

Unit-III

1. Casteism and Communalism

“Casteism is an over-riding blind and supreme group loyalty that ignores the healthy social standards of justice, fair play, equity and universal brotherhood.” -Kaka Kalelkar

“Casteism is the loyalty to the sub caste translated into political”. - K. M. Panikkar

Casteism

Caste is a social structure which is prevalent in India since ancient times. Despite accepting democracy and modern Western political institutions, tendency of casteism in politics is not yet over. In fact, Vote politics has further increased and strengthened this phenomenon. Vote-Politics has increased the role of casteism. On the other hand castes have become a structural device for participation in Democratic Politics through which the hitherto marginalised groups got opportunity to participate and represent themselves in politics.

1.1 Nature of Caste and Casteism-

Caste is one of the oldest surviving social institutions in India. In ancient times, it emerged in form of **Varna System** - as a unique and peculiar social system in order to regulate various diverse sections of the society. It was initially based on the principles of **Karma** and **occupation**. The **Varna System** was considered favourable in the contemporary social and political conditions because it helped in the systematic coordination and regulation of multi-ethnic diverse society. In the course of time, due to various reasons, this system became distorted and turned into a caste system. With variety of defects, this discriminatory and

divisive tendency first developed in the form of caste system and then as casteism in modern times. Casteism as a negative political force is detrimental to national interests and poses a serious challenge to India's unity and integrity. By taking advantage of this situation, the British started using this discriminating social system to meet their vested political interests. By taking advantage of precarious social situation, the British for larger colonial interests, provoked it more. The British also tried to impose a separate electoral system for Dalit class, which Gandhiji opposed. The contentious issue was, however, settled by Poona Pact that was accorded between Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar. In order to ensure the proper representation of these classes, the arrangement for reservation of seats was accepted. Ambedkar left the insistence of a separate election and matter was finally resolved. The purpose of separate electorates was to create division among upper and lower castes in Hindus, which both Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar, understood.

The modern form of Indian politics evolved after independence. It was believed that establishing a democratic system would automatically end casteism in the country, but it did not happen. Contrary to this belief, it has not only penetrated in the society but also in the politics. Since

independence, casteism has played an important role in the Indian political system. KN Menon's has rightly said that, "After the independence, caste influence has increased in the political arena of India." Morris Jones says, "Importance of politics for the caste and importance of the caste for politics have increased now than earlier".

The desire to gain power and to retain it has strengthened casteist sentiments in Indian politics. The desire of political parties and people's representatives to capture power and win election through caste oriented vote banks has increased the involvement of caste in electoral politics. Politicians have mostly encouraged this negative phenomenon in politics than dissipating it. Caste and religion have in recent years emerged as rallying points to gain electoral support. Unfortunately there is a tendency to play upon caste and religious sentiments and field candidates in elections with an eagle eye on the caste equations and communal configurations. Besides affecting economic, social, cultural and religious spheres, casteism has also influenced politics in India.

1.2 Meaning -

Caste in Indian society refers to a social group where membership is decided by birth. Members of such local group are endogamous, i.e. they tend to enter into marital relationships among themselves. **Caste** is a form of social stratification characterized by endogamy, hereditary transmission of a lifestyle which often includes an occupation, status in a hierarchy, and customary social interaction and exclusion. Although caste systems exist in various regions, its paradigmatic ethnographic example is the division of Indian society into rigid social groups, with roots in India's ancient history and persisting until today. However, the economic significance of the caste system in India has been declining as a result of urbanization and affirmative action programs. Caste is a social group that considers itself different from others, which has its own characteristics, pursue some traditional business and members of the group are married only

within the peripheries of such group. Caste is a 'Closed Class.' Traditionally the members of a caste were related to a similar occupation, the son used to adopt the occupation of his father and they had marriage relations inside the group. Caste is basically a characteristic of Hindu society, but now it has expanded to Muslim and Christian societies also.

1.3 Role of Caste in Indian Politics-

Role of Caste in Indian politics is very important. According to Jaiprakash Narayan, "the caste is an extremely important party in India. Caste plays a variety of roles in Indian politics.

In Indian politics, the role of caste can be studied under the following points.

1. Role of caste in the decision-making process-

In India, most of the organizations which are formed on the on caste basis try to influence the decision-making process of governance. Caste blocs, who enter the voting chambers through political parties of their choice, naturally seek administrative power and inequitable share in the goods and services provided by the state. Since every political party has a core caste constituency, apart from the other satellite castes and sub-castes, they receive their share of power. While scheduled castes and scheduled tribes organizations want to increase the time limit for their reservation rights, the castes who have not received reservation, are agitating for getting the reservation benefits, there are some castes which have been trying to get themselves involved in the list of reserved castes. In order to meet their demands, they try to influence governance in different ways. The Gujjar Reservation Movement forced the government to decide for 5 percent reservation for them. Caste organizations try to influence the decision process according to their own interests and to prevent the decisions which are adverse to their interests. Politics is, after all, distribution of economic assets and political power among various contenders and stakeholders and determines which group gets what,

when and how much. This is the essence of caste politics. This phenomenon is essentially democratic because those who were marginalised for centuries and did not receive their due from the society for their contribution now demand and get their due share.

2. Selection of candidates of political parties on caste basis

Although there is hardly any instance in India of a political party being totally identified with any particular caste group, yet there are cases of certain castes lending strong support to particular political parties. Thus while political parties struggle among themselves to win different caste groups in their favour by making offers to them, caste groups too try to pressurize parties to choose its members for candidature in elections. Candidates come to be selected not in terms of accomplishments, ability and merit but on the appendages of caste, creed and community. Ultimately caste becomes the deciding factor on selection. While political parties struggle among themselves to win different caste groups in their favour by making offers to them, caste groups too try to pressurize parties to choose its members for candidature in elections. Political parties always keep caste equations in mind while selecting and making final decisions about their candidates. In the area in which there is dominance of an upper caste, the candidate of the same caste is fielded. On several occasions, after the two major parties have already fielded their candidates from a particular dominant caste, the third party field the candidate from the second largest caste to take the benefit of sharing of the votes of first-two. Political parties also take care of caste equation in their internal organizational elections and appointments.

3. Caste oriented voting behavior

Voting behavior reflect the ways in which people tend to vote in public elections and why they vote in that particular way. It also reflects the voter's choices, preferences, ideologies, concerns, alternatives etc. Caste has deep roots in the Indian society. Caste occupies distinct position in moulding the voting behaviour in India and this

happens in spite of the adoption of several provisions which prohibits discrimination on the basis of caste. The political parties in India formulate their policies and election strategies always keeping in mind the caste factor. Even the candidates are selected keeping the caste factor in mind. Election campaigns are made in such a way that it makes the voters to feel their respective caste identities. Caste oriented slogans are deliberately made and recited to please and induce the voters to vote for the candidates belonging to their caste. The recent Jat stir, agitation of Patel community of Gujarat and Gujjar agitation testify how deep seated are the feelings of people towards their caste and their groupings on the basis of caste. However the issue based politics is gradually becoming a determinant of voting behaviour at least in the urban areas and among the educated citizens.

4. Caste representation in the formation of the Council of Ministers -

When a political party gets majority in the elections, it is required to form the government. In process of formation of government the winning party takes special care of caste equilibrium while allocating portfolios in the cabinet. To keep caste equations in their favor, political parties try to balance the representation of various caste in the government. While distributing portfolios and allocating important posts at all level beginning from Panchayati institutions to state and central level profit and loss are taken care of. Sometimes when a particular caste does not get an adequate representation, the political party in government is criticized by caste organizations.

5. Caste as a Pressure Group-

Pressure groups are those informal organisations that come into existence for the protection of special interests and influence the activities of the government by different methods. Caste organizations work as pressure groups in the Indian political system. Caste plays an important role in Indian politics. Neither the states nor the center is left with this contemporary pattern of caste based politics. It is a pattern which has been seen in

all the state irrespective of their educational achievement, relative prosperity. To safeguard their caste interests, they pressurize the government to make such decisions which are conducive to their interests and also coerse and prevent it from taking decisions which are against their interests. Organizations of deprived castes continue to put pressure on the government to maintain reservation. According to Mayor, "Caste organizations have emerged as the important pressure groups with political motives".

6. Caste and Administration -

In addition to provisions for reservation in representative organizations in India, arrangements for caste reservations have also been made even in the administration. Besides the Scheduled Tribes, and Scheddled Tribes, 27 percent reservation is also provided to other backward classes. It is believed that local level administrative officers in India are influenced by the leaders of the region's principal and organized castes while making decisions. On the basis of caste, reservation is being demanded. Jat in Haryana, Patidar in Gujarat, Brahmin in Rajasthan etc. are demanding reservations on caste basis.

7. Caste in State politics -

Caste has a more active role in state politics rather than All-Indian politics. Politics of Bihar, Uttarprands, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan etc can not be analyzed without caste maths. Uttarprands and Bihar have become examples of caste politics. In Uttar Pradesh, Mayawati does politics of dalit votes.

8. Caste support in election campaign -

Political parties and candidates openly use caste in campaigning. In UP, Bihar and Rajasthan all major political parties resort to caste tactics to woo and appease voters.

9. The Rise of Political Elites On the Basis of Caste -

The new democratic system offered equal opportunities to lower castes. As a result some of these groups have acquired higher positions in the

caste groups and also succeeded in getting a good place in politics. Such people may not be using caste card openly in politics but they always have soft cornor for the caste they belonged to and mostly lobby for the interests of their caste brethren. Consequently, the social composition of the political elite in terms of caste has undergone a sea change.

1.4 The Chacteristics of Politics of Caste in India

- (1) Caste associations or organizations have increased caste political ambition. Caste leaders take political advantage by raising their support in the caste by raising issues of caste interest.
- (2) In spite of progress in education, urbanization, modernization and democratic system, the tendency of casteism has not dissipated from Indian politics rather it has strengthened.
- (3) In a particular region, one dominant caste is politically more influential and powerful.
- (4) Relationship between caste and polintics is not static but dynamic and it changes with change in time and circumstances.
- (5) Apart from politicization of caste, politics is becoming caste centric especially at local level.

1.5 Positive Impacts -

Casteism has also made positive impact in politics.

- (1) The relationship between caste and politics has made people work in a formula. People living far away come in contact with each other in the caste panchayats. Due to the technique of developed communication, they maintain contact with each other. Help in one another's problems. In order to get maximum benefit from governance, we try to maintain unity in our caste. This creates a sense of social and unity among people. That same spirit of socialism and unity creates a positive effect in the national context.

- (2) Caste politics has created political activism among more people. People began to be active in politics to protect their rights and their interests in the caste. Started working for social service. People active in ethnic groups also become active in politics.
- (3) Due to ethnic activism, the importance of the castes in the society also increased which was previously the political power of social and economic power. They started benefiting from their number strength in democracy. Political awareness was also encountered among such castes. Their participation in governance has increased.
- (4) Racism caused a change in the social structure. Caste politics influenced the culture of society. The lower castes follow higher castes in all communities of food, dress, lifestyle, and ethics, therefore equality increases in these areas. In the society, cultural unity is established.
- (5) According to Rudolph and Rudolph, caste politics has reduced the differences between the castes and there has been similarity between members of different castes.
- (6) Due to Caste differentiation, no religious community can emerge as an integrated majority community. Therefore in India democracy did not degenerate into dictatorship of the majority like in many newly independent Afro-Asian Countries.

1.6 Negative Effects -

D.R. Gadgil is of the opinion that caste influence is not helpful in the development of democracy. According to Dr. Ashirvadam, whatever the benefits of the caste in the past, it poses obstacles in the progress of the country today. Casteism creates tension and conflict in society. Government works under pressure and stereotype gets promoted. National interests are compromised at the cost of narrow caste interests. Casteism is against democracy. In Indian politics the tendency of

casteism has increased after independence and all parties resort to it. Caste exercises its impact in the political field by specific caste groups coming together to vote *en bloc* for a candidate of their own caste, without considering the merits and demerits of the candidate, by appointing the members of influential caste or caste group or groups in the party as well as in the constituency and to offices of profits. A caste, wishing to exercise political power must have a considerable number of its members elected. This involves putting pressure on some particular party and different castes struggling against each other in a bid to have a majority of their caste candidates elected. The electoral field witnesses both competition as well as alliances between various caste groups in order to get a substantial number of their caste-men elected. Caste, therefore dominates the political field, especially at the lower level.

- (1) Casteism is harmful for the spirit of brotherhood and unity. Conflicts arise in society and polity due to the conflicting caste interests of various segments. Social harmony is threatened. In recent years, During the Gujar agitation, tensions arose in some areas between Gujjars and Meena castes.
- (2) In environment of the caste oriented society, there is no place for peace. The castes struggle for narrow vested interests sometimes leads to unrest in the country and society. The government may also take inappropriate political decisions under the influence of caste and vote politics. Sometimes caste oriented decisions of government may create an atmosphere of unrest and mutual disbelief.
- (3) In many political parties, in place of ideological polarization there occurs the determination of policies and programmes as well as the nomination of electoral candidates and the extension of support to them on caste consideration. Voting on the basis of caste is the result of this tendency. Most suitable politicians lose the election due to voting on caste patterns. For the winning politicians,

caste loyalty becomes more important than their responsibility towards the entire society. It is fatal to both the society and the state. This caste phenomenon help in promotion of inefficient and incapable politicians taking to important government business and it is country which ultimately suffers. The emergence of regional parties and the 'withering away of national outlook and spirit' thus set off another crisis. Candidates come to be selected not in terms of accomplishments, ability and merit but on the appendages of caste, creed and community.

- (4) Due to casteism, the reverence and devotion of the citizens are divided. They show more devotion towards the caste they belonged to and it diminishes their dedication towards the nation. People start giving priority to caste interests rather than the national interests. These tendencies create obstacles in the unity, brotherhood and development of the country.
- (5) Due to casteism, political parties are also formed on the basis of caste. Bahujan Samaj Party, Samajwadi Party and Rashtriya Janata Dal were basically formed on caste lines. For the development of healthy democracy, political parties should have been formed on the basis economic and political ideologies; but the principles and ideas have become secondary to caste sentiments.
- (6) Casteist thinking promotes conservatism, in which scientific and progressive approach cannot sustain and country suffers the most. Its growth is adversely affected.
- (7) It may develop the sense of insecurity among the people of minority caste or the community.
- (8) Governments work under the pressure of large and powerful ethnically knit caste organizations and avoid making free and fair decisions in the larger interests of the whole society.
- (9) Sometimes the movement or struggle of ethnic organizations may take violent turn and

indulge in unlawful activities resulting in break down of the law and order and damage to the national property. It causes huge loss to the industrial development and trade.

- (10) Casteism is against the democratic sentiments. It is damaging to the democratic values like liberty, equality and fraternity. It encourages divisive tendencies and narrow interests in the society which inturn results in rifts and conflicts among various social groups.
- (11) Promote Vote Bank Politics Many political parties and their leaders in India have openly indulged in caste-based vote bank politics. They continue to support improper, inappropriate and unjustified demands of various caste organizations to make them their vote bank. This tendency is fatal to the national interests. National interests are compromised and caste interests get more importance.

Conclusion

In the modern Indian society, caste discrimination has spread everywhere like fierce diseases like Canser and AIDS and its diagnosis is impossible and hence evaluating role of caste in Indian politics is a daunting task. It not only creates rift in the society, but also obstructs the path of national unity. When 'disparate' political groups with caste-based ideologies compete for space in governance, national goals take a back seat. The more serious repercussion of this development is the political violence that has resulted in many parts of the country. Caste based politics and casteism are eroding the 'unity' principle in the name of regional autonomy. Exploiting caste sentiments and playing off one caste combination against the other with a political axe to grind, perhaps even more than religious bigotry is the very anti-thesis of rationalism, but the monster of casteism has all of a sudden mysteriously gained wide respectability as a means of empowerment of the subaltern India.

The famous sociologist MN Srinivas is of the opinion that "Traditional caste system has influenced progressive and modern political

systems in such a way that these political institutions have not been able to work in their original form."

In words of Dr. Gadgil, "the caste has proved to be more dangerous than regional pressures; it is one of the biggest obstacles in the way of fostering unity among the people of India."

Casteism is a hindrance to the polity, society and the country. It is not in tune with democratic spirit which considers an individual to be an entity and not a caste or group. A healthy democracy should be free from caste politics and the politics must also be free from caste influences.

Communalism

1.7 Meaning and Definition -

When any religious, cultural and linguistic groups or communities deliberately underline the distinguishness of its temporal interest. On the basis of religious and cultural differences by treating them as separate segments and also give their demands priority over general national and social interests then such tendency is called as communalism. Communalism is a dangerous ideology that promotes the false belief that one group, particularly one religious group, has more differences than similarities with outside groups. All activities and tendencies which emphasize on the interests of a particular group and which are based on its differences with other religions, cultures and languages come under communalism. Communalism also includes in it the fringe of alienation and separation in which interests of a group formed on religious grounds is given priority over the national interests.

According to Vincent Smith "Communalism is a tendency in which a particular group of people considers it a separate social and political entity on religious and linguistic grounds and also thinks that its interests are different from other groups".

1.8 Objectives of Communal Organizations-

The communal group or an organization generally pressurizes the government to get more

power, prestige and political rights for its members. It generally gives more priority to the interests of the group over national and social interests. Communal organizations create divisions in the society.

1.9 Rise of Communalism-

The problem of communalism in India is credited to British colonial rule. The British Government adopted a policy of "divide and rule" to make Hindus and Muslims fight each other so that they could continue to rule over them comfortably. During the first struggle for independence, Hindus and Muslims fought side by side united in their purpose of defeating a common enemy. The British noticed this unity and realized that their survival rested on being able to keep the people divided. This realization led to the famous British 'Divide and Rule' policy. Religion was considered to be one of the best factors to divide the people. British used it as an influential mechanism to attain economic, political and other social activities. Till 1870 the British oppressed the Muslims greatly for they held them responsible for the revolt. After 1870 the British changed colors and instead started favoring the Muslim community. Communalism was also fostered through the writing of the Indian History. Socio-religious reform movements like Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharam movements, Aligarh movement, Wahabi movement and some other fringe movements contributed towards communalism. *The British realized that the Hindu-Muslim unity is detrimental to the interests of the Empire in the long run, they devised policies to keep them at loggerheads.* The British followed the policy of 'divide and rule' to weaken this unity, and check the consolidation of evolving Indian nationalism. As final blow to Indian unity, the British accepted the '**Two Nation**' theory of Zinnah. *The communal seeds sown and nurtured by British finally caused the vivisection of Indian subcontinent in August 1947. Although, the British left India, and the partition fervoured with communal hatred and mutual distrust between Hindus and Muslims unleashed a human tragedy, hitherto unseen, in the world history.*

1.10 Causes of Communalism -

The British finally left India after making it an independent nation in August 1947 but they deliberately partitioned it into two fragments on communal grounds. The partition fervoured with communal hatred and mutual distrust between Hindus and Muslims unleashed a human tragedy, hitherto unseen, in the world history. Cancer was yet not cured. The British kept the problem of communalism vivid even after independence and inherited it to free India as a legacy of colonial rule. It has continued to remain a problem of Indian politics ever since.

1. The Bitter Memories of Partition-

The direct action of the Muslim League made the communal fervor reaches to its nadir. The country was divided with two independent and sovereign territories. Violence erupted in different parts of the country. Millions of people were displaced from the areas of West Punjab and Sindh and other provinces which were now part of Pakistan. Millions of people had to leave their houses, ancestral land and property and run away to India for lives. In retaliation, some parts of India were also affected by the horrific events. Horrific memories of torture, rape, lootings, death and displacement were imprinted in the minds of the affected people and their families. It was hard for them to forget about what had happened to them. Whenever a small incident occurs in any part of the vast country, this fringe helps it take a bigger form and becomes a communal issue.

2. The Fringe of Separatism-

Before and after independence many political parties and organizations were constituted on religious basis. Among them Hindu Mahasabha, Akali Dal, Jamiat-e-Islam, all India Majlis-e-Ettehadul Musalmin, All India Muslim League, Simi are major organizations. Unfortunately to fulfill their vested interests, these organizations have indulged in politics based on religion, which resulted in the tendency of isolation among various communities.

3. Economic and Educational Backwardness of Muslims-

Muslims educationally and economically were backward even during the British rule. After partition most of the affluent and forward Muslims joined Pakistan. Majority of Muslims who remained in India were relatively backward. Due to lack of education their overall position in jobs, business and industry could not be improved. Reluctance to embrace modern education system made scope for religious institutions. Most of the Muslim children who were imparted primary education in such institutions could not take benefits of higher and technological education and lagged behind in development. Thus, for many reasons the modernization has not been achieved by the Muslim society. It has resulted in dissatisfaction of the people. Some politicians and parties with political ambitions and vested interests further exploited them by raising the bogey of their under development and created vote banks out of dissatisfied people. Instead of addressing their problems of the Muslim society and making it join mainstream, they tried to increase the dissent to yield political gains. Full development of Muslim society is essential for the true growth of our nation. A majority of Muslims in India has failed to adopt the scientific and technological education. Due to their educational backwardness, they have not been represented sufficiently in the public service, industry and trade etc. This causes the feeling of relative deprivation and such feelings contain the seeds of communalism.

4. Pakistan's Propaganda and Conspiracy -

Some foreign countries try to destabilize our country by setting one community against the other through their agents. Pakistan has played a role in fostering communal feeling among the Muslims of our country. Pakistan has been encouraging and promoting communal riots by instigating the militant sections of Indian Muslim community. Kashmir youths are trained by Pakistan to destabilize India's internal security by spreading communal venom. In Pakistan's politics conspiracy

theories have been used as a propaganda tool by Pakistan's military establishment and the political elites, and the media has played pivotal role in discussing and exploring the 'unwarranted' conspiracy theories in a biased manner that suits and serves the military establishment. Pakistan's military establishment and political parties manifest the popular anti-Indian conspiracy theory themes and promotes their media discourse to hype communal dissent in the Muslim population of India. In fact much of the conspiracy narrative in Pakistan is flawed and unwarranted and contains a strong pro-military establishment that promotes and protects its own policies while providing a cover up for its political blunders and exploitations by blaming the external forces such as India and Israel for their occurrence. This phenomenon plays the role of a propaganda tool at the hands of this powerful element in the polity of Pakistan. Through some popular radio and television talk shows on contentious issues and events concerning India it generated an enormous amount of conspiracy talk which frequently discusses cause of Muslims of India. Cause of liberation and suffering of Muslims of Kashmir, issues of Babri Masjid and other contentious religious issues concerning Indian Muslims are on regular agenda of these shows and are most talked. Such propaganda serves on the one hand to confuse the public of Pakistan and create a favourable political environment for the military establishment, and on the other it also helps to create communal rift in India. By hyping the religious component, Pakistan has been quite successful in internationalizing the Kashmir issue and made it a serious political problem of India. The religious militants who are waging a jihad to create a theocratic state in Kashmir are part and parcel of Pakistan's conspiracy. By hatching a religious divide it has turned not only the uneducated but educated Muslims as its sympathizers. They see Pakistan as their benefactor and who will come to their aid on religious grounds. Between 1981 and 93, Pakistan made every possible effort to create and maintain communal hatred between Hindus and Sikhs. The events of the Bombay bomb blasts of

March 1993 were the result of Pakistani conspiracy whose purpose was to create bloody conflicts among Hindus Muslims. It also hypes the Security Forces fighting militancy in Kashmir as an oppression of Indian troops.

5. Apathy and Negligence of Government-

Sometimes due to apathy and negligence of the government and the administration, communal riots are festively blown away. Small events take a bigger shape. In 2013, there was a sense of insecurity among the people due to the incessant violence in Muzaffar Nagar (UP) and the state government failed to control the riots. In one of the verdicts related to riots, the Supreme Court squarely blamed the state government headed by then chief minister Akhilesh Yadav for being negligent in not anticipating the communal violence in Muzaffarnagar. The apex court observed that had the state intelligence agencies smelt these problems in advance and alerted the district administration, the unfortunate incidents could have been prevented. It held the state government, responsible for being negligent at the initial stage in not anticipating the communal violence and for not taking necessary steps for its prevention. Nearly 60 persons were killed in 20 days of riots in September 2013, which tore through Muzaffarnagar and Shamli after three youths were killed in an attack in a village. In such cases appropriate and timely action should be taken so that they can not take the vile form.

6. Political politics, Factional politics and Electoral Politics -

Politics of the narrow political interests of political parties is widely responsible for the problem of communalism. A number of communal and sectarian political parties and organisations are present in India. Muslim League, JamaatIslami, Hindu Mahasabha, Akali Dal and Vishwa Hindu Parishad are directly or indirectly responsible for the emergence of communalism. They try to increase communal hatred for their selfish interests. 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. 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. Some political leaders preach communalism to attain their immediate political goal. Nikhil Chakraborty, leading journalist of yesteryears said "the root cause of all riots that took place since 1950 was political and these rioting was done by politicians for their selfishness."

7. Politics of Appeasement -

Some political parties have deliberately indulged in appeasement of a particular community on communal lines by endorsing their inappropriate and irrational demands and also to woo them as a permanent vote bank. Such activities create mutual tension in different communities. Those who are given special concessions due to appeasement regard them as their right, which leads to dissatisfaction among other classes.

8. Vote Bank Politics -

Vote bank politics has divided the county on communal lines. It damages social harmony. Despite the adoption of the principle of 'secularism' as a constitutional creed, which ironically allows communal parties to compete, the trend towards communalism and fundamentalism in Indian politics have been growing day by day.

1.11 Repurcussions of Communalism -

Communalism is antithetical to unity, integrity, security and development of our country. The country is passing through a critical juncture. The fringe of communalism, which led to partition has all along been there in India. Terrorism and other divisive tendencies are natural offshoots of communalism. First British and then native political parties have widened the rift between the people of India on communal lines for achieving their political and other interests. People of India which are yet to be fully educated have not realized the dangers this tendency poses to our country and they have become prey of this tendency. Flawed and

unwarranted misunderstandings have led some people of both communities to be apprehensive of each other. Muslims are apprehensive of the Hindu majority of the country. Out of fear complex and other apprehensions they have volunteered to be a vote bank of political parties which harbours their interests and appeases them on communal lines. The divide has been further widened by our adversaries who wanted to divide the country on communal lines. They ideologically and materially support the forces inimical to interests of our country. Seed of terrorism were clandestinely sown by Pakistan in the communally fertile land of Punjab and J&K. Amongst the inimical forces, there are certain parties which are goaded by certain forces, by the spirit of certain fissiparous tendencies, and there are also some persons goaded by these fissiparous forces. Inimical forces which were responsible for partition of two provinces are still active. The same psychology is prevalent today. How can this problem be solved? How can we check these belligerent parties from implementing their outdated ideas, which may cause the physical disintegration of the country? What should be done? What should be our short term and the long term policy? The above questions and many others need immediate attention and must be treated socially, culturally, economically and psychologically. Will simply economic theory do or is something more required? Education is a long term programme. What should be done immediately in the physical and psychic realms? We have to go into root causes of the problem to resolve it. Communalism, besides many other problems still remain a threat to integrity. Communal schism is inimical to development of our nation. It is desired that the wholehearted pursuit of development of our country would automatically spurn communal schism.

1. Mutual Hatred - Communalism divides the society and spread mutual hatred, dissent and political unrest in the country. In the lack of atmosphere of mutual harmony in society small incident takes the form of fierce communalism which is harmful. Communalism disturbs social and religious equilibrium of the society and endangers

the sense of unity in diversity, peace and brotherhood.

2. Economic Losses- Communal riots cause great economic destruction and hampers growth. Economic growth can take place only in environment of peace and tranquility. The economic system of any country depends on the internal and external security of the people and the government, which make negative and positive impact on the society and their people. A significant factor affecting the economy of our country is communal riots. Due to this violence, internal and external security of the country is in danger and the country's economy is adversely affected. Communalism creates an atmosphere of intolerance and violence which would block the flow of goods and capital. The flow of labour from productive activities is diverted to unproductive activities, there is massive destruction of public properties to spread the ideology. While making investment foreign investors would avoid the countries with communal atmosphere. They would not take the risk of end up losing their investment. Historically, no country having atmosphere of high communal tensions has developed economically. As development of country takes place only when all people come and work together. During communal riots markets are burnt and the national property is destroyed. In curfew imposed areas the markets remain closed for several days which creates economic losses to business community and also to workers living on daily wages. After the death of Terrorist Burhan, Kashmir's market remained closed for a month. The cause of present economic condition of Jammu and Kashmir is terrorism and communal problem. Economic development can be done only in peace and order, not in unrest and disorder.

3. Loss of Lives - In the communal riots, hundreds of people are killed and homes are destroyed. In communal riots of Ranchi, Srinagar, Varanasi, Aligarh, Hyderabad, Meerut and Bombay thousands of people became disadvantaged in addition to those who died.

4. Political Instability - Communal problems

lead to political problems which inhibit the stability of the governments. Inimical forces help in installing temporary and transitory governments which work on communal lines. Such governments are not conducive for sustainable development. They indulge in survival manoeuvrism for their political existence and the speed of development of the country is blocked.

5. Hurdle in National Unity- Communalism destroys national unity and brotherhood and also creates a split in society and end social harmony. No country can progress and make a powerful nation if it is communally divided. Divisibility and lack of unity weaken the nation and also the society.

6. Risk to National Security - India is a multi-communal country in which people of various communities live together. For the development of peace and order in the country, it is necessary for everyone to be together harmoniously. If acute communal feelings prevail in society they will not allow unity to flourish.

7. Handicap in Industrial and Commercial Development - Communalism creates a persistent problem of law and order which drives Industries away from the nation. Industrial and commercial development only possible if there is peace and order in the society. Society divided on communalism and casteism can not achieve economic growth because a move or step taken by Government is thwarted by communal forces. No bourgeoisie will charge his money in the atmosphere of non-violence and violence. In this way, communal unrest blocked industrial and commercial land. Development can only be in peace and order. This kind of unrest created in Punjab had pushed Punjab many years back. Communalism is the major obstacle that tends to separate people on the basis of religion, language, territories and ethnic origin. Communalism inevitably leads to communal riots and the authorities in order to 'control' the situation imposes curfew. Furthermore, the worst form of violence takes place during the period of curfew in the course of police "hunt" for anti social elements. Communalism leads to an

unhealthy development of the society in which poor people suffer the most. The biggest sufferers are the minorities. The communal riots between Hindus & Muslims in India evoke unfavourable reaction and criticism not only from Pakistan but in other Islamic countries of West Asia and Africa, which adversely affects our relations with them. Communalism gives rise to terrorism as both are interlinked.

1.12 Suggestions to Remove Communalism

Communalism is not only a serious problem for the country but also for the entire humanity because terrorism is the next stage of the communalism. Both the governments and private bodies are very much concerned with the growing menace of communalism. Our country has suffered a lot from it. It poses a threat to the unity and integrity of the nation. It is the biggest obstacle in way of progress and development of our country. Therefore, communalism should be removed from the society. To overcome this problem various remedial steps are suggested which are given as under :-

1. The Government should always bear in mind that such a work should not be done by him, which encourages communalism. Instead of talking about equity and equality, efforts should be made to implement it practically. Since poverty encourages the forces of communalism, all efforts should be taken for the economic development of the people.
2. Moral and spiritual values should be included in education. India is a secular state but education of values of moral life should be compulsory for everyone. There should be education that can create a sense of devotion and nationalism rather than religious prejudice.
3. No specific concessions or facilities should be given to any religious class on the basis of religion, which creates jealousy in other religions. Such discrimination, on the basis of religion creates mutual tension and end the

sense of brotherhood.

4. The government should make such arrangements to create a sense of security in the minds of the minorities. In case the communal riots are caused, the local administration should be given clear instruction to control and to prevent riots in its areas. The mass media must provide reliable information's to the people instead of publishing sensational news. Moreover, special courts should be established for trying and punishing guilty persons who have organised riots in the locality.

The government and the political parties should not indulge in vote bank politics. It gives rise to dissatisfaction among other classes.

5. One of the biggest reasons for communalism is electoral politics. There should be strict restrictions on political parties promoting communalism to take advantage of elections. The Election Commission should prohibit all sorts of electoral campaign on communal line. The political parties should have a code of conduct not to indulge in communal activities. Getting support of religion directly or indirectly by any party in the election campaign must also be banned.
6. Gradually the demand to be represented on the basis of communalism must also be discarded and opposed strongly. Citizens will have to create a sense of a nation. All the political parties which thrive on religious loyalties should be banned or abolished by the government. Even non-political cultural organizations should always be kept under constant vigil so that they cannot preach communalism.
7. The government should rise above politics and make efforts to fix its language policy. It should make Hindi the language of the whole country.
8. Education is helpful in building up liberal and mental development of the person. Various schemes like N.C.C., N.S.S., Girls Guide,

Scout, youth leadership and training programme should be promoted. Educational tours and exchange programmes should also be used for creating healthy temperament among the youth. The uneducated people easily get oriented towards the narrow concept of religion and easily become prey of vested interests that use it in their own interest. The non-governmental and other philanthropic associations should be encouraged to develop secular way of life in the locality.

9. Communalism is a psychological disorder or mental malady. For the removal of communal hatred, proper socialization of children is necessary. Common living and common share of life should be encouraged by the families, schools, social activists etc. The educational system must be designed systematically for checking communalism. Programs promoting secularism should be organized. For this purpose, special books, booklets, pamphlets, articles should be published to do the needful in this direction. Such things help in shaping up liberal out look of the people and making them religiously tolerant towards the other religion. Proper use of mass media both print and electronics, should be made to spread the message of religious tolerance, secularism, and common brotherhood. In case there is a communal riot, the victims should not be identified either as Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs. The Committee also recommended the formation of peace and brotherhood committees at local levels to ensure healthy atmosphere and to prevent the anti-social elements who indulge themselves in communal riots.
11. Political parties should not be allowed to be constituted on the basis of religion. Religious organizations should be prohibited from participating in politics. A complete ban should be imposed on all communal organisations and communal political parties.

Sachar Committee Report, 2006 -

A seven-member committee was constituted under the chairmanship of Retired Judge Rajendra Singh Sachar to give suggestions for improving the social, economic and educational status of Indian Muslims. The seven-member High Level Committee submitted its final report to the Prime Minister on November 17, 2006. The Government tabled the Justice Rajindar Sachar Committee Report in Parliament on November 30th. The Sachar Committee compiled data from a number of sources. The report framed issues as related to identity, security and equity. Barring some generic observations about the causes for the 'development deficit' among Muslims, there was no explicit or detailed discussion of the causes of such conditions. The report suggested list of 15 programs for the welfare and development of minorities which included Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Education for All Campaign), facilities for Muslim girls etc. Some people demanded reservation for minorities for political gain. The then central government also decided to give 4.5 percent reservation to minorities from the Backward Classes quota, but the same was rejected by the Andhra Pradesh High Court and the Supreme Court. Reservation on the basis of religion has been rejected in the Indian Constitution.

Recommendations-

The Muslim community exhibits deficits and deprivation in practically all dimensions of development. Mechanisms to ensure equity and equality of opportunity to bring about inclusion should be such that diversity is achieved and at the same time the perception of discrimination is eliminated. Creation of a National Data Bank (NDB) where all relevant data for various Socio Religious Communities are maintained was recommended along with an autonomous Assessment and Monitoring Authority to evaluate the extent of development benefits which accrue to different Socio Religious Communities through various programmes. An Equal Opportunity Commission should be constituted to look into the grievances of the deprived groups. A carefully

conceived nomination procedure should be worked out to increase inclusiveness in governance. The Committee recommended elimination of the anomalies with respect to reserved constituencies under the delimitation scheme. The idea of providing certain incentives to a diversity index should be explored. Incentives can be related to this index so as to ensure equal opportunities to all socio religious communities in the fields of education, governance, private employment and housing. State functionaries should be sensitive to the need to have diversity and the problems associated with social exclusion. A process of evaluating the content of the school textbooks needs to be initiated and institutionalized. The UGC should evolve a system where part of the allocation to colleges and universities is linked to the diversity in the student population. To facilitate admissions to the most backward amongst all the socio religious communities in the regular universities and autonomous colleges, alternate admission criteria need to be evolved. Providing hostel facilities at reasonable costs for students from minorities must be taken up on a priority basis. Teacher training should be compulsory ensuring in its curriculum the components which introduce the importance of diversity and plurality. The teachers should be sensitized towards the needs and aspirations of Muslims and other marginalized communities. The states should run Urdu medium schools. Work out mechanisms whereby Madarsas can be linked with a higher secondary school board so that students wanting to shift to a regular mainstream education can do so after having passed from a Madarsa. Recognition of the Madarsa degrees for eligibility in competitive examinations was desirable. The Committee recommended promoting and enhancing access to Muslims in Priority Sector Bank Advances. The real need was of policy initiatives that improve the participation and share of the Minorities, particularly Muslims in the business of regular commercial banks. The community should be represented on interview panels and Boards. The underprivileged should be

helped to utilize new opportunities in its high growth phase through skill development and education. Provide financial and other support to initiatives built around occupations where Muslims are concentrated and have growth potential.

Causes of Communalism- (1) The British policy of divide and rule, sense of separation, economic and educational backwardness of Muslims, Pakistan propaganda, government apathy, party politics, appeasement policy, vote bank politics and foreign money are largely responsible for communalism.

Major Communal Riots- Communal incidents of Srinagar in 1963, Delhi in 1974, Moradabad in 1980, 1984 riots against Sikhs and riots that broke out post the burning of bogeys of train carrying car sewaks at Godhara in Gujarat in 2000 are among the major communal riots of India after Independence.

The Side Effects of Communalism

Communalism leads to political instability and endangers national unity, integrity and security. Mutual hatred results in loss of lives of innocent people and the economic growth of country is also blocked.

Measures for Removing Communalism - those who resort to appeasement policy towards a particular community for getting their votes to win the election should abandon this divisive policy. Politics done on the basis of religion is detrimental to all and there should be no discrimination on the basis of religion. Moral education should be taught to one and all to make them good citizens.

Future Scenario - Looking at the factors and forces responsible for the riots and every riot becoming more organized, widespread, and use of more and more lethal weapons it can be assumed that soon it would take the shape of pitched battles, like a civil war. If we want to save our nation from such a fate a concerted economic, political and socio-cultural program should be initiated and followed vigorously. Communalism is like a poison

that can kill our freedom and all good qualities required for the governance of a democratic country.

Important Points

- Both Casteism and communalism are important elements which adversely affects Indian politics.
- A caste as a social structure is prevalent in India since ancient times.
- Vote politics has further increased casteism.
- Tendency in which religious, cultural and linguistic groups give their class interests a priority over national interest by treating them as separate classes is called communalism
- "Divide and Rule" policy of the British Government is one of the causes of communalism.
- The British policy of divide and rule, sense of separation, economic and educational backwardness of Muslims, Pakistan propaganda, government apathy, party politics, appeasement policy, vote bank politics and foreign money are largely responsible for communalism.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Which of the following scholars has said, "Caste is an important party in India".
(A) Mahatma Gandhi
(B) Swami Vivekananda
(C) Jai Prakash Narayan
(D) Sardar Patel ()
2. Which of the following statements are false?
(A) Caste influences the decision process
(B) Political parties do not select their candidates on caste basis
(C) Caste influence is more in the caste oriented states

(D) Voters always cast their vote on caste basis. ()

3. Which of the following states is influenced by the caste politics?
(A) Bihar
(B) Uttar Pradesh
(C) Andhra Pradesh
(D) All of the above ()
4. What was the main cause for partition of India?
(A) Casteism (B) Communalism
(C) Linguistic (D) Corruption ()
5. Communal riots at Godhra in Gujarat broke out in -
(A) Feb, 2002 (B) March 2001
(C) Feb, 1992 (D) Dec, 1995 ()
6. The main consequences of communalism are-
(A) Political instability
(B) Obstacle in National Integration
(C) Financial losses
(D) All of the above ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What is the caste?
2. What was the basis of caste during the Vedic period?
3. What is communalism?
4. Which policy of the British Government has promoted communalism in India?
5. Describe two side effects of communalism.

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Explain the role of caste in Indian elections.
2. Describe two causes of communalism.
3. How does the caste affect the decision process?
4. "British Government policies were responsible for increase in communalism in

India".Explain.

5. How does the foreign propaganda help increase in communalism?

Essay Type Questions-

1. What does the Casteism mean? Explain the role of caste in Indian politics.
2. What is communalism? Describe its main causes.
3. Explain the consequences of communalism.
4. Explain the positive and negative effects of Casteism.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

- | | | |
|------|------|------|
| 1. C | 2. B | 3. D |
| 4. B | 5. A | 6. D |

2. Regionalism and Lingualism

India is one of the most diverse lands found anywhere else in the world. The diversity of India is unique. It is a land of diversity in race, religion, caste, language, land forms, flora and fauna and so on. A good deal of geographical, linguistic and cultural diversities exists here. India presents endless varieties of physical features and cultural patterns. It is the land of many languages. It is only in India people professes all the major religions of the world. India is one of the most religiously and ethnically diverse nations in the world, with some of the most deeply religious societies and cultures. Although these differences cause curiosity for us, sometimes excessive demands made on these grounds create problems of governance. At the time of independence, India was not a powerful nation economically. It was mainly due to the excessive exploitation of our economy by the British and the unbalanced development of the provinces. The economic policies pursued by the colonial government in India were concerned more with the protection and promotion of the economic interests of their home country than with the development of the Indian economy. After attaining independence, our union government tried to correct this state of imbalance by reorganization of the states and other measures. Regional differences continued even after independence because of our historical background and the availability of natural resources. The process of reorganization and formation of the states after our independence was also one of the factors. The states were reorganized by the merger of British territories, the integration of the princely states with the Union of India and subsequent political and social integration of the

entire country. The reorganization of the states on the basis of language, a major aspect of national consolidation and integration, came to the fore almost immediately after independence. The boundaries of provinces in pre-1947 India had been drawn in a haphazard manner as the British conquest of India had proceeded for nearly a hundred years. No heed was paid to linguistic or cultural cohesion so that most of the provinces were multilingual and multicultural. The interspersed princely states had added a further element of heterogeneity. At the time of independence in 1947, the grouping of 571 disjointed princely states and other territories was done on the basis of political and historical considerations rather than on linguistic or cultural divisions, but this was a temporary arrangement. On account of the multilingual nature and differences that existed between various states, there was a need for the states to be reorganized on a permanent basis. The caste, religion, community and the leading image of a towering regional leader also influenced the process of state reorganization. The level of economic development, political commitment of bureaucrats, and the geographical region based politics of politicians also contributed towards the tendency of regionalism. During the independence movement, these aspirations were secondary and remained hidden in background because the primary goal was to set our country free from the foreign rule. Soon after getting independent in 1947, these regional and lingual aspirations surfaced again. The demand of linguistic provinces and the harsh antagonism between various sections of the Indian people which underlay these demands further strengthened the sentiments of regionalism. India

never developed a good system to manage its diversity. The ad hoc approach only led to appeasement, violence, and alienation among communities.

- Demands for the Reorganization of States
- Demand for Creation of New State
- Demand for More Autonomy within the Union of India
- Demand for More Share in Distribution of Natural Resources and Disputes related to it
- Demand for Getting More Financial Support from the Center.
- Demand for Maximum Political Participation.

2.1 What is Regionalism-

Strong attachment of local residents to one's own region and their efforts to promote it more than the union, comes under the category of Regionalism. The aim of regionalism is to fulfill narrow regional interests. This is such a trend in which the people of the region demand more economic, social and political power for their province than others.

2.2 Causes of Regionalism-

Regionalism in India is a multidimensional phenomenon as it is a complex amalgam of geographical, historical, cultural, economic, politico-administrative and psyche factors.

1. Nature provided differences and inequalities.
2. Lack of equal distribution of resources by the administration or administrative discrimination.
3. Unequal investment and development related variations.
4. Historical and political factors.
5. Cultural diversity.
6. Prejudice towards regionalism due to linguistic diversity.

The nation with narrow regional aspirations has to face many adverse consequences like:

(I) Challenge to the integrity of the country -

The process of the development of regional aspirations peril the unity and integrity of the nation. In its fierce form, sometimes regional aspirations leads tendency of fringe of separatism and alienation and pose challenge to the national identity. The regionalism may develop a negative sense in the people and they lose faith in the union government and its policies. Experience of our national politics for the past seven **decades has not been good in this regard.**

(ii) **Tendency of demanding new states.**

(iii) **Dominance of regional politics and regional political parties.**

(iv) **The concept of 'son of the soil.'**

(v) **Rise of self-appointed leaders.**

(vi) **Challenge to National Laws and orders and results in anarchy.**

(vii) **Deteriorates the credibility of the country in international politics** - Internal issues affect our international image. Sometimes, at the pretext of violation of human rights, demands of separate states and on the plea of maintenance of democratic values our adversaries and other countries criticize India at international forums and make a hue and cry unnecessarily.

2.3 Resolution of Problem of Regionalism-

The solution of every problem lies in its causes. The problem of regionalism can only be overcome by eliminating its root causes. Some solutions to get relief from the problem of regionalism are outlined as under-

1. Formulation of Sustainable National Policy - It is the responsibility of the Central Government to formulate a balanced and equitable policy without political discrimination at the time of formulation of policy for development of all sectors. If the developments of comparatively the smaller and resource-wise weaker areas / states are also given equal priority, then it will gradually increase confidence of the inhabitants of the region and the fierce nature of regionalism will at first get diluted

and then finally be resolved.

2. Development of Permanent Infra-structural Structure in the States- In order to reduce regional variations in the states, the development of infrastructure, irrigation, electricity, traffic and communication in backward and undeveloped areas will have to be prioritized, with far-reaching positive results.

3. Initiating Special Projects for Development of Particular Areas- Special programs for development of Particular Areas will be run as projects. Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP), Desert Development Programme (DDP), Hill Areas Development Programme (HADP) and Tribal Area Development Programme (TADP) and conferring status of special state are some of the government moves which have already been initiated. This measure will also be effective in easing the spirit of regionalism,

4. Formation of Administrative Units of Smaller States- Constituting- Smaller states in a pragmatic way is a better option for smooth administration. Local area development programs can be successfully run by the provincial governments from small states. Only the distribution of Central taxes increases the stake.

5. Integration through Cultural Differences- Government has already taken initiatives to promote cultural variety and variations positively for integration through the medium of Doordarshan, Radio, Newspapers and other communication channels. Identifying and recognizing cultures and linking them with one another can be the means of integration.

6. Respecting linguistic diversity- Our Constitution has also recognized diversity by recognizing them. We all have to respect the languages with respect to the languages. Increase the scope of translation. They must be given proper place in the school curriculum.

Lingualism

Article 343 of our Constitution clearly states that the official language of the Union of India will

be Hindi. Having recognized the importance of English as an instrument of knowledge dissemination as well as commerce as well as maintenance of international relations, a provision was left to extend the use of English language in the Article 343 on 'Official language of the Union' - "for all the official purposes of the Union" even after "a period of fifteen years," with a proviso that "the President may, during the said period, by order authorize the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union". It also provided for the formation of an Official language commission by the President to suggest progressive use of Hindi and the position of regional languages. This commission will also consider the appropriate demands of the people of non-Hindi speaking areas regarding the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of the country and public services. At the same time, the Constitution also gives the State Legislature the right to accept Hindi or the regional language of that state for political purpose in that state. It also provides for safeguarding the rights of linguistic minorities in this process.

2.4 Background-

In order to implement the provisions of the Constitution, the First Official Language Commission under the chairmanship of B.G. Kher was appointed in 1955, reported in 1957. In 1967 the Official Language Act 1963(as amended in 1963) suggested the implementation of the Three Language Formula. Under this scheme, it was suggested that business and correspondence of government should be carried out in Hindi, English and other regional languages. The competitive exams for various government services should also be conducted accordingly. The progressive development of Hindi should also be a part of this process. In spite of these provisions, obstacles in the development of Hindi language continue to persist in our country. When India became a Union of States, the States were formed on a linguistic basis. Linguistics became an essential guiding principle

simply because the country had several languages strong enough individually in spoken, written and literature forms and they had to be assimilated in much the same way as the various princely states were in a united India. The anti-Hindi agitation of the 1960s shook the edifice of linguistic togetherness and laid the ground for a level of distrust that continues to prevail to this day. Some states of the south were reorganized on the lingual basis after their stirring the anti-Hindi agitation. The roots of demand for the creation of new states lie in linguistic conflicts. There should not be any objection in promotion and growth of regional language but creating obstacles in spread of Hindi by opposing it through violent methods is not good for national assimilation. Terming progressive use of Hindi as '*Hindi Imperialism*' is not good for nationalism. The feeling of insecurity in the minds of people of non-Hindi speaking areas should be erased and priority should be given to establish mutual faith to make the "*Three Language Formula*" meaningful and practically adaptable. The local and regional languages can never take place of national language and hence they should not feel any challenge from the official language of the country. Different languages have different ways of achieving the same functional goals and easily learnable. Linguistic diversity is just a symptom of the society where the lingual differences can be treated similar to the physical differences. Although Hindi has been recognized as the national language, this has promoted bitter hostilities, particularly in the South. Mostly the lingual agitations and conflicts are deliberately sparked by politicians to meet their vested interests. Language problem has never been as intensely felt as it is today. It is important for the common citizen to understand its political perspective. Parochial political parties create linguistic feeling among the people of a locality and exploit their sentiments at the time of election. Moreover, it is responsibility of the government to ensure equal distribution of resources, equal job opportunities without any linguistic discrimination. The rule of law should prevail everywhere and no language should be

arbitrarily imposed. A peaceful movement is also being carried on for the inclusion of *Rajasthani language* in the Eighth Schedule to the *Constitution*.

2.5 Measures to Resolve the Problem of Lingualism

The lingual conflicts and aggressive agitations pose serious challenge to integrity of the nation and peril the national integration. Hence, they should be resolved peacefully. Some remedial measures are given as under :-

1. Mutual understanding and lingual cooperation should be built between the Hindi speaking and Non-Hindi speaking people to make them understand that Hindi is not a challenge to regional languages rather useful in developing cross lingual culture and also in nation building.
2. The propagation of Hindi as the national language requires lot most care and tact and it should be done in a well planned manner. It will be unwise to impose Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people.
3. Cultural exchanges educational and linguistic activities should be expanded in the country far and wide.
4. By promoting the scope of tourism, the necessity of learning Hindi becomes more viable.
5. The three language formula such as regional language, Hindi and English should be properly implemented at the level of the Center and the States.
6. Efforts should be made towards making regional languages useful in promoting and spreading Hindi.
7. Efforts should be made to end the tendency of political and finding a real solution to the problem of lingualism in national interest.
8. The use of English should be limited to the translation and administrative purposes.
9. Feeling that as means of communication the

languages unite rather than divide the people should be instilled in the minds of the people.

Important Points

- Showing strong attachment to one's own region rather than the nation is called '*regionalism*.'
- The tendency of regionalism is a big challenge for national integration.
- Geographical differences, uneven distribution of natural resources and the lack of proper thinking of the central government develop the fringe of regionalism.
- If any part of a big state feels neglected and demands separate identity, it also comes under the category of regionalism.
- The concept of 'Son of the Soil' has given rise to the tendency of regionalism.
- Regionalism flourishes by neglect based on cultural and linguistic differences.
- "*Three Language Formula*" has been adopted in India - Hindi as an Official language, English as a language for communication and one of the regional languages listed in the 8th schedule of the constitution.
- The lingual conflict is rooted in the tendency of considering regional language to be better than Hindi.
- Hindi and regional languages can develop as complementary to each other through mutual lingual cooperation and help in erasing the parochial tendency of lingualism.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Which of these statements represents regionalism?
 - (1) Demands for reorganization of states
 - (2) Creation of new state

(3) Autonomy under the Union of India

(4) Merger of state into big state ()

The correct statement is -

(A) 1, 2, 3, 4 (B) 1, 2, 4

(C) 1, 2, 3 (D) 2, 3, 4 ()

2. The concept of '*son of the soil*' implies -

(A) The rise of the self-proclaimed leader in an area

(B) Off spring of a woman named Bhumi

(C) Fishermen working on land

(D) A form of feudal system ()

3. Which one of the following is a mismatch in the list of programs run by the Government of India for the development of backward areas?

(A) Tribal Area Development Program

(B) Hill Area Development Program

(C) Drought Area Development Program

(D) Religious Development Program ()

4. Which pair is the correct about the Three Language Formula?

(A) Hindi, English, Kannada

(B) English, Punjabi, Russian

(C) Hindi, Bhojpuri, Devanagari

(D) Hindi, Malayalam, Rajasthani ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions

1. What are the main causes of growth of regionalism?
2. What is the meaning of Lingualism?
3. Write two adverse affects of the concept of regionalism.
4. Suggest a remedy of lingualism so that it does not become a challenge for national integration.
5. What is the official language of the Union of India?

Short Answer Type Questions -

1. What is the concept of 'Son of the Soil'?

2. Explain the meaning of regionalism.
3. What is Three Language Formula?
4. Write the name of any four special development programs being run by the Government of India.

Essay Type Questions -

1. What is regionalism? Write about its causes and remedial measures to prevent it.
2. Give your review on the consequences of regionalism in India.
3. What is Lingualism? Describe measures to change its aggressive nature into a goodwill gesture.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1.C 2.A 3.D 4.A

3. Terrorism, Criminalization of Politics and Corruption

Terrorism

Terrorism is basically a disruptive trend, which has a deep connection with other divisive tendencies. This is not a new political concept, in some form or the other; it has existed in all political systems since ancient times. Terrorism, communalism and separatism are integral to each other. Terrorism has caused the greatest harm to world peace. India is one of the most affected countries of terrorism. Defining terrorism is a very difficult task. One approach is the belief that one who is a terrorist in the thought of another can be an independent fighter in the thought of another. In the current world, terrorism is alive on religious and ethnic basis.

3.1 The Meaning of Terrorism-

The meaning of terror in Latin is to make one tremble. In other words, terror means a violent action or threats designed to cause fear among ordinary people, in order to achieve political aims. According to O Dimers, *"Terrorism is a delusion. It is a psychological warfare; its aim is to achieve psychological consequences. The dramatic presentation of violence and its progress is the fundamental nature of famous terrorism."* Terrorists' do not just want to frighten the people or get them to overreact; they want to be always in people's consciousness to make them believe there's nothing terrorists would not do. In general, the method of creating fear in any way can be called terrorism. When a person or group tries to fulfill their proper demands, peacefully and through non-violent efforts, then it is called movement. The

movement is an indispensable process of the democratic system. On the contrary, when a person or a group of people makes a negative attempt based on the violence and atrocities on a broad scale to meet their inappropriate demands, then it is called terrorism. Terrorism, in the most widely accepted contemporary usage of the term, is fundamentally and inherently political. It is also ineluctably about power: the pursuit of power, the acquisition of power, and the use of power to achieve political change. Terrorism is thus violence- or, equally important, the threat of violence - used and directed in pursuit of, or in service of, a political aim. Terrorism is usually supported on religious, racial, regional, and ethnic grounds. But due to being undemocratic, it is unable to get support in the democratic setups at the widespread level. The use of terror implies - creating fear. All the despotic societies were established on basis of fear. The basic premise of the so-called totalitarian regimes in the modern era is fear. The sword of terror always looms large over those who think of rebellion in the peacetime. The main goal of terrorists is to topple down the present legally established rule and capture the power by overthrowing it. Terrorism is the most dangerous violent psychological war system in the world. Terrorism is a kind of infectious disease. Its psychological effects are far more hazardous than its actual physical effects. Terrorism has become the biggest threat to the world after the end of the war. Terrorism is part of those new innovations which may use nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and cause mass destruction. In practice, terrorism sometimes becomes 'the weapon

of the weak against the powerful', and some other times it becomes 'the weapon to defend the religion and the religious power.'

3.2 World Perspective of Terrorism

The 9/11 incident suddenly made terrorism significant once again. In fact, Taliban phenomenon had been very active in the last two decades of the last century but for its vested interests America praised them and called them freedom fighters and liberators of the people. It is worth mentioning that Pakistan's attitude towards the terrorists of Kashmir has been similar to what USA thought of Taliban in the last century. Pakistan wants to pursue its political goals by calling them freedom fighters. By overtly displaying its sympathy on a religious basis, it wants to achieve its political objectives. Terrorism has both the reactionary and the suicidal effects. In our region, Pakistan is the primary funder of terror organizations. Today Pakistan, which has been the main sponsor and breeding nation of terrorism, is fighting itself with the menace of terrorism. Terrorism in India is said to be largely sponsored by Pakistan. One country has deliberately used it as a strategy against its adversary. Historically there have been states that have been most extreme in their deployment of political terror, the greatest because bloodiest exponents of terrorism. Clear examples from the past include not only the excesses of Stalin and Hitler but also the use of violence by central American governments in the 1980s and perhaps most dramatically of all the dropping of the two Atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The latter in particular was a pure act of political terror: 'look what we can do, now listen to us'. The same could be said of the United Kingdom's decision to attack German cities from the air during the latter part of the Second World War. It was USA which had created the monster of Taliban for using it in opposition to its adversary the former Soviet Union. But after two decades the monster turned against him. Supporting Iraq against Iran and raising the Taliban against the former Soviet Union were also part of the strategy of the USA. Its military action after 9/11 against Iraq and Afghanistan in the

name of fighting the global terrorism was nothing but an attack on the sovereignty of these nations. The USA and its allies believe that keeping any kind of destructive weapons and using them for perpetrating violence is an act of terrorism. The countries which support and give refuge to terrorists are being identified from this perspective. Ironically, these same countries have the largest stockpile of weapons of mass destruction. In fact, terrorism is not just the technique of violence or an art of killing or terrorizing lives of people but it is an ideology in itself. It has a profound relationship with foreign policy of the USA during the Cold War. Cold War is literally a bloody monster. The more you hit it, the more ghastly it will become. Same is true about terrorism. Apparently the cold war is said to have ended with the collapse of former Soviet Union but as an ideology it is still alive. The present phenomenon of the ISIS, Taliban and terrorism is part of the overall World perspective. This phenomenon has its own system, mechanism and ideology. The multinational companies are its oxygen. Terrorism is no longer a local phenomenon; its effects cannot be confined within the periphery of the boundaries of a nation. Its current diverse form and nature make it a global phenomenon. Terrorism has been booming and prospering with state-of-the-art weapons and funding from the counties across the borders. Global network of Taliban, Al-Qaeda, LTTE, Khalistan Commando Force, ORDEN and RawtiShax, etc. owned numerous business ventures in various countries. These terrorist organizations have considerable connections with multi-national corporations active globally. These companies are of two types - smugglers of narcotic substances and producers of arms and weapons. With an aim to take advantage of the reactions of the system and to hype their inappropriate demands the terrorists carry out violence in a planned manner as part of their strategy. Brian Crozier has underlined in his book -A Theory of Conflict (1975) that terror and violence are largely the weapons of weak. Being less in numbers and mostly powerless, they cannot achieve power in a traditional way and hence take to violence in achieving their goals.

3.3 Fanaticism & Terrorism

The tendency to treat terrorism as an associate of Islam has been a matter of controversy for a long time. It is a serious question that terrorism is linked to any religion. To believe that all the followers of Islam promote terrorism is absolutely false and baseless. It is also believed that Islam, is not violent or inhumane, it is a religion based upon peaceful principles. Islam, however, is essentially a political ideology. Some experts of terrorism of the West do contend that in some countries violent transformation of Islam has emerged as a powerful trend and phenomenon in last 25-30 years. Islam has many strands, as do most religions. Although they also admit that it is not at all necessary that what Islam meant to terrorists and fundamentalists also meant the same to its followers. But they also believe that Islamic terrorism is a strand of Islam. It has become a powerful phenomenon in the past 20-30 years. Ironically, in Islamic terrorism the terrorists have excessive devotion to Islam rather than any faction or a group. Commitment to a particular religion is the main trend of Islamic terrorism. Martyrdom, perpetrating unlimited barbarism, forcibly amassing wealth and killing and committing atrocities on innocent people ruthlessly in most ghastly manner in the name of Allah are some of the features of Islamic terrorism. This form of Islam has killed and intimidated more Muslims than the other people. At present, the deaths of most of Muslims in the world are not caused by the American drones but by the different Muslim attacks on Muslims. Shia attacks Sunni and Sunni attacks the Shia. Muslims are torturing Muslims, whether it is Taliban in Afghanistan or Ayatollah in Iran. Islamic terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir comes under the category of religious separatism.

3.4 Terrorism in India

Terrorism is not a new trend which has descended in India over night. Terror was repeatedly used in the entire history of India to achieve power. Terrorism has become one of the most pervasive and critical threats to the security of India in recent history. Sikh terrorism of last two

decades of the last century, Islamic terrorism of Jammu and Kashmir, Naxalism presently active in various Indian states and insurgency of different states of the North East can be included in the definition of terrorism. In addition to many local terrorist organizations in the Jammu and Kashmir state of India, other Pakistan-backed and trained terrorist organizations are also active. In India by the end of year 2017, 40 terrorist organizations have been banned under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA). Islamic Research Foundation (IRF) the NGO of Islamic campaigner, Zakir Naik has also been banned as an 'unlawful association' under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act in March 2016.

3.5 Nature of Terrorism in India

The nature of terrorist organizations active in India is not identical. One factor is common to all. All these terrorist organizations use various violent methods to perpetrate violence and to create fear to achieve their goal. In India, militant gangs are active in north-eastern states- especially in Border States, Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Punjab, Andhra, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, Bengal and Maharashtra. In Kashmir, militant outfits get more support on religious grounds. They also get immense Pakistani support in form of training of terrorist cadres in its camps, funding, logistical and intelligence. Pakistan continues to play an active role in generating religious and ideological discontent and disorders among the Muslim population. Pakistan is helping them by providing funds, weapons, training, propaganda and recruiting youth as terrorists. Psychologically, by applying different tactics Pakistan has been quite successful in fomenting religious discontent and discord in the mindsets of people of Kashmir and orienting them towards the tendency of excessive devotion to Islam or the fanaticism and away from national mainstream. It has adversely affected geographical, political and strategic interests of India. The central goal of the Sikh terrorists -active in the last century in Punjab and the Muslim terrorists of Jammu and Kashmir is the same. Both have demanded a

separate state on religious grounds. Therefore, terrorism in both Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir comes under the category of separatism. Different terrorists may have different political ideology because it is not possible for them to have similar ideology and objectives. However, there may be some common attributes of terrorism. In both Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir terrorism has resorted to religious fundamentalism. In Punjab, terrorists are mostly blamed for the killings of innocent civilians, while terrorists in Kashmir have resorted to cause maximum damage to the army and other security forces besides killing innocent people mostly of other religions. When the terrorism was at its peak in Punjab, terrorists killed innocent people instead of confronting with the state machinery. State Police Force was their second target. The main targets of militant outfits in Assam, Manipuri, Tripura, and Nagaland are the people of the particular ethnic group or community. They occasionally also attacked the state machinery but their main target are people of a particular community. Therefore, terrorism of these states continues to indulge in violent encounters or attacks among different ethnic groups or tribal groups. The incidents of attacking the state machinery were not directly related to politics, but the relationship among the various separatist outfits did exist. For instance, the Khalistani outfits in Punjab, the Naxalite groups and the People's War Group active in Andhra Pradesh had connections with the LTTE. Similarly, in each province, there are some religious elements which have been active in supporting the cause of terrorists. It means that the perspective of terrorist outfits is not identical and they widely differ in aim and methodologies. In India, a major terrorist incident took place in form of the Bombay blasts on March 12, 1993, in which 317 innocent people died. The coordinated attacks were the most-destructive bomb explosions in Indian history. Dawood Ibrahim, who ran the international syndicate of organized crime named D-Company, conducted the attacks. It is believed that a number of smugglers from India and Pakistan contributed financially to this terror enterprise. In these horrendous attacks

there was also direct role of Muslim fundamentalists, the hard core terrorists, smugglers, and foreign agencies. The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the intelligence agency of Pakistan masterminded the attacks. Pakistan and the UAE were supposedly the locations where the terrorists were recruited and then trained. It was a terrorist act of worst kind. Communalism, separatism and terrorism are different aspects of the same coin. In these three, the process of mutual interactions and meddling continue. There is always possibility of mutational change of a communalism to separatism or terrorism. Similarly, there is also possibility that separatism may lead to terrorism having inspired by extreme communalism. The nature of terrorist activities of Naxal terrorist groups of Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh differ from the activities of separatist outfits. Separatism is not a central goal of Naxal militant groups.

3.6 Terrorism and Naxalism Affected States of India

1. Jammu & Kashmir
2. Punjab
3. North and North-Western India
4. New Delhi
5. North India
6. North-Eastern States- Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland
7. South India- Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka

3.7 Social Background of Terrorists

The social background of the individual involved in terrorist activities in India has been different.

1. Youth of Middle class and Upper Middle Class
2. The terrorists of Punjab, Kashmir, Naxalites of West Bengal and terrorists from North-Eastern states largely came from these sections.

3. The disgruntled and indoctrinated youth from the poor sections of the society.

3.8 Objectives of Terrorist Activities-

1. Carrying out attacking on important centers or institutions in a planned manner
2. Owning responsibility of terrorist activities and violent acts and hyping the same for propaganda.
3. Seeking extraneous benefits from the government.

The first goal is tactical. The second is strategic and the third is the original ambitious goal. At tactical level, people are intimidated, threatened, terrorized and attacked. At strategic level violence and terrorists activities are actually carried out in most dramatic manner. The ultimate goal is successfully achieved when they are able to draw maximum attention of media to the violent acts they performed. The tactics, strategy and actual goal of the terrorists are interspersed with each other. Terrorist violence has changed in recent years from an agenda-forcing and attention getting tool of the politically disenfranchised to a significant asymmetric form of conflict employed against adversaries with economic, military, social, and political aims. While terrorist acts may have appeared to be extraordinary events several decades ago, today terrorism eclipses these former acts and demonstrates a profound impact on populations at the local, regional, national, and international levels.

3.9 Psychological Elements of Terrorism-

Terrorism is an indispensable strategy based on psychological effects. Under this strategy, terrorists influence audiences. Here audience implies those people who become horrified by terrorist actions.

1. Propaganda by Deed
2. Intimidation
3. Abetment
4. Disorder, anarchy chaos

5. Attrition

3.10 Terrorism & Media Coverage-

There is a symbiotic relationship between terrorism and the media. The use of technology has made the acts of terror and violence seems even more attractive. Terrorists' manipulation and exploitation of the media is shown to play a crucial part in their propaganda war. Terrorism involves the use or threat of violence and seeks to create fear, not just within the direct victims but among a wide audience. In order to attract and maintain the publicity necessary to generate widespread fear, terrorists must engage in increasingly dramatic, violent, and high-profile attacks. These have included hijackings, hostage takings, kidnappings, car bombings, and, frequently, suicide bombings. The media coverage of terrorism in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir was mostly stereotyped. As a result of that instead of arousing hatred against the terrorists, the technologically savvy rapporteurs have generated sympathy and also shown tolerance towards the activities of the terrorists. Such media coverage has huge impact on the society. Media play a major role in covering the terrorist activities. The publicity is the oxygen for terrorism-this underlines the point that capturing public perception is a major terrorist target and the media are central in shaping it. Firstly, the undue importance and priority given in reporting of the activities of the violence and terrorist activities inspires others to emulate the terrorists to do the same thing that they did. Secondly, with excessive media coverage it is possible that the reaction of the state may result in the oppression of the people. Hence, such situation is favorable for the cause of terrorists. This helps them in expanding their sphere of operation and also their objective. In this way they also deliberately invite state oppression. Terrorists must get publicity in some form if they are to gain attention, inspire fear and respect and secure favorable understanding of their cause. Terrorist organizations seek media coverage to create panic, to spread fear, to facilitate economic loss and to make people lose faith in their government's ability to protect them. Thirdly, the

media coverage makes people impassive and they are not able to express their true opinion about the activities of the terrorists. Fourthly, the media coverage of a person abducted or kidnapped by terrorists may also peril his life. Terrorists use some specific style symbols to make them look different to create panic in their likely victims or targets. During the terrorism of Punjab, motorcycles, Maruti Van and AK-47 were considered as symbols of terrorists. Their primary motive is to create an atmosphere of fear and cause panic among the people. This makes the administrative machinery paralyzed, lackluster and handicapped. The army and the security forces constantly work under the shadow of fear, thereby reducing their operational competence. Tolerance of society towards terrorism for political, religious, social and economic reasons is very fatal for the country and it serves the purpose of terrorists. It leads to tendency of repulsive tolerance among the common people and they become impassive and inactive and willingly bear the brunt of terrorist activities. Instead of opposing it vigorously the common man accept terrorist violence as a reality of life. In general, there are two motives for the activities of terrorists. They seek the attention of the mass media through violent activities and also to create an atmosphere of fear and terror. Through both these methods, the terrorist outfits successfully popularize their demands and bring them on national agenda. They exert as much pressure as they can to fulfill their inappropriate demands. Therefore, terrorism flourishes with excessive media coverage. Terror attacks carried out by terrorists receive more than five times as much media coverage as those carried out by others. The media makes people disproportionately fearful of terrorists. Moreover, counter terrorist actions of security forces and killings of soldiers in India have received less media coverage. In some specific cases the local media of J&K made martyrs out of hardcore terrorists killed during operations by security forces. Sometimes it appears as if the disproportionate coverage is given as part of a deliberate exercise by some of the journalists. There is a complex connection between terrorism and

mass media, and this relationship has further developed with the sophisticated process. Now it is generally assumed that excessive media coverage of a terrorist activity results in propaganda, which is against the interests of the state. Both the media and terrorists benefit from terrorist incidents. Terrorists get free publicity for themselves and their cause. The media, meanwhile, make money as reports of terror attacks increase newspaper sales. Some attempts have been made by international, national and local media organizations to come up with sensible guidelines for covering terrorist incidents. It is important that the media play a constructive role during times of local or national crisis, but it is also critical that they be able to continue to allow providing a counterbalance.

Repercussions of Excessive Reporting of Terrorist Activity by Media-

1. It helps in formation of various terrorist groups.
2. It helps terrorists to get cheap popularity on the basis of religious and communal grounds.
3. It creates competition among various factions, which results in mutual rivalry for growth and progress.
4. It may result in apprehension of terrorist outfits establishing control over media channels for favorable media coverage.
5. It has adverse effect on the functioning of the administrative machinery.

It is believed that terrorism is a kind of infectious disease. Knowingly or unknowingly the excessive media coverage serves the purpose of the terrorists and encourages violence. Most of the stories given by the newspapers are negative stories which sensationalized the issue and created fear among people and made them feel insecure. Repeated coverage of incidents and events of violence by media channels gives rise to terrorism. Terrorist outfits easily get a platform for their making their political demands. As a result, it helps in increase of terrorism.

The Success of Terrorism -

The main goal of the terrorists is to overthrow the existing regime by overthrowing it. Terrorist violence is aimed, either directly or indirectly, at governments in an effort to influence policy or topple. This strategy is largely adopted by rebels and revolutionary militants. Terrorism proper is thus the systematic use of violence to generate fear, and thereby to achieve political goals, when direct military victory is not possible. This has led some social scientists to refer to guerrilla warfare as the "weapon of the weak" and terrorism as the "weapon of the weakest." If we look at the consequences of the success of the terrorists, then it is found that only those groups could achieve complete success which opposed colonial powers.

The prominent among them are :

- **EOKA** the Ethniki Organosis Krpion Agoniston (National Organization of Cypriot Fights)
- **Mau-** Mau in Kenya (against British colonies)
- **FLN-** Algeria (against the colonization of France)

As what we have observed so far in the terrorism of 20th and 21st century most terrorist groups have largely failed to achieve their objectives. However, some of the keen observers have argued that terrorism has been more successful in achieving at least some important goals for the groups mounting the violent actions. In India, the terrorists of Punjab were completely unsuccessful in their pursuits and met a bitter end at the end of the last century. The most deadly terrorist organization LTTE which was active in Sri Lanka finally failed in its mission. ISIS, AL QUADA, Taliban, BOKO HARAM and other Muslim terrorist organizations active in various parts of the world have so far been unsuccessful to achieve their political objectives. The terrorist groups of France and Italy (Action Directe and Red Brigade) were also finally unsuccessful. Terrorist groups supported or tolerated by governments that target their own citizens have been something of an exception to this

pattern of failure for obvious reasons.

Conclusion

Since terrorist is a weapon of the weak, it will often fail to achieve any of the political objectives of the organization. While dissident extremist groups resorting to terrorism usually fail, the question is how often do any of these groups actually accomplish at least some of their goals. An analysis of some of the better known organizations relying on terrorism indicates that while success may be rare, groups have realized objectives through the use of this form of violence. Organizations rooted in ethnic or nationalist grievances including colonial situations have been among the more successful. There have been somewhat fewer apparent instances of obvious success for religious groups and for terrorist organizations primarily motivated by various ideologies. Perhaps the most important conclusion is that terrorism as a technique has been successful often enough to provide encouragement to other groups seeking to obtain political change. The chances of success may be small for weak groups facing powerful opponents, but there is at least the possibility that a reliance on terrorism can work.

Former Soviet Union scholar Yuri Trifonov wrote that "terrorism has collapsed at various levels. Theater is blood-drawn and death is the character."

David Fromkin has written that "Terrorism begins with violence, its result is violence and it finally ends with violence."

Bernagins has written that - "Terrorists want that a lot of people see and all the people hear, and not many people die."

Even today, terrorism remains the most serious challenge for world peace and security. This problem will not end unless the entire nation of the world unites and jointly act against this monster. In India, terrorism had affected more than half of the states. Government shall have to take stringent measures to deal with terrorism in the coming days. Since 9/11 terrorism has acquired new names and integrated itself into realities of the modern world.

But in a globalized world, these processes are becoming much more dangerous than ever before due to the possibility of nuclear, chemical, and biological terrorism. This threat is hypothetical at this moment, but the international community should cooperate much closer than before in order to provide security for industrial and social infrastructures, wider and more.

Political Criminalization and Corruption

Before Independence from the British colonial rule the ordinary man was virtually living a life of hell. In independent India, every citizen expected to lead a happy and prosperous life but all his hopes have been shattered. The condition of the poor still remains worse. The full benefit of the progress of the country has not yet been achieved by him. The growth on average does benefit the poor as much as anyone else but the majority of the poor sections are still far from receiving the benefit of development to the expected level. The gap between the rich and the poor is at its widest level and is deepening further. After independence, only rich have benefited the most by getting richer. When the rich get richer, the poor stay poor. The present condition of Indian politics is a matter of serious concern so far as the progress of the country is concerned. Like many other problems, corruption in India is also a legacy of the colonial system. Criminalization of politics has become an enduring phenomenon in Indian politics which has blinded Indian democracy. It is crucial to discuss this because it is against the very spirit of democracy. A rule that was meant to be governed by law has rather ended up being a rule of money and muscle power. The influence of muscle power in Indian politics has been a fact of life for a long time. Influence of excessive money and muscle power in the elections has corrupted the whole democratic system. This trend has led to criminalization of electoral politics, which remains the most serious challenge for Indian democracy. In the past few years unprecedented reforms have been brought in by the Election Commission of India in the election process to reduce corruption in the elections. Use of EVM machines, videography of

sensitive booths; appointment of impartial election observers, deployment of central security forces and strict implementation of election code of conduct etc. are some of the positive measures which have been taken in this direction. Despite these reforms, the active role and participation of criminal elements in politics is a matter of serious concern.

3.11 The Meaning of Political Criminalization -

Political criminalization is a trend whereby the people of the criminal background directly and indirectly influence the political process. It means that the criminals entering the politics and contesting elections and even getting elected to the Parliament and state legislature. It takes place primarily because of the nexus between the criminals and some of the politicians. The tendency of the politicians taking help of the criminals time and again to get access to politics, to gain political power and to remain in power is called political criminalization. The ambition of reaching the corridors of power inspires the use of immoral, inappropriate and crime instruments. The tendency of assuming politics as a lucrative business in India gives rise to political criminalization. There is more potential for criminalization in party politics because it is through elections that a political party comes to power. Politics is criminalized when the politicians and the political parties resort to corrupt practices of use of money, muscle power, fear and terror to influence the voters in an election rather than their policies and programs. Due to electoral politics, a nexus has been built up between the criminals and politicians. They both work to mutually benefit each other to accomplish their own vested interests. While the criminal elements help the politicians to win in the elections, after coming to power, politicians help criminals by providing them political shelter and patronage.

3.12 Cause of Criminalization of Politics -

1. Fall of national character
2. Poverty, illiteracy and unemployment
3. Politicians and political parties have no faith

in the purity of the means

4. Immoral nexus among the Police, politicians, bureaucrats and criminals
5. Impact of external elements on electoral politics
6. Ineffective enforcement of the laws
7. Basic lacunas and loopholes of judicial system
8. Party politics and craving for political power
9. Shortcomings of election system
10. A great decline in the ability and quality of administration
11. Predominance of criminal elements and their acceptance in the society
12. A mixture of money, muscle power and politics

3.13 The Present Overview of Indian politics-

34 percent members of the 16th Lok Sabha are having a criminal background and criminal cases are pending against some of them in the various courts. The increasing number of criminals in Indian politics reflects the level of criminalization of our politics. All political parties select their candidates in an undemocratically and arbitrary manner. The main reason behind this tendency is that all political parties are more concerned only about the victory of their candidates than political principles. All the parties give tickets to the winnable candidates who have enough money and muscle power as compared to those who are honest. In every election all parties without exception put up candidates with a criminal background. Even though some of us whine about the decision taken by the parties, the general trend is that these candidates are elected to office. The criminalization of politics connotes two different meanings. In the narrow sense it means the criminals getting direct access and intervention in the Indian Parliament or the state assemblies. In broader terms it is related to criminals directly or indirectly influencing the electoral politics and the government. The criminals need the patronage of politicians occupying public offices to continue

with their criminal activities and the politicians need the money and muscle power that the criminals can offer to the politicians to win elections. In course of time, the nexus led the criminals themselves to contest elections. The criminalization of politics includes in it the practice of criminals helping a political party with money and muscle power to win the elections. They indulge in activities of fraudulent voting, booth-capturing, intimidation of voters and murder of opposition candidates etc. In the last two general elections and also in assembly elections in some states, all the political parties have used politicians with criminal background. By acting in such a manner, we fail to realize that the greatest power that democracy arms the people is to vote incompetent people out of power. From raising collecting funds for the party to changing the attitude of the voters by use of muscle power and money the role of criminals has increased phenomenally. By and large the entire election is managed by them. They indulge in mobilizing crowds in campaigning; gather crowds at meetings and conferences either by use of force or giving them money. To create an army of workers with criminal background during election is a common practice for political parties and candidates. This arithmetic is practiced from the local to the national level. In the past, the criminals used to help their well-wishers by staying out of active politics. Now this behavior has changed and they actively participate in politics. They are not only made candidates by political parties to contest elections they also become ministers once they have won the elections. They become the policymakers of this nation. "Daagi Mantri" (Tainted minister) has become a very popular term in Indian politics.

In India elections held in any part of the country have always been linked with the criminal activities. In the elections held in last 20 years, there was not a single election which was conducted without violating the election rules, intimidating the voters forcing them to vote a particular candidate, preventing them from reaching the polling station (poor, marginalized sections of society, Dalits, women and tribal and backward people), indulging

in violence and use of corrupt practices of use of money and muscle power. Sometimes the opponent candidate was killed to get the elections canceled. The main cause for these chaotic situation and violent activities is nexus established between politicians and criminals. Many hardcore criminals have reached the power corridors of the Parliament by winning the election sitting in jails. The cases pending against such criminal elements include heinous crimes such as murder, robbery, kidnapping, extortion and rape etc.

3.14 Steps to Prevent Political Criminalization -

1. Constitution should promote intra party democracy and accountability.
2. Constitution must provide conditions for functioning of political parties to exercise effective control to check their unrestrained behavior.
3. There should be fast track courts for early disposal of lawsuits pending against politicians involved in criminal activities to restrict the criminal elements from contesting elections by accelerated judicial decisions.
4. If speedy trial of politicians with criminal records is carried out, they may not be in a position to contest elections
5. Legal changes need to be made to modify laws and prevent criminals from contesting elections; Criminals should be blacklisted and disciplinary procedures should be meted out
6. Election Commissioners should be appointed in a fair and transparent manner. Those against which two or more criminal cases are lodged are banned from contesting elections.
7. To prevent MP and MLA from continuing in official posts if sentenced to more than 2 years jail term following conviction.
8. Penalties should be inflicted on political parties who give tickets to criminals to contest.
9. Awareness should be created about NOTA

(None of The Above) and other such measures must be taken to prevent criminals from winning elections

10. To initiate the process of conducting the online elections in the future.

Summary of MN Vohra Committee Report

It was in this backdrop and amidst alleged charges of corruption involving politicians and general perception of criminalization of politics, that the government of the day appointed on 9 July, 1993, a Committee headed by Shri N.N. Vohra, the then Home Secretary, Government of India, to take stock of all available information about the activities of crime syndicates/mafia organizations who allegedly had developed links with and were being protected by some Government functionaries and political personalities. Vohra Report in 1993 found that the mafia network was running a parallel government. The government had virtually been marginalized and the criminal gangs enjoyed political patronage and protection. The indifference of the Indian voter and lack of the seriousness and incompetence of the administration had accelerated this tendency. The mafia got patronage from their local political leaders and they mutually benefited each other. The nexus built up between the mafia and politicians further widened with bureaucrats and the police joining them. The nexus of the police including bureaucracy, the mafia and politicians is licking Indian democracy like a termite. By eliminating corruption from public life, protecting the political system from influence of crimes and the mafia should be the first priority of Indian electoral politics. Criminalization in politics in India can only be reduced by the honest and active involvement of the judiciary, the police, the election commission, the bureaucracy and the public in the electoral process.

Corruption

The literal meaning of corruption-

It is made of two words corrupt and conduct. Corruption therefore means dishonest, unethical,

fraudulent and inappropriate conduct by those in power. When a person entrusted with a position of authority often acts against the established rules of the system to acquire personal benefit and meet his vested interests, he/she is called a corrupt person. Corruption may include many activities including bribery and embezzlement etc. Political corruption occurs when an office-holder or other governmental employee acts in an official capacity for personal gain.

3.15 What is Corruption

Corruption in any country is like a termite which makes its economy hollow. Corruption means abuse of public power for private benefit by any person or organization. It is a process in which a public servant improperly acts beyond his/her legal boundaries and harm the public interest to benefit any individual or organization for getting money or any other favors from them. The practice of political corruption primarily begins with the money given by traders or corporate houses to various political parties in the elections with prospects of getting benefitted when they come in power. Each political party needs huge funds for the election campaigning of its candidates contesting elections. The political parties receive huge funds from large industrial houses and big traders for this purpose. After the elections, the business houses and the industrial institutions try to take maximum undue and illegal advantages from the parties coming to power in return for their financial help provided during the elections. This is how the process and system of corruption begin harming the public interest. Most of cases of corruption are related to purchases, grants, construction, allocation of licenses and permits, sanction of loans, appointments and transfers etc.

3.16 The Consequences of Corruption

Corruption is a cause of serious concern for the people of India. Since, it is adversely affecting all aspects of their life- social, spiritual, political, economic, educational, and moral. It is spreading like tumor in all systems and administrations. The

effects of corruption are apparently very frightening and damaging for our country. Some of the adverse outcomes of a corrupt system are as follows:

1. The quality of public works is very poor and on many times these works are carried out on papers only.
2. Meritorious, upright and committed people are deprived of the right opportunities.
3. It adversely affects the natural rights of poor to live.
4. Due to rampant corruption economic inequality arises in the society which widens the gap between the poor and the rich and the government is unable to eradicate poverty.
5. Corruption helps in emergence of black money which cripples the economy of the country. Our country India has lost national wealth of billions of rupees in various scams.
6. Corruption promotes unemployment.
7. Due to corruption the common man apathetic towards the government system which results in dissatisfaction among people on issues of public interest. It hinders the development of our country.
8. The corruption that flourishes at higher levels makes employees of the lower level worthless and doomed.

3.17 Steps to Control Corruption

There are several laws to prevent corruption among these the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988 is the most important. The responsibility of effective implementation of this law has been entrusted to the Anti-Corruption Bureau. As soon as officials of the Bureau get complaints against any employee or officer, they take immediate action and arrest them and get them punished them by taking legal action against them. The vigilance commissioner system has also been implemented in order to curb corruption. Under this system, one officer has been appointed as an officer in each department. The officer investigates the cases related to corruption and takes action against them. In this context

following steps can be suggested to curb corruption

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1. Citizens should be legally authorized to fully know about the policy decisions, processes and activities of the government.
2. The person convicted is required to be punished by the quick judicial process.
3. There should be least confidentiality in governmental decisions and there must be transparency as far as possible. Every process of selection, dealing and appointments in different fields should be made transparent. People should be made aware of reasons and merit for selection of candidates, contracts, tenders, etc.
4. The property acquired by corrupt public servants through inappropriate and corrupt methods should be confiscated under the legal process.
5. The decisions taken at the top level must reach the bottom speedily.
6. Public servants who have a dubious conduct should not be posted on important public posts.
7. Benami Transactions (Prohibition) Act, 1988 should be implemented with immediate effect.
8. The donation received by the political parties and its source should be thoroughly investigated.
9. The Black money should be exposed and brought out in open through the process of demonetization. A reasonable and transparent tax structure, backed by clean and clear enforcement should replace the existing one.

Important Points

- Corruption paralyzes the economy of the country.
- The main source of corruption is donation given by industrial houses and businessmen to

the political parties.

- In government departments, corruption is the result of corruption, due to decisions of discretion and decisions of decisions.
- Religious persecution and cultural supremacy promotes terrorism.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Donations given by the industrial and commercial houses is considered as the initial source of corruption, they give donations to
(A) Religious institutions
(B) Political parties
(C) Workers' associations
(D) Employee organizations ()
2. Which of the following is not true in respect of terrorism?
(A) This is a peace loving movement.
(B) It is based on non-violence.
(C) This is a positive concept.
(D) This is a fragile trend. ()
3. Which is the greatest threat to world peace at the present time?
(A) Gandhism (B) Marxism
(C) Fabianism (D) Terrorism ()
4. Which one of the following is not the main objective of Islamic terrorism?
(A) Establishment of Muslim nation in the world.
(B) Resistance of western non-Muslim powers through violent activities
(C) Peace in the world.
(D) Implement Islamic laws and principles in the world. ()
5. Which of the following countries encourages terrorism?
(A) Philippines (B) Indonesia

- (C) Pakistan (D) Cambodia ()
6. In which country was LTTE active?
 (A) India (B) Malaya
 (C) Sri Lanka (D) China ()
7. Which of the following states is most affected by terrorism?
 (A) Arunachal Pradesh
 (B) Jammu and Kashmir
 (C) Sikkim
 (D) Goa ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

- What is the basic nature of terrorism?
- Write two causes of terrorism.
- Which other tendencies have a close relationship with terrorism?
- On what basis does terrorism receive support?
- Which state of India has maximum number of active terrorists' organizations?
- Which scholar has said "Terrorism begins with violence, its result is violence and it finally ends with violence?"
- Name any five terrorism affected states of India.
- Write two causes of political criminalization.
- Which law prevents corruption?
- What is the basic source of corruption?

Short Answer Type Questions-

- Write about the psychological elements of terror.
- What are the main goals of terrorist activities?
- What are the side effects of excessive media coverage of terrorist incidents? Explain.
- Comment on the nature of terrorism in India.
- What do you think of Islamic terrorism?
- What is corruption?

- Explain the meaning of political criminalization.
- What steps can be taken to end political criminalization?

Essay Type Questions-

- Write an essay on the problem of terrorism.
- How is Indian politics affected by criminalization? Elaborate.
- "Corruption is like a termite which makes the economy of a nation hollow." Suggest measures to curb corruption in perspective of this statement.
- Review the current scenario of political criminalization in India and describing its causes and remedial measures.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. B 2. B 3. D 4. C
 5. C 6. C 7. B

4. Politics of Coalition

India has adopted parliamentary system of government. In the parliamentary system, the executive is elected from the legislature and forms a part of it. The President invites the leader of the single largest party (who is able to secure the support of the House) in the House to be Prime Minister and also to form the Government. The Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers are collectively responsible to the Parliament. The Prime Minister has to prove his majority at the floor of the House (**Loksabha**). The Council of the Ministers headed by the Prime Minister can work till such time it has majority in the House. If it does not have majority in the parliament, the executive can neither pass the law nor can it get the budget passed. Therefore, the Prime Minister has to tender his resignation to the President when he ceases to enjoy the majority in the Loksabha. The Constitution provides that- the President shall appoint the leader of the majority party in the Lok Sabha as the Prime Minister. The President of India appoints the Prime Minister of India in accordance with the power vested in him by Article 75 of Part V of the Constitution. According to its provision, the President shall appoint the Prime Minister and then a council of ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister.

4.1 Rise of Politics of Coalition in India-

The first three general elections to the Lok Sabha which also coincided with elections to all the state assemblies were Congress-dominated elections. In the first three of these elections, the Congress party won an over two-thirds majority of seats in the Lok Sabha and also won a majority of seats in nearly all state assembly largely due to its

playing van guard role in the independence movement and also having an old organizational structure. From 1967 onward, a consolidation of the non-Congress opposition took place, state-by-state, in tandem with such consolidation in state assembly elections. This bipolar consolidation was the key feature and driving force of the fragmentation of the national party system. In the Fourth General Election held in Feb. 1967 initiated the dual era of short-lived coalition governments and politics of defection as Congress lost majority in many states and formed the government at centre with a thin majority.

This election broke Congress's monopoly of power in the states. It did not get the absolute majority in the Legislative Assemblies of Rajasthan, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh and just remained a single largest party. Moreover, in Kerala, Orissa and Tamil Nadu Congress got a very few seats. In fact the results of the 4th general election introduced the politics of the coalition in India. In many states, more than one political party joined together to form the government. As a result, the elections of 1967 replaced the single dominant party system by the multiparty system in which no particular party claimed absolute majority at any level of the political structure, and resulted in the model of intra-party express or formal coalition system. Political parties having different political ideologies joined together and formed the government. The Janata Party which formed government in 1977 was also a kind of coalition and later it was broken down into many fragments due to its inherent defects paving way for one party rule once again.

In all the elections from 11th to 15th Lok Sabha no single party got a clear majority in the Lok Sabha and hence none of them was in a position to form a government at its own. It was the beginning of the era of temporary governments and the coalition politics. The B.J.P. led first coalition government under Prime Minister Atal Bihari's lasted for just 13 days (from 16 May to 1 June 1996) it failed to garner enough support from other parties to obtain a majority and Vajpayee resigned after 13 days. He submitted his resignation to the President after delivering a stirring speech in Parliament. At a meeting of all the other parties, the Indian National Congress, with a substantial 140 seats, declined to head the government and along with the Communist Party of India (Marxist), agreed to extend outside support to the coalition formed after the 1996 elections and was named as United Front (UF) consisting of 13 parties namely Janata Dal, Samajwadi Party, DMK, TDP, AGP, All India Indira Congress (Tiwari), Left Front (4 parties), Tamil Maanila Congress, National Conference, and Maharashtra Gomantak. United Front (UF) formed two coalition governments in India between 1996 and 1998. First under the Prime Ministership of H.D. Devegowda and Second under Indra Kumar Gujral.

The things did not improve even in 12th Lok Sabha and trend of coalition governments continued. Gradually, to major political alliances emerged in Indian politics which are respectively known as NDA and UPA. The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) with Bharatiya Janata Party as its head and United Progressive Alliance (U.P.A.) under the leadership of Congress.

4.2 History of Coalition Governments-

The Congress which was ruling party since 1947 was defeated for the first time in the general elections of 1977. It did not get the majority in the Lok Sabha. The Janata Party (a conglomeration of four opposition) parties won the majority and formed the first coalition government under the leadership of Morarji Desai. It was the turning point in the history of coalition governments in

independent India. It brought, for the first time; - a group of non-Congress parties in power at Centre. Although, it was officially the government of Janata Party, but the parties involved did not work and behave like a one party rather they behaved like a coalition government. Since the hurriedly cobbled combination of four opposition parties was united only on ousting Gandhi and nothing else, there were ideological differences on almost every policy issue. In the Indian Express Kuldip Nayar wrote on 21 April 79, "The Janata Party government at the center was like a coalition government and all the parties participating in the power must be aware of it." In the short term, the opposition conglomeration formed in 1977 as the Janata Party was spliced into tiny slices by successive splits and splits within splits, ready to be served at the Congress (I) feast. With the Janata Party unable to resolve the issue of the dual membership of its men from the Jan Sangh faction who were also members of the Rashtriya Swyamsewak Sangh (RSS), the Jan Sangh was all set to break away for a political rebirth. After the resignation of Morarji Desai, Chaudhary Charan Singh who broke away from the Janata Party a year before formed the government with the outside support of the Congress. During his term as Prime Minister he could not face the Lok Sabha because it never met. The day before the Lok Sabha was due to meet for the first time the Indian National Congress withdrew their support from his Bharatiya Lok Dal Government. Choudhary Charan Singh resigned and fresh elections were held six months later. In the 1980 elections for the 7th Lok Sabha, the Congress again came into power under Indira Gandhi came back with thumbing majority in the Lok Sabha. This phase was different from the earlier period of Congress dominance because it was set in a multiparty context. As at the Centre many new opposition parties got established, and received electoral support in the states as well. Indira Gandhi ran her government smoothly till 1984. A series of dramatic events finally unfolded in operation Blue star in 1984 against Sikh militants in the Golden Temple at Amritsar. Later in the year, she was assassinated by her own Sikh body guards.

Congress elected her elder son Rajiv Gandhi as the new Prime Minister. In 8th Lok Sabha elections held in December 1984 sympathy wave propelled Rajiv Gandhi to a four-fifths Lok Sabha majority in the 1984 elections. With the historical majority in the Lok Sabha Rajiv Gandhi dominated the politics in the country till the 1989. Single party dominance of Congress that reemerged in 1980 continued till 1989. The one-party dominance of the Congress (I) was charged abruptly as the 1989 elections drew near, charges of corruption provided new content to the short hand expression "Congress Culture", in high place. The major blow to the Congress government came when the charges of wrong doings related to the Bofors scandal got surfaced. The government was severely disfigured. Cabinet Minister V. P Singh resigned and also quit Congress forever formed the *Jana Morcha* by organising the dissident Congress members against Rajiv Gandhi. He then united the opposition political parties on the issue of Bofors scam. The opposition political parties in the parliament united and resigned from the Lok Sabha when the Comptroller and Auditor General of India in its report indicted the government on irregularities related to the Bofors. V. P Singh took the advantage of weak condition of the Congress party and of growing anti-incumbency sentiments and formed a common united front against the Congress party. The National Front, the BJP and the Left Front formed an alliance in some four hundred constituencies to face the Congress and to ensure that their votes did not split. The general election of 1989, were held under surcharged environment of two popular waves, the 'Hindu wave' and the 'anti-Congress wave'. The Janata Dal got benefit of the later and the BJP got advantage of both. The 80 seat victory of BJP in the 1989 Lok Sabha election was product of 'Hindu wave' and the opposition unity. It increased its percentage of votes from 7.73 percent to 11 percent as compared to the Congress party and the Janata Dal. In this election two trends became evident- the emergence of BJP as an alternative to the Congress party and the decline of the Congress party. V.P

Singh formed the coalition government of Janata Dal with the support of two opposing parties BJP and the Left. The National Front government had to maintain this triangular balance which was very difficult and which ultimately became its cause of down fall. Furthermore, the internal contradictions in the main party of the National Front the Janata Dal remained intact. Though, formally merger took place in the party but personal enmity among the leaders like V.P Singh, Chandra Shekhar, Devi Lal, Ajit Singh and Bahuguna remained intact. The novel experiment soon found itself in trouble when Devi Lal decided to organise a big farmer's movement against V. P Singh and the latter in order to counter the former took the haste decision to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. The sudden decision of implementing the Mandal Commission's recommendation (to give 27 percent reservation to OBCs) put other national political parties into back foot. BJP which over the years had garnered the support of the upper castes Hindus found itself in dilemma. The BJP withdrew its support to the National Front Government on October 23, 1990 when the Bihar government on the advice of the Prime Minister V.P Singh, arrested the BJP leader L.K. Advani during his spectacular Rath Yatra, from Somnath in Gujarat to Ayodhya in U.P, to mobilise Hindus for building Ram temple in place of the Babri Masjid. As the BJP withdrew its support to the National Front minority government, a non-confidence motion was passed against V.P Singh led National Front minority government on November 7, 1990. The fall of National Front led to split of the Janata Dal when Chandra Sekhar who along with his 55 members formed the Janata Dal (Samajwadi), and staked the claim for forming the government with the outside support of the Congress. After a few months, due to differences with the Congress, Chandrasekhar had to resign on 6 March 1991. After the election of the 11th Lok Sabha which resulted in the Hung Lok Sabha, a new round of coalition government began on April 1, 1996. In this election the Congress emerged as the single largest party, with not too much strength to

form the government on its own. The Narasimha Rao government first started as a single party minority government but during later half it strengthened itself when Ajit Singh's group merged with the Congress and with JMM support.

Until the tenure of the Tenth Lok Sabha, a minority coalition government of Congress continued with external support. After the 11th Lok Sabha elections, the situation was not conducive for any one party to form the government. Atal Bihari Vajpayee the leader of the largest party-BJP was invited to form the government. He formed the coalition government with the Shiv Sena, the Akali Dal and the Haryana Development Party. All so called secular parties united for a common cause of making BJP led coalition government out of power. The Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee submitted his resignation to the President after delivering a stirring speech in Parliament. After the fall of the Vajpayee government, with the outside support of the Congress; HD. Deve Gowda government was formed. After a few months the Congress put the condition of changing the prime minister for extending its support further. Prime Minister H D. Deve Gowda was replaced within 10 months to make way for his successor Inder Kumar Gujral. Where there were 13 political parties in the Government of Deve Gowda, there were 15 political parties in the Gujral government. Both the governments were formed on the basis of BJP protests, which were supported by the Congress and the Left parties from outside. Both included parties of conflicting ideology, so the result of both of them was as expected. There was a complete lack of collective responsibility in both the governments formed on an indefensible basis. The prime minister's position was weak. The government had to work under constant pressure. Chief Ministers of the coalition partners dominate the central government. His role in the selection of the prime minister was prominent. Both Prime Ministers were members of the Rajya Sabha, hence the spirit of democracy also got hurt.

The results of the 12th Lok Sabha election

could also be given by the dissolution of Hung Lok Sabha. Based on the largest party, Bharatiya Janata Party leader Atal Bihari Vajpayee was invited for the post of Prime Minister. The government was formed in collaboration with 18 parties. An agenda of the government was fixed but the parties involved had made their separate agenda. Consequently, in the face of conflict, the government collapsed in April 99 and the country faced the mid-term elections. After the 13th Lok Sabha elections, the coalition government formed under the leadership of Bharatiya Janata Party leader Atal Bihari Vajpayee became the government of more than 20 parties. The order to leave the coalition and join The importance of running and sustaining the government was an integral element: the popular image of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the most acceptable politician of the whole country of the era the time, in which everyone had the singular pardon. The lack of options also supported the stability of the government. The term of the Lok Sabha was to be completed in October 2004 but the Prime Minister gave the advisory to dissolve the Lok Sabha in February 2004. After the elections of the 14th Lok Sabha, the Congress situation improved slightly in the Lok Sabha, the Congress chose its leader Manmohan Singh, who had been the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India and was an economist. Under the leadership of Dr. Manmohan, there was a coalition government of about 20 parties which the Left supported by outside. After the elections of 15th Lok Sabha, U.P.A. formed the coalition government and Man Mohan Singh became the Prime Minister. In the 15th Lok Sabha, the Congress was rectified and it succeeded to get 206 seats alone. Prior to the 16th Lok Sabha elections, the Bharatiya Janata Party declared Narendra Modi as its prime ministerial candidate, against which the Samata Party split in Bihar in the opposition. In the elections, the Bharatiya Janata Party got a clear majority alone, and in the formation of the new government, coalition allies were included in the cabinet. With the popularity of Bharatiya Janata Party alone, due to the popularity of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the position of the prime minister

became stronger like a party cabinet after due to his election in his name.

Table Showing Situation of Alliances in 16th Lok Sabha Elections :

N. D.A. (BJP AND ITS ALLIES)		U. P. A. (CONGRESS AND ITS ALLIES)	
BJP	282	Congress	44
Shiv sena	18	JMM	02
TDP	16	National Congress	06
NPF	01	IUML	02
Lok Jan Shakti	06	RJD	04
SWP	01	Kerala Cong.(M)	01
Akali Dal	04		
AINRC	01		
RLSP	03		
NPP	01		
Eddy	02		
PMK	01		
Total	336	Total	59

These coalitions which became the destinies of Indian politics were of two types. A coalition, they were created after holding elections on the basis of the principle for getting power. The parties who were contesting elections against each other in the election were criticizing, and after the election, they would start enjoying happiness. Secondly, if no one got majority in the 12th Lok Sabha, then the National Democratic Alliance was formed under the leadership of Bharatiya Janata Party. Even after the political party that pre-elections the Bharatiya Janata Party got a clear majority, it formed the government coalition. And the army, Akali, Lok Jan Shakti Party, also joined the cabinet and played a coalition religion.

4.3 Characteristic of Coalition Politics of India-

The seeds of coalition politics were sown for the first time in the general elections of 1967. The tendency developed further in the coming years and remained a permanent feature of Indian politics for a long time. It continues to have its say even today.

Characteristic of coalition politics of India are given as under:

1. There has been one party domination in the coalition- There has always been a domination of one party in the coalitions formed in India. In NDA conglomeration, BJP is the leading partner of the alliance whereas UPA is led by the Indian National Congress. The impact of the allies in an alliance largely depends on the number of MPs it has in it. Allies with limited seats are unable to play a very effective role and have little say in the affairs of the alliance. Their impact depends on the cooperation of the main partner. If the main party has enough seats, then it is less favorable for the allies. In such situation, even if one of the coalition partners separates from the ruling alliance, it will have no impact on the coalition government.

2. There is no ideological similarity among the parties that form an alliance- One of the features of the coalition politics in India is lack of cohesion and ideological homogeneity among the various partners of the coalition government. Parties with opposite ideologies and anti-political views form political alliance out of political compulsions and form the coalition government. The parties which criticize each other during the elections become partners in the coalition government formed after the elections. The Congress was in opposition during the CPI (M) or the Left rule in West Bengal but at the national level they were partners of the same ruling alliance. Left parties supported the Congress at the national level. Samata Party, which believed in the political ideology of Jai Prakash Narayan, contested elections in Bihar by making an alliance with the Congress even though Jai Prakash Narayan was opposed to Congress policies throughout his political career. The actual objective of political parties making coalition is to either capture the political power or to deny it to its opponents.

3. There are no permanent friends or the foes in the alliance- Mostly the allies in the coalitions are never permanent, they keep on changing sides as per their political compulsions

and convenience. It is not necessary that the alliances in the coalition are always permanently linked to the same coalition. There are no permanent friends or foes in the politics of the coalitions. Keeping elections of West Bengal in view, the Trinamool Congress an ally of then NDA leaving aside its ties separated from it; similarly Samata Party which was also partner of NDA joined with Congress during the Bihar assembly elections and formed the government there. It again switched over to NDA camp after a few months to remain in power. Lok Jan Shakti Party was earlier with UPA is now a partner in the NDA government and its Ram Vilas Paswan is a Cabinet Minister in Modi government.

4. A fringe of alienation always remains within the alliance due to lack of clear ideology- Presently there are two important and influential alliances in the Indian politics, the BJP led -National Democratic Front (NDA) and United Progressive Alliance led by the Congress. However, it is difficult to demarcate them ideologically. The Third Front led by the Left considered both the Congress and BJP capitalists but it supported the UPA from outside when it formed the coalition government.

5. Coalitions are based on leaders rather than coalition parties and principles - Coalitions in Indian politics are based on leaders rather than the political ideology and the principles. Despite pursuing the socialist ideology, the Samata Party formed an alliance with the Bharatiya Janata Party rather than the Rashtriya Janata Dal. When the Bharatiya Janata Party declared Narendra Modi as its leader, Samata Party parted the ways and broke the coalition. In 1997, initially the Congress extended outside support to H D Deve Gowda for a few months but later it made condition of change of Prime Minister necessary for extending its support. Accordingly, H D Deve Gowda was replaced by Inder Kumar Gujral on the conditional outside support from the Congress. Lalu Prasad's Janata Dal, which was part of Samata Party's alliance in Bihar, parted ways with it and extended support to Mulayam Singh's Samajwadi Party. Earlier, they were against each other.

6. Political coalition formed on negative Principles - In Indian politics, the aim of the first coalition formed in 1977 in form of Janata party - coglemation was to out the Congress from power. At present, all parties under UPA and other parties not part of the NDA have single agenda to keep BJP out of power. This negative trend has continued in the states since the general elections of 1967.

7. The tendency of changing partners frequently- *Aaya Ram Gaya Ram* expression in politics of India means frequent floor-crossing by legislatures. In coalition politics this tendency remains a threat to the stability of the government. The term was coined when Gaya Lal a Member of the Legislative Assembly from Haryana in 1967 changed party thrice in a fortnight first from the Indian National Congress to United Front, back to Congress and then within nine hours to United Front again. When Gaya Lal decided to quit the United Front and join the Congress, then Congress leader Rao Birendra Singh brought him to Chandigarh press and declared "*Gaya Ram was now Aya Ram*". It became the subject of numerous jokes and cartoons.

8. Pressure politics - The political parties involved in the coalition continue to put pressure on their Prime Minister for their vested political interests. Mamta Banerjee, the leader of the Trinamool Congress, forced the UPA government's Manmohan Singh to retain the Ministry of Railways; which fell vacant consequent upon her becoming Chief Minister of West Bengal. She also forced him to take back the increased rail fare.

4.4 Causes for Making Coalition Governments-

There is a multi-party system in India. At times, it may result in fractured mandate where no single party gets an outright majority. When clear majority is not with one political party it becomes difficult to form and run the government in the parliamentary system. This has led to a tendency where parties join together by entering into an alliance to form the coalition government. In

16th Lok Sabha the BJP had clear majority but instead of forming its government it went for coalition government. India is a diverse country, here people of different classes, religions, cultures and castes reside. Political parties were mostly formed on the basis of class interests, which eventually resulted in formation of over 100 parties in India. There have been about 20-24 political parties involved in an alliance. The chances of Hung Lok Sabha are all the more when there are so many political parties. The coalition politics has become more or less a permanent feature of the political system.

4.5 Advantages of Coalition Politics-

A government formed by a multi-party coalition tends to have certain advantages over one consisting of only a single party. Among them are :

1. **Government does not become absolute-** The Prime Minister does not have as much dominance over the coalition government as when one party is in the government. The coalition government is based on reconciliation of differing ideas. The Council of Ministers has to work on the basis of a Common Minimum Program. It cannot work in an arbitrary manner. In formulation of policies, it has to consider agenda and principles of all the coalition partners.
2. **The more qualified people contribute more to the country -** In the Government of one party, the legislators of the same party become ministers and those who belong to other parties have do not have enough contribution. In coalition governments, the senior and qualified legislators of the parties involved in the coalition become part of the Council of Ministers and benefit the nation.
3. **The Council of Ministers of Alliance have wider support base than the Council of Ministers of one party-** Another benefit that comes with coalitions is greater policy scrutiny. It is more accurate reflection of popular opinion. Two different parties reflect a greater spectrum of the voting population, so

in theory such a larger portion benefits from the union. Issues that would be dismissed by a single party government have greater weight when other parties become part of the mix. Undemocratic or controversial legislation thus has considerably less chance of being passed. The more the number of partners in a coalition, the more they get public support. It increases the acceptance of the government.

4. **It helps in creating strong Opposition-** One benefit of coalition politics is that it creates a very strong opposition. The coalition of many parties can jointly resist the policies of the government more effectively as compared to one party opposition. When the UPA coalition government was in power, the NDA coalition was able to effectively oppose the arbitrary policies of the government. Similarly, now the UPA which is in opposition can effectively oppose the arbitrary policies of NDA. The coalition prevents the government from functioning in an arbitrary manner.
5. **Coalition politics saves from the tendency of political extremism-** Mostly the one party government tries to impose its views and policies arbitrarily. Same is not true in case of a coalition government. No party is able to impose its own policy and principles because other parties in the coalition can oppose and resist it. In coalition the middle path is accepted while making policy decisions. Issues that would be dismissed by a single party government have greater weight when other parties become part of the mix. Undemocratic or controversial legislation thus has considerably less chance of being passed. Because the various parties that united to form the coalition are often based on different, and even conflicting, ideologies, it often becomes necessary for them to compromise these ideologies in order to come to an agreement on government policy. This compromising of ideologies, in turn, often results in broader representation.

4.6 The Negative Aspects of Coalition Politics-

1. Formation of Temporary Governments -

The parties involved in the coalition always extend conditional support keeping their political interests in view. They give priority to their vested interests rather than the stability of the coalition government. If their interests are not looked after properly by the coalition government they withdraw their support. This eliminates the majority and the government has to resign. Thus the stability of the governments is affected. Temporary governments cannot work for sustainable development.

2. Erosion of the principle of collective responsibility-The principle of collective ministerial responsibility is the sole crux of Parliamentary democracy. It represents ministerial accountability to the legislature. All members of a government are unanimous in support of its policies and would exhibit that unanimity on public occasions although while formulating the policies, they might have expressed a different view in the meeting of the Cabinet. This principle gets diluted in the actual working of a coalition government because the ministers of different parties have ideological and other differences and they do not hesitate to express these publicly. It is very difficult to make them work in unison towards the principle of collective responsibility. At times their differences are exposed in open and made public. The *Shiv Sena* very often criticizes the Prime Minister despite its being involved in the NDA.

3. Weak Government- Generally, a coalition government is considered weak because it is unable to take effective decisions in domestic affairs and also in foreign affairs. A coalition government is weak and is limited by the selfish interests of all coalition partners. Those who disapprove of coalition governments believe that such governments have a tendency to be fractious and prone to disharmony, as their component parties hold differing beliefs and thus may not always agree on policy. Coalitions provide bad government because they are unable to take a long-term view.

4. Weak Prime Minister-The Prime Minister does not have much control over his cabinet because the members of the other parties involved in the coalition follow the instructions of their party. The weak Prime Minister cannot play an influential role and mostly indecisive in matters where he is expected to play active role. Moreover, in fractured mandate there are more chances of a weak politician becoming a Prime Minister.

5. It compromises national interests to regional interests-

The regional influence is steadily growing in India since the beginning of the coalitions at national and state level. Obviously, regional parties will give priority to regional interests than the national interests. At times, national interests were compromised to avert political risks. This tendency may peril unity of our nation.

6. Unstable Governments- Coalition governments are very unstable, because they lack stability and are very often collapsing and reforming at frequent intervals. The parties involved in the coalition keep continuous political pressure on the government for fulfilling their interests. If their extraneous demands are ignored they may leave the coalition make the government unstable. This greatly restricts the ability of governments to deal with major reforms and means that politicians seldom stay in any particular ministerial post for long enough to get to grips with its demands. At the same time, this squabbling between political parties erodes the confidence of the public in their political system and in their elected representatives

7. It is damaging for National Integration-

The regional parties are putting regional interests and ideas above national interests. Due to their increasing influence, the regional parties give more emphasis on the development of their regional interests. Increasing regional attitude is a direct threat to the unity and integrity of India. The Prime Minister always remains under constant pressure of regional parties to save his government and to make it stable. Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh could not sign the Teesta deal under pressure of Mamta

Banerjee during his visit to Bangladesh in September 2011. Over emphasis on regional aspirations by the regional parties in a coalition may be harmful for the overall interests of the nation. As regards Tamil problem of Sri Lanka the government of India was under pressure of DMK and AIADMK.

8. Lack of strong foreign policy - The Prime Minister of the coalition is unable to formulate and maintain a strong foreign policy because he always works under the pressure of its allies. He cannot make his decisions independently. The prime Minister has to take advice of the coalition partners while making any international treaty or arriving at an agreement with any other foreign country. The position of our country becomes weak internationally when he is not able to pursue vigorous foreign policy and take some concrete decision at his own. Therefore, in a coalition arrangement neither the government nor the Prime Minister is able to pursue free and strong foreign policy.

9. Government does not function on any clear policy - The alliances include political parties with differing ideologies and political doctrines. All the parties want to make their policy to be followed as the policy of the government the result. The end result is that the government gets confused and it cannot set a clear policy, for the effective and smooth functioning of the government. It affects the work of the government. Coalitions bring instability in functioning and policy making and create political insecurity because no one knows when the government may destabilise.

10. It encourages formation of small political parties- Generally, all the parties involved in the coalition get at least one ministerial berth in the government but practically it is captured by the most influential leader and others are left behind. Those who are left behind make their own party to occupy the ministerial position. This tendency encourages formation of smaller political parties always ready to join the alliances to enjoy power. Thus, the formation of small parties is encouraged in politics of coalition. The emergence of more political parties

hinders the formation of permanent governments and the bi-party system.

11 Lack of coordination among the different ministries of the government- The coalition government functions in a haphazard manner and there is no coordination among the different ministries and departments. The different portfolios are held by leaders of different political parties and there is no co-operation between the various ministers. Different political parties work on their own secret agenda to serve their vested interests. The lack of mutual co-operation among the various ministries of government often results in frequent standoffs in the government. Thus, in the lack of mutual cooperation among the various departments hampers the process of smooth functioning of the government.

At present, there are three main streams of political parties in Indian politics, which are outlined as under.

1 National Democratic Alliance (NDA)- It is the present ruling alliance which is composed of 12 political parties and included in it- BJP, Shiv Sena, JD (U), Apna Dal, LJP, SAD, RLSP, PDP, PMK, SWP, NPP and All India N.R. Congress and Utkhoo Gwra Brahma (Independent candidate). Earlier it was composed of 13 political parties which included TDP (quit NDA alliance in March, 2018).

2 United Democratic Alliance (UPA)- The prominent parties which are part of UPA are: Indian National Congress, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Indian Union Muslim League, Kerala Congress (M), Revolutionary Socialist party, Communist Marxist Party, Kerala Congress (Jacob), Peace Party of India, Rashtriya Lok Dal and Mahan Dal

3 Left Political Parties- Third Coalition belongs to Left parties or the communist parties which ruled in West Bengal and Kerala. Presently they are out of power in West Benagal.

4 Parties which are not part of NDA and UPA- The parties which are not part of any of above three coalitions come under the fourth category come. AIADMK, Trinamool Congress, Biju Janata Dal,

Telugu Desam Party(quit NDA alliance in March,2018).Parties in the last category are those who become part of one alliance as per their political convenience and quit one to join the other if it suits their vested interests. The Telugu Desam, the Trinamool Congress and the Biju Janata Dal and AIADMK are such parties which keep on changing sides.

Important Points

- One party dominates the coalition in Indian Politics.
- Coalition lacks in ideological homogeneity.
- There is no stability in coalition.
- Coalitions are formed on the basis of leaders rather than the principles of the parties.
- Negatively formed political alliances are temporary.
- Coalitions have tendency of frequent political defections.
- In coalition politics, politics of pressure is also included.
- A few political parties make political alliances and prepares common minimum program by mutual deliberations.
- The politics of coalition was initiated in the 4th general elections.
- In the general elections from 11th to 15th Lok Sabha no party got sufficient majority in the house to form the government. Consequently, the era of coalitions and unstable governments started.
- At present there are three main streams of political parties in Indian politics- 1. National Democratic Alliance (NDA) 2. United Democratic Alliance (UPA) and 3. Communist political parties.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. The party which dominated in the first three general elections of the country is-
(A) Bharatiya Janata Party
(B) Indian National Congress
(C) Indian Communist Party
(D) Samajwadi Dal ()
2. In which general election the politics of coalition was initiated?
(A) 1967 (B) 1977
(C) 1980 (D) 1971 ()
3. Janata Party was formed in year -
(A) 1980 (B) 1990
(C) 2000 (D) 1977 ()
4. The coalition government of Dr. Manmohan Singh was an alliance of-
(A) Left
(B) National Democratic Alliance
(C) United Progressive Alliance
(D) National Alliance ()
5. The party system in India according to its political parties is-
(A) Bi-party system
(B) Independent system
(C) Multi-party system
(D) One party system ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Who was the prime minister of the UPA coalition?
2. What was the main reason of the dissolution of the Janata Party?
3. Which is the main political party in NDA coalition?
4. Which alliance is related to present coalition government?

5. Which political party got a clear majority in the Lok Sabha in the 16th Lok Sabha elections?

Short Answer Type Questions

1. What are the main alliances in the Indian political system presently and which main parties are parts of these alliances?
2. Describe as to how the coalition politics is a threat to the stability of the government.
3. Describe as to how the Janata Party government was a coalition government.
4. Write any two benefits of coalition politics.
5. Write three characteristics of Indian coalition politics?

Essay Type Questions

1. What are the negative effects of coalition politics in Indian politics? Explain.
2. Evaluate the positive effects of coalition politics.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B 2. B 3. D 4. C 5. C