# F.Y.B.A.
# POLITICAL PAPER - I
# INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM
# SEMESTER - II

## SUB TITLE - INDIAN POLITICAL PROCESS

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**Prof. Suhas Pednekar**
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Mumbai,

**Prof. Ravindra D. Kulkarni**       **Prof. Prakash Mahanwar**
Pro Vice-Chancellor,                 Director,
University of Mumbai,                 IDOL, University of Mumbai,

| | |
|---|---|
| **Programme Co-ordinator** | **: Anil R. Bankar**<br>Associate Professor of History and<br>Head Faculty of Arts,<br>IDOL, University of Mumbai |
| **Course Co-ordinator** | **: Mr. Bhushan R. Thakare**<br>Assistant Prof. IDOL,<br>University of Mumbai,<br>Mumbai-400 098 |
| **Course Writer** | **: Dr. Ravi Rameshchandra Shukla (Editor)**<br>Asst. Prof. & Head, Dept. of Political Science<br>R.D. and S.H. National College and<br>S.W.A. Science College ,<br>Bandra (W), Mumbai |
| | **: Vishakha Patil**<br>Asst. Prof. Kelkar Education Trust's<br>V.G. Vaze College of Arts, Science and Commerce,<br>Mithagar Road, Mulund (W), Mumbai |
| | **: Mr. Roshan Maya Verma**<br>Asst. Prof. Habib Educational and Welfare Society's<br>M.S. College of Law |
| | **: Mr. Aniket Mahendra Rajani Salvi**<br>Asst. Prof. Department of Political Science<br>Bhavans College, Andheri (W), Mumbai |

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# Unit -1

## INDIAN FEDERAL SYSTEM

**Unit Structure**

1.1 Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Meaning and Definition

1.4 Characteristics of Indian Federalism

## 1.1 OBJECTIVES:

- To study and understand the concept of federalism.
- To understand the difference between Union and Federal governments
- To understand the Nature of Federalism
- To understand main features of Indian Federalism

## 1.2 INTRODUCTION:

Federalism is a type of government in which the power is divided between the national government and other governmental units. It contrasts with a unitary government, in which central authority holds the power and a confederation, in which state for example are clearly dominant. That is why the unitary and federal government is the most popular form of political administration. In unitary form of governments, all the powers are concentrated in national government. The regional or provincial units derive their power from national government. Whereas, in a federal system of government the power have been divided between central and federating units or states. The power in a federal government is divided by the constitution itself, and both in their respective jurisdiction independently. Norway, China, Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Belgium, Sweden, Spain etc. are some of the examples of the unitary government. Whereas, Brazil, Russia, Canada, Argentina, Switzerland, Australia, US are some of the examples of the federal form of government.

It depends up to the administrative and political suitability of a country to adopt federal or unitary model of polity. However, India has adopted a mixed model comprising the best features from both

types of systems. The very first Article 1 of the Indian constitution terms, 'India, that is Bharat shall be the union of the states.' Thus the constitution describes India, as the 'Union of States'. According to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, 'the phrase 'Union of States' have been preferred to 'Federation of States' to indicate two things:

(a) the Indian federation is not the results of an agreement among the states like the American federation,

(b) The state has no right no right to secede from the federation. The federation is union because it is indestructible.[i]

That is why it is regarded as a 'quasi - federal' country. It is federal in form because of duel governments at at centre and state, duel legislature being Indian parliament and states legislature but unitary in spirit for having single constitution, citizenship, judiciary, role of governor etc.

## 1.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION:

The Indian federal system is based on Canadian model and not on American model.[ii] Some of the leading experts of Indian constitution have defined the Indian federal system as under:

1. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar observed that, 'the constitution if a Federal constitution in as much as it establishes a duel polity. The Union is not a league of states, united in a loose relationship, nor are the states the agencies of the union deriving powers from it'.[iii]

2. K. C. Where described the constitution of Indian, 'Quasi Federal'. Further, he remarked that, 'Indian Union is a unitary state with subsidiary federal features rather than a federal state with subsidiary unitary features.'[iv]

Thus, Indian federalism is an unique blend of the federal and unitary ideas. Granville Austin called the Indian federalism as 'cooprative federalism'.[v] A new kind of federation to meet India's peculiar needs.

## 1.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN FEDERAL SYSTEM:

The federal system in India has been adopted mainly due to its large size, social- cultural diversity and needs of the people across the length and width of the nation. Following points can be enumerated as the salient features of the Indian federalism:

**1. Political Dualism:**

Indian federal system makes of two levels of political authority. The first level is federal of Centre and then the states as a peripheral or federating unit at provincial levels. The central government is custodian of national sovereignty, whereas the state governments look after the local and regional matters of law and order, development, civic facilities etc. The central government is run by the council of ministers, headed by the prime minister. At the state level it is done by the council of ministers, headed by the chief minister. The president of India is the head of the country, whereas the governor nominated by him heads the states. There is a union parliament to discharge legislative functions at central level and legislative assemblies for the states. Thus, Indian polity is designed as duel polity for structural and functional purposes.

**2. Division of Power:**

In a federal system of government, it is necessary to divide the power between centre and state governments. The constitution of India has very clearly divided the legislative, administrative and financial powers. The list of legislative powers between centre and state are divided as the Union list, State list, Concurrent list and Residuary powers. Administrative machinery is jointly as well as separately looked after by the staff of All India Services and State Government officers. The allocation of financial resources is done as per the guideline of the finance commission of India, which is a Constitution body.

**3. Bicameralism:**

The Indian parliamentary system is inspired by the Westminster model (British Parliament), which provides of two chambers in parliament. In Britain it is known as the House of lords (Upper House) and House of Commons (Lower house). In India also we have Upper House (Rajysabha) and Lower house (Loksabha). The members of the Lok sabha are directly elected by the people. However, the members of the Rajysabha are elected by the state assemblies for respective states. At the state level there is provision of a assembly, with exception of a few states with a bicameral arrangements, i.e. Maharashtra, UP, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana Karnataka and erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir. Under Article 169 of the Constitution, the parliament may by a law create or abolish the legislative council of a state, if the state assembly also passes such resolution. In 1986 the Assembly of Tamil Nadu state has abolished the legislative council of the state.

**4. Strong Centre:**

The federal system of India has a federal character with unitary bias. The balance of power between both is clearly tilted in favour of the Union government. Through Legislative, Executive and

Financial controls the Union government dominates the power and will of the states, i.e. Role of Governor, list of legislative powers, Role of All India Services officers, Finance Commission, NITI ayog etc.

### 5. Integrated and Independent Judiciary:

The constitution provides for establishment of an independent judiciary. It is single integrated institution, without any federal features. The apex judiciary that is Supreme Court of India heads all the judicial institutions. Right from District or Session court to High Court to Supreme Court the judicial system functions as one single hierarchy. The judiciary has got the power to review and interpret the Constitution. It settles the disputes between the states and centre or between the states. Judges are secured from any kind of political or administrative interference. They enjoy fixed tenure and perks as per the Constitutional guideline. Hence they act freely and fearlessly.

### 6. No Equality of states representation:

In US the principle pf equality of representation of states in the Upper house is fully recognized. Thus the American senate has 100 members, two from each state. This principle is not followed in India, neither in Upper House nor in lower house. Indian Constitution provides for representation on the grounds of population. That is why we have states like Sikkim with single member in Lok Sabha and UP with 80 members. At the same time there representation in the Rajya Sabha also varies, as per the strength of the state assembly. Therefore, the principle of equality are not followed. We have followed more practical method of quantifying the demography over geography as the principle of representation for the states.

**Check Your Progress:-**
1. Explain the concept of Union and Federal governments.
2. What are the main characteristics of Indian Federal system?

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# II. Centre - State Relations in India

**Chapter Scheme:**
1. Introduction
2. Legislative Relations
3. Administrative relations
4. Financial Relations
5. Conclusion

**Introduction:**
The constitution of India is federal in nature with unitary bias. It has carefully laid down the procedure of separation of Legislative, Administrative and Financial power between centre and state. However, there is no separation of Judicial power. Hence, India has a single integrated judiciary. The centre and state are given full liberty in their areas of functions. But in case of any excess or violation of the constitution it is possible to restrict them. Thus, the constitution provides a detailed roadmap for the conduct of the centre - state relation in India. The centre - state relations can be studied as follows:

➢ **Legislative Relations (Art. 245 to 255 of Part XI)**
➢ **Administrative Relations (Art. 256 to 263 of Part XI)**
➢ **Financial Relations (Art. 268 to 293 of Part XII)**

The scheme for demarcation of powers through three list. The union list details the subjects on which Parliament may make laws. The state list gives details of subjects under state legislature and the concurrent list has subjects in which both Parliament and state legislature have jurisdiction. The constitution also provides primacy to Parliament on concurrent list items. If there is a conflict, a central law will override a state law.[vi] Still there are laws enacted by the Union Parliament which leads to conflict between the centre and state. For example, the Right to free and compulsory Education Act. Was passed by Parliament in 2009. The provision of financial burden on states is a matter of concern and dispute. Another challenge before the centre arises is of maintaining the uniformity of law while implementing it in different states with different conditions. The centre - state relationship, thus can be examined as under:

**1. Legislative Relations (Art. 245 to 255 of Part XI) :**
Article 245 to 255 of Part XI of the Indian Constitution provides for the main provisions of the centre- state legislative relations. Besides, these articles, there are other provisions as well regulating this area. The Centre - state legislative relations cover the territorial extent of this legislation. In that, the states have been authorized to legislate within the territorial limit of that particular region. Also the

President of India and Governor of the state have power to direct the government to not to apply any particular law in the state.

It provides for distribution of the legislative subjects as:

**(I) Union List:** Parliament has exclusive powers to make laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the list. The union list has 100 items (originally 97) like defense, banking, foreign affairs, atomic energy, communications, census etc. The state does not have power to make laws in the union list. However, if any such legislation required by more than two states, it can be represented in Rajya Sabha for the purpose of making laws therein.

**(II) State List:** The state list has got 61 subjects (originally 66 subjects). 'in normal circumstances' the state has exclusive power to make laws in this list. Sometimes in case of emergency, the Union Parliament or the President of India through an ordinance make a law in the state list also.

**(III) Concurrent List:** There are certain subject who is important for both Centre and State governments. Such subjects have been kept under the concurrent list. At present 52 subjects are kept in this list (originally 47 subjects).

Also there are provisions for Parliamentary legislation in the state list, in cases of issue being a matter of national or international importance or the subjects between two or more states.

**2. Administrative Relations (Art. 256 to 263 of Part XI)**
Art. 256 to 263 deals with the provisions of administrative relations between the centre and the states. It has specifically distributed the administrative power as following:

I. The state has absolute liberty over its administration, except in case of 'special circumstances'. The state has their own cadre of staff, recruited for this purpose. Also the union government is duty bound to manage the administrative affairs of central government, with the help of All India Services officers.

II. As per Art. 365 of the constitution, the state are under obligation to follow the central governments administrative guideline. Also, 'if the president is satisfied that the constitutional machinery in the state has failed, through a report of governor or otherwise' he may impose President rule under Art. 356 of the constitution.

III. Center may also issue directives and advisory to the states for cooperating with the centre government and following the laws made therein

IV. As per Art. 263 the President can establish an inter- sate council to investigate and discuss the subjects of common importance.

## 3. Financial Relations (Art. 268 to 293 of Part XII)

The financial powers of the centre are greater that those of the states. However, the extent of power to legislate laws is as following:

I. The union Parliament has only got the power to levy taxes on the subjects, which is mentioned in the list.

II. The state government can impose taxes on the subjects it deals with state subjects only.

Nevertheless, the clear cut division of sources of revenue between the federal and the state governments makes each other financially independent of each other. Therefore, the Constitution has made elaborate provisions regarding distribution of the revenue between centre and the states. They are as under:

**1. Duties levied by the Union but Collected and appropriated by the states:**
Stamp duties and toilet preparations are levied by the Government of India, collected and appropriated by the states, within there territorial jurisdiction. Union territories are exempted from such provisions under Art. 268.

**2. Taxes Levied and Collected by the Union but Assigned to the states,** within which they are imposed. It includes Succession duty on non- agricultural property, Estate duty on non- agricultural land, Terminal taxes on goods and passengers carried by railways, air or sea.

**3. Taxes Levied and collected by the union and distributed between the union and the states: It** aims at the equitable distribution of the revenue. For example income tax - other than agricultural income, excise duties as per Union list etc.

**4. Surcharges:** The parliament is however, authorized to levy surcharge on the taxes mentioned above.

**5. Grants in aid:** Parliament may make grants in aid from the consolidated fund of India to such states as are in need of assistance, particularly for the promotion of welfare of tribal areas, including special grants to Assam.[vii]

**6. Loans:** The Union government may make loan to any state or give guarantee with respect to loans raised by any states.

**7.** According to Art. 301, freedom of trade, commerce and intercourse throughout the territory of India is guaranteed, but the Parliament has the power to impose reasonable restrictions in public interest.

**Finance Commission:** Although the constitution has made efforts to allocate every possible source of revenue either to the union or the states. However, they are very broad classifications. Therefore, the Constitution provides that, "Finance Commission is to be constituted by the President every 5 years. The Chairman mast be a person having 'experience in public affairs'. other four members must be appointed from amongst the following:

I. A Judge of High Court or any person who is qualified to be a judge in a High Court.

II. A person having knowledge of the finances and accounts of the government.

III. A person having work experience in financial matters and administration.

IV. A person having special knowledge of economics.

**Conclusion**

The centre- state relations are at the core of the Indian federal system. The centre and state governments are duty bound to cooperate with each other in order to secure the welfare of the people and give them a good government. The centre and states work together in the matters like environment, education, infrastructure development and welfare of the backward sections of the society. Thus it can be safely said that, Indian constitution is essentially federal in formation but unitary in functioning. It is one of the unique political system that exists and has strengthen over the period of tie since Independence.

**Question for exercise:**

1. Write a detailed note on the concept and essential features of federalism.

2. What are the important features of the centre - state relations in India?

3. Examine the areas of conflicts and cooperation between the centre and states.

# III. Union Budget

**Chapter Scheme:**
1. Introduction
2. Objectives and functions of Budgeting
3. Types and classifications
4. Preparation and Presentation

1. **Introduction:**
The term 'Budget' has been derived from the French word 'Bougette' means a long leather pouch in which the treasurer of the Kingdom carried funds to pay the expenses of the court. Afterwords, the term is popularly known as the 'statement of total annual expenditure and receipts of the government.' gradually, it has widened its scope beyond mere a statement of expenditure and receipts to planning of economy, development of the country and welfare of the people. It is indeed a policy instrument for the governments in power to implement their agenda and programmes of development. Also, the budget forms the basis of both the 'budgeting' and 'budgetary control'. whereas, 'budgeting connotes to the process of budget preparation and budgetary control signifies the financial control over the working of the organisation.

Budget was not only practiced and known in ancient and medieval India. Kautilya, the **founder of Mauryan empire in 'Arthshastra' said,** *'if the treasury if full of wealth, the plans for social benefit can be executed easily. Mere handwork does not bear fruit or we can say a person without means is unable to accomplish his tasks. Efforts and wealth both are needed for attaining objects of life.'*

**2. Meaning:**
Budget is a tool of planning and control. Budgeting involves the steps of setting short- term objectives, specifying programmes, and expressing them in the budget for that particular year. It is the back bone of any government and nation. No government can function without having money in their hands.

**3. Definitions:**
**1.** According to Article 112 to 117 of the Indian constitution, 'the Union Budget of a year, also referred to as the annual financial statement, is a statement of the estimated receipt and expenditure of the government for the particular year'.

**2.** According to Cambridge Dictionary, the budget is, 'a plan to show how much money a person or organisation will earn and how much they will need or be able to spend'.

**3.** Aaron Wildavsky defined the budget as, 'In the most general definition, budgeting is concerned with the translation of financial resources into human purposes.[viii]'

As per Wildavasky (1975)[ix] Budget is:

a - A record of the past
b - A plan, a statement about the future
c - A mechanism for allocating resources
d - An instrument of pursuing efficiency
e - An engine of economic distribution
f - A result of political bargaining
g - The most operational expression of national policies in public sector.


# 4. Principles of Budgeting

Budget making is a very important process. Therefore, certain principles has to be kept in mind in order to prepare a balanced and relevant budget.

### 4.1 Principle of Annuality:
The budget should be on annual basis. It should be prepared for a particular financial year only. This attracts the principle of 'rule of lapses'. which means if the money granted in previous budget has not been utilised by the concerning department, it shall be returned through same channel.

### 4.2 On Cash Basis:
The budget is always prepared on the basis of cash in hand. It can not be prepared on any speculative grounds.

### 4.3. Single Budget:
There should be only one budget for whole financial transactions during particular year. It gives a clear picture to the nation about its resources and requirements. Previously, the Railways budget was presented separately but now it is merged with the general budget itself.

### 4.4. Gross not net:
The budget should reflect gross transactions of the government for a particular financial year. It should include detailed information about the receipts and expenditure of each department. This principle provides a Parliamentary control over the budget. If this provision is not followed in any of the budgets, such budget should be considered as Net not Grass.

**4.5. Close to Estimates:**
The budget can not be a guess work or speculation of people. It should be very close to the amount of receipts and expenditure. If this principle is not followed, it may lead to improper and disproportionate allocation of funds.

**4.6. Accounting Heads:**
The budget should have a clear mention of accounting heads for allocation. It enables in calculating the department wise receipts and expenditures.

**Check your progress:**
1. Define the concept and main principles of the budget.
2. what are the main Principles of budgeting in India?

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**5. The Structure of Government of India's Accounts:**
The budget in India shows annual receipts and expenditures in following parts:

i - Consolidated Fund of India

ii - Contingency Fund, and

iii - Public Account

**5.1 Consolidated Fund of India**
All revenues received by government, loans raised by, it, and also its receipts from recoveries of loans granted by it by consolidated fund of India. All the expenditure of government is incurred from consolidated fund and no amount can be withdrawn from the fund without authorization from the Parliament.[x]

**5.2 Contingency Fund:**
This is the fund meant to be used during any kind of emergency or unforeseen situation. It does not require immediate approval from parliament. However, later its approval is mandatory. The president of India is incharge of this fund. It is dispel by him only.

Parliamentary approval and withdrawal of equivalent amount from consolidated fund is done subsequently. Thus the amount spent from contingency fund is returned to it.

### 5.2.1 Public Account:

This account includes the transactions relating to Provident Fund, Small savings, collections and other deposits. The money received under these heads are kept in public account. Generally, this fund doesn't belong to the government. But if the government utilities any amount of such fund, it has to return it.

**Check your progress:**
1. Explain various types of accounts of government of India.

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### 6. Budgetary Process in India

In a democratic country the process of budgeting is very important activity. It has to be done with utmost care and sincerity. Therefore, the budget in India undergoes following processes:

### 6.1 Preparation and Estimation

The process of budget preparation begins with issuance of a circular by the Ministry of Finance somewhere in the month of Sept./Oct.. It is given about six month before the presentation of budget. The circular prescribes a detailed guideline, to the departments about time - schedule, preparation of plan- and - non-plan expenditure for the ensuing year. It also requires them to submit the statement of the ongoing year in a time bound manner. Basically, the budget circular requires following details from the departments:

i. Accounts classification
ii. Budget estimate of the current year
iii. Revised estimates of the current year
iv. Actual for the previous year, and
v. Proposed estimates for the upcoming financial year

## 6.2 Approval of demands

The Finance Ministry receives the completed formats from departments by the end of December. It is thoroughly scrutinized at this stage. Also the estimates of revenue is finalized by the finance ministry. The final draft of the budget is presented in the parliament by the during the last days of the February. At this stage, there can some general discussions on broad policy measures of the government. However, the detailed discussion takes place in the second stage of the budget. All the members of parliament participate in debate and discussion on budget. Each and every policies are given a detailed attention before approval or disapproval. At this stage various kinds of motions can be moved by the members. Generally, it is:

i.    Policy Cut motion, seeks to reduce the demand by Rs. 1
ii.   Economy cut motion, seeks to reduce the demand by a specific amount
iii.  Token cut motion, seeks a normal cut of Rs. 100

After detailed discussion, the finance minister requests Parliament to grant the demands raised under various heads. If some items in the budget can not be covered during discussion it can be clubbed together and put to vote as guillotine. The budget is always presented in the Lok Sabha only. However, after getting passed from Lok - Sabh, it is sent to Rajy - Sabha for approval. The Rajy Sabha can hold or discuss the budget for 14 days only. After that, it is deemed to be passed by the house. After passing from both the house the budget is sent to the President of India in the form of a money bill. The president is bound by constitution to sign the budget at first instance itself.

## 6.3 Execution

After passing from the parliament and receiving ascent of the President, the budget goes to the executive branch of the government for implementation. The Ministry of Finance gets charge of execution of the Appropriation Act. The departments are advised to implement their individual funds. This process is monitored by the disposing authority, who does not gives any excess fund without prior approval. The department of revenue, Tax and GST are incharge of monitoring of the expenditures. The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and other nationalised banks act as the custodians of the funds received as revenue or expenditure. They perform the role of collection and disbursement for the various departments of the government.

**6.4 Audit.**

The executive branch of the government spends money as per the approvals of the legislature. However, in order to maintain accountability and transparency in the financial transactions, their are authorities to ensure that the money is utilized for the right purpose, by the right persons and in the right manner. The constitution of India provides for the position of a Comptroller and Auditor General of India. However, later on the Auditors office is separated from the Comptrollers office. There reports are tabled before the Parliament.

**Check your progress:**

1. Write a detailed note on preparation of the budget.

2. Explain the execution and audit process of the budget.

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# Unit -2

# PARTY AND PARTY POLITICS IN INDIA

**Unit Structure**
2.1    Objectives:
2.2    Introduction:

## 2.1    OBJECTIVES:

➢ To understand the concept of political party in democracies
➢ To understand the role of political parties in Indian democracy
➢ To understand the rules and provision of regulation and registration of parties
➢ To understand the conditions of recognition of national, regional and registered political parties.

## 2.2    INTRODUCTION:

"Party Politics in India displays numerous paradoxical features, which reveals the blending of western and modern forms of bureaucratic organization participatory politics with indigenous practices and institutions, India's leading political party, the Indian National Congress, is one of the oldest in the world, yet it has not succeeded in providing the nucleus for an institutionalized party system which can be fitted easily into any one of the conventional categories of party systems known in the West" (363-80, 2001) Thus Political parties are the voluntary organizations of the people believe in same ideology, programme and agenda for politics of the country.  Together, they try to mobile the masses and capture political power. The party system in India started its evolution since 1885 with the establishment of India National Congress by A. O. Hume. However, during its initial phase India's independence was not on its agenda. Later on Gradual entry of nationalist leaders like G.K. Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak have infused the agenda of nationalism in INC programmes.

Thus INC remained single largest party in India during freedom movement. Later on Communist Party of India (1925), Hindu Mahasabha (1915), Shiromani Akali Dal (1920) Muslim League (1906) were also established as political parties in pre independence India. After Independence Indian State has adopter Westminster model of Parliamentary Democracy and adhered to multi –party system for the purpose of representation of the people.

According to M. Laxmikanth, 'There are four types of political parties in Modern Democratic States:

(i) Reactionary parties which cling to the old socio- economic and political institutions,
(ii) Conservative parties which believe in maintaining the status – quo,
(iii) Liberal parties which aim at reforming the existing institutions, and
(iv) Radical parties which aim at establishing a new order by overthrowing the existing institutions.

**Ideological Orientations of Political Parties:**

Political parties often claim to adhere to some or other ideology. It helps them to make their agenda and programme to appeal the masses for support. Thus, ideology works as one of the strongest tool of political mobilization around a political party. There are different types of political ideologies, namely Nationalism, Communist, Capitalism, Fascism etc. They play important role in shaping of political views of the citizens. In adherence to above ideologies the political parties can be classified as:

a. Left Wing Political Party: Champions the cause of socialism and communism. i.e. Communist Party of India (CPI), CPM, CPML, Forward Block

b. Right wing political party: Nationalism, cultural and traditional, racial, and other identity based orientations, BJP, Shiv Sena, Akali Dal, SP, BSP etc.

c. Centrist Political party: Has liberal and inclusive orientation. Indian National Congress, NCP, JD (U), DMK, AIADMK etc

The political parties in India emanates and adheres to different political ideologies as per there convenience. Attaining power and implementation of this manifesto can be said to be the main goals of political parties in India.

**Party System in India:**

India is a multi – party democracy. Though our constitution is silent about the nature and structure of the political parties, there are rules and procedures made through People's Representation Act. 1951, guidelines of Election Commission of India for the registration of Political parties, Anti- Defection Act. 1985 and guidelines of Supreme Court of India, provides for the nature, quality and character of the political parties.

The seeds of political parties in India were shown by the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1985 by A. O. Hume as its founder and Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee (or Umesh Chandra Banerjee) as its first president at Mumbai. The main objective of this organization was to act as an intermediary between Indian and the British Empire. Initially it was not against colonial rule in India. Indian leaders like Pherozeshah Mehta, Baduruddin Tayyabji, Madam Cama, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpatrai became very critical of the British policies in India. Thus Congress started raising the voice for swaraj or self- rule. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, INC was instrumental in gaining the freedom for the nation. After independence the Indian National Congress was the main political party, with other parties like Jan Sangh (1954), Communist Party, Hindu Mahasabha etc. Article 19 of the Indian constitution provides under Art. 19 (1) freedom to form and join any union or association of their choice. Thus, every Indian is free to found a political party or join any political party of their choice.

The election commission of India provides detailed guidelines for the registration of any political outfit as a political party. After registration as a political party, they can contest election as a political party. However, they do not get a common symbol until they contest all the seats in a particular election. Therefore, election commission has set of following guidelines for the political parties to get the of their status as a national, regional or registered political party. Following are the criteria to get the status of National, Regional or registered party.

### Eligibility of National Political Party
To be eligible for a '**National Political Party of India**,' the Election Commission has set the following criteria −

- It secures at least **six** percent of the valid votes polled in any **four** or more states, at a general election to the House of the People or, to the State Legislative Assembly; and

- In addition, it wins at least four seats in the House of the People from any State or States.

### OR
- It wins at least two percent seats in the House of the People (i.e., 11 seats in the existing House having 543 members), and these members are elected from at least three different States.

### Eligibility of State Political Party
To be eligible for a 'State Political Party,' the Election Commission has set the following criteria

- It secures at least six percent of the valid votes polled in the State at a general election, either to the House of the People or to the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned; and

- In addition, it wins at least two seats in the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned.

**OR**

- It wins at least three percent (3%) of the total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly of the State, or at least three seats in the Assembly, whichever is more.

**Registered Party**

The political party which fulfills all the guidelines of ECI gets recognition as a registered party. They do not get permanent symbol until they secure required vote percentage in an election at state or national level. However, they are allowed to contest elections as a political party.

- The following table illustrates the major National Political Parties of India −
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| Political Party Name | Abbreviation | Founded in | Current Leader |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Indian National Congress** | INC | 1885 | Sonia Gandhi |
| **Communist Party of India** | CPI | 1925 | Suravaram Sudhakar Reddy |
| **Communist Party of India (Marxist)** | CPI -M | 1964 | Sitaram Yechury |
| **Bharatiya Janata Party** | BJP | 1980 | Amit Shah |
| **Bahujan Samaj Party** | BSP | 1985 | Mayavati |

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# Unit -3

# SOCIAL DYNAMICS

**Unit Structure**

3.1 Objective
3.2 Introduction
3.3 Characteristics of Caste and the Caste System

## 3.1 OBJECTIVE:

The objective of the unit is to make the student aware of the phenomenon of caste and caste system in the Indian Society and Politics. The unit also aim to make student understand the role of religion in vote bank politics and what are the reasons for the rise of communalism in the country. It also aims to understand the role of gender in political process and to examine the causes for low participation of women in politics.

**Caste (with reference to reservation)**

- **Introduction**
- **Definition and characteristics of Caste and the Caste System**
- **Role of caste in Indian Politics**
- **Constitutional Provisions regarding the caste-based reservation**

## 3.2 INTRODUCTION:

The Phenomenon of caste has probably evoked more controversy than any other aspects of Indian social, political and economic life. Caste system is perhaps the world's longest surviving and most rigorously enforced system of social hierarchy. Its origin is in the Varna system which divided the society into four main groups – Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras which is a complex ordering of social group. More commonly caste is understood as a ranked order of precedence, with Brahmins sitting at the top of the hierarchy and Dalits or so-called untouchables at the very bottom.

- The varna of Brahmins, commonly identified with those fulfilling the callings of priest and spiritual preceptors;

- The varna of Kshatriya usually identified with rulers and warriors and responsible for governance;
- The Varna of Vaishyas basically identified with commercial livelihoods and wealth creators.
- The Varna of Shudra often identified as a labourer which is considered to be at the lowest.
- So called untouchables and also the hill and forest populations who are now commonly called as Tribals, occupy a place below or outside varna system.

Since ages caste system is seen and experienced as a major cause of a disparity and inequality in the Indian society. India has made an unimaginable progress in nearly all the sphere of human life but one thing has still remained below par is the status of Dalits and backward communities in the country.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in an address to member of Constituent Assembly on November 25, 1949, declared:

We must take our political democracy as a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognises liberty, equality and fraternity as the principle of life… On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics, we will be recognising the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man- one value.

## 3.3   MEANING AND CHARACTERISTICS OF CASTE AND THE CASTE SYSTEM

**S. V. Ketkar –** in his book 'History of caste in India' defines "Caste is a social group having two characteristics (a) membership is confined to those who are born of members & includes all persons no born (b) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group."

Caste system is a system of social stratification in which communities are defined by thousands of endogamous hereditary group called Jatis

**Characteristics of Caste and caste system:**

**1. Endogamy:**

Prohibitions on inter-caste marriages are not only a hallmark feature of the caste system designed to ensure rigid social norms of purity and pollution but are also essential for maintaining its very own existence. As a result, intercaste marriages between Dalits and non-Dalits has become a question of honour which can lead to extrajudicial punishment that include honour killings, public lynching or killing of couple etc.

The digital era had witnessed the endogamy culture in its own form. The online match making sites exclusively offers to match individual according to their caste which is a clear example of the practice of endogamy in its new version.

**2. Untouchability:**

The practice of untouchability is the imposition of social disabilities and social exclusion of a person because of their birth into untouchable caste. Practice of untouchability had prohibited Dalits from walking on the public streets as their shadow may pollute the upper caste Hindus. To identify Dalits, they were asked to wear a black bracelet, string a broom around their waist, or hang an earthen pot around their neck so that their spit should not fall on earth which may pollute an upper caste Hindu who might unknowingly walk on it.

India after independence has improved in a way of untouchability practices. Article 17 of Indian Constitution has abolished the practice of untouchability. But still there are cases where Dalits are prohibited from entering temples, where inter dinning with upper caste is prohibited which has forced Dalits to self-affirm their inferior status in the society.

**3. Segmental division of society:**

Caste system segregates the society into small groups on the basis of individual castes. Caste denotes a system of rigid social stratification into ranked groups decided by descent and occupation. Caste is descent based and hereditary in nature. Individuals caste is determined by one's birth into a particular caste.

**4. Hierarchy:**

Castes are arranged in the hierarchical order entitled to maximum rights from at the top of the order to least rights at the bottom of the order. While the particular ranking of caste may differ from region to region but the extremes of the pyramid is fix with

Brahmins sitting atop of the pyramid and Dalits and untouchables at the very bottom.

## 5. Restricted choice of occupation:

Choice to choose the profession or occupation completely lies of individual choice is prohibited in caste system. Each caste is associated with particular occupation and occupations were hereditary and were obliged to follow the same occupation.

The upper three caste in the order had overtime enjoyed significant occupational mobility but the bottom most continued to involuntarily inherit occupations assigned to the caste in which they are born.

### 3.1.3 Role of caste in politics:

Caste politics is said to "signify a wide range of political activity and theorising founded in the shared experience of injustice to a member of certain social groups." The role of caste in the Indian Political System can be discussed as follow:

## 1. Caste factor in political mobilization and leadership recruitment:

In India, caste plays an important role in mobilizing people during elections. It is easier to earn votes from people by playing a caste card during election. Caste interest influence the voters to vote for the candidate belonging from their caste. Majority of the time caste has been the matter of pride and thus in the process of choosing the leader or leaning towards any political parties, leader's belief or parties' approach towards a particular caste also plays a crucial role.

## 2. Propagation of Casteism during election:

The political behaviour of the member of different political parties is caste oriented. The values and principles of different political parties are caste based. The propaganda should be based on caste or not during the election depends on the population of particular caste in a particular region. The selection of the candidates for a constituency is based on whether he will be able to get the support of a particular caste or castes. Even the caste of those recommending a candidate plays an important role. When a single caste is not likely to be effective alliance are formed on caste basis by the candidates or by the voters: Even the office bearers of a party are appointed on the basis of caste to please a caste group in the party and in the constituency.

The present political System encourages the use of caste as a means of mustering support as well as a means to enable the

illiterate and politically ignorant masses of India to participate in the modern democratic process

### 3. Caste factor in local self-government:

Caste plays a crucial role in the functioning of Panchayati Raj institutions. Caste based division in the rural parts of India has been the biggest hindering factor in the effective functioning of Panchayati Raj institution. Caste also functions, as a pressure group in politics.Political bargaining is also done on the caste lines. Caste organizations have emerged to organize caste members for collective bargaining with each other.

### 4. Caste as a dividing and uniting force of Indian Politics:

The present political System encourages the use of caste as a means of mustering support as well as a means to enable the illiterate and politically ignorant masses of India to participate in the modern democratic process. But at the same time it leads to unhealthy struggle for power and acts as a dividing force.

### 3.1.4 Constitutional provision regarding the caste-based reservation:

Reservation in Indian law is a form of affirmative action whereby **a percentage of seats are reserved in the public sector units, union and state civil services, union and state government departments and in all public and private educational institutions,** except in the **religious/ linguistic minority educational institutions,** for the socially and educationally backward communities and the Scheduled Castes and Tribes who are inadequately represented in these services and institutions. The reservation policy is also **extended for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes** for representation in the Parliament of India.

### Constitutional Provisions:

Reservation refers to an act of withholding, reserving or keeping back some of the seats for the upliftment of status and standard of living socially and educationally backward sections, classes or groups. In a legal understanding, reservation in Indian law is a form of affirmative action whereby a percentage of seats are reserved in the public sector units, union and state civil services, union and state government departments and in educational institutions, except in the religious or linguistic minority educational institutions, for the socially and educationally backward communities and the Scheduled Castes and Tribes who are inadequately represented in these services and institutions.

- **Article 15(4) and 16(4)** of the Constitution enabled both the state and Central Governments to reserve seats in public services for the members of the SC and ST, thereby, enshrining impartiality of opportunity in matters of civic service.

- **Article 16(4 A):** it makes provisions for reservation in the matter of promotion to any class or classes of posts in the services under the State in favour of SCs and STs **(Constitutional 77th Amendment, – Act, 1995)**

- **Article 16 (4 B)**: It enables the state to fill the unfilled vacancies of a year which are reserved for SCs/STs in the succeeding year, thereby nullifying the ceiling of fifty percent reservation on total number of vacancies of that year. **(Constitutional 81st Amendment, – Act, 2000).**

- **Article 330 and 332:** It provides for specific representation through reservation of seats for the SCs and the STs in the Parliament (Article 330) and in the State Legislative Assemblies (Article 332), as well as, in Government and public sector jobs, in both the federal and state Governments (Articles 16(4), 330(4) and 335).

**Questions:**

1. Describe the characteristics of Caste and Caste system
2. What are the constitutional provision for caste based reservation?
3. Explain the role of caste in Indian Politics.

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**RELIGION (WITH REFERENCE TO COMMUNALISM)**

- **Concept of Secularism**
- **Concept of Communalism**
- **Communalism in modern India**
- **Communal violence in post-independence period**
- **Causes of Communalism**
- **Measures to overcome communalism**
- **Role of religion in vote bank politics**

### 3.2.1 Concept of Secularism:

India is a multi-cultural, multi religious, multi linguistic country. Having different caste, language, religion etc. could be a divisive factor in some way or the other and if not handled carefully which can cause a threat to the unity and integrity of the nation.

**In S.R. Bommai vs. UOI** "It was held that Religious tolerance and equal treatment of all religious group and protection of their life and property and the places of their worship are an essential part of secularism enshrined in our constitution. while the citizen of this country are free to profess, practice and propagate such religion, faith or belief as they choose, so for as the state is concerned i.e. from the point of view of the state, the religion, faith or belief of a person is immaterial to it, all are equal and all are entitled to be treated equally." Further the Court while emphasizing upon the significance of Secularism declared it as the basic structure of the Constitution.

The concept of secularism was not expressly incorporated in the constitution at the stage of its making. The term 'Secular' was added to the Indian Constitution by 42$^{nd}$ Amendment. However, its operation was visible in the fundamental rights and directive principles. The concept of secularism, though not expressly stated in the constitution, was, nevertheless deeply embedded in the constitutional philosophy. The concepts of secularism are not static; it is elastic in connotation. In this area, flexibility is most desirable as there cannot be any fixed views in this concept for all time to come. The courts decide from time to time the contours of the concepts of secularism and enforce it in practice. In. **M Ismail faruqui vs. UOI**, it was held that it is clear from the constitutional scheme that it guarantees equality in the matters of religion to all individuals and groups irrespective of their faith emphasizing that there is no religion of the state itself. The preamble of the constitution read in particular with articles 25 to 28 emphasis this aspect and indicates that it is in this manner this concept of secularism embodied in the constitutional scheme as a creed adopted by the Indian people has to be understood while examining the constitutional validity of any legislation on the touch stone of the constitution.

### 3.2.2 Concept of Communalism:

Communalism is referred in the western world as a "theory or system of government in which virtually autonomous local communities are loosely in federation". But in the Indian sub-continent context, communalism has come to be associated with

tensions and clashes between different religious communities in various regions.

Communalism is a political philosophy which advocates followers of a particular religion to have political allegiance to their own religious community. As a matter of fact, a person's mere affiliation to the social, cultural and service aspects of a religious community would not amount to communalism. Communalism preaches the followers of a particular religion to have hatred against the followers of other religious communities. It assumes that the followers of a particular religion will have common interests that differ from other religions. In essence, communalism is opposed to secularism and even humanism.

Communalism is basically an ideology which consists of three elements: -

- A belief that people who follow the same religion have common secular interests i.e. they have same political, economic and social interests. So, here socio- political communalities arises.

- A notion that, in a multi-religious society like India, these common secular interests of one religion are dissimilar and divergent from the interests of the follower of another religion.

- The interests of the follower of the different religion or of different 'communities' are seen to be completely incompatible, antagonist and hostile.

Communalism is political trade in religion. It is an ideology on which communal politics is based. And communal violence are conjectural consequences of communal ideology

### 3.2.3 Communalism in Modern India:

Communalism in India is result of the emergence of modern politics, which has its roots in **partition of Bengal in 1905** and feature of separate electorate under **Government of India Act, 1909**. Later, British government also appeased various communities through **Communal award in 1932**, which faced strong resistance from Gandhi ji and others. All these acts were done by the British government to appease Muslims and other communities, for their own political needs. This feeling of communalism has deepened since then, fragmenting the Indian society and being a cause of unrest.

It may be noted that tension has existed not only among the Hindus and the Muslims but sometimes even amongst the members of the same community. For example, there have been numerous clashes between the Sawarna Hindus and the

Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes or conflicts of Suinni-Shia Muslims.

In the last few years the intensity of communalism has increased and has also spread to those states which were comparatively free from communal tensions and riots. Social media is playing the role of one of the dominant factor in propagation of communalism.

### 3.2.4 Communal Violence in Modern India:

- **Partition of India,1947**

After partition, millions of populations were forced to move from both sides of the border. Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in India were killed in masses, women were raped, and many children lost their parents. There was hatred everywhere, violence didn't see anything except bloodshed. Later, it turned in the problem of refugees and their rehabilitation became one of the biggest challenges for independent India.

- **Anti-Sikh riots, 1984**

This is one of the bloodshed in India, where Sikhs in large number were massacred by anti- Sikh mob. This massacre took place in response to the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by his own Sikh body Guard in response to her actions authorising the military operation.

- **Ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindu Pundits in 1989**

Kashmir is known as the heaven of India and was known for its *Kashmiryat,* i.e. the reflection of love, peace and harmony through brotherhood and unity of Hindu, Muslims and other communities living together. But, the brotherhood saw a serious blow due to Extremist Islamic terrorism in the Kashmir valley, which led to mass killing and large scale exodus of Kashmiri Pundits from the valley to the various regions and corners of the India, giving them the status of refugee in their own country. Since then, the valley is under the grip of communal violence and the ongoing unrest has become a problem for the development of the people.

- **Babri masjid demolition in Ayodhya, 1992**

According to Hindu mythology, Ayodhya is birth place of Lord Rama and therefore it is sacred place for Hindu religion. But in medieval period Mughal general Mir Baqi, built a mosque, named after Mughal ruler Babur. There were disputes since then and riots also took place. But in 1990, due to some political mobilisation, there was atmosphere of protest by Hindu religious groups and in

large scale "karsevak" visited Ayodhya from all parts of India, in support of demolishing Babri masjid and building Ram temple there. These movements caused huge amount of bloodshed and since then it is a disputed matter.

After this, violence was followed by the Godhra incident in 2002, when "karsevak" returning from Ayodhya in a Sabarmati Express were killed by fire in the coaches of train. This act was followed by the extended communal violence in Gujarat. That violence is like black spot in the history of the Gujarat and nation too, as people were killed without any mercy. Hindu and Muslim community became antagonist to each other. Till now people are fighting for justice in Supreme Court, with a ray hope from the Indian Judiciary.

- **Assam Communal violence, 2012**

North eastern states are known for its distinguished tribal population & ethnic diversity and large scale Bangladeshi immigration has changed the demography of North eastern states, which often becomes reason for clashes. In 2012, there were ethnic clashes between Bodos (Tribal, Christian & Hindu faith) and Muslims. Ethnic tensions between Bodos and Bengali-speaking Muslims escalated into a riot in Kokrajhar in July 2012, when unidentified miscreants killed four Bodo youths at Joypur.

- **Muzaffarnagar violence, 2013**

The cause of this ethnic clash between Jat and Muslim community is very much disputed and has many versions. According to few, it was started after some suspicious post on Social media platform Facebook. According to some, it was escalated after the eve teasing case in Shamli. Let the reasons be unknown, but what matters is, the nature and scale of loss to the country with respect to human resource and peace.

### 3.2.5 Causes of Communalism:

Communalism in India has not emerged due to a single factor. Various factors are responsible for the existence of communalism in India. The following factors are:

1. **Legacy of the past.**

   On the basis of the "Two Nation" theory of Jinnah, India was partitioned. Communal politics had played its nasty game during the immediate past of independent India. The "Divide and Rule" policy of the British Government served their colonial interest. The partition of India was the ultimate outcome of their politics. Though India has adopted the principles of secularism and

equality of the people. But communalism as a legacy of past, is continuing and expressing itself in various form.

## 2. Communalist Leaders.

Communalism has flourished in India, because the communalist leaders of both the Hindu and Muslim communities desire to flourish it, in the interest of their communities.

## 3. Presence of Communal parties and organization.

Religion in India has become an important agency of political socialization and it is also reflected in the ideology of a number of political parties. A number of communal and sectarian political parties and organisations are present in India. Muslim League, Jamaat Islami, Hindu Mahasabha, Akali Dal, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and AIMIM are directly or indirectly responsible for the emergence of communalism. The so called secular political parties also enter into alliance with communal forces for electoral benefit. Candidates are selected by different political parties taking into account the communal composition of the constituency.

## 4. Tendency of the minorities.

The minorities fail to be intermingled in the national mainstream. Most of the members of minority communities do not participate in the secular nationalistic politics and insist on maintaining their separate entity. They also demand security of life and property, reservation for minorities in services etc. This tendency of minorities has kept them isolated from the main stream of India.

## 5. Orthodoxy and Obscurantism.

The orthodox and obscurantist members of the minorities feel that they have a distinct entity with their own cultural pattern, personal laws and way of thinking. Such a feeling has prevented them from accepting the concept of secularism and religious tolerance. Hindu chauvinism is also equally responsible for non-acceptance of secular principles which has resulted in resistance from the Muslim community and revival of demand for separate electorates and the formation of different political parties organised in the line of fundamentalism.

## 6. Poverty.
Mass poverty and unemployment create a sense of frustration among the people. It generates backwardness, illiteracy, ignorance, etc. The unemployed youth of both the communities can be easily trapped by religious fundamentalists and fanatics. They are used by them to cause communal riots. Moreover, in

comparison with the Muslims, Hindus are better placed in service, industry and trade which cause a sense of contempt among them. The weak economic status often breeds communalism.

**7. Cross border factor.**
Communal tensions in India sometimes are highly intensified due to the rule of two neighbouring theocratic countries. These countries try to create communal problems in the border states. The communal problems of Punjab and Jammu Kashmir are caused due to provocation of Pakistan. So long as this cross-border factor is not removed, communal problems are likely to stay in India.

8. Failure of Government.
Both the Union and the State Governments often fail to prevent communalism in the country. Due to lack of prior information, they fail to take any preventive measures. So the communal violence can easily take innocent lives and destroys property. Failure of immediate and effective steps has been a cause of the continuance of communalism.

### 3.2.6 Measures to overcome communalism:

The solution of such problems cannot be one or two steps by government. Apart from legislative support, administrative efficiency and alertness with the help of modern tools and technology, the major onus lies on the citizens themselves by avoiding communal violence. Though its bit philosophical in nature, as it's not a concrete solution, but the sustainable changes can be brought only by those steps.

Each of us, have to make a balance between our own religious community and national interests, we have to unite with nationalism, and then should move forward. The teachings of a religious community may be great, but the followers of the community concerned should understand that nationalism is greater. If they do not become familiar with this fact, they will be away from national stream; they will suffer. This fact relates not only to India but also to many other countries of the world.

We have to be rational while making decisions. Each and every religious community has been founded on the basis of certain values that were best and necessary for circumstances of the country and times. Goodness likes adjustment with others, or co-operation, or consistency can be found in their teachings. But by not moving according to the teachings of their religious community those who depend upon fundamentalism and conservative

practices, or those who use their co-religionists taking advantage of their poverty, illiteracy or innocence, are dishonest towards their own self, their co-religionists and also towards those great leaders who founded the religious community. Everyone must understand this fact also. Along with this, leaders of all communities, by knowing it, must come forward for an atmosphere surcharged with harmony, in which lies their welfare too. The religious teachers should promote rational and practical things through religion promoting peace and security.

Policies like appeasement, fun and frolic with the sentiments of people for individual and party interests, and selection of candidates on the basis of religious community or sect by keeping aside the qualifications, one, certainly, does the things against national interest or nationalism; are reflections of lower national thinking. That is why; these kinds of acts should be stopped at government level and also at the level of political parties.

There is a great need to work towards eradicating the problem of unemployment among the youths, illiteracy and poverty and that too with honesty and without any discrimination. This will help in solving many problems, and will create awakening. The result will be in checking on communalism to a great extent. That is why it is expected that a lot of work have to be done at government level in this direction.

Thus, in order to get rid of the problem of communalism in India, there is a need of collective efforts. All will have to discharge their duties.

### 3.2.7 Role of Religion in Vote Bank Politics:

Vote bank politics is one of the widely practiced amongst all the political parties across the party lines. Political parties mostly give tickets to the candidates after analysing the population proportion of particular religion in a specific constituency. These candidates divide the vote of their caste or caste cluster, and each of them is forced to gather support from other castes. In such a situation, the winner will naturally be from the same dominant group. To gain the attention of people many a time's religion issues are included in the election manifestos. As far as political party concerned, political parties' resort to various tactics to woo voters. Sometime political parties target a particular religious' community as their voters by mean of scaring or appeasing them.

**Questions:**

1. What are the causes of communalism in India?
2. What are the measures to overcome communalism in India?
3. Explain the concept communalism and secularism.

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**GENDER (WITH REFERENCE TO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION)**

- Introduction
- Women Empowerment
- History of women's political participation in India
- Nature of Political Participation of women
- Constitutional rights of women
- Causes of low representation of women in Parliament and State Legislature
- Women participation in local self-government – 73$^{rd}$ and 74$^{th}$Ammendment
- Debates on Reservation for women in the Loksabha and Legislative Assemblies
- Conclusion

**3.3.1 Introduction:**
Politics is essentially an art of acquiring and exercising power. Power is necessary to influence the decision-making process and the policies, to reverse the existing situation wherever they are disadvantageous and to bring the necessary changes. Participation from all the section of society, particularly from the disadvantaged group, in this instance the women is important for the effective function of democracy. But then politics is all about power relations. Every social arrangement in a professional, public or private sphere is an instance of power relationship. As all the institutions such as family, religion or caste or public institutions are not less than political institutions. The broader political operation and the nature of political ideology in the public sphere have its

corresponding implications for the women in the domestic and private relations. The low participation of women in a formal political institution is a matter of concern. The lack of sufficient participation of women in politics and at the decision-making level, are themselves the result of their poor social and domestic status and their exclusion from certain positions of status and levels of power. The government, activists and non-government organisation have worked in constant strive to make the political system as beneficial to women as much it is to men.

### 3.3.2 Women Empowerment

Women empowerment means equal status to women, opportunity and freedom to develop themselves. Women empowerment and gender equality are essential for development of an inclusive, sensitive and a better off society. India in particular has inherently been a patriarchal society, where women for years have been deprived of rights, are subjected to discrimination and targeted by evil customs and rituals. Empowerment is giving voice to the powerless. Empowerment can be social, political and economical. In India, government bears a distinct responsibility to play an active role in women empowerment. Ever since independence, government has taken many measures in form of laws, scheme and other policy measures for gender equality. Though, these measures were in right faith and improved women condition, but still there are many spheres where women participation in India is far behind than what should be. Women empowerment requires changing the patriarchal thinking, involving them in the decision making process and giving them increased access to resources in form of employment, property, education opportunities among others.

### 3.3.3 History of women's political participation in India –

After decades of suppression faced by women, the question of women empowerment was first taken up in India during the social reformation movement in the 18th century. Many social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Jyotiba Phule, Savitribai Phule, MG Ranade worked for the improvement of women condition in India. They worked for spreading awareness against evil customs like the practice of sati, child marriage, advocated education for women and widow remarriage. Their efforts culminated into legislations Widow Remarriage and Abolition of Sati. The social reformation movement also saw participation of women like PanditaRamabai, Sarala Debi Goshal and Manorama Majumdar. By 19th century women's own organisations spread all over the country. Swarna Kumari Debi organised the Sakhi Samiti

in 1886 for widows and Sarala Devi Chaudhrani organised Bharat Stree Mahamandal in 1910 to promote female education.

Women contributed in the freedom struggle in various forms. They picketing liquor and foreign goods shops, participated in political protests, giving shelter and food to the political activists working underground. They also acted as messengers and carried messages to political prisoners. MK Gandhi was a staunch proponent of women emancipation. Sarla Devi, Muthulaxmi Reddy, Susheela Nair, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Sucheta Kripalani and Aruna Asaf Ali are some the women who participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement. Usha Mehta, a committed patriot set up a

**No. of Women MPs**
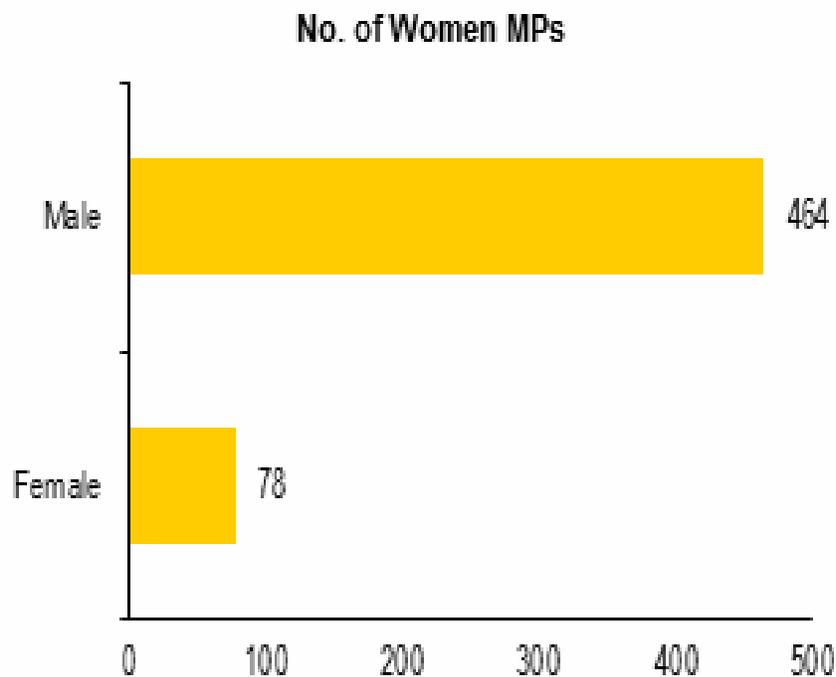


radio transmitter, called The "Voice of Freedom" to disseminate the "mantra" of freedom-war. Annie Besant was elected the president of the Indian National Congress and launched the Home Rule Movement. Madam Cama or Bhikaji Cama unfurled the flag of Indian Independence in Stuttgart Germany and advocated the right to freedom. Kalpana Dutta was influenced by Subhash Chandra Bose and joined the Chittagong armoury raids.

### 3.3.4 Nature of Political Participation of Women

- **Participation of women in 16th Lok Sabha –**
Of the 543 MPs elected, 62 are women. 58 women were elected to the 15th Lok Sabha in the 2009 general elections.

- **Participation of women in 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha –**

716 women candidates contested the General Election. Out of which, 78 women MPs have been elected to the 17th Lok Sabha. The representation of women MPs in Lok Sabha is slowly improving from 5% in the 1st Lok Sabha to 14 % in the 17th Lok Sabha.


**17th Lok Sabha – Women Participation
Source – PRS Legislative Research**


Though the percentage of women MPs has increased over the years, it is still lower in comparison to some countries. These include Rwanda (61%), South Africa (43%), UK (32%), USA (24%), Bangladesh (21%).
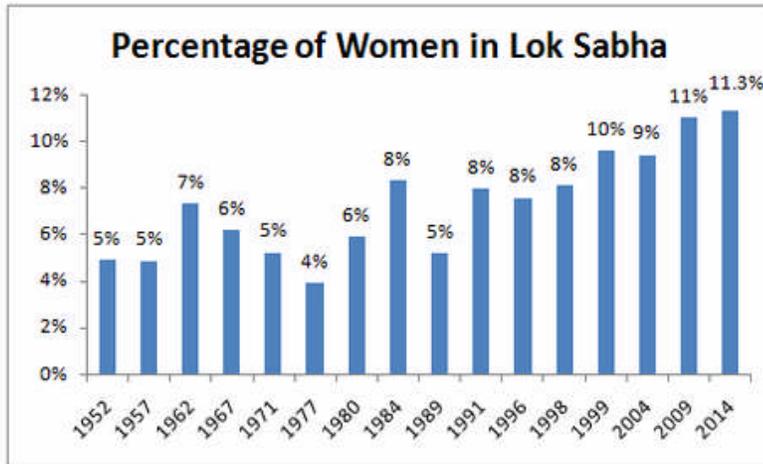


Source – PRS Legislative Research

### 3.3.5 Constitutional Rights of Women:

The rights and safeguards enshrined in the constitution for women in India are listed below:

- The state shall not discriminate against any citizen of India on the ground of sex [Article 15(1)].

- The state is empowered to make any special provision for women. In other words, this provision enables the state to make affirmative discrimination in favour of women [Article 15(3)].

- No citizen shall be discriminated against or be ineligible for any employment or office under the state on the ground of sex [Article 16(2)].

- Traffic in human beings and forced labour are prohibited [Article 23(1)].

- The state to secure for men and women equally the right to an adequate means of livelihood [Article 39(a)].

- The state to secure equal pay for equal work for both Indian men and women [Article 39(d)].

- The state is required to ensure that the health and strength of women workers are not abused and that they are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their strength [Article 39(e)].

- The state shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief [Article 42].

- It shall be the duty of every citizen of India to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women [Article 51-A(e)].

- One-third of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat shall be reserved for women [Article 243-D(3)].

- One-third of the total number of offices of chairpersons in the Panchayats at each level shall be reserved for women [Article 243-D(4)].

- One-third of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Municipality shall be reserved for women [Article 243-T(3)].

- The offices of chairpersons in the Municipalities shall be reserved for women in such manner as the State Legislature may provide [Article 243-T(4)].


### 3.3.6 Causes of low representation of women in the parliament and state legislature

- **Domestic responsibilities**: Traditional role of women in India is generally perceived to be as a household caretaker. This perception restricts the access of women to education, job opportunities and also to politics. Women role is generally apolitical in the society.

- **Prevailing cultural attitudes** regarding roles of women in society: the patriarchal thought process and the orthodox view of women restricts their opportunities.

- **Lack of support from family**: Being shackled by the household responsibilities, women do not generally receive the support and motivation from their family. There is also a view prevalent that politics would require compromising on principles and ethics.

- **Lack of confidence**: women are made to believe that their existence is only due to male members of the family. There is lack of full psychological development and lack of confidence to take on the challenges involved in politics.

- **Lack of finance**: women generally face the problem of inadequate financial resources to take on the expenses of the election propaganda and other such expenses involved. The expenses of male candidates of party are generally sought to cover, leaving meagre resources for women.

- **Lack of will of Political Parties** to provide adequate number of party tickets to women candidates for their better representation.

- **Delay in passing ofWomen Reservation Bill** providing 33% reservation in Lok Sabha and state legislative assemblies. The bill was first introduced in 2010 but even today it has not been passed due to the lack of political will of the successive governments.

- **Lack of leadership trainingand limited involvement in decision making process**: there is lack of training among the women candidates. Even though there is appreciable participation of women in local self government as a result of reserved seats, the lack of training renders their election futile.

- **Male-dominant nature of Indian politics**: the male dominant nature of our society, from households to Indian politics is responsible for lack of opportunities to women. The party also favour male candidates as compared to women.

- **Corruption and criminalisation of politics**: the increasing involvement of criminals in Indian politics has made women more vulnerable and disadvantaged.

- Role of government officials: the political representatives have to constantly work with the government officials. However, women representatives often face resistance and non-cooperation by the government officials due to gender insensitivity.

- **Poverty and unemployment**: Poverty is a barrier to women participation in politics. Due to poverty women are forced to work in unorganised sector with poor working conditions and meagre wages. This also restricts the participation in political process.

- **Caste**: The women from lower caste are more vulnerable and ignored and have lesser access to public institutions. Their voices are shut down by the dominant castes. The caste divide also prevents them from uniting and creating a common political ground for women.

### 3.3.7 Women participation in Local Self Government - 73$^{rd}$ and 74$^{th}$ amendments

In 1989, the central government introduced two constitutional amendments. These amendments aimed at strengthening local governments and ensuring an element of uniformity in their structure and functioning across the country. Later in 1992, the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments were passed by the Parliament. The 73rd Amendment is about rural local governments (which are also known as Panchayati Raj Institutions or PRIs) and the 74th amendment made the provisions relating to urban local government (Nagarpalikas). The 73$^{rd}$ and 74$^{th}$ amendments came into force in 1993.

States/UTs wise numbers of Elected Women Representatives at Panchayat Level:

| Sl. No. | Name of the States/ UTs | Elected Women Representatives (EWR) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Gram Panchayat | Block Panchayat | District Panchayat | Total |
| 1 | Andhra Pradesh | 71996 | 5699 | 330 | 78025 |
| 2 | Arunachal Pradesh | 2966 | 625 | 67 | 3658 |
| 3 | Assam | 12100 | 1100 | 210 | 13410 |
| 4 | Bihar | 51998 | 5341 | 548 | 57887 |
| 5 | Chhattisgarh | 91469 | 1595 | 223 | 93287 |
| 6 | Gujarat | 68880 | 2582 | 526 | 71988 |
| 7 | Haryana | 28060 | 1258 | 181 | 29499 |
| 8 | Himachal Pradesh | 13409 | 862 | 127 | 14398 |
| 9 | Jammu & Kashmir | 11169 | -- | -- | 11169 |
| 10 | Jharkhand | 27664 | 2812 | 281 | 30757 |
| 11 | Karnataka | 48335 | 2018 | 539 | 50892 |
| 12 | Kerala | 8360 | 1102 | 168 | 9630 |
| 13 | Madhya Pradesh | 192669 | 3395 | 426 | 196490 |
| 14 | Maharashtra | 118496 | 1989 | 1005 | 121490 |
| 15 | Manipur | 836 | 0 | 32 | 868 |
| 16 | Mizoram | 828 | -- | -- | 828 |
| 17 | Odisha | 49840 | 3273 | 438 | 53551 |
| 18 | Punjab | 31373 | 910 | 110 | 32393 |
| 19 | Rajasthan | 66823 | 3118 | 586 | 70527 |
| 20 | Sikkim | 493 | -- | 55 | 548 |
| 21 | Tamil Nadu | 37310 | 2426 | 239 | 39975 |
| 22 | Tripura | 2760 | 192 | 54 | 3006 |
| 23 | Telangana | 48267 | 3249 | 219 | 51735 |
| 24 | Uttarakhand | 34106 | 1633 | 218 | 35957 |
| 25 | Uttar Pradesh | 246038 | 25664 | 1031 | 272733 |
| 26 | West Bengal | 24991 | 4743 | 423 | 30157 |
| 27 | Dadra & Nagar Haveli | 43 | -- | 4 | 47 |
| 28 | Daman & Diu | 82 | -- | 10 | 92 |
| 29 | Goa | 499 | -- | 17 | 516 |
| 30 | Chandigarh | 49 | 6 | 3 | 58 |
| 31 | Lakshadweep | 32 | -- | 9 | 41 |
| 32 | A &N Island | 262 | 28 | 12 | 302 |
| | Total | 1292203 | 75620 | 8091 | 1375914 |

Source: MoPR Compilation as on 27.03.2018

### 3.3.8 Debate on reservation for women in the Loksabha and Legislative assemblies

The Constitution (One Hundred and Eighth Amendment) Bill, 2008

- It seeks to reserve one-third of all seats for women in the Lok Sabha and the state legislative assemblies. The allocation of reserved seats shall be determined by such authority as prescribed by Parliament.

- One third of the total number of seats reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be reserved for women of those groups in the Lok Sabha and the legislative assemblies.

- Reserved seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in the state or union territory.

- Reservation of seats for women shall cease to exist 15 years after the commencement of this Amendment Act.

**Arguments for Women Reservation in Parliament:**

- Constitutional rights: Although the Constitution has provided for various provisions to ensure gender equality and women emancipation, these do not match the ground situation. There are more guarantees needed for political empowerment of women which is provided for in this bill.

- Redistribution of resources: Political reservation facilitates a more equal distribution and access to resources for the weaker sections of the society. A guaranteed representation of women in Parliament would ensure equitable distribution of resources.

- Previous experience: Studies have showed that the reservation for women in panchayats ensures more investment in the public goods closely linked to women's concerns. They are better equipped to address the issues related to women and facilitate their development.

- Gender equality: A sizeable proportion of women representatives perceive an enhancement in their self-esteem, confidence and decision-making ability.

- Where women constitute half the population, the meagre representation in Parliament is against the principle of fair and equal representation of all sections of society.

**Arguments against Women Reservation in Parliament:**

- It is argued that the reservation of women in parliament would perpetuate the inequality against them as they would not be perceived to be competing on merit

- When the seats are reserved for women, they are not usually considered to fight for the unreserved general seats however competent they may be.

- It diverts the attention from the larger issues in politics like the increasing criminalisation, need for electoral reforms and more transparency.

- Rotation of reserved constituencies in every election may reduce the incentive for an MP to work for his constituency as he may be ineligible to seek re-election from that constituency.

### 3.3.9 Conclusion

Inclusive development is one of the most important development goals of Indian government. This can be ensured only by an equal participation of all stakeholders in the decision-making process. Despite the difficulties and competition faced by women, they have made massive inroads into business, science and all other sectors of world economy. There is also an increased participation of women in politics. Especially in India, in recent years women have held one of the most important positions in Indian government. There has been rise of many important women leaders in Indian politics like Sushma Swaraj, Pratibha Patil, Mayawati, Mamata Banerjee, Jayalalitha, Nirmala Sitharaman, among others. The 17th Lok Sabha witnessed the largest proportion of women Parliamentarians. These demonstrate a positive scenario and future potential for an increase women involvement in Indian politics.

**Questions:**

1. What are the causes of low participation of women in politics?
2. Discuss the history and nature of women's participation in politics.
3. Comment on Reservation of women in Loksabha and Legislative Assemblies.

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# Unit -4

# CRIMINALISATION OF POLITICS

**Unit Structure**

4.0     Objective
4.1     Criminalisation of Politics
4.2     Internal threat to security (with reference to Naxalism and Insurgency)
4.3     Global Terrorism

## 4.0 OBJECTIVE:

The objective of the unit is to make student understand various challenges to National Security through criminalization of politics. It also aims to comprehend various internal threats to National Security such as naxalism and insurgency. It also aware students to the concept of global terrorism.

## 4.1 CRIMINALISATION OF POLITICS

- **Introduction**
- **Causes of criminalization of politics**
- **Consequences of criminalization of politics**
- **Legal framework**
- **Way forward**

### 4.1.1 Introduction:
Politics is the most important phenomenon in democracy. India is a representative democracy and our legislators are elected by the people through elections. Criminalisation of politics refers to increasing participation of criminals in the electoral process and their selection as the elected representatives of people. The Vohra Committee Report in 1993 and the report of National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution in 2002 confirmed that there is increasing trend of criminal's participation in Indian politics.

### 4.1.2 Causes of criminalization of Politics:
- Vote bank Politics: Money and muscle power of criminals help political parties gain votes. Since, in India electoral politics is more about caste, ethnicity, religion and several other factors,

candidates overcome the reputational loss due to criminal charges and come out as victorious in elections.

- Lack of adequate deterrence: Due to the low levels of convictions of MPs and MLAs, and delays in trials political parties are not deterred from giving tickets to criminals.

- Lack of Intra-party democracy: Political parties in India largely lack intra-party democracy and the decisions on candidature are largely taken by the elite leadership of the party. Thus, the politicians with criminal records often escape the scrutiny by local workers and organisation of the party.

- Black money in elections: Electoral politics is largely dependent on the money and the funding that it receives. Since candidates with criminal records often possess greater wealth, they ensure greater inflow in money, labour and other advantages that may help a party in successful campaign, and also possess greater 'winnability'

- Civil society in India has failed to check criminalization of politics due to resistance from establishment, prevalent use of money and muscle power and lack of voter awareness

- Lack of ethics and values in Indian politics further accentuates the problem of criminalization. The political parties have been reluctant in checking criminalization for own vested interests.

### 4.1.3 Consequences of criminalization of politics:
- The presence of people with criminal backgrounds in politics and law-making of the country has negative impacts on the quality of democracy

- Enormous amounts of illegal money flow into the electoral process due to extensive links with the criminal underworld

- Criminalization of politics also has the consequence of obstructing the process of justice and causing further delays in trials.

- Criminals entering politics further increases corruption in public life and has an adverse negative impact on the state institutions including the bureaucracy, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary.

- Criminalization of politics introduces a culture of violence in the society and sets a bad precedence for the youth to follow.

**4.1.4 Legal Framework:**

**Constitutional Provisions:**

*Article 102* states that a person shall be disqualified from being chosen and from being a member of either House of Parliament if:

- he holds an office of profit,

- if he is of unsound mind and so declared by a competent court,

- if he is an undischarged insolvent,

- if he is not a citizen of India and if he is disqualified by any other law made by Parliament

Corresponding provisions for members of State Legislative Assemblies are found in *Articles 173 and 191.*

**Representation of People's Act, 1951:**

- Parliament through the RPA has prescribed further qualifications and disqualifications for membership to Parliament or to a Legislative Assembly.

- **Section 8** of the Act lists certain offence which, if a person is convicted of any of them, disqualifies him from being elected or continuing as, a Member of Parliament or Legislative Assembly.

- A candidate to any National or State Assembly elections is required to furnish an affidavit, in the shape of **Form 26** appended to the Conduct of Election Rules, 1961. Failure to furnish this information, concealment of information or giving of false information is an offence under Section125A of the RPA.

Law Commission in its 244th report on Electoral Reforms titled "Electoral disqualifications" had put forward recommendations on de-criminalization of politics. The main recommendations include:

- Expediting trials in relevant courts where a case is led against a sitting MP/MLA and to conduct the trial on a day-to-day basis with an outer limit of completing the trial in one year.

- Retroactive application- from the date the proposed amendments come into effect, all persons with criminal charges (punishable by more than five years) pending on that date are liable to be disqualified subject to certain safeguards

- The punishment for filing false affidavits under Section 125A be increased to a minimum of two years, and that the alternate clause for ne be removed.

- Conviction under Section 125A should be made a ground for disqualification under Section 8(1) of the RPA, 1951.

- The filing of false affidavits should be made a corrupt practice under Section 123 of the RPA.

Election Commission Recommendations: The Election Commission in its "Proposed Electoral Reforms" (2016) recommended that: Persons charged with cognisable offences should be de-barred from contesting in the elections, at the stage when the charges are framed by the competent court provided the offence is punishable by imprisonment of at least 5 years, and the case is led at least 6 months prior to the election in question

## 4.1.5 Way Forward:

- The legal framework needs to be reformed to effectively curb the steady flow of criminals into the political process.

- The issues of the limited deterrence posed by disqualification upon conviction, and the delays in trials of influential persons that result in a subversion of the process of justice needs to be urgently addressed.

- The Election Commission must take adequate measures to break the nexus between the criminals and the politicians. The most important step in this direction would be checking the use of black money in party and election funding.

- Intra-party democracy should be strengthened for better scrutiny and selection of candidates.

- A strong political will is required on the part of government to decriminalize the entire political system by enactment of required legislations and taking adequate measures.

- Politics can only be decriminalized through larger public awareness and public participation in elections, politics and governance. Further, electoral process should be made more inclusive through wider participation from all sections of the society

**Questions:**
1. What are the reasons of criminalization of politics?
2. What is the legal framework to check and prevent criminalization of politics?

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# 4.2 INTERNAL THREAT TO SECURITY (WITH REFERENCE TO NAXALISM AND INSURGENCY)

- **Introduction**
- **Origin of Naxalism in India**
- **Factors responsible for rise and spread of Naxalism**
- **Aims, objectives and Modus Operandi of Naxalites**
- **Effects of Naxalism**
- **Government Strategy to fight Naxalism**
- **Insurgency in North East**
- **Insurgency in Jammu & Kashmir**

### 4.2.1 Introduction

A state is at risk from four kinds of threats – Internal, External, Internal-aided external and External-aided internal. India faces a mix of all these threats. While internal security is the security of a country within its borders, external security is country's security against external aggression i.e. aggression by other countries. Among the major challenges India faces in terms of its internal security, Naxalism and Left-Wing Extremism are the most pressing ones.

### NAXALISM

### 4.2.2 Origin of Naxalism in India –

The term 'Naxal' originated from the name of village Naxalbari of district Darjeeling in West Bengal. It originated in 1967 under the leadership of Charu Majumdar, Kanu Sanyal and Jangal Santhal. In November 1967, left-wing extremist from all over country founded 'All India Coordination Committee' in Kolkata (later

renamed as 'All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries'.

In 1969, AICCCR founded revolutionary party CPI Marxist-Leninist (ML) based on the ideology of Mao Zedong, a Chinese revolutionary leader. Soon the movement spread to other parts of the country.

**Extent of Naxalism –**
- The highly affected areas include – Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Odisha and Maharashtra.
- Other affected areas are – Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh

**Phases of Naxalism –**

1. **Preparatory Phase –** survey of new areas to identify issues on which masses can be mobilised

2. **Perspective Phase –** demonstrations against government based on local public grievances

3. **Guerrilla Phase –** converting the public movement into violent guerrilla warfare

4. **Base Phase –** establish their base and change guerrilla zone into liberalised zone

5. **Liberated Phase –** establishment of people's government

**4.2.3 Factors responsible for rise and spread of Naxalism –**

1. **Forest and Land related issues –**
   - Evasion of land ceiling laws
   - Land acquisition without appropriate compensation and rehabilitation
   - Disruption of the age old relation between the tribes and the forests

2. **Exploitation –** tribal were exploited by the landlords, traders and industrialist due to lack of literacy, awareness and backwardness among them. They were exploited for land, forest produce and other commercial purposes because of which the tribal shifted towards radical leftist ideology.

3. **Lack of development –** the tribal areas faced large developmental deficit. There were rampant problems of unemployment, poverty, lack of infrastructure, no education and lack of health facilities. While the non-tribal regions saw rapid development, the tribal regions were neglected.

4. **Disconnect with mainstream society –** due to lack of education and backwardness, the tribal were dissociated from the mainstream developing society. They felt neglected by the government as well as the society. The feeling of unity prevalent in other parts of country had not penetrated to these regions due to disconnect with the society.

5. **Poor implementations of special laws –** the government has formulated various laws for the welfare of the forest dwellers and tribal. However, these laws are plagued with loopholes that prevent the benefit from reaching these beneficiaries and thus leaving them deprived of welfare needs and support and exposing them to exploitation.

6. **Mismanagement and corruption in government schemes –** over the years, government has implemented various schemes for the welfare of the tribal, to educate them and to integrate them with the society. But these schemes have failed to achieve their desired objective due to poor management, implementation and corruption.

7. **Geographical terrain –** Naxalism is mostly spread in the forest area which makes it difficult for the administration and police to fight it. But it helps Naxalites to fight against the police by the method of guerrilla warfare.

### 4.2.4 Aims, objectives and Modus Operandi of Naxalites

**Aim –**
- To destroy the legitimacy of the state.
- To create mass base with certain degree of acceptability

**Objective –**
- Establish 'The India People's Democratic Federal Republic'

**Modus Operandi –**

- Attack police and their establishment

- Attack infrastructure like rail and road transport, power transmission

- Oppose execution of development work

- Front organisations and civil society groups on issues like land acquisition, land reforms, displacement, etc. and acquire support of intellectual elite

**4.2.5 Effects –**

**Positive Impacts –**

1. **Protection from eviction and forest officers:** As per the Forest (Conservation) Act 1980, the reserved forests could not be utilized without the prior permission of the central government. This led to eviction of many adivasis from forests and abuse by the forest officials. Naxalites protected the adivasis from eviction and exploitation by forest officers

2. **Support to the victims of displacement:** Often the displaced forest dwellers face the ire of administration. They tend to re-settle in same forest region which is prohibited. Naxalites have helped these victims. Example, due to an irrigation project in Orissa, many adivasis where displaced and migrated to Andhra Pradesh. They would have been evicted from Andhra as well save for the Naxalite intervention.

3. **Infrastructure:** The Naxalites have rendered support to many development projects like roads, school buildings around their regions. But at the same time they have opposed them in fear of police and paramilitary forces interference in their regional affairs.

4. **Bonded Labour:** Naxalites have successfully waged against bonded labour or 'begar'. The efforts of government coupled with Naxalites efforts have led to bonded labour to be nearly abolished

5. **Wages:** the Naxalites have ensured the payment of decent wages to the labourers. Though, the government had provided for minimum wages through the Minimum Wages Act, the legislation was made a reality by the Naxalites.

6. **Landlordism:** Even after many years of Independence and many land reforms being initiated, landlordism was rampant in many parts of India and is prevalent even today in some areas. Naxals reallocated the land from the rich landlords to the peasants who cultivated. This reallocation helped the peasants improve their situation

7. **Social sector development:** the threat of Naxals has ensured the proper attendance of teachers, doctors, etc. in regions of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Chattisgarh. This factor has led to better social development and catering to the needs of the tribal who were hitherto not given the requisite attention.

**Negative Impact –**

1. **On GDP growth –** all Naxalism affected states excluding Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra have low GDP growth. The threat of Naxalism prevents industrialisation in these regions, thus affecting production as well as income.

2. **On tax revenues –** the parallel government run by Naxals prevents the governing agencies from appropriation of taxes resulting in low tax revenues.

3. **Expenditure on defence –** the lower domestic investment is coupled with heavy expenditure on defence. This has a bearing on the investments and expenditure that could have been made on education and health sector.

4. **On trade flows and foreign direct investment inflows –** the Naxal violence, extortion and lack of good transportation facility affect the foreign direct investments and trade results in lower imports, thereby affecting the economy.

5. **On tourism –** lower tourist attraction and lower tourism market share affect the income potential of the region.

6. **Other impacts –**
   - Lower job availability
   - Less investment on agriculture
   - Effect on education and other opportunities
   - Range of acts of violence harming the masses. Incidents of burning schools, trains and rail lines in turn hurt the masses instead of creating conditions for their development
   - The disruption of elections hampers the right of people to choose their leaders
   - In fight against the security forces and the Naxalites, the brunt is borne by the villagers and tribal

### 4.2.6 Government Strategy to fight Naxalism –

As per the Indian Constitution, 'Police' and 'Public Order' are state subjects, thus the maintenance of law and order lies mainly in the domain of State Governments. But as expressed by the former Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, Naxalism is the most significant threat to internal security; the successive Central Governments closely monitor the situation and supplement the efforts of State Governments in several ways. These include –

- Providing Central Armed Police Forces (CAPFs) and Commando Battalions for Resolution Action (CoBRA)

- Modernisation and upgradation of State police under scheme 'Modernisation of Police Forces'

- Reimbursement of security related expenditure

- Training of state police

- Sharing of intelligence

- Facilitate inter-state coordination, community policing and civic action

- A National Policy and Action Plan put in place – adopting a multipronged strategy in areas of security, development, rights and entitlements of tribal, etc.

## Schemes for affected states –

1. Special Central Assistance (SCA) – for 30 most LWE affected districts. It was launched in 2017 by government under the umbrella scheme of Modernisation of Police Forces. Objective of this scheme is to fill the critical gaps in public infrastructure and services

2. Scheme of Fortified Police Stations

3. Assistance to Central Agencies for LWE Management Scheme – assistance is provided to Central Agencies like CAPF for strengthening of infrastructure

4. Road Requirement Plan-I (RRP – I) for LWE affected areas – scheme implemented by the Ministry of Road Transport & Highways for improving road connectivity in affected areas

5. Civic Action Programme (CAP) – it aims to bridge the gap between Security Forces and local people through personal interaction. The funds are given to CAPF deployed in affected areas for conducting various civic activities for welfare of the people in those areas

6. Aspirational Districts Programme – the Ministry of Home Affairs monitors the Aspirational districts programme in 35 affected districts.

### 4.2.7 INSURGENCY IN NORTH EAST –

The Northeast region of India comprises of seven states – Assam, Nagaland, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Tripura and Sikkim. The region holds key importance for India in terms of resources, cultural diversity, natural heritage and biodiversity. With all the states having international borders, sharing borders with China, Bangladesh and Myanmar, these states are hold strategic importance in terms of security, internal and external and it is held as one of the key aspects in India's foreign policy and diplomacy with neighbouring countries.

North Eastern India has been witnessing the problem of insurgency for the past half century. Insurgency is an armed

rebellion against a constituted authority. Initially the states facing insurgency included Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Tripura during the 1950s and 1960s which started decreasing during the 1990s. The demand of the insurgents has varied from greater autonomy, a separate state to some extreme demands like complete independence.

The reasons for insurgency can be attributed to many factors. Historically, the regions were loosely administered by the British and they remained largely detached from the mainland India. The extent of integration that climaxed during the freedom movement and furthered during independence, was not supplemented by the same level of integration with the north east. After independence, there were tension between the central government and the states. These tensions were intensified due to the surge of immigrants into these states. The geographical separation and lack of connectivity for a long period of time hampered the integration of these states with mainland India. These states were largely neglected for the larger part of post-independent period. The lack of funds, developmental assistance and continued deprivation in face of the increasing development of the other regions of the country deepened the already existing problems. The region is subjected to various environmental extremities. Further the intense biodiversity, forest resources while hampering access to the region, has also hampered its development.

There is a presence of many insurgent groups in these regions.

**Nagaland –** the state, earlier a part of Assam was the first one to witness the rise of militancy. The demand was for a greater autonomy. It was carved out as a separate state from Assam in 1963 and became the 16<sup>th</sup> state of Union of India. There is National Socialist Council of Nagaland (N.S.C.N.) two factions: Isak-Muivah faction (N.S.C.N.-I.M.) and the Khaplang faction (N.S.C.N.-K.) present in Nagaland.  The state exhibits a rich ethnic, religious and tribal diversity. The insurgency in Nagaland is considered to have inspired insurgency in many other ethnic groups in the region.

**Mizoram –** the state was part of Assam before it attained statehood in 1987. The rise of insurgency in the state was a response to the neglect of the central government to the demands of the state. Lack of development, employment opportunities and education has deprived the people and deepened the grievances. In Mizoram there is Mizo National Front (M.N.F.).

**Assam -** The United Liberation Front of Assam (U.L.F.A.), Bodo Liberation Tigers, National Democratic Front of Bodoland (N.D.F.B.) and the United People's Democratic Solidarity (U.P.D.S.)

have presence in Assam. It has witnessed militancy from various groups for many years. There has been a demand of creation of separate state – Bodoland by carving out areas from Assam and West Bengal.

**Manipur –** It was accorded statehood in 1972 while the struggle of independence in the region has been pursued since 1964. The groups have a socialist inclination. Their demands are due to the neglect by the central government and lack of development in the region. The strong military presence and the overriding powers granted to them as a result of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) have added to the discontent of the people. The United National Liberation Front is present in Manipur.

**Meghalaya -** the Garo National Liberation Army (GNLA) and Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC) are having a presence in this state. It was carved out of Assam owing to the unique needs of the tribes of this region, the Garo, the Khasi and the Jaintias.

Arunachal Pradesh – the state has more or less remained peaceful for most part of the history. But due to its proximity to Myanmar and Nagaland makes it prone to insurgency. The history of indigenous insurgency movement was the rise of the Arunachal Dragon Force (ADF), which later became East India Liberation Front (EALF) in 2001

**Tripura –** the insurgency in the state has been due to immigration in the state and the reduction of the indigenous groups in the state to a minority status. There were ethnic tensions with the Bengali immigrants post the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation war. Militant groups were formed that demanded restoration of tribal rights from the Bengali population.

In the recent years, realising the strategic, economic, political and environmental importance of the region, the successive governments have approached the north east region with a renewed focus. There are many steps taken by the governments and the civil society for a greater inclusion of the region with rest of the country. A Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (DoNER) responsible for the matters relating to the planning, execution and monitoring of development schemes and projects in the North Eastern Region has been set up. Restrictions are imposed on the entry of outsiders to maintain the original identity of indigenous people of Mizoram, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh entry of outsiders are not allowed without Inner Line Permit (ILP). The active steps taken by the government has significant curbed the violence in north east. But the groups continue to be present and carry out illicit activities often leading to

law and order crisis in these regions. While corrective steps have been taken, these steps need to be intensified and effectively implemented.

### 4.2.8 INSURGENCY IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR –

The roots of insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir lie in the post-Independence Partition of India. Kashmir, a princely state, initially decided to remain an independent kingdom, neither acceding to India nor to Pakistan. The invasion into Kashmir by the Pakistani troops urged the ruler of Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh to seek India's help and consequently signed the Instrument of Accession with India. The president subsequently issued constitution order extending the Union constitution to the state with some exception. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was granted a special status by the enactment of Article 370.

One part of Kashmir at the time of accession came to be occupied by India and the other part by Pakistan. Despite UN contravention, there has been no conciliation between the two countries over this dispute. In later years of post-independence period, during early 1990s there were increasing anti-India separatist tendency in the state.

Role of Pakistan: the Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir (PoK) has been the base of many terrorist camps which are also supported by the Pakistan Government and military. Pakistan sponsored-terrorism in India is a part of Pakistan's strategy of bleeding India by thousand cuts. While it keeps nuclear threat as a means of deterrence on the front, it pursues terrorism at the back to arrest India's attention in the resolution of this problem and endanger its unification.

The problem of insurgency in Kashmir is multipronged. There is involvement of Pakistan, there is presence of separatist forces in the state, there is lack of integration of the state with rest of India, lack of development and opportunities and many other factors. There has been a shift in government's strategy for resolving the insurgency problem in India. Firstly, there is a shift in the pattern of diplomacy of India with respect to Pakistan with India adopting many hardliners in respect of terrorism. India has engaged with many countries on international platform for their support in India's fight against Pakistan sponsored terrorism. Secondly, counter strikes are increasingly being conducted by the Indian armed forces in Pakistan-occupied-kashmir territories in retaliation to the terrorist attacks in India to stop such attacks by destroying their base camps.

Recently in an historic step, the President has passed a presidential order repealing the Article 370 that grants special

status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Moreover, the Parliament has passed the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Bill 2019 which has bifurcated the state of Jammu and Kashmir into two union territories – the union territory of Jammu and Kashmir and the union territory of Ladakh. The removal of Article 35A (that gave special rights to the permanent residents of the state over others in matters like property rights) has paved way for greater integration of the state with rest of India. With removal of special status to the state, the scheme, laws and development programs of the central government shall now be extended to the state and can prove to be the stimulus for robust development that the state is in need of.

**Questions:**
1. What are the factors responsible for the rise of Naxalism?
2. What are the positive and negative effects of Naxalism?
3. Critically examine the insurgency in North East.
4. Examine the insurgency in Jammu & Kashmir.

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# 4.3 GLOBAL TERRORISM

**Changing nature of global terrorism in the era of globalization and India's response, organization having impact in India.**

- **Definition**
- **Changing nature of global terrorism**
- **Factors responsible for origin of terrorism in India**
- **Organization having Impact on India**
- **Institutional framework to tackle terrorism**
- **Legal framework to tackle terrorism**
- **Difference between terrorism, insurgency and naxalism.**

### 4.3.1 Definition of Terrorism –
- It may be defined as the planned, organised and systematic use of violence as a means of coercion for political, religious or ideological purposes.

- It is a state of terror, panic and fear psychosis, created by an individual or a group of people in order to force, coerce or blackmail the authorities, using violent methods to accept their demand or to attain political, religious or ideological goals

### 4.3.2 Changing nature of global terrorism –

Terrorism is a global phenomenon. There has been a general ambivalence regarding what actually constitutes terrorism. There have been many instances when the states have encouraged various criminal acts in another state. The difficulty in defining what constitutes terrorism has hampered the international community from coming together in fight against terrorism.

The coming of globalisation has made the world a global village. There is exchange of goods, services, people, ideas, culture and many other elements. However, while such elements are mutually beneficial for the countries, there are many non-desirable elements that have propagated across borders of the countries. One such element is terrorism. Often terrorism in one country has ideological and financial source in another country. The absence of borders is not only in trade of goods and services but also in spread of terrorism.

The increasing technological advancement has helped the countries to gain new heights of development. Research and development in new technologies in one country is globalised and has benefitted billions of people. However, this advancement of technology has also percolated to terrorist organisations which are now stronger than ever.

The increasing use of information technology, social media, mobile phones have connected people in two corners of the world. But it is also used to spread terrorism by radicalising the youth.

Terrorism can be classified into two categories –

1. **Terrorism by External State Actors –** when a government indulges into terrorism against the people of its own country or against people of another country. Support to terrorism can be by the means of financial funding, arms supply, training, etc. The terrorism in Kashmir is the due to Pakistan state policy and ISI.

2. **Terrorism by Non-state Actors –** individuals or organisations that indulge in act of terrorism and are not associated with or financed by any government. Organisations in India like Lashkar-e-Taiba and Indian Mujahideen (IM) claim to be non-

state actors. However, the possibility of association with state actors cannot be completely ruled out.

**Terrorist attacks in India –**
- Bomb blast in Mumbai in 1993
- Attack on Red Fort in 2000
- Attack on Jammu and Kashmir Assembly in 2001
- Attack on Indian Parliament in 2001 by Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed
- Attack in Mumbai in 2008
- German Bakery, Pune Bomb blast 2010
- Pathankot attack in 2016
- Uri attack by Jaish-e-Mohammad in 2016
- Attack on Amarnath Yatra in 2017
- Pulwama attack in 2019 by Jaish-e-Mohammad

## 4.3.3 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR ORIGIN OF TERRORISM IN INDIA

- India's borders with most neighbours are porous (not protected) which are extremely easy to cross.
- Complexity makes these borders difficult to protect by security forces.
- Methods of security ambivalent and lack of strategic thinking.
- Complex relations of India with neighbours.
- Support to terrorism by internal forces due to reasons like identical ethnic affiliation, monetary requirements, fear of life, lack of education, dissatisfaction from present governance system etc.
- Long sea border makes India vulnerable to host of problems like piracy.
- Globalisation and social media has made propagation of ideas, people and extremism easy and rapid.
- Lack of international cooperation to put up an anti-terrorism front and undertake anti-terrorist actions.

## 4.3.4 ORGANISATIONS HAVING IMPACT ON INDIA

**Organisations in India –**

1. **Indian Mujahideen (IM) –** It is an Islamist terrorist group based in India. It has taken responsibility of many blasts in India. Police investigation has revealed it to be a front of Lashkar-e-Taiba. It was declared a terrorist organisation by Indian government in 2010. It has also been declared as terrorist organisation by New Zealand, United Kingdom and United

States of America. Its aim is to create an 'Islamic Caliphate' across South Asia.

2. **Hizbul Mujahideen –** the group was founded in 1989 and is based in Kashmir

3. **Student Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) –** the organisation was formed in 1977 and is an Islamic student organisation. It was originally formed with the aim of liberating India from the western cultural influences and to nurture living among Muslims as per the Islamic code of conduct. After the violence between Hindus and Muslims in 1980s and 1990s it turned more radical.

4. **AQIS (Al-Qaedain Indian Subcontinent)** – it is an affiliate of Al-Qaeda created in 2014. It is banned by the United Nations. It aims to draw together the jihadists from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar

**International Organisations –**

**Al Qaeda –**

Founded in 1988, Al Qaeda is a militant Sunni Islamist multi-national organization. It was founded in 1988 during the Afghan-Soviet. It has been declared a terrorist organisation by the United Nations Security Council, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), India, United States of America, the European Union and various other countries. They are responsible for many terrorist attacks like September 11 attacks, and United States Embassy attacks among others. In the 'War on Terror' launched by the United States government, led to deaths of major leaders of Al-Qaeda including Osama Bin Laden.

**Lashkar-e-Taiba –**

Operating mainly from Pakistan and Pak-Occupied-Kashmir (PoK) it is one of the largest and most active organisations in South Asia. It was founded in 1990 by Hafez Saeed. They are responsible for many terrorist attacks in India including the attack on Indian Parliament, attack on Akshardham Temple and blasts in Mumbai in 2006 and 2008.

**Jaish-e-Mohammad –**

A Pakistan-based terrorist organisation aiming to undermine the Indian control over the Indian administered Kashmir. It operates through attacks on government and security with the support of Pakistan's ISI in the form of funding, training and strategy of conduct. It was founded by Masood Azhar who was fighting under Harkat-ul-Mujahideen and has been linked to Al Qaeda. After founding Jaish-e-Mohammad in 2000, it has carried some of the most critical attacks on India. These include the attack on Indian

Parliament in 2001, Pathankot airbase attack in 2016, Pulwama attack on CRPF personnel of Indian army in 2019.

**Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HUJI) –**
It is based in Pakistan and Bangladesh. It began operations in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet Union from the country. It has taken the responsibility of Banaras bombing in 2006 and Delhi Bombing in 2011.

**Islamic State (IS)**
The group was founded by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a Jordanian radical in 1999. In 2004, al-Zarqawi swore loyalty to Osama bin Laden. Several insurgent groups and factions merged in 2006 to form the Islamic State of Iraq. Later having expanded their roots to Syria, the group renamed itself as 'Islamic State of Iraq and Syria'. Their ideology is based on the return of golden age of Islam and their aim is to establish a Caliphate state based on the Sharia law and all Muslim are required to pledge allegiance to it. Radicalisation of Indian youth and their recruitment is a threat to India's national security and sovereignty.

## 4.3.5 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK TO TACKLE TERRORISM:
- **National Investigation Agency (NIA)** - central agency established by Government after the 2008 Mumbai attacks to combat terror in India. It deals with terror activities across states without prior permission by states. It is a statutory body that came into existence with the enactment of the National Investigation Agency Act 2008 by the Parliament of India on 31 December 2008.

- **NATGRID (National Intelligence Grid)** – an intelligence sharing network that connects database of cores security agencies in India. It hosts information from government databases. The Mumbai 2008 attacks exposed weakness in India's intelligence and NATGRID was established to address it.

- **National Security Guard (NSG)** - a Special Forces unit under the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA). New NSG hubs were opened in Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai and Hyderabad to ensure faster and efficient reaction to crisis situations.

- **Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS)** - is a special police force raised to combat terror. It is set up in several states - Maharashtra, Gujarat, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar.

## 4.3.6 LEGAL FRAMEWORK TO TACKLE TERRORISM:

- **Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act**: It was anti-terrorism law which was in force between 1985 and 1995

under the background of the Punjab insurgency and was applied to whole of India.

- **Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2002 (POTA):** It was an Act passed by the Parliament in 2002 to strengthen anti-terrorism operations. It replaced the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act. The Act was repealed in 2004 by government.

- **National Security Act, 1980:** It is a stringent law that allows preventive detention for months, if authorities are satisfied that a person is a threat to national security or law and order.

- **Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967**: It is aimed at effective prevention of unlawful activities associations in India. Its main objective is deal with activities directed against the integrity and sovereignty of India

## WHAT MORE IS NEEDED

- There needs to be a strong political consensus in country that national interest stands supreme. Anything that is detrimental to national interest must be addressed by government, intelligentsia and the civil society together.

- We need stringent laws against terrorism.

- The proceedings deciding on terrorism should be speedy. For this, there can be fast track courts established.

- There are changes needed in the criminal justice system to deal with the cases related to terrorism within months of the arrests while the memory is still fresh in the minds of the people.
- The state police need to be empowered. There should be enhanced training and providing modern equipments for investigation, surveillance and operations.

- There needs to be proper check imposed on the extent and nature of use of social media.

- The general public needs to be educated about the evils of terrorism and how the neighbouring countries use it to weaken our country.

- We need to promote harmony among the various religions, sects and sub-sects of our society and pose a untied stand against such divisive forces.

## 4.3.7 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TERRORISM, INSURGENCY AND NAXALISM

- Terrorism is planned and systematic use of violence as a means of coercion for political, religious or ideological purpose.

- Insurgency is an act of rebellion and armed struggle by a section of society with intent of overthrowing the government.

- Naxalism refers to use of violence to destabilise the state through communist guerrilla warfare. In India it is mostly based on Maoist ideology. They intend to overthrow the government and install people's government.

**Questions:**
1. Discuss global terrorism and its impact on India.
2. Comment on the activities of terrorist organization in India.
3. What are the institutional and legal frameworks to tackle terrorism?
4. What are the factors responsible for the origin of terrorism in India?

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