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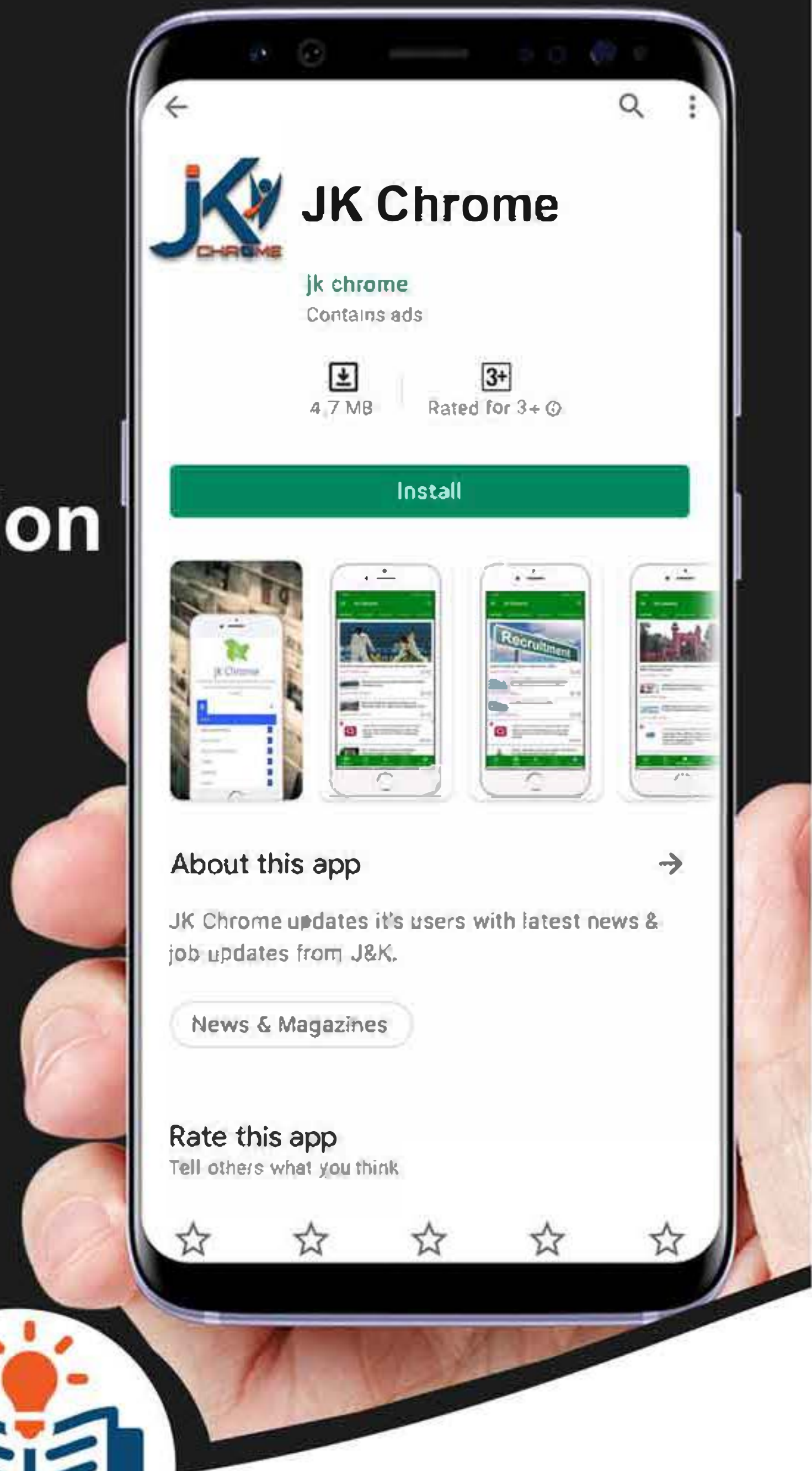
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NCERT Class 12 Polity GIST Politics in India since Independence

Chapter 1- Challenges of Nation Building

Challenges for the New Nation

India became independent in August 1947 immediately after independence, there were three challenges in nation building

- The first and the immediate challenge was to shape nation that was united, yet accommodative of the diversity existing in the society and eradication of poverty and unemployment.
- The second challenge was to establish democracy.
- The third challenge was to ensure the development and well-being of the entire society and not only of some sections.

Partition: Displacement and Rehabilitation

- On 14th to 15th August, 1947, two nation-states India and Pakistan came into existence. Lakhs of people from both sides lost their homes, lives and properties and became victim of communal violence.
- On the basis of Muslim majority belt West and East Pakistan was created which were separated by a long expanse of Indian Territory.
- Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan also known as 'Frontier Gandhi' was the undisputed leader of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). Despite his opposition NWFP was merged with Pakistan.
- The portion of Punjab and Bengal caused the deepest trauma of partition.

Consequences of Partition

- The year 1947 was the year of one of the largest, most abrupt, unplanned and tragic transfer of population of human history as known.
- Minorities on both sides of the border fled their home and secured temporary' shelter in 'refugee camps'.

- Women were often abducted, raped, attacked and killed. They were forcefully converted to other , religion.
- Political and administrative machinery failed on both sides.
- There was huge loss of lives and property. Communal violence was on its culmination.

Integration of Princely States

- There were two types of provinces in British India—The British Indian Provinces (directly under the control of the British Government) and Princely states (governed by Indian princes).
- Immediately after independence there were almost 565 princely states. Many of them joined Indian Union.
- Travancore, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Manipur initially refused to join Indian Union.

Government's Approach

- The then interim government took a firm steps against the possible division of India into small principalities of different sizes.
- The government's approach was guided by three considerations
 - The people of most of the princely states clearly wanted to become part of the Indian Union.
 - The government was prepared to be flexible in giving autonomy to some regions.
 - Consolidation of the territorial boundaries of the nation had assumed supreme importance.

Instrument of Accession

- The rulers of the most of the states signed a document called the 'Instrument of Accession' but accession of the Junagarh, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Manipur proved more difficult than the rest.
- After initial resistance, in September 1948, Hyderabad was merged with Indian Union, by a military operation.

- The Government of India succeeded in pressurising the Maharaja of Manipur into signing a Merger Agreement in September, 1949. The government did so without consulting the popularly elected Legislative Assembly of Manipur.

Reorganisation of States

- During national movement Indian National Congress recognised the demand of state reorganisation on linguistic basis.
- After Independence, this idea was postponed because the memory of partition was still fresh and the fate of the Princely states had not been decided.
- After a long movement, in December 1952 Andhra Pradesh was created on linguistic basis.
- Creation of this state gave impetus to reorganise states on linguistic basis. As a result, Government of India appointed States Reorganisation Commission in 1953.
- This commission accepted that the boundaries of the state should reflect the boundaries of different languages.
- On the basis of its report the States Reorganisation Act was passed in 1956. This led to the creation of 14 States and 6 Union Territories.

FACTS THAT MATTER

1. The first speech of the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the hour of midnight on 14-15 August 1947 was known as famous “tryst with destiny” speech while addressing a special session of the Constituent Assembly.
2. Immediately after independence, there were many challenges in independent India that needed a solution i.e. a challenge to shape a nation as a united country, to develop democratic practices and to ensure development and well-being by evolving effective policies for economic development and eradication of poverty and unemployment.
3. On partition of India, two nation theory was propounded by Muhammad Ali Jinnah to create a separate state for Muslims, resulted in Partition as India and Pakistan giving birth to many difficulties like problem of east and west, merging of NWFP, problems with provinces of Punjab and Bengal and the principle of religious majorities.

4. The partition of 1947 was most abrupt and unplanned which created and spread communal riots dividing country into various community zones, social sufferings to shelter in refugee camps, killing of women and separation of family members, except, it divided financial assets, employees and created conflicts between Hindus and Muslims.
5. British India was divided into British Indian provinces and princely states. Princely states enjoyed some form of control over their internal affairs under British supremacy.
6. After independence, integration of princely states into Indian Union became a great challenge due to problems like announcement by British to end paramountcy over the states' freedom to join either India or Pakistan. And the problems arose in Travancore, Hyderabad, Bhopal to further divide India.
7. The government's approach was based on three considerations i.e. will of integration of people of princely states, a flexible approach to accommodate plurality and demands of region and concern about integrity of India with peaceful negotiations in a firm diplomatic manner by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Only four states' accession was difficult i.e. Junagarh, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Manipur.
8. Hyderabad was the largest princely state under the rule of Nizam who was not argued to be integrated. But the society protested against the rule of Nizam. The central government had to interfere against Razakars and in September 1948. Nizam's forces were controlled with the accession of Hyderabad.
9. Bodhachandra Singh, Maharaja of Manipur, made it a constitutional monarchy and became first state to hold elections under Universal Adult Franchises. But on sharp differences over merger of Manipur, the government of India pressurised Maharaja into signing an agreement in September 1949.
10. In the early years of reorganisation of states was felt linguistic states may foster separatism and create a pressure. Hence linguistic states were formed to change the nature of democratic policies which accepted the regional and linguistic claims and provided a uniform base to the plural nature of democracy.
11. The State Reorganisation Commission was formed in 1953 by central government to redraw the boundaries of the states on the basis to reflect boundaries of state on behalf of different languages and led to creation of 14 states and six union territories by giving uniform basis to state boundaries.

WORDS THAT MATTER

1. **Two Nations Theory:** It was propounded by Muhammad Ali Jinnah to create a separate state for Muslims.
2. **British Indian Provinces:** The Indian provinces which were directly under the British government before independence.
3. **Princely States:** States ruled by Princes who enjoyed some form of control over their states internal affairs under the British supremacy.
4. **Razakars:** A para-military force of Nizam was sent to respond people's movement which had no bounds.
5. **Nizam:** Ruler of Hyderabad was titled as Nizam who was world's richest person.
6. **State Reorganisation Commission:** It was appointed in 1953 to look into the matter to redraw the boundaries of states.

Chapter 2- Era of One-Party Dominance

Challenge of Building Democracy

- The Election Commission of India was set-up in January 1950. Sukumar Sen was the first Chief Election Commissioner.
- India's vast size and low literacy rate etc were some of challenges to hold general elections in 1952. Despite these challenges the election was held successfully in 1952.

Changing Methods of Voting

- In the first general election it was decided to place inside each polling booth a box for each candidate with the election symbol of that candidate.
- By 2004 the entire country had shifted to the Electronic Voting Machine (EVM).

First Three General Elections

- The Congress dominated in the first three general elections. It had many popular faces like Jawaharlal Nehru, C Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbhai Patel etc. Moreover Jawaharlal Nehru was charismatic and a very popular leader.
- Congress worked at upper level as well as at grass root level. Congress was popularised due to the participation in Civil Disobedience Movement.
- In Kerala, in 1957 the Communist Party came to power in the world for the first time through democratic elections.
- This was the first state where Non-Congress Government was formed after independence.

Nature of Congress Dominance

- The dominance of Congress party was in democratic condition. The roots of extraordinary success of the Congress party go back to the legacy of the freedom struggle.
- The Congress brought together diverse groups, whose interests were often contradictory.
- By the time of independence, the Congress was transformed into a rainbow-like social coalition broadly representing India's diversity in terms of classes and castes, religions and languages and various interests.
- This coalition-like character of Congress gave it an unusual strength.

Tolerance and Management of Factions

- Groups within party with diverse ideologies are called factions. Some of these factions were based on ideological considerations but very often these factions were rooted in personal ambitions and rivalries.
- The coalition nature of the Congress party tolerated and in fact encouraged various factions.

Emergence of Opposition Parties

- The roots of almost all the Non-Congress parties of today can be traced to one or the other of the opposition parties of the 1930s

- These opposition parties offered a sustained and often principled criticism of the policies and practices of the Congress party.
- This kept the ruling party under check and often changed the balance of power within the Congress.

Socialist Party

- The Congress Socialist Party (CSP) was formed within the Congress in 1934 by a group of young leaders who wanted a more radical and egalitarian Congress.
- In 1948, the Congress amended its Constitution to prevent its members from having a dual party membership. This forced the socialists to form a separate socialist party in 1948.
- They criticised the Congress for favouring capitalists and landlords and for ignoring the workers and peasants.

The Communist Party of India (CPI)

- In the early 1920s communist groups emerged in different parts of India taking inspiration from the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.
- In 1951 the communist party abandoned the path of violent revolution and decided to participate in the approaching general elections.
- AK Gopalan, SA Dange, EMS Namboodripad; PC Joshi, Ajay Ghosh and P Sundarraya were among the notable leaders of the CPI.

Bhartiya Jana Sangh [BJS]

- The Bhartiya Jana Sangh was formed in 1951 with Shyama Prasad Mukherjee as its founder President.
- It emphasised the idea of one country, one culture and one nation and believed that the country could become modern, progressive and strong on the basis of Indian culture and traditions.

Swatantra Party

- Swatantra party was formed in August in 1959. The party was led by old Congressmen like C. Rajgopalachari, KM Munshi, NG Ranga and Minoo Masani.
- The party was critical of the development strategy of state intervention in the economy, centralised planning, nationalisation and the public sector. It instead favoured expansion of a free private sector.

FACTS THAT MATTER

1. After independence, our leaders became conscious of critical role of politics in a democracy as they wanted to run politics as a method to sort out problems as well as to decide and pursue the public interest.
2. Consequently, the Election Commission of India came into existence in January 1950, Sukumar Sen became first Chief Election Commissioner of India to hold elections in the country. This commission required the drawing of the boundaries of electoral constituencies, electoral roll consisting eligible voters to hold free and fair elections.
3. The first general election of India became a landmark due to its competitiveness, encouraging participation, fair results and proved its critics wrong not to hold elections in conditions of poverty. . –
4. In the 1952 election Congress party scored a big victory but it was not in power in the states like Travancore—Cochin i.e. Kerala, Madras and Orissa. Congress dominated in India due to identification with freedom struggle, popular appeal of charismatic leaders, a broad manifesto including every section of society and consensus building role of party.
5. Congress was founded by Dr. A.O. Hume in 1885 as a view to express the feelings of discontentment changed to a political party in the form of social and ideological coalition by accommodating different social groups and individuals holding different beliefs and ideologies. Even in pre-independence days, many organisation and parties with their own constitutions and organisational structures were allowed to exist within the Congress.
6. Factions are the groups formed inside the party. The coalition nature of the Congress Party encouraged various factions which were based on either ideological considerations or personal ambitions or rivalries.

7. Before the first General Election of 1952, some of the vibrant and opposite parties came into existence which gained as a token of representation only to maintain democratic character. These parties kept ruling party under check, prevented resentment, groomed leaders, alongwith a mutual respect and among Congress leaders as well as opposition parties leaders.

8. The origin of the socialist party can be traced back to the mass movement stage of the Indian National Congress which was formed in 1934 by Acharya Narendra Dev and later on, it was separated to form socialist party in 1948 with ideology of democratic socialism and criticised capitalism.

9. In the early 1920s communist groups emerged in different parts of India having a belief of communism. The Communist Party of India was primarily secular, modern and authoritarian.

10. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh was formed in 1951 by Shyama Prasad Mukherjee with the ideology of one country, one culture and one nation and called for a reunion of India and Pakistan in Akhand Bharat.

11. Swatantra Party was formed in August 1959 after the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress which called for land ceilings. It's important leaders were C. Rajgopalachari, K.M. Munshi, N.G. Ranga, and Minoo Masani. Its ideology emphasised on the free economy and less involvement of government in controlling the economy and advocated closer relations with the USA.

WORDS THAT MATTER

1. **Electronic Voting Machine (EVM):** It is a voting machine to record voters' performances on electric device, used through election processes.
2. **First Past the Post System:** This is the simple majority system in which the candidate gets the maximum amount of votes is declared as elected.
3. **Ideological Oriented Party:** It is the party in which policies and decisions are formulated under ideological considerations.
4. **Interest-Oriented Party:** This party protects particular interests and promotes the same also i.e. caste, community, region, tribes etc.
5. **Charismatic Leader Oriented Party:** It is the party in which leader holds a very strong position and is the nucleus of the party.

Chapter 3- Politics of Planned Development

Political Contestation

- In a democracy or in a democratic country the final decision must be a political decision, taken by people's representatives who are in touch with the feelings of the people.
- After independence, everyone agreed that the development of India will take place by, economic growth alongwith social and economic justice.
- There was disagreement on the kind of role that the government must play in ensuring economic growth with justice.

Ideas of Development

- Any discussion on development is bound to generate contradictions, conflicts and arguments.
- 'Development' was about becoming more 'modern' and modern was about becoming more like the industrialised countries of the West.
- Modernisation was associated with the ideas of growth, material progress and scientific rationality.

Planning

- Despite the various differences, there was a consensus on one point: that development could not be left to private sectors. So, there was the need for the government to develop a design or plan for development.
- In 1944, the big industrialists drafted a joint proposal for setting up a planned economy in the country known as Bombay Plan.
- Soon after India became independent, the Planning Commission came into being as Prime Minister its chairperson.

The Early Initiatives

- The draft of the First Five Year Plan and then the actual Plan Document, released in December 1951, generated a lot of excitement in the country.

- The excitement with planning reached its peak with the launching of the Second Five Year Plan in 1956 and continued somewhat till the Third Five Year Plan in 1961.
- The First Five Year Plan (1951-1956) addressed mainly the agrarian sector including investment in dams and irrigation.
- One of the basic aims of the planners was to raise the level of national income, which could be possible only if the people saved money than they spent.

Rapid Industrialisation

The second Five Year Plan stressed on heavy industries. It was drafted by a team of economists and planners under the leadership of PC Mahalanobis.

Key Controversies

The strategy of development followed in the early years raised several important questions.

Agriculture Versus Industry

- After first two plans agriculture could not develop at appreciable level. Gandhian economist J.C. Kumarappa proposed an alternative blueprint that put greater emphasis on rural industrialisation.
- Some others thought that without a drastic increase in industrial production, there could be no escape from the cycle of poverty.

Public Versus Private Sector

- India adopted 'mixed economy' where elements of both public and private sector exist together.
- Critics argued that the planners refused to provide the private sector with enough space and the stimulus to grow. The enlarged public sector produced powerful vested interests that created enough hurdles for private capital.

The First Five Year Plan Major Outcomes

- The early initiatives for planned development were at best realising the goals of economic development of the country and well-being of all its citizens.
- Those who benefitted from unequal development soon became politically powerful and

There were three major outcomes. These are

1. Economic Foundations

- During first two plan foundations of India's future economic growth were laid. Mega dams like Bhakhra-Nangal and Hirakund for irrigation and power generation were built.
- Some of the heavy industries in the public sector-steel plants, oil refineries, manufacturing units, defense production etc.-were started during this period.
- Infrastructure for transport and communication was improved substantially.

2. Land Reforms

- Colonial system of Zamindari was abolished.
- Attempts at consolidation of land-bringing small pieces of land together in one place was initiated.

3. Green and White Revolution

- During 1960s the government offered high-yielding variety seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and better irrigation at highly subsidised prices. This was termed as Green Revolution.
- The rich peasants and the large land holders were the major beneficiaries of this.
- Some regions like Punjab, Haryana, and Western Uttar Pradesh became agriculturally prosperous, while others remained backward.
- In 1970 the rural development programme called Operation Flood was started.
- Operation flood organised cooperatives of milk producers into a nationwide milk grid, with the purpose of increasing milk production.
- This was termed as White Revolution. Verghese Kurien is known as 'Milkman of India.'

Later Developments

- The period from 1967 onwards witnessed many new restrictions on private industry. Fourteen private banks were nationalised.
- Between 1950 and 1980 the Indian economy grew at a sluggish per annum rate of 3 to 3.5%.

- The presence of inefficiency, corruption etc forced people to lose faith in country's economic system thus it results in decreasing the significance of state in India's economy from 1980s onwards.

FACTS THAT MATTER

1. Due to rising Global Demand for Iron, the reserved Iron-resource of Orissa has been an important investment destination to be signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) to bring in capital investment and employment opportunities. Some conflicts arose in Orissa like tribal population feared to be displaced from home and environmentalists became worried about environmental pollution.
2. 'Development' refers to process of living standard and attaining an economic level of industrial production. Immediately after independence, the Indian government took up the tasks of poverty attenuation, social and economic redistribution and development of agriculture.
3. Planning is a systematic regulation of purposeful activity to achieve national goals. India was inspired by USSR for planning to provide basic necessities of life i.e. advanced education, medical care and technological skills. 'Bombay Plan' was drafted in 1944 to make the states to take major initiatives in industrial and other economic investments.
4. The Planning Commission of India was set up in 1950 as an 'Extra-constitutional body' alongwith Prime Minister as its chairman, ministers incharge and some other members to be advisory in nature. It helps to reduce the wastage of time and increase the per capita income.
5. Before independence, the need for planning was felt to set up National Planning Committee in 1930s to collect data and setting aims as well as opted for five year plans and annual budget.
6. The first five year plan, commenced in 1951, drafted by economist K.N. Roy aiming at investment in dams and irrigation, land reforms and to raise the level of National Income. It differed from second five year plans which stressed on heavy industries by bringing about quick structural transformation. 1
7. India did not only follow capitalist or socialist economy but adopted mixed economy to co-exist private and public sector also, to attain rapid economic development aiming at social welfare and private owned means of production to be regulated by the state.

8. Second five-year plan emphasised on heavy industrialisation even in rural areas, being criticised for the creation of prosperity in urban and industrial sections at the cost of rural welfare. It was argued also on the ground to be a failure not that of policy but of its non-implementation of politics of land owning classes.
9. During the planning period, the Agrarian sector witnessed a serious attempt at land reforms to abolish Zamindari system, consolidate the lands. These were not much successful due to some drawbacks i.e. people violated laws under considerable political influence and some laws remained only on papers.
10. Between 1965 and 1967, severe droughts occurred in many parts of country and it was in Bihar to feel a famine situation. On the other hand food prices also hit a high in Bihar and due to government's policy of zoning, trade of food across states was prohibited, which reduced the availability of food in Bihar.
11. The Green Revolution emphasised on new strategies of agricultural practice to be offered by government i.e. high yielding variety of seeds, fertilizers, pesticide better irrigation at highly subsidised prices. Green Revolution produced favourable conditions for poor peasants and made the 'Middle Peasant Sections' politically influential. Green Revolution had some negative effects also i.e. it created a gap between landlords and poor and it delivered only a moderate agricultural growth.
12. The 'White Revolution' in Gujarat was started by Varghese Kurien known as the Milkman of India'. He launched Gujarat Cooperative Milk and Marketing Federation Ltd., which further launched 'Amul'. The Amul pattern became a uniquely appropriate model for rural development and poverty alleviation which came to be known as white revolution.
13. The Kerala model was based on 'Decentralised Planning' to focus on education, health, land reforms, effective food distribution and poverty alleviations taken initiative to involve people in making plans at panchayat, block and district level.

WORDS THAT MATTER

1. **Planning:** A systematic regulation to optimum use of resources and to reduce wastage of time.
2. **Capitalist Economy:** The economy in which private sectors are prioritised in place of social welfare.

3. **Socialist Economy:** It aims at the public sector and planning with the aim to establish egalitarian society.
4. **Bombay Plan:** It was a joint proposal of a section of big industrialists for setting up a planned economy in the country to be drafted in 1944.
5. **Planning Commission:** It is an 'extra-constitutional body' to make plans for the country to set up in March 1950 with the Prime Minister as its Chairman.
6. **Plan Budget:** It is the amount that is spent on a five-year basis as per the priorities fixed by the plan.
7. **Mixed Economy:** The economy in which the private and the public sector both co-exist.

Chapter 4 -India's External Relations

International Context or Relations

- In post independence period, India faced many challenges to make a strong foreign policy.
- India shaped its foreign relations with an aim to respect the sovereignty of all other nations and to achieve security through the maintenance of peace.
- In post Second World War period, world politics led to the division of countries of the world into two clear camps-one under the United States and other under the Soviet Union.

The Policy of Non-Alignment

- The Cold War era marked the political, economic and military confrontation at the global level between the two blocs led by the superpowers, the US and the USSR.
- Along with this in other prevailing world politics Indian leadership was in the direction to pursue its national interests with these international context.

Nehru's Role

- Nehru exercised foreign policy from 1946 to 1964. The three major objectives of Nehru's foreign policy were to preserve the hard-earned sovereignty, protect territorial integrity and promote rapid economic development.
- Despite the fact that many leaders from India, wanted India to follow a pro-US foreign policy; Nehru wished to achieve his objectives of foreign policy through the strategy of non-alignment.

Distance From Two Camps

- India wanted to keep away from the military alliances led by US and Soviet Union against each other. The US was not happy about India's independent initiatives the policy of non-alignment.
- During 1950s India took an independent stand on various international issues and could get aid and assistance from members of both power blocs.
- India's independent stand and her growing relations with USSR hurt the sentiments of USA. Therefore, there was a considerable unease in Indo-US relations during 1950s.

Afro-Asian Unity

- Nehru era marked the establishment of contacts between India and other newly independent states in Asia and Africa.
- Under the leadership of Nehru, India convened the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947.
- India supported the process of decolonisation and opposed racism, especially apartheid in South Africa.
- The Afro-Asian Conference held in the Indonesian city of Bandung in 1955 which is known as Bandung Conference and marked the establishment of the NAM.
- The first summit of the NAM was held in Belgrade in September 1961.

Peace and Conflict with China

- Independent India began its relationship with China on a friendly note as India was one of the first countries to recognise the communist government.

- Some of Nehru's colleagues like Vallabhbhai Patel, were worried about possible Chinese aggression in future but Nehru thought it was exceedingly unlikely that India will face an attack from China.

Panchsheel (The five principles of peaceful co-existence) Agreement signed between Indian Prime Minister Nehru and the Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai on 29th April, 1954 was a step in the direction of stronger relationship between two.

Tibet

- Tibet, a plateau of the Central Asian region, is one of the major issues that historically caused tension between India and China.
- After the Panchsheel Agreement of 1954 India conceded China's claim over Tibet.
- In 1959, the Tibetan spiritual leader Dalai Lama was given asylum (refuge) by India which worsened the relations between both countries.

The Chinese Invasion, 1962

- China annexed Tibet in 1950 and removed historical buffer between two countries. The issue of Dalai Lama added fuel to the fire.
- China claimed two areas within the Indian territory: Askai-Chin area in the Ladakh region of Jammu and Kashmir and state of Arunachal Pradesh in North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA).
- China launched a swift and massive invasion in October 1962 on both the disputed areas.
- The China war dented India's image at home and abroad.
- The Sino-Indian conflict and the growing rift between China and the Soviet Union created irreconcilable differences within the Communist Party of India (CPI). The Pro-USSR faction remained within the CPI and moved towards closer ties with the Congress.

Wars and Peace with Pakistan

- The conflict started with Pakistan just after independence over the dispute on Kashmir.
- The India-Pakistan Indus Waters Treaty was signed by Nehru and General Ayub Khan in

- In April 1965, Pakistan launched armed attacks in the Rann of Kutch area of Gujarat which was followed by a bigger offensive in Jammu and Kashmir in August-September.
- The hostilities came to an end with the UN intervention. Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistan's General Ayub Khan signed the Tashkent Agreement, brokered by the Soviet Union, in January 1966.

Bangladesh War, 1971

- In a dramatic internal politics during 1970 the East and West Pakistani rulers were not willing to accept the democratic verdict.
- Throughout 1971, India had to bear the burden of about 80 lakh refugees who moved to East Pakistan and took shelter in the neighbouring areas in India.
- After months of diplomatic tension and military build-up, a full-scale war between India and Pakistan broke out in December 1971.
- On 3rd July, 1972 the Shimla Agreement was signed between Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

India's Nuclear Policy

- The first nuclear explosion undertaken by India in May 1974.
- In India nuclear programme was initiated in the late 1940s under the guidance of Homi J. Bhabha.
- Nehru was against nuclear weapons and India wanted to generate atomic energy for peaceful purposes.
- The five permanent members of the UN security council- tried to impose the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 on the rest of the world.
- India always considered the NPT as discriminatory and had refused to sign it.
- India conducted a series of nuclear tests in May 1998, demonstrating its capacity to use nuclear energy for military purposes.

FACTS THAT MATTER

1. Immediately after independence, India faced the twin challenges of Welfare and democracy. Moreover, India started participating in the world affairs as an independent nation state with the overall context like the legacy of many international disputes left by the British, pressures created by partition and poverty alleviation.
2. India was born in the backdrop of world war, hence it decided to conduct foreign relations with an aim to respect the sovereignty of other nations to achieve security through maintenance of peace. For this, India laid down directive Principles of State Policy in the Article 51 of Indian Constitution.
3. The foreign policy of a nation is the interplay of domestic and external factors. Pt. J.L. Nehru was the 'Chief Architect of India's Foreign Policy' with the objectives of preserving sovereignty of India, protection of territorial integrity and promotion of rapid economic development. Hence India adopted NAM to stay away from any military blocs.
4. Nehru's Era established the contacts between India and States in Asia and Africa by convening conferences on Asian Relations (March 1947), Indonesia's Freedom Struggle (1949), decolonisation process, and engaged herself in Bandung Conference in 1955 .with the newly independent Asian and African Nations.
5. Panchsheel, the five principles of peaceful co-existence (29 April 1954) between India and China was a stronger step towards friendship and relations. India advocated China's new government as a communist even in the UN after Chinese revolution in 1949 to ahead a friendly step.
6. India and China began to conflict on annexation of Tibet by China and suppressed Tibetan culture also. China claimed Aksai Chin area and NEFA within the Indian territory, which differences could not be resolved despite correspondence and discussions and led India to indulge in conflict.
7. India and Pakistan conflicted on initiative of Pakistan's serious armed conflict over Kashmir issue in 1965. The UN intervened and made the both to sign Tashkent Agreement in 1966 to relieve the situation. But 1965 war added to India's already difficult economic situation.
8. India's foreign policy reflects her desire to be an important regional power which reflected during Bangladesh War 1971 when there were clashes between East and West Pakistan and India supported freedom struggle in Bangladesh and declared unilateral ceasefire with the

surrender of Pakistan. India and Pakistan signed Shimla Agreement on 3rd July 1972 to formalise the return of Peace.

9. India's Nuclear Policy advocates no first use and reiterates India's commitment to global verifiable on non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament leading to nuclear weapons free world. Pt. J.L. Nehru was against nuclear weapons, so he placed nuclear disarmament and considered NPT as discriminatory and India has always been committed to use these weapons for peaceful purposes.

WORDS THAT MATTER

1. **Non-alignment:** A policy not to join any military alliances created due to cold war.
2. **Foreign Policy:** It is an interplay of domestic and external factors of a nation.
3. **Panchsheel:** Five principles of peaceful co-existence to be signed in 1954 between India and China.
4. **Bandung Conference:** An Afro-Asian conference in Bandung in 1955 to establish NAM and India's engagement with Asian and African nations.
5. **NEFA:** North-Eastern Frontier Agency known much of the state of Arunachal Pradesh in 1960s.

Chapter 5- Challenges to and Restoration of Congress System

Challenge of Political Succession

- Nehru's death in 1964 generated a lot of speculation about the question of succession. The 1960s were labelled as the 'dangerous decade' due to many challenges and unsolved problems.
- After the death of Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri was unanimously chosen as the leader of the Congress parliamentary party, and became India's next Prime Minister.
- During Shastri tenure from 1964 to 1966 the country faced two major challenges serious food crisis and a war with Pakistan in 1965. Shastri's famous slogan 'Jai Jawan Jai Kisan' symbolised the country's resolve to face both these challenges.

- After sudden death of Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1966 there was an intense competition between Morarji Desai and Indira Gandhi for succession. Indira Gandhi was backed by senior party leaders.

Fourth General Elections, 1967

- The year 1967 is considered as a landmark year in India's political and electoral history.
- In prevailing political environment the economic situation triggered off price rise. People started protesting against the increase in prices of essential commodities, food scarcity etc.
- The communist and socialist parties launched struggles for great equality.
- 1960s also witnessed some of the worst Hindu-Muslim riots since Independence.

Non-Congressism

- Opposition parties were in the forefront of organising public protests and pressuring the government.
- These opposition parties felt that the inexperience of Indira Gandhi and the internal fractionalism within the Congress provided them an opportunity to topple the Congress.
- The socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia gave this strategy the name of 'Non-congressism'.

Electoral Verdict

- The fourth general elections to the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies were held in February 1967.
- The results jolted the Congress at both the national and state levels, and it was termed as 'political earthquake'.

Coalitions

- The elections of 1967 brought into picture the phenomenon of coalitions.

- Since no single party had got majority, various non-congress parties came together to form joint legislative parties (called Samyukt Vidhayak Dal in Hindi) that supported non-congress governments.

Defection

Defection means an elected representative leaves the party on whose symbol he/she elected and joins another party. The constant realignments and shifting political loyalties in this period gave rise to the expression 'Aya Ram, Gaya Ram'.

Split in the Congress

After 1967 elections Congress saw split due to various differences.

Indira vs the 'Syndicate'

- Syndicate was a group of powerful and influential leaders from within the Congress.
- Indira Gandhi faced two challenges from syndicate to build her independence from the syndicate and to work towards regaining the ground that the Congress had lost in the 1967 elections.

Presidential Election, 1969

- The factional rivalry between the Syndicate and Indira Gandhi was clearly visible when the post of President of India was vacated in 1969 after the death of Zakir Hussain.
- Syndicate supported official candidate of the Congress N.Sanjeeva Reddy while Indira Gandhi supported W. G. D. Birla as the candidate for the President of India.
- Indira Gandhi announced the nationalisation of fourteen leading private banks and the abolition of the 'privy purse' which removed differences between Morarji Desai and Indira Gandhi.
- The defeat of official Congress candidate formalised the split in the party.

The 1971 Election and Restoration of Congress

The Indira Gandhi's Government recommended the dissolution of the Lok Sabha in December 1970 and the fifth general elections to the Lok Sabha were held in February 1971.

The Contest

- In 1971 election, all the major non-communist, non-congress opposition parties formed an electoral alliance known as the Grand Alliance.
- Indira Gandhi said that the opposition alliance had only one common programme Indira Hatao, in contrast she put forward a positive programme captured in the famous slogan Garibi Hatao.
- This Slogan and the programmes that followed it were part of Indira Gandhi's political strategy of building an independent nationwide political support base.

The Outcome and After Effect

- The results of the 1971 Lok Sabha elections were dramatic as the Congress (R) – CPI alliance won more seats and votes than the Congress had ever won in the first four general elections.
- They combine won 375 seats in Lok Sabha and secured 48.4 percent votes. Indira Gandhi's Congress (R) won 352 seats with about 44 per cent of the popular votes on its own.
- The Grand Alliance of the opposition proved a grand failure. Their combined tally of seats was less than 40.

Restoration

- Indira Gandhi in many ways had re-invented the party. Now, it was a new Congress that had emerged.
- While the Congress consolidated its position and Indira Gandhi assumed a position of unprecedented political authority, the spaces for democratic expression of people's aspirations actually shrank.
- The popular unrest and mobilisation around issues of development and economic deprivation continued to grow.

FACTS THAT MATTER

1. Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru passed away in May 1964. The 1960s were labelled as 'dangerous decade' due to some unresolved problems like poverty, inequality, communal and

regional divisions to be speculated to lead to a failure of democratic project or even the disintegration of the country.

2. India mainly faced two challenges from 1964 to 1966 during Lai Bahadur Shastri's reign like 'Economic Crisis' due to Indo-China War of 1962 and Indo-Pak War of 1965 and failed Monsoons, droughts and food crisis which was symbolised as a famous slogan to resolve the issues like 'Jai Jawan Jai Kisan'.

3. The Congress Party faced the challenge of political succession for the second time after the death of Lai Bahadur Shastri with an intense competition between Morarji Desai and Indira Gandhi to resolved through a secret ballot among Congress MPs. Indira Gandhi defeated Morarji Desai and a peaceful transition of power was seen as a 'Sign of Maturity of India's Democracy'.

4. The government of Indira Gandhi decided to devalue the Indian rupee in order to check economic crisis of 1967. Consequently, one US dollar could be purchased for less than Rs 5 after devaluation which cost more than Rs 7 to trigger a price rise and people protested against essential commodities price rise and unemployment. It was struggled even by socialist and communist parties for greater equality.

5. The Congress Party's decision of devaluation gave birth to the concept of Non-Congressism with different programmes and ideologies to form anti-Congress fronts. It was claimed to be necessary for democratic purposes.

6. The fourth general election was held in 1967, not be in favour of Congress. The political leaders like Kamraj in Tamilnadu, S.K. Patil in Maharashtra, Atulya Ghosh in West Bengal and K.B. Sahay in Bihar were defeated alongwith majority lost in other states also for the very first time any non-Congress party has secured majority including coalition government consisting of different non-Congress parties which were termed as 'Political earthquake'.

7. The election of 1967 brought the phenomenon of coalitions which was formed together by joint legislature parties to be called SVD i.e. Samyukt Vidhayak Dal. The SVD in Bihar included the two socialist parties-SSP and PSP along with CPI on the left and Jana Sangh on the right. In Punjab, it was called popular United Front and comprised the two rival Akali Parties at that time.

8. Immediately, after 1967, Indira Gandhi faced two challenges to build her independence from 'Syndicate' and to regain ground which were lost in 1967 elections by Congress. And

Indira Gandhi adopted a very bold strategy as she converted it into ideological struggle, launched a series of initiatives and got the Congress Working Committee to adopt 'Ten Point Programme' in 1967 including social control of Banks, Nationalisation of General Insurance, Ceiling on Urban Property and Income, Public Distribution of Food Grains, Land Reforms etc.

9. Syndicate was the informal name given to a group of Congress leader like K. Kamraj, S.K. Patil, N. Sanjeeva Reddy, Atulya Ghosh who were in control of Party as organisation i.e. within Congress. Syndicate had a greater say in Indira Gandhi's first council of Ministers and in Policy formulations and implementations. After split, Congress (O) and Indira led Congress (R) formed which won the popularity after 1971.

10. The formal split in Congress (Syndicate and Indira Gandhi) came into open in 1969 on nomination of candidate for president's post. Diplomatically, Indira Gandhi's candidates won over syndicate's candidate (V.V. Giri over N. Sanjeeva Reddy), which formalised the split in Congress into two separate parties i.e. Congress (O) i.e. organisation led by syndicate known as a 'Old Congress' and Congress (R) i.e. requisitionists led by Indira Gandhi known as 'New Congress'.

11. Everyone believed that real organisational strength was under command of Congress (O), on the other hand, all major parties like SSP, PSP, Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Swatantra Party and Bharatiya Kranti Dal also formed 'Grand Alliance' against Indira Gandhi with a common programme of 'Indira Hatao'.

12. In contrast to 'Indira Hatao', Indira Gandhi put forward a positive programme 'Garibi Hatao' to generate a support base among landless labourers, dalits, adivasis, minorities, women and unemployed youth as well as focused on growth of public sector, imposition of ceiling on rural land holdings and Urban property and removal of disparity etc and succeeded to build an independent nationwide political support base during election contest of 1971.

13. Indira Gandhi did not revive old Congress Party but she re-invented the party by forming an entirely different popular party to accommodate some social groups, the poor, the women, the dalits, adivasis and the minorities. Thus, Indira Gandhi restored the Congress system by changing the nature of Congress system itself.

WORDS THAT MATTER

1. **Defection:** An elected representative who leaves the Party on whose symbol, he is

elected and joins another party.

2. **Non-Congression:** Non-Congress parties along with their different programmes and ideologies together to form anti-Congress fronts.
3. **Congress (O):** Congress led by syndicated also known as Old Congress, i.e. Congress (organisation).
4. **Congress (R):** It was led by Indira Gandhi and known as New Congress, i.e. Congress (Requisitionists).
5. **Grand alliance:** It was major electoral alliance formed by major parties like SSP, PSP, Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Swatantra Party and Bharaitya Kranti Dal to form a United front.
6. **Syndicate:** A group of powerful and influential leaders from within the Congress.
7. **Ten Point Programme:** Adopted by Indira Gandhi in 1967 to regain ground for Congress including social control of banks, land reforms etc.
8. **Devaluation:** To reduce the rate at which money can be exchanged for foreign money.
9. **Political Earthquake:** The electoral verdict of fourth general election in 1967 which jolted the Congress at both the national and state levels.

Chapter 6- The Crisis of Democratic Order

Background to Emergency

- 1970's was a period of political turmoil in India. This period witnessed tensions in relationship between the government and the judiciary.
- Ideological differences erupted within the Congress and it sharpened the division between Indira Gandhi and her opponents.

Economic Context

- Congress gave the slogan of Garibi Hatao in 1971 elections. Due to various national and international factors, the social and economic condition in the country did not improve much after 1971-72.

- In such a context non-Congress opposition parties were able to organise popular protests effectively.

Gujarat and Bihar Movements

- Gujarat and Bihar were Congress ruled states. Despite this fact students from both the states started agitation against rising prices of food grains, cooking oil and other essential commodities, and against corruption in high places.
- Jai Prakash Narayan from Bihar gave a call for total revolution in the social, economic and political spheres.
- In 1975, Jai Prakash led one of the largest march to the Parliament.

The Naxalite Movement

- In 1967, a peasant uprising took place in Naxalbari area of Darjeeling (West Bengal) under the leadership of CPI (M), headed by Charu Majumdar.
- After sometime one branch broke off from them and was known as Communist Party (Maxist-Leninist) (CPI-ML). It was founded by Charu Majumdar.
- Government have taken stern measures in dealing with the Naxalite movement.

Railway Strike of 1974

- A nationwide strike by all employees of the Railways was led by George Fernandes.
- Its main demand was related to bonus and service conditions.
- The government declared the strike illegal and it had to be called off after 20 days without settlement.

Conflict with Judiciary

- 1970s witnessed a bitter relationship between legislature and judiciary.
- Constitutional Amendment and its interpretation was a pivotal point of bitter relations.
- In 1973, issue of appointment of Chief Justice of India worsened the condition.

- Highest point in controversy came when High Court declare Indira Gandhi's election invalid.

Declaration of Emergency

On 12th June, 1975, Justice Jagmohan Lai Sinha of the Allahabad High Court declared Indira Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha invalid. This decision created a political crisis.

Crisis and Response

- In response to rapid changing political situation and JP Movement, the Government of India on 25th June, 1975 recommended the imposition of emergency to President Fakrudin Ali Ahmed. The President issued the proclamation immediately.
- The emergency was proclaimed under Article 352 of the Constitution which declare a state of emergency of grounds of external threat or a threat of internal disturbances.
- The cabinet was informed about it at a special meeting at 6 am on 26th June, 1975 after all this had taken place.

Consequences ‘

- Freedom of Press and some of the Fundamental Rights of the citizens were suspended. All the ongoing protests ended, strikes were banned, opposition leaders were put in Jail.
- The Parliament also brought in many new changes to the Constitution.
- Prior approval of government was needed to publish any article or matter it is called press censorship.

Controversies regarding Emergency

- After emergency, an investigation was done by Shah Commission. It found that in some areas excess restrictions were implied during emergency.
- The government argued that in a democracy, the opposition parties must allow the elected ruling party to govern according to its policies.
- The critics say that Indira Gandhi misused constitutional provision meant for saving the country to save her personal power.

- The Shah Commission estimated that nearly one lakh people were arrested under preventive detention laws.
- Apart from the arrests of political workers and the restrictions on the press, the emergency directly affected lives of common people in many cases.

Lessons from Emergency

- It is extremely difficult to do away with democracy in India.
- 'Internal' emergency can be proclaimed only on the grounds of 'armed rebellion'. Advice to the President to proclaim it must be given in writing by the Council of Ministers.
- The emergency made everyone more aware of the value of civil liberties.

Politics after Emergency

The experience of emergency was quite visible in 1977 Lok Sabha Elections. The people's verdict was decisively against the emergency.

Lok Sabha Elections, 1977

- The Janata Party made this election into a referendum on the emergency.
- For the first time since Independence, the Congress Party was defeated in the Lok Sabha elections.
- The Congress could win only 154 seats in the Lok Sabha elections. The Janata Party and its allies won 330 out of 542 seats in the Lok Sabha; Janata Party itself won 295 seats and thus enjoyed a clear majority.

Janata Government

- After the election of 1977 there was stiff competition among three leaders for the post of Prime Minister Morarji Desai, Charan Singh and Jagjivan Ram. Finally Morarji Desai became the Prime Minister.
- The Janata Party split and the government which was led by Morarji Desai lost its majority in less than 18 months.
- Fresh Lok Sabha elections were held in 1980 in which the Janata Party suffered a comprehensive defeat and Congress Party came back in power.

Return of Congress

- By 1970s the Congress Party identified itself with a particular ideology, claiming to be the only socialist and pro-poor party.
- In an indirect manner the issue of welfare of the backward castes also began to dominate politics since 1977.
- The issue of reservations for 'other backward classes' became very controversial in Bihar and following this, the Mandal Commission was appointed by the Janata Party government at the centre.

FACTS THAT MATTER

1. The non-Congress parties opposed the Congress due to personalisation of politics. The 'Marxist-Leninist' groups were strong in West-Bengal, which used arms and insurgent techniques to overthrow capitalist order to establish political system. But the state government took stringent measures to suppress them.
2. The first nationwide Satyagraha was organised by Jayaprakash Narayan for Indira Gandhi's resignation. He made people aware not to obey illegal and 'immoral orders' by a massive demonstration in Delhi's Ramlila ground on June 25, 1975, as well as Indira Gandhi's elections were also declared invalid on grounds to use government servants inter-election campaign on an election petition filed by Raj Narain, a socialist leader.
3. Railway strike of 1974 was called by 'National Coordination Committee' led by George Fernandes for pressing their demands related to bonus and service conditions. The government declared the strike illegal and deployed the territorial army to protect railway trades. Thus, strike was called off after twenty days without any settlement.
4. Before, the declaration of emergency, many differences arose between the government and the ruling party leading to a strain between judiciary, legislature and executive on issues of intervention in constitutional provisions by government or parliament. It was proved in the case of Keshavanand Bharti, where the judiciary declared that parliament cannot amend in constitutional basic features in a controversial manner. It mixed up constitutional interpretations and political ideologies rapidly.
5. In response to Raj Narain's petition, on 25 June 1975, the government declared emergency on recommendation of Prime Minister on a ground of threat of international disturbances,

which invoked Article 352 of Constitution to bring law and order, restore efficiency and above all, implement the pro-poor welfare programmes.

6. The proclamation of Emergency in 1975 had far reaching consequences and affected every spheres of life such as:

(a) It affected civil liberties by making large-scale arrests as well as citizen's right to life and liberty were also taken away.

(b) It affected relationship between the executive and judiciary to bring new changes in the constitution by 42nd amendment like duration of legislatures, elections can be postponed by one year during an emergency.

(c) It affected Mass Media also i.e. 'Press censorship'.

7. After emergency was imposed, question and debates arose either emergency was necessary or not. The government argued that opposition party must allow elected ruling party to govern according to its policies whereas critics argued that people had the right to publicly protest against the government.

8. The State commission headed by J.C. Shah, was appointed in May 1977 by Janata Party government to enquire into several aspects of allegations of abuse of authority, excesses and malpractices committed and action taken in the wake of emergency and Shah Commission found out to be many excesses committed, maximum arrests under preventive detention law, illegal restrictions on press and verbal orders to cut electricity at 2 a.m. of all newspaper presses.

9. Emergency taught many lessons firstly, to be difficult to do away with democracy, secondly, necessary the advice to proclaim emergency in writing (by president) by council of ministers, thirdly, it made everyone more aware of the value of civil liberties.

10. As soon as the emergency was over and the Lok Sabha elections were announced in 1977 to be turned into a referendum. Hence politics after emergency was characterised by two major developments:

(a) 1977 elections defeated Congress on people's verdict against emergency and opposition fought on the slogan 'save democracy'.

(b) Midterm elections 1980 were held due to Janata Party lacked direction, leadership and a common programme as well as could not bring any fundamental change in policies pursued by Congress.

11. The legacy of emergency of 1975 was felt in every spheres of life and the politics which can be described as a period of constitutional and political crisis to have its origin in constitutional battle over the jurisdiction of the parliament and the judiciary.

WORDS THAT MATTER

1. **Emergency:** In an emergency, the federal distribution of power remain practically suspended and all powers were concentrated in the hands of Union government.
2. **Press-censorship:** Newspapers were supposed to get prior approval before publishing any material.
3. **Preventive Detention:** The people were arrested on the ground/apprehension to commit any offence in future.
4. **Marxist-Leninist:** This group was strong in West Bengal which had taken to arms and insurgent techniques for overthrow of capitalist order and established political system.
5. **Twenty Point Programme:** It was announced by Indira Gandhi to bring law and order and restore efficiency including land reforms, land redistribution, eradication of bonded labour etc.
6. **Satyagraha:** It emphasised on peaceful demonstration as if people are fighting for truthfulness and lawfulness, no need to adopt violent methods against the government or entities.

Chapter 7- Rise of Popular Movements

Nature of Popular Movements

- The nature of popular movements can be simple as well as complex. Popular movements depict a very unusual form of collective action. From time to time many popular movements took place for protest. Here some novel tactics for protest are used.
- Party Based Movements keep close association with political parties and follow their objectives and ideologies. Non-Party Movements do not keep association with any political parties and independent from specific ideologies.

Some Popular Movements

Some of the popular movements are discussed below

Chipko Movement

- Chipko movement was an environmental movement to prevent cutting down of trees. It demanded that local communities should have control over their natural resources.
- The movement began in some villages of Uttarakhand in early 1973 when the forest department refused permission to the villagers to fell ash trees for making agricultural tools.
- Issues of ecological and economic exploitation of the region were raised. Women's active participation was the most novel aspect of the movement.

Movements of Dalit Panthers

- Dalit Panthers was a militant organisation of the Dalit youth which was formed in Maharashtra in 1972.
- Their activities were mostly centred around fighting against increased atrocities on Dalits in various parts of the state. The larger ideological agenda of the panthers was to destroy the caste system and to build an organisation of all oppressed sections.
- In the post-emergency period, Dalit Panthers got involved in electoral compromises, it also underwent many splits, which led to its decline.

Growth of Bhartiya Kisan Union (BKU)

- BKU was an organisation of farmers from Western Uttar Pradesh and Haryana regions.
- The BKU demanded higher government floor prices for sugarcane and wheat, abolition of restrictions on the inter-state movement of farm produce, guaranteed supply of electricity at reasonable rates.
- Their activities to pressurise the government to accept their demands include-rallies, demonstrations, and jail bhara.
- Until the early nineties, the BKU distanced itself from all political parties.

- Unlike most of the Indian farmers who engage in agriculture for subsistence, members of the BKU grew cash crops for the market.
- Like BKU other organisation of farmers were Shetkari Sanghatana of Maharashtra and Rayata Sangha of Karnataka.

Anti-Arrack Movement

- This movement in Andhra Pradesh was a spontaneous mobilisation of women demanding a ban on the sale of alcohol in their neighbourhoods.
- In the early 1990s, the women of Dubagunta in Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh had enrolled in the Adult Literacy Drive on a large scale.
- It is during the discussion in the class that women complained of increased consumption of a locally brewed alcohol-arrack-by men in their families. Origin of Anti-arrack movement can be traced here.
- The simple demand to ban arrack touched upon larger social, economic and political issues of the region that affected women's life. This movement inspired other women's movement in later periods.

Narmada Bachao Andolan

- This movement was against displacement caused by huge development projects.
- Sardar Sarovar Project It was an ambitious developmental project, launched in the Narmada valley of Central India in early eighties.
- Numerous big and small dams was to be constructed on the Narmada and its tributaries which were concerned with three states-Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, and Maharashtra.
- Narmada Bachao Andolan was a movement to save Narmada. It was around 1988-89 that the issues crystallised under the banner of the NBA-a loose collective of all voluntary organisations.
- The movement demanded that there should be a cost-benefit analysis of major developmental projects including social costs.
- The social costs included forced resettlement of the project-affected people, a serious loss to their means of livelihood and depletion of ecological resources.

- Many considerations led the NBA to shift from its initial demand for rehabilitation to its position of total opposition to the dam.
- Narmada Bachao Aandolan continued a sustained agitation for more than twenty years.
- It use every available democratic strategy to put forward its demands.

Lessons From Popular Movements

- Popular movements helps us to understand better the nature of democratic politics.
- Popular movements ensured effective representation of diverse groups and their demands.
- Popular movements suggested new forms of active participation and thus broadened the idea of participation in India democracy.

Movement For Right to Information

- The movement started in 1990, when a mass based organisation called the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) in Rajasthan took the initiative in demanding records of famine relief work and accounts of labourers.
- In 1994 and 1996, the MKSS organised Jan Sunwais or Public Hearings, where the administration was asked to explain its stand in public.
- In 1996 MKSS formed National Council for People's Right to Information in Delhi to raise RTI to the status of a national campaign.
- In 2002, a weak Freedom of Information Act was legislated but never came into force. In 2004 RTI Bill was tabled and received presidential assent in June 2005.

FACTS THAT MATTER

1. A protest against commercial logging to be permitted by the government, began a world famous environmental movement i.e. Chipko Movement by both men and women on refusal of permission to villagers to fell ash trees for agricultural tools and allotted the same land to sports manufacturer. It included a novel aspect in the form of active participation of women with the agenda of social issues.

2. On dissatisfaction with the attitude of the government, people come together and raise voice to fulfil their demands. These movements are either party based and non-party based movements. Party based movements are supported by political parties (Trade Union Movement in Kolkata, Kanpur, Bombay etc.) and non-party based movements are based on the loss of faith in existing democratic institutions or electoral politics (Students and Youth from different sections merge themselves).
3. Non-party movements emerged due to disillusion among many sections of society, failure of Janata experiment, a Gulf between Urban industrial sector, political instability, existence of social inequality and sense of injustice.
4. Dalit Panthers was a militant organisation of Dalit Youth to be formed in 1972 in Maharashtra. Dalit Panthers addressed the issues to fight against caste-based inequalities, demanded effective implementation of reservations and social justice by restoring a mass action in various states.
5. Bharatiya Kisan Union was one of leading farmers movement in the form of agrarian struggle of farmers against process of liberalisation of Indian Economy. The BKU demanded higher government floor prices, abolition of restrictions, guaranteed supply of electricity and the provision of a government pension to farmers.
6. The Anti-Drunk Movement was started by rural women in the state of Andhra Pradesh against alcoholism, mafias by a mobilisation of women to ban on the sale of alcohol. This movement openly discussed the issues of domestic violence like dowry, sexual violence etc.
7. Narmada Bachao Andolan was a loose collective local organisation's movement to save river Narmada. It opposed the construction of multipurpose dam known as Narmada Sagar project questioned ongoing developmental projects also. NBA was shifted from its initial demand for rehabilitation to total opposition to the Dam. It achieved comprehensive National Rehabilitation Policy 2003 by government.
8. The movements are not only about rallies or protests but these involve a gradual process of coming together by making people aware of their rights and expectations to contribute in the expansion of democracy rather than causing disruptions.
9. The movement for right to information started in 1990 on demand of records of famine relief work and accounts of labourers by Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS). Finally, it was legislated and became a law in 2005.

WORDS THAT MATTER

1. **Party-based Movements:** These movements are supported by political parties but activists do not participate in elections formally.
2. **Non-party Based Movements:** These movements involve a mass-mobilisation which remain outside party politics.
3. **MKSS:** It was Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan which demanded records of famine, relief work and accounts of labourers.
4. **Dalit Panthers:** A militant organisation of Dalit Youth formed in 1972 in Maharashtra against caste based inequalities and social injustice.

Chapter 8- Regional Aspirations

Region and the Nation: Indian Approach

- The Indian approach in nation building is to balance the principles of unity and diversity. The nation would not mean the negation of the region.
- The one basic principle of the Indian approach to diversity is, the Indian Nation shall not deny the rights of different regions and linguistic groups to retain their own culture.
- India adopted a democratic approach to the question of diversity. Democracy allows the political expressions of regional aspirations and does not look upon them as anti-national.
- Democratic politics also means that regional issues and problems will receive adequate attention and accommodation in the policy making process.
- Soon after Independence, Jammu and Kashmir and some parts of North-East faced mass agitations in many parts for separation from India.
- These events were followed by mass movement in many parts for the formation of linguistic states, such as Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Gujarat.

- In some parts of Southern India, there were protests against making Hindi the official language of the country.
- With the passage of time the challenge of diversity was met by redrawing the internal boundaries of the country.

Jammu and Kashmir

- The 'Kashmir issue' is always seen as a major issue between India and Pakistan.
- Jammu and Kashmir comprises three social and political regions. Jammu-a mix of foothills and plains, Kashmir- heart of Kashmir region; Ladakh-mountainous region with very little population which is equally divided between Buddhists and Muslims.
- Before 1947, Jammu and Kashmir was a Princely State. The state was having majority population of Muslims but Hari Singh was a Hindu ruler of the state.
- In October 1947, Pakistan sent tribal infiltrators from its side to capture Kashmir. This forced Hari Singh to ask for Indian military help.
- Indian Army successfully drove out infiltrators from Kashmir valley and Hari Singh signed an Instrument of Accession¹ with the Government of India.
- It was agreed that once the situation will be normalised, the views of the people of Jammu and Kashmir will be ascertained about their future and India agreed to maintain the autonomy of Jammu and Kashmir.

External and Internal Disputes

- Externally, Pakistan has always claimed that Kashmir valley should be part of Pakistan.
- Pakistan sponsored a tribal invasion of the State of 1947 and consequence of it, a part of the state came under Pakistani control.
- India claims this area under illegal occupation whereas Pakistan describes this area as 'Azad Kashmir.'
- Internally, there is a dispute about the status of Kashmir within the Indian Union.

- Article 370 gives greater autonomy to J&K compared to other state of India. State has its own Constitution.
- The special attention provokes two opposite reactions.
- A section of people outside J&K feels that Article 370 should therefore be revoked and J&K should be like any other state in India.
- Another section, mostly Kashmiries, believe that autonomy conferred by Article 370 is not enough.

Politics Since 1948

- Between 1953 and 1974, the Congress Party exercised a lot of influence on the politics of the state.
- National Conference remained in power with the active support of Congress for some time but later it merged with the Congress. Thus, Congress gained direct control over the government of the state.
- In 1974, Indira Gandhi reached an agreement with Sheikh Abdullah and he became the Chief Minister of the State.
- Farooq Abdullah succeeded after death of his father as Chief Minister in 1982.
- Farooq Abdullah was soon dismissed by the Governor, his dismissal due to the intervention of the centre generated a feeling of resentment in Kashmir.
- Ups and down in state politics continued till 1986 when National Conference agreed to have an electoral alliance with the Congress.

Insurgency and Effect

- In 1987 assembly election the National Conference-Congress alliance gained a massive victory and Farooq Abdullah returned as Chief Minister.
- By 1989, the state had come in grip of a militant movement mobilised around the cause of a separate Kashmir nation.

- Throughout the period from 1990, J&K experienced violence at the hands of the insurgents and through army action.
- In 2002 J&K experienced a fair election in which National Conference was replaced by People's Democratic Party (PDP)-Congress coalition government.

Separatism

- Separatism surfaced in Kashmir from 1989 and is made up of various strands.
- One strand of separatists wanted a separate Kashmir nation, independent of India and Pakistan.
- Jammu and Kashmir is one of the living examples of plural society and politics.
- Despite diversities and divergence on the one hand and the continued situation of conflict on the other, the plural and secular culture of the state has remained largely intact.

Punjab

- The decade of 1980s witnessed major developments in the State of Punjab.
- Social composition of the state was changed first with partition and later-after the carving out of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.
- The Akali Dal, which was formed in 1920 as the political wing of the Sikhs, had led the movement for the formation of a 'Punjabi Suba.'
- Punjab had to wait till 1966 to be reorganised on linguistic lines for the creation of a Punjabi speaking state.

Political Context

- After the reorganisation, the Akalis came to power in 1967 and then in 1977.
- During the 1970s a section of Akalis began to demand political autonomy for the region. This was reflected in a resolution passed in a conference at Anandpur Sahib in 1973.

Cycle of Violence

- The militants made their headquarters inside the Sikh holy shrine, the Golden Temple in Amritsar and turned it into an armed fortress.
- In June 1984, the Government of India carried out 'Operation Blue Star' code name for army action in the Golden temple in which the government could successfully flush out the militants.
- In this operation temple was damaged, which hurt the Sikh sentiments and their faith was betrayed.
- Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated on 31st October, 1984 outside her residence by her Sikh bodyguards as a revenge of 'Operation Blue Star.'
- In many parts of Northern India violence broke give space out against Sikh community and continued for almost a week which results in the killings of more than two thousand Sikhs.

Road to Peace

- In 1984, The new Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi initiated a dialogue with moderate Akali leaders and in July 1985 a peace agreement was signed between Rajiv Gandhi and Harchand Singh Longowal (the President of Akali Dal).
- The agreement known as Rajiv Gandhi- Longowal Accord or the Punjab Accord.
- The cycle of violence continued nearly for a decade and peace returned to Punjab by the middle of 1990s. The alliance of Akali Dal (Badal) and the BJP scored a major victory in 1997, in the first normal elections in the state in the post militancy era.

The North-East

- The North-East region of the country now consists of seven states, also referred to as the 'seven sister.'
- The region witnessed a lot of change in 1947. The entire region of North-East has undergone considerable political reorganisation.
- The vast international border and weak communication between the North-East and the rest of India have added to the delicate nature of politics there.

- Three issues dominate the politics of North-East: demands for autonomy, movements for secession and opposition to 'outsiders,'

Demands for Autonomy

- At the time of independence the entire region except Manipur and Tripura comprised the State of Assam.
- There were opposition and protest riots throughout the state on various issues.
- At different points of time the Central Government had to create Meghalaya, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh out of Assam.
- The reorganisation of the North-East was completed by 1972.

Secessionist Movements

- For autonomy there were secessionist movements in North-East region like Mizoram and Nagaland etc.
- After independence, the Mizo hills area was made an autonomous district within Assam.
- Movement for secession gained popular support after the Assam Government 'failed to respond adequately to great famine of 1959 in Mizo hills.'
- Mizo's anger led to formation of Mizo National Front (MNF) under the leadership of Laldenga.
- MNF fought guerilla war, got support from Pakistani Government and secured shelter in East Pakistan.
- In 1986 a peace agreement was signed between Rajiv Gandhi and Laldenga.
- This accord granted Mizoram as full fledged statehood with special powers, and MNF agreed to give up secessionist struggle.
- Thus, the accord turn Mizoram as one of the most peaceful places in the region.
- The story of Nagaland is similar to Mizoram except that started much earlier and had not yet such a happy ending.

- After a section of violent insurgency a section of the Nagas signed an agreement with the Government of India but it was not acceptable to other rebels.

Movements Against Outsiders

- The large scale migration into the North-East gave rise to a special kind of problem that pitted the 'local' communities against people who were seen as 'outsiders' or migrants.
- The issue has taken political and sometimes violent form in many states of North- East.
- The Assam movement from 1979 to 1985 is the best example of such movements against 'outsiders'.
- In 1979, the All Assam Students' Union (AASU), a students' group not affiliated to any party, led an anti-foreigner movement. Movement demanded, outsiders who had entered the state after 1951 should be sent back.
- With the successful completion of the movement, the AASU and the Asom Gana Sangram Parishad organised themselves as a regional political party called Asom Gana Parishad (AGP), which came to power in 1985 with the promise of resolving the foreign national problem as well as to build a 'Golden Assam.'

Sikkim's Merger

- At the time of independence Sikkim was a 'protectorate (A state that is controlled and protected by other) of India. Chogyal was its monarch.
- In 1975, Sikkim was merged with India and it became the 22nd State of the Indian Union.

Accommodation and National Integration

- Regional aspirations are very much a part of democratic politics. Expression of regional issues is not an aberration or an abnormal phenomenon.
- The best way to respond to regional aspirations is through democratic negotiations rather than through suppression.
- Regional imbalance in economic development contributes to the feeling of regional discrimination.

Goa's Liberation

- After independence 1947, British withdrew but Portuguese who were ruling since 16th century in Goa, Daman and Diu refused to withdraw themselves.
- Goa was liberated in 1961 from Portuguese by an army operation. Goa, Daman and Diu was declared an Union Territories.

FACTS THAT MATTER

1. 1980s may be seen as a period of rising regional aspirations creating various regional movements which conclude in a negotiated settlement or accords between the government's groups. Indian approach maintained a balance in the principles of unity and diversity even by redrawing the internal boundaries of country in response to preserve the culture of different regions and linguistic groups.
2. Immediately after independence, India had to cope up with the issues of partition, displacement, integration of princely states and reorganisation of states i.e. Jammu and Kashmir issues political aspiration, North-East had no consensus to be a part of India and Dravidian movement briefly toyed with the idea of separate country.
3. Jammu and Kashmir comprised of three social and political regions namely Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh region. On the issue of regional autonomy, Accession was promised on reference of people. Special federal status guaranteed by Article 370, to protect regional autonomy.
4. During most of the period between 1953 to 1974, Congress exercised a lot of influence on the politics of Jammu and Kashmir. Finally, in 1974, Sheikh became Chief Minister of the state. Except it, from 1989, separatist politics was also surfaced in Kashmir with the stronger demand for intrastate autonomy rather than state autonomy. In present scenario, most of separatist in dialogue are trying to re-negotiate a relationship of the state with India.
5. In Punjab, Anandpur Sahib Resolution was passed at the conference of Akali Dal at Anandpur Sahib in 1973 to ascertain regional autonomy and to redefine centre-state relationship. It had a limited appeal and Akali government was dismissed in 1980. Afterwards, the movement launched by Akali Dal took the form of armed insurgency and resolution became controversial.
6. In 1985, Punjab accord was signed between Rajiv Gandhi and Harchand Singh Longowal, President of Akali Dal to transfer Chandigarh, appointment of a commission to resolve border

dispute and agreement for compensation to better treatment. But peace did not come easily, violence led many excesses and fragmentation of Akali Dal. Hence, it led to president's rule in the state. In 1997, first normal elections in Punjab were held in post militancy era and alliance of Akali Dal and BJP scored a major victory.

7. The North-East region consisted of seven states referred to as 'Seven Sisters'. The reorganisation of North-East was complete by 1972 but did not end the autonomy demands i.e. Bodos, Karbis, Dimasas demanded separate state in Assam and issues were resolved with the grant of some autonomy to these issues. Even 'Assam Accord' was signed over the issue of 'Outsiders' in Assam in 1985.

8. The Assam movement was combination of cultural pride and economic backwardness as it was against outsiders to maintain cultural integration and poverty, unemployment also existed despite natural resources like oil, tea and coal.

9. Regional aspirations range from demands of statehood and economic development to autonomy and separation were coming up which taught many lessons to us i.e. expression of regional issues is not abnormal phenomenon, to respond through democratic negotiations, power sharing among groups and parties, economic development of region and flexible federal system.

10. Goa was under the Portuguese along with Daman and Diu, which expected freedom in 1947 but Portuguese refused. Goa wanted to be merged with motherland and suppressed from religious conversions and civil rights known as 'Goa Problem'. In 1961, Government of India sent army under 'Operation Vijay' and liberated Goa from Portugal rule and in 1987, Goa attained the status of 'State' position.

WORDS THAT MATTER

1. **Instrument of Accession:** An accord signed between Maharaja of Kashmir and government of India on the accession of state.
2. **Insurgency:** An affair to be directed against one's own constitutional government within national boundary with the support of local people.
3. **Khalistan:** A separate state of Sikh community to maintain the autonomous Sikh identity.

4. **Operation Blue Star:** A code name for army action in Golden Temple in June 1984 by Government of India when Sikh militants made their headquarters inside Golden Temple.
5. **Seven Sisters:** It is referred to seven states of North East region to be referred as Seven Sisters.
6. **Mizo National Front (MNF):** It was formed in 1959 by the groups of Mizo under the leadership of Laldenga for autonomous States of Mizos.

Chapter 9- Recent Developments in Indian Politics

Context of the 1990s

- After the assassination of Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister and he led the Congress to a massive victory in the Lok Sabha elections held in 1984.
- The decade of the eighties witnessed five developments that left a long-lasting impact on our politics. These were:
 - The defeat of the Congress party in the elections held in 1989.
 - Rise of the 'Mandal Issue' in national politics.
 - The economic policy (also known as new economic policy) followed by various governments.
 - A number of events culminated in the demolition of the disputed structure at Ayodhya (known as Babri Masjid) in December, 1992.
 - The assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991 led to a change in leadership of the Congress party.

Decline of Congress

- During late sixties, the dominance of the Congress party was challenged, but the Congress under the leadership of Indira Gandhi, managed to re-establish its predominant position.

- After elections of 1989 political development in India initiated an era of coalition governments at the centre in which regional parties played a crucial role in forming ruling alliances.

Alliance Politics

- Elections in 1989 led to the new development in Indian politics and era of coalition government started.
- Regional parties played an important role in the United Front government that came to power in 1996.
- The BJP continued to consolidate its position in the elections of 1991 and 1996 and it emerged as the largest party in the 1996 election and was invited to form government.
- With the elections of 1989, a long phase of coalition politics began in India. Since then, there have been nine governments at the centre, all of which have either been coalition governments or minority governments supported by other parties.

Political Rise of Other Backward Classes

- When the support for the Congress among many sections of the 'backward castes' had declined, this created a space for non-Congress parties to get their support.
- Many of the constituents of the Janata party, like the Bhartiya Kranti Dal and the Samyukta party, had a powerful rural base among some sections of the OBC.

'Mandal' Implemented

- The period of 1980s-90s saw the emergence of many parties that sought better opportunities for OBCs in education and employment and also raised the question of the share of power enjoyed by the OBCs.
- The Mandal commission was set-up to investigate the extent of educational and social backwardness among various sections of Indian society.
- After investigation the commission recommended reserving 27 per cent of seats in educational institutions and government jobs for these groups.
- In August 1990, the national front government implemented the recommendations of

Political Fallouts

1980 onwards the caste based politics dominated Indian politics. In 1989 and 1991, this was the first time in independent India that a political party (BSP) supported by Dalit voters had achieved a landmark political success.

In Many Parts of India, Dalit politics and OBC politics have developed independently and often in competition with each other.

Communalism, Secularism, Democracy

- During 1990s the politics based on religious identity emerged in India and debate about secularism and democracy came in currency. After Shah Bano case of 1985 BJP emerged as a 'Hindutva Party'.
- The Babri Masjid was a 16th century mosque in Ayodhya and was built by Mir Baqi - Mughal emperor Babur's General.
- Some Hindus believe that it was built after demolishing a temple for Lord Rama.
- The dispute took the form of a court case and has continued for many decades.
- The Babri Masjid was demolished on 6th December, 1992. After demolition, the news led to clashes between the Hindus and Muslims in many parts of the country.
- In February-March, 2002, large-scale violence against Muslims took place in Gujarat. The violence began from Godhra.
- This incident alert us to the dangers involved in using religious sentiments for political purposes.

Emergence of a New Consensus

- Analysis shows that since 1989 election, the votes polled by the two parties-Congress and BJP do not add upto more than 50 per cent.
- The political competition during the nineties is divided between the coalition led by BJP and the coalition led by the Congress.

Lok Sabha Elections 2004

In 2004 elections, the coalition led by BJP National Democratic Alliance was defeated and new coalition led by the Congress, known as the United Progressive Alliance came to power.

Growing Consensus

- After 1990 a consensus appears to have emerged among most parties which consists of following elements
 - Agreement on new economic policies.
 - Acceptance of the political and social claims of the backward castes.
 - Acceptance of the role of state level parties in governance of the country.
 - Emphasis on pragmatic considerations rather than ideological positions and political alliances without ideological agreement.
 - They also work as a pressure groups in Indian politics.
 - Sometimes regional parties influence the Central Government to divert more annual budget funds to their states at the expense of other states.

FACTS THAT MATTER

1. During the decade of eighties, five developments took place in country with long lasting impact i.e. End of Congress system in 1980, Mandal Issues in 1990, New Economic Reforms in 1991, Ayodhya dispute in 1992 and Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in 1991.
2. Elections in 1989 led an era of coalitions with the defeat of Congress Party and it emerged several parties when no single party secured a clear majority of seats in any Lok Sabha election held since 1989 and in this era, regional parties played a crucial role in forming ruling alliances.
3. The nineties also saw the emergence of powerful parties and movements to represent the Dalits and backward castes as well as regional assertions. Now, there have been nine governments at the centre which have either been coalition government or minority governments supported by other parties or regional parties only.
4. The Mandal Issue started with the national front government's decision to implement the recommendation of Mandal Commission that jobs in central government should be reserved

for other backward classes leading to violent anti-mandal protest in country between supporters and opponents of OBC reservations.

5. The constituents of Janata Party like Bharatiya Kranti Dal and the 'Samyukt Socialist Party' had a powerful rural base among some sections of the OBCs as well as BAMCEF, i.e. Backward and Minority Classes Employees Federation was formed in 1978 taking strong position in favour of political power to Bahujan—the SC, ST, OBCs and minorities. It resulted the rise of the (BSP) Bahujan Samaj Party under the leadership of Kanshi Ram.

6. Hindutva literally means Hinduism defined by its originator V.D. Savarkar as basis of Indian nationhood to be members of Indian nation everyone must not only accept India as their fatherland 'Pitrubhu' but also as their hold land 'Punjabhu'.

7. Ayodhya Issue was started with the demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya in December 1992 to symbolise various changes in politics and debates about Indian nationalism and secularism. These developments are associated with the rise of BJP and Politics of 'Hindutva'.

8. The Political processes after the 1990s showed the emergence of broadly four groups of parties i.e. parties in coalition with Congress, parties in alliance with BJP, left front parties, others who are not part of the rest to make political competition multi-concerned.

9. The Anti-Muslim Riots took place in the form of violence against Muslims through an incident at a station called Godhra 2002 when a bogey, full of Karsevaks was set on fire and suspected the hand of Muslims in it. Human Rights Commission criticised Gujarat government's role in failing to control violence and showed that government machinery also becomes susceptible to passion and alert us to dangers involved in using religious sentiments for political purposes.

10. In the midst of severe competition and many conflicts, a consensus appears to have emerged among most parties consisting of main four elements, i.e. Agreement or new economic policies, acceptance of political and social claims of backward classes, acceptance of role of state level Parties in governance of country and emphasis on pragmatic considerations rather than ideological positions and political alliances without ideological agreement.

11. In coalition government, several political parties cooperate reducing the dominance of any one party within that coalition. In it, government is formed on the basis of common minimum programme. The main reason behind this arrangement is that no party gets majority on its own in the Parliament. Coalition government is also created in the time of national crisis such

as wartime or economic crisis. If a coalition collapses, confidence vote is held or a motion of no-confidence is taken.

Coalition government in context of India from 2004-2009 and 2009-2014 respectively: After the parliamentary elections in May 2014, National Democratic Alliance (NDA) came into power with Mr. Narendra Modi as the Prime Minister. Although the BJP had got full majority on its own. At the national level, the first coalition government of India was formed under the Prime Ministership of Morarji Desai that existed from 24 March, 1977 to 15 July 1979 headed by the Janta party. This government could not complete its tenure. The first coalition government in India which successfully completed its 5 year term was the Bharatiya Janata Party-led National Democratic Alliance with Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee as Prime Minister from 1999-2004. The other coalition, the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) consisted of thirteen separate parties from all over the country ruled for two terms successfully.

WORDS THAT MATTER

- 1. OBC:** It signifies other Backward classes other than SC, ST to be suffered from educational, social and economic backwardness.
- 2. BAMCEF:** It refers to Backward and Minority Classes' Employees Federation to be formed in 1978 to mark the rise of political organisation of Dalits.
- 3. Karseva:** Voluntary service by devotees for building Ram Temple in Ayodhya.
- 4. Mandal Commission:** It was set up in 1978 to investigate the extent of educational and social backwardness among various section of society and recommend various ways to identify these 'backward classes'.



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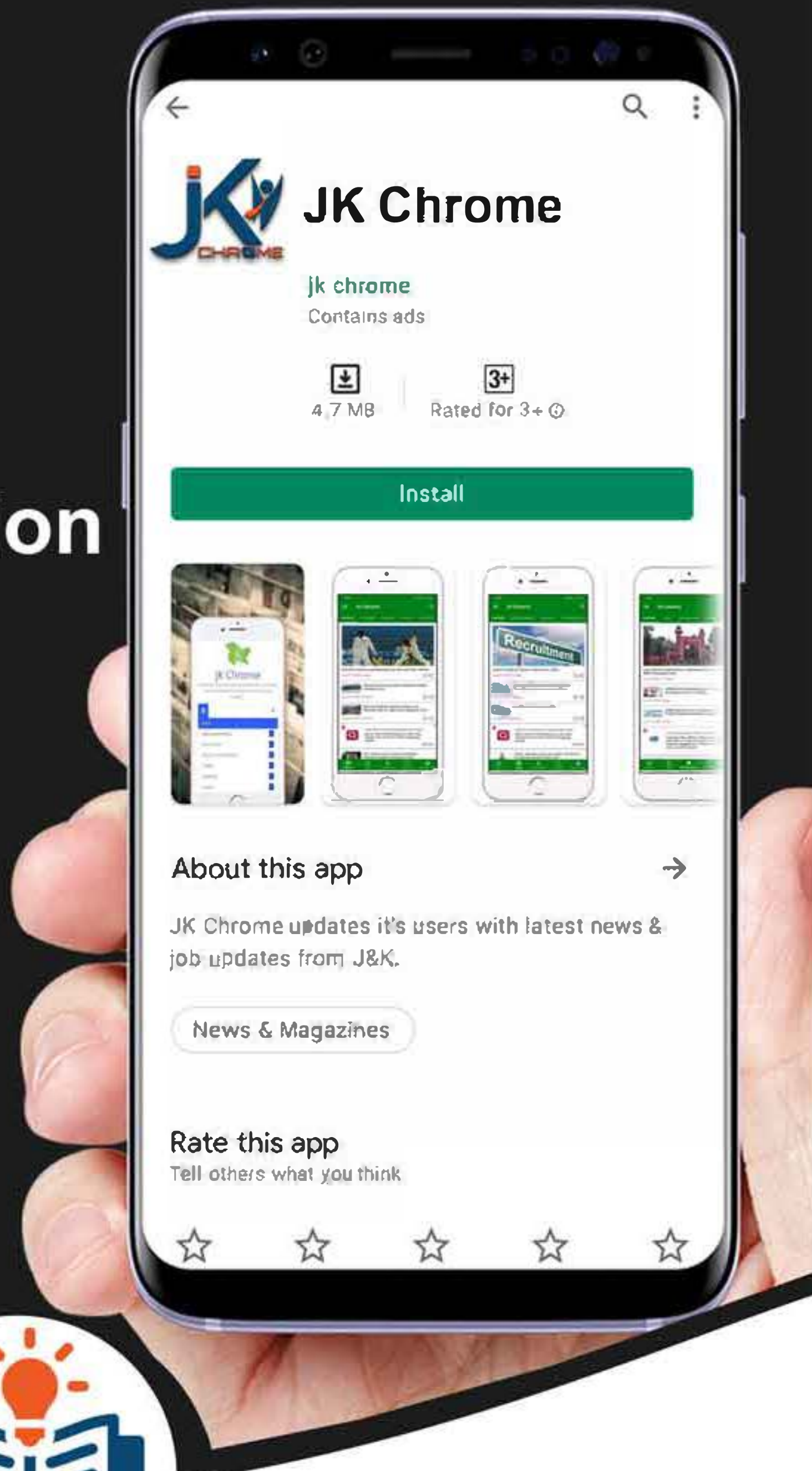
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