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# The Crisis of Democratic Order

## Introduction:

Non-Congress parties oppose Congress due to privatization of politics. The 'Marxist-Leninist' groups were strong in West Bengal, they used weapons and insurgent methods to overthrow the capitalist system to establish a political system. But the state government has taken tough measures to suppress them. Jayaprakash Narayan organized the first nationwide satyagraha for the resignation of Indira Gandhi. He organized a massive demonstration on June 25, 1975 at Ramlila Maidan in Delhi to create awareness among the people not to follow illegal and 'unethical orders', as well as to conduct the election of Indira Gandhi using the election campaign among government employees. It was declared invalid in the wake of Socialist leader Raj Narayan filing an election petition.

## 1. Background of Emergency

The 1970s was a period of political upheaval in India. This period saw tensions in the relationship between the government and the judiciary. Ideological differences arose within the Congress and this intensified the split between Indira Gandhi and her opponents.



# **2.** Economic Context

In the 1971 elections, the Congress gave the slogan of Garibi Hatao. Due to various national and international factors, the social and economic situation in the country did not improve much after 1971-72. In this way non-Congress opposition parties were able to organize popular protests effectively.

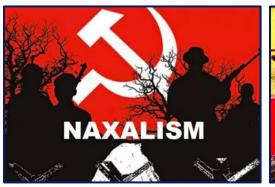
# 3. Gujarat and Bihar Movement

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



# 4. Naxalite Movement

In 1967, a peasant revolt took place in the Naxalbari region of Darjeeling (West Bengal) under the leadership of Charu Mazumdar, the CPI(M). After some time a branch broke away from them and became known as Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI-ML). It was founded by Charu Mazumdar.





The government has taken strong steps to deal with the Naxalite movement.

#### 5. 1974 Railway Strike

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

On 25 June 1975, in response to a petition filed by Raj Narayan, the Government declared a state of emergency on the recommendation of the Prime Minister due to the threat of international unrest that sought to bring peace and restore capacity. And above all Article 352 of the Constitution. Implementing poor friendly welfare programs.

The Emergency Declaration of 1975 had far-reaching consequences and affected every aspect of life:

- (I) Influencing civil rights by making mass arrests, as well as depriving citizens of their right to life and liberty.
- (II) The 42nd Amendment brought about new changes in the Constitution to affect the relationship between the executive and the judiciary, the duration of the legislature, the possibility of postponing elections for up to one year during emergencies.
- (III) It also affected mass media i.e. 'press censorship'.

After the imposition of an emergency, questions and discussions arise as to whether an emergency is necessary or not. While the government argues that the opposition party should be allowed to rule according to its policies, critics argue that the people have the right to protest openly against the government. The State Commission headed by JC Shah was appointed by the Janata Party government in May 1977 to inquire into allegations of abuse of power, excess and abuse and various aspects of the action taken in the wake of the Emergency and the Shah Commission. Numerous violations, maximum arrests under the Preventive Detention Act, illegal restrictions on the press and verbal orders to cut off power to all newspaper presses by 2am were found.

Immediately after the end of the Emergency and the 1977 Lok Sabha elections were declared to be a referendum. Thus, politics after an emergency is characterized by two main consequences:

- (I) The 1977 elections defeated the Congress over the people's decision against the Emergency and the Opposition fought under the slogan 'Save Democracy'.
- (II) The Janata Party lost the by-elections due to lack of direction, leadership and joint program and at the same time could not bring about any fundamental change in the policies adopted by the Congress.

1975 The legacy of the Emergency is felt in every sphere of life and politics, which can be described as a period of constitutional and political crisis, which arose in the constitutional struggle over the jurisdiction of Parliament and the judiciary.

# **Conflict with the Judiciary**

The 1970s saw a bitter relationship between the legislature and the judiciary. The constitutional amendment and its interpretation were a major point of bitter relations. In 1973, the issue of the appointment of the Chief Justice of India worsened the situation. The highest point in the controversy came when the High Court declared Indira Gandhi's election invalid.







## 6. Declaration of Emergency

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

## **Crisis and Response**

In response to the rapidly changing political situation and the JP movement, the Government of India recommended the imposition of emergency to President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed on 25 June 1975. The president immediately issued the proclamation. Emergency was declared under Article 352 of the Constitution which declares a state of emergency on grounds of external danger or threat of internal disturbance. After all this, the cabinet was informed about this in a special meeting on 26 June 1975 at 6 am.

#### **Result** '

Freedom of the press and some fundamental rights of citizens were suspended. All ongoing protests ended, strikes were banned, opposition leaders were imprisoned. Parliament also brought many new changes in the constitution. Publishing an article or matter requires prior approval of the government which is called press censorship.

#### **Controversy over Emergency-**

After the Emergency, an inquiry was conducted by the Shah Commission. It was found that some areas contained additional restrictions during emergencies. The government argued that in a democracy, opposition parties should allow the elected ruling party to govern according to its policies. Critics say that Indira Gandhi misused the constitutional provisions made to save the country to save her power. The Shah Commission estimated that around one lakh people were arrested under preventive detention laws. Apart from the arrest of political activists and the ban on the press, the Emergency directly affected the lives of the common people in many cases.

#### lessons from emergency

- Democracy in India is extremely difficult to end.
- An 'internal' emergency can be declared only on the basis of an 'armed rebellion'. The President should be advised in writing by the Council of Ministers to announce it.
- Emergency made everyone more aware of the value of civil liberties.

#### Politics after emergency-

• The experience of Emergency in the 1977 Lok Sabha elections was quite evident. The verdict of the people was decisively against the Emergency.

## 7. Lok Sabha elections, 1977

The Janata Party has turned this election into a referendum on emergency. For the first time since independence, the Congress party lost the Lok Sabha elections. The Congress managed to win only 154 seats in the Lok Sabha elections. The Janata Party and its allies won 330 of the 542 Lok Sabha seats; The Janata Party won 295 seats and secured a clear majority.

#### **Public government**

After the 1977 elections, Morarji Desai, Charan Singh and Jagjivan Ram faced stiff competition for the PM's job. Morarji Desai eventually became Prime Minister. The Janata Party split and the Morarji Desailed government lost its majority within 18 months. In the latest Lok Sabha elections in 1980, the Janata Party suffered a crushing defeat and the Congress returned to power.

	DO YOU KNOW?		
Emergency:	In an emergency, federal devolution is practically		
	discontinued and all powers are centralized in the		
	hands of the central government.		
Press-Censorship:	Newspapers must obtain prior permission before		
	publishing anything.		
<b>Preventive Detention:</b> People arrested on earth / arrested for committing any			
l	crime in the future.		

## 6. Congress Return

By the 1970s, the Congress Party identified itself with a specific ideology, claiming to be a pro-socialist and pro-poor party. The issue of the welfare of the indirectly backward castes also began to dominate politics from 1977 onwards. The issue of reservation of 'other backward classes' in Bihar was highly controversial and thereafter, the Janata Party government at the Center appointed the Mandal Commission.



#### **SUMMARY**

The 'National Coordination Committee' headed by Jorge Fernandez called for a 1974 railway strike to press for their demands regarding bonus and service conditions. The government declared the strike illegal and deployed the Territorial Army to protect the railway business. Twenty days later the strike was called off without any compromise. Prior to the declaration of Emergency, a number of differences arose between the government and the ruling party, leading to tensions between the judiciary, the legislature and the executive over issues of government or parliament interfering in constitutional provisions. This was proved in the case of Keshava Nanda Bharathi, who declared that the Constitution could not be amended by Parliament in a controversial manner. It largely combines constitutional interpretations and political ideology.

Questions For Practice				
1.	A "state of emergency" was declared (a) 13 May 1971 (b) 23 May 1972 (c) 25 June 1975 (d) 11 March 1975	<ul> <li>9. Under whose leadership was the Bihar movement?</li> <li>(a) Charu Mazumdar.</li> <li>(b) JP Narayan.</li> <li>(c) Morarji Desai.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>(a) The call for a 'complete revolution'</li> <li>(b) 1974 Railway Strike</li> <li>(c) Naxalite movement</li> <li>(d) Allahabad High Court judgment</li> </ul>	
2.	Prime Minister of India during 1977-79 (a) Indira Gandhi (b) Charan Singh (c) Chandra Shekhar (d) Morarji Desai	<ul> <li>(d) C Natarajan.</li> <li>10. Who left the Congress Party in 1967 and formed the Bhartiya Kranti Dal?</li> <li>(a) Sanjay Gandhi</li> <li>(b) Jagjivan Ram</li> <li>(c) Chaudhary Charan Singh</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>17. Prime Minister of India during 1977-79</li> <li>(a) Indira Gandhi.</li> <li>(b) Charan Singh.</li> <li>(c) Chandrasekhar.</li> <li>(d) Morarji Desai</li> </ul>	
3.	<ul> <li>Which government came to power after the 1977 general election?</li> <li>(a) Bhartiya Jana Sangh</li> <li>(b) Congress</li> <li>(c) Janata Party</li> <li>(d) Samajwadi Party</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>(d) Morarji Desai</li> <li>11. Which government came to power after the 1977 general election?</li> <li>(a) Bhartiya Jana Sangh</li> <li>(b) Congress</li> <li>(c) Janata Party</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>18. Indicate whether the following statements regarding Emergency are incorrect.</li> <li>(a) It was announced by Indira Gandhi in 1975.</li> <li>(b) It revoked all fundamental</li> </ul>	
4.	The 1974 railway strike was called under the leadership of JorgeFernandez.(a) NationalCoordinatingCommittee(b) NationalCoordinationCorporation(c) Call NationalCoordination(d) NationalCoordinating	<ul> <li>(d) Socialist Party</li> <li>12. Who left the Congress Party in 1967 and formed the Bhartiya Kranti Dal?</li> <li>(a) Sanjay Gandhi</li> <li>(b) Jagjivan Ram</li> <li>(c) Chaudhary Charan Singh</li> <li>(d) Morarji Desai</li> <li>13. The 1974 railway strike was called by under the leadership of</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>rights.</li> <li>(c) It was declared due to deteriorating financial situation.</li> <li>(d) Many opposition leaders were arrested during the Emergency.</li> <li>19. The Shah appointed a commission to investigate <ul> <li>(a) Abuse of power during an emergency</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	
5.	Federation Congress lost the Lok Sabha elections (a) January 1975 (b) February 1976 (c) March 1977 (d) April 1977	Jorge Fernandez. (a) National Coordinating Committee (b) National Coordination Corporation (c) Call National Coordination	<ul> <li>(b) Domestic violence</li> <li>(c) Child labor</li> <li>(d) Status of Dalits</li> <li>20. Under whose leadership did the Bihar movement take place?</li> <li>(a) Charu Majumdar.</li> <li>(b) JP Narayan.</li> </ul>	
6.	When did JP lead the people's march to Parliament?         (a) 1975       (b) 1976         (c) 1977       (d) 1978	<ul> <li>(d) National Coordinating Federation</li> <li>14. Defeat of Congress in Lok Sabha</li> </ul>	<ul><li>(c) Morarji Desai.</li><li>(d) C Natarajan.</li><li>21. Who left the Congress party and</li></ul>	
7.	<ul> <li>Who left the Congress Party in 1967</li> <li>and formed the Bhartiya Kranti Dal?</li> <li>(a) Sanjay Gandhi</li> <li>(b) Jagjivan Ram</li> <li>(c) Chaudhary Charan Singh</li> <li>(d) Morarji Desai</li> </ul>	elections (a) January 1975. (b) February 1976. (c) March 1977. (d) April 1977.	formed the Bhartiya Kranti Dal in 1967? (a) Sanjay Gandhi (b) Jagjivan Ram (c) Chaudhary Charan Singh (d) Morarji Desai	
8.	<ul> <li>(d) Morarji Desai</li> <li>The Mandal Commission was set up to issue</li> <li>(a) Reservation of other backward classes.</li> <li>(b) Temple dispute.</li> <li>(c) Welfare of women.</li> <li>(d) Child labor</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>15. Who left the Congress party in 1967 and formed the Bhartiya Kranti Dal?</li> <li>(a) Sanjay Gandhi</li> <li>(b) Jagjivan Ram</li> <li>(c) Chaudhary Charan Singh</li> <li>(d) Morarji Desai</li> <li>16. Find the odd one out in relation to the Emergency Statement</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>22. The Mandal Commission was set up to issue <ul> <li>(a) Reservation of other backward classes.</li> <li>(b) Temple dispute.</li> <li>(c) Welfare of women.</li> <li>(d) Child labor.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	

- (c) Welfare of women.
- (d) Child labor.

- **16.** Find the odd one out in relation to the Emergency Statement.
- **23.** Under whose leadership did the Bihar movement take place?

2. (a) 6. (c) 10. (b) 14. (d) 18. (c) 22. (a) 26. (c) 30. (b) 3. (b) 7. (d) 11. (c) 15. (d) 19. (b) 23. (b) 27. (d) 31. (a) 12. (a) 28. (c) 4. (d) 8. (c) 16. (c) 20. (b) 32. (b) 24. (b)

35. (c)

36. (d)

39. (b)

40. (d)