. According to him, Capitalist and Socialist ideologies only consider the needs of the human body and mind, so they are based on materialistic purpose whereas spiritual development is equally considered important for the complete development of human being which is missing in both capitalism and socialism.
- Basing his philosophy on the internal conscience, pure human soul to be called Chhitti, Deendayal Upadhyaya envisaged a classless, casteless and conflict-free social system. He advocated Indianization of Democracy, particularly with a focus on Economic Democracy. For him, decentralisation and Swadeshi are the foundation of Economic Democracy.
- His philosophy broadly revolved around the principle of Arthashastra which states that both the absence and prominence of arth lead to the destruction and denigration of Dharma which is central to Integral Humanism.

Picture Based Question

1. Observe the cartoon given below carefully and answer the following questions. Delhi 2012



- Identify and name the person holding in his hand, the placard 'save democracy'. In your opinion, the group of five persons belongs to which political party?
- According to the group of five, what are the intentions of the person sitting on 'Dharma'?
- Which issues are responsible for the downfall of democracy are highlighted in the cartoon?

- Ans.**
- Jayaprakash Narayan is holding the placard 'save democracy'. In the above cartoon, the group of five persons belong to congress party.
 - The intentions of the person sitting on 'Dharma' are to support democracy, create chaos and grab power.
 - Corruption, lawlessness, violence, etc are responsible for the downfall of democracy.

CHAPTER ASSESSMENT

Objective Type Questions

- Which of the following problems country faces during 1967 elections?
(a) Period characterised by Serious economic crisis.
(b) Depletion of foreign exchange reserves.
(c) The devaluation of Indian Rupee.
(d) All of the above
- The demand for dismissal of Congress Government was demanded in Bihar because
(a) To change the scenario (b) To establish true democracy
(c) To conduct re-elections (d) All of these
- In which year AN Ray was appointed as the Chief Justice removing the seniority of three judges which generated a political controversy?
(a) 1971 (b) 1972 (c) 1973 (d) 1974
- In 1977 elections Congress party won only seats.
(a) 120 (b) 154 (c) 155 (d) 157
- According to Deendayal Upadhyaya Swadeshi and are the foundations of Economic Democracy.
(a) Development (b) Centralisation (c) Decentralisation (d) Inflation

Very Short Answer Type Questions

- Mention any two outcomes of Naxalite movements.
- What were the reasons for students movement of 1974 in Bihar.
- Mention any two reasons learnt from emergency imposed in 1975.
- Why was Shah Commission appointed?

Short Answer Type Questions

- State any two reasons which added to Indira's problems after 1971 elections.
- What was the reason behind the invalidity of Indira's 1971 election?
- Explain Preventive Detention. How was it used during Emergency.
- What was the explanation of government behind using draconian provisions of Emergency?

Long Answer Type Questions

- On what grounds Emergency was declared on 25th June, 1975?
- Explain the contest between Janata Party and Congress in 1977 Lok Sabha elections.
- What special powers does a government enjoy during Emergency? How did it help Indira in 1975?