

POLITICS IN INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

TEXTBOOK IN POLITICAL SCIENCE FOR CLASS XII



12119



राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING

ISBN 81-7450-763-9

First Edition

June 2007 Jyaishta 1928

Reprinted

February 2008 Magha 1929

January 2009 Pausa 1930

January 2010 Magha 1931

December 2010 Pausa 1932

November 2012 Kartika 1934

January 2014 Magha 1935

December 2014 Pausa 1936

December 2015 Pausa 1937

February 2017 Magha 1938

December 2017 Pausa 1939

January 2019 Magha 1940

February 2020 Phalguna 1941

PD 140T BS

© **National Council of Educational
Research and Training, 2007**

₹ 140.00

Printed on 80 GSM paper with NCERT
watermark

Published at the Publication Division
by the Secretary, National Council of
Educational Research and Training,
Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110 016
and printed at Amber Press Pvt. Ltd., 143A-
143-B, Pahiya Azampur, Kakori, Lucknow (U.P.)

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

- No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.
- This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade, be lent, re-sold, hired out or otherwise disposed of without the publisher's consent, in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published.
- The correct price of this publication is the price printed on this page. Any revised price indicated by a rubber stamp or by a sticker or by any other means is incorrect and should be unacceptable.

OFFICES OF THE PUBLICATION

DIVISION, NCERT

NCERT Campus
Sri Aurobindo Marg
New Delhi 110 016

Phone : 011-26562708

108, 100 Feet Road
Hosdakere Halli Extension
Banashankari III Stage
Bangalore 560 085

Phone : 080-26725740

Navjivan Trust Building
P.O. Navjivan
Ahmedabad 380 014

Phone : 079-27541446

CWC Campus
Opp. Dhankal Bus Stop
Panihati
Kolkata 700 114

Phone : 033-25530454

CWC Complex
Maligaon
Guwahati 781 021

Phone : 0361-2674869

Publication Team

Head, Publication Division : Anup Kumar Rajput

Chief Editor : Shweta Uppal

Chief Business Manager (In-charge) : Vipin Diwan

Chief Production Officer : Arun Chitkara

Production Assistant : Mukesh Gaur

Cover and Layout

Shweta Rao

Illustrations

Irfaan

Cartography

ARK Grafix

FOREWORD

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2005 recommends that children's life at school must be linked to their life outside the school. This principle marks a departure from the legacy of bookish learning which continues to shape our system and causes a gap between the school, home and community. The syllabi and textbooks developed on the basis of NCF signify an attempt to implement this basic idea. They also attempt to discourage rote learning and the maintenance of sharp boundaries between different subject areas. We hope these measures will take us significantly further in the direction of a child-centred system of education outlined in the National Policy on Education (1986).

The success of this effort depends on the steps that school principals and teachers will take to encourage children to reflect on their own learning and to pursue imaginative activities and questions. We must recognise that, given space, time and freedom, children generate new knowledge by engaging with the information passed on to them by adults. Treating the prescribed textbook as the sole basis of examination is one of the key reasons why other resources and sites of learning are ignored. Inculcating creativity and initiative is possible if we perceive and treat children as participants in learning, not as receivers of a fixed body of knowledge.

These aims imply considerable change in school routines and mode of functioning. Flexibility in the daily time-table is as necessary as rigour in implementing the annual calendar so that the required number of teaching days is actually devoted to teaching. The methods used for teaching and evaluation will also determine how effective this textbook proves for making children's life at school a happy experience, rather than a source of stress or boredom. Syllabus designers have tried to address the problem of curricular burden by restructuring and reorienting knowledge at different stages with greater consideration for child psychology and the time available for teaching. The textbook attempts to enhance this endeavour by giving higher priority and space to opportunities for contemplation and wondering, discussion in small groups, and activities requiring hands-on experience.

NCERT appreciates the hard work done by the textbook development committee responsible for this book. We wish to thank the Chairperson of the Advisory Group on Social Science, Professor Hari Vasudevan and the Chief Advisors for this book, Shri Yogendra Yadav and Professor Suhas Palshikar for guiding the work of this committee. Several teachers contributed to the development of this textbook; we are grateful to their Principals for making this possible. We are indebted to the institutions and organisations which have generously permitted us to draw upon their resources, material and personnel. We are especially grateful to the members of the National Monitoring



Committee, appointed by the Department of Secondary and Higher Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development under the Chairpersonship of Professor Mrinal Miri and Professor G. P. Deshpande, for their valuable time and contribution. As an organisation committed to systemic reform and continuous improvement in the quality of its products, NCERT welcomes comments and suggestions which will enable us to undertake further revision and refinement.

New Delhi
20 December 2006

Director
National Council of Educational
Research and Training



© NCERT
not to be republished

LETTER TO THE READERS

As India completes sixty years as an independent and democratic country, it is time to look back and reflect on this period. So much of the trends and patterns of our politics as well as the strengths and weaknesses of our democracy have been shaped during these six decades. Yet it is surprising how little the younger citizens of our country know about this history. You would have a good idea of the freedom struggle because you study that in the History textbooks. You would also know something about our contemporary politics from the media. But very few young citizens know much about the period that connects the freedom movement to contemporary politics. This is the gap the present book seeks to fill. It tells you the story of the journey of our democracy during the last sixty years so that you can make sense of the political reality that surrounds all of us.

This book is not a chronicle of all or even main events during the past six decades. We have tried to weave the history of the last sixty years around some major issues and themes. The first eight chapters of the book cover a certain period of this history, but in a selective manner by focussing on one issue or theme that dominated those years. The final chapter offers an overview of various issues that have emerged in the most recent period.

Politics is often understood as a power game played by some big leaders. Politics is, of course, about power. But politics is also about taking collective decisions, about sorting out differences, about reaching consensus. That is why we simply cannot run our collective affairs without politics. Similarly, big leaders no doubt influence the course of politics. But politics is much more than a story of individual ambitions and frustrations. That is why you will not find much emphasis on personalities in this book. You will find some biographical sketches so as to give you a rich sense of those times. But we do not expect you to memorise these biographical details.

In order to give you a feel of the times, we have included many photographs, cartoons, maps and other images. As in other books, Unni and Munni are there to share their innocent yet irreverent questions and comments with you. By now you know that what Unni and Munni say is not the opinion of the textbook. You, and even the authors, may or may not agree with Unni and Munni. But you should, like them, begin to question everything.

This book refrains from passing judgement on events and personalities of this period. The objective of this book is to equip you with information and perspectives so that you can take more informed and well thought out positions on politics, either as students of Political Science or as citizens of the country. That is why we tell the story in an open-ended and non-partisan manner. This has not been easy, for there is no way



a book like this can side-step all the 'controversial' issues. Many of the significant issues of this period were and continue to be subjects of deep political differences.

The Team that prepared this book decided to follow certain norms to ensure non-partisan treatment of the subject. Firstly, it presents more than one viewpoint when dealing with controversial subjects. Secondly, wherever available, it uses authentic sources like the reports of various Commissions or court judgements, to reconstruct crucial details. Thirdly, it uses a variety of sources from scholarly writings to different newspapers and magazines, etc. to tell the story. Fourthly, the book avoids detailed discussion of the role of political leaders who are still active in politics.

Writing this textbook turned out to be particularly challenging for we do not have sufficient information on this period. Most of the archival material is still closed to the researchers. There are not many standard histories of this period that a textbook like this can draw upon. The Textbook Development Committee turned this challenge into an opportunity. We are grateful to the Team members who spared their valuable time for preparing the drafts of the various chapters. We would like to place on record our gratitude to Professors Rekha Chowdhary and Surinder Jodhka for contributing drafts for the sections on Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab respectively.

Given the significance and the sensitive nature of the book, it was decided to put the drafts through many rounds of scrutiny by a group of Political Scientists and historians. We decided to request three 'readers' – Dr. Ramchandra Guha, Professor Sunil Khilnani and Dr. Mahesh Rangarajan – to read an early draft of this text for accuracy and non-partisan treatment of the subject. We are very grateful that all of them accepted our request and took out time to read and comment on the drafts. Their remarks encouraged us; their suggestions saved us from many errors. We owe a special debt to Ramchandra Guha, since we have liberally drawn upon his book, *India after Gandhi*. Dr. Philip Oldenberg also read parts of the book and made valuable comments. We were fortunate in having a group of eminent scholars, Professors Mrinal Miri, G.P. Deshpande and Gopal Guru, who constituted a special sub-committee of the National Monitoring Committee and read the book at least thrice. We wish to thank Professor Krishna Kumar, Director NCERT and Professor Hari Vasudevan, Chairperson, Advisory Committee for Textbooks, for their support, advice and guidance at different stages of this delicate project. We are also thankful to Professor Yash Pal for his interest in and support to this book.

We are thankful to Lokniti Programme of the CSDS, Delhi which for the last one year provided a home and resource base for the work on this textbook. Various members of the CSDS family who went out of their way to support this work include Sanjeer Alam, Avinash Jha,



Balaji Madiq and Himanshu Bhattacharya at Lokniti and Ravikant and Mohammad Qureshi at Sarai. We would also like to thank the authorities of the Philately Bureau, especially Kaveri Banerji and Niraj Kumar and Sandhya R. Kanneganti of Indian Postal Service, for helping us to access and allowing us to reproduce a large number of postal stamps; Milind Champanerkar for helping us in the selection of the films; Radhika Menon for critical inputs; Vipul Mudgal, Ritu and Dharamveer for helping us to access the rich collection of Hindustan Times Photo Library; Bhaanu Choube and Abhay Chhajalani for opening the archives of Nai Dunia; Rajendra Babu for helping us with clippings and images from The Hindu Library and authorities of the University of Michigan Library and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

Alex George, Pankaj Pushkar, K. K. Kailash, and M. Manisha formed the backbone of the team that worked on this book in various ways – doing archival research, hunting for visuals, checking facts. But for their multi-faceted support, and especially the untiring devotion of Pankaj Pushkar, this book would not have been what it is. We are thankful to Anupama Roy for her generous help with proof reading. The look and feel of the book is the product of the artistic skills of Irfaan Khan, the creator of Unni-Munni, graphics and maps by ARK Grafix, and the aesthetic sensibility of Shweta Rao who designed the book. We thank them all for sharing the spirit of this project. We would like to place on record our gratitude to Shveta Uppal, Chief Editor, NCERT, who went beyond the call of her duty in working with this book, for her exemplary patience and professionalism.

This book is a tribute to the maturity of Indian democracy and is intended as a small contribution to enriching the democratic deliberations in our country. We sincerely hope that this book will be received in this spirit and will be useful not only for students of Political Science but also to a wider group of young citizens of our country.

Ujjwal Kumar Singh
Advisor

Suhas Palshikar and Yogendra Yadav
Chief Advisors



IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO KNOW MORE, READ...

Granville Austin. 1999. *Working a Democratic Constitution: The Indian Experience*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Paul R. Brass. 1994 (second edition). *The Politics of India since Independence*. Cambridge University Press (published in India by Foundation Books), New Delhi.

Bipan Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee and Aditya Mukherjee. 2000. *India after Independence (1947-2000)*. Penguin Books, Delhi

Partha Chatterjee (ed). 1997. *State and Politics in India*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Francine R. Frankel. 2005. *India's Political Economy (1947-2004)*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Ramachandra Guha. 2007. *India After Gandhi: History of the World's Largest Democracy*. Picador India, Delhi.

Niraja Gopal Jayal (ed). 2001. *Democracy in India*. Oxford University Press. Delhi.

Sudipta Kaviraj (ed). 1997. *Politics in India*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Sunil Khilnani. 2003 (paperback). *The Idea of India*. Penguin, London.

Rajni Kothari. 1985. *Politics in India*. Orient Longman, Delhi.

Pratap Bhanu Mehta. 2003. *The Burden of Democracy*. Penguin Books, Delhi.

Achin Vanaik. 1990. *The Painful Transition: Bourgeois Democracy in India*. Verso, London and New York.



TEXTBOOK DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

CHAIRPERSON, ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR TEXTBOOKS AT THE SENIOR
SECONDARY LEVEL

Hari Vasudevan, *Professor*, Department of History, University of
Calcutta, Kolkata

CHIEF ADVISORS

Suhas Palshikar, *Professor*, Department of Political Science,
University of Pune, Pune

Yogendra Yadav, *Senior Fellow*, Centre for the Study of Developing
Societies (CSDS), Delhi

ADVISOR

Ujjwal Kumar Singh, *Reader*, Department of Political Science,
University of Delhi, Delhi

MEMBERS

Aditya Nigam, *Fellow*, CSDS, Delhi

Akhil Ranjan Dutta, *Lecturer* in Political Science, Gauhati University,
Guwahati

Alex George, *Independent Researcher*, Eruvatty, Kerala.

Anuradha Sen, *Principal*, The Srijan School, New Delhi

Bharani N. *Faculty*, International Academy of Creative Teaching (IACT),
Bangalore

Dwaipayan Bhattacharya, *Fellow*, CSSS, Kolkata

Kailash K.K., *Lecturer* in Political Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh

M. Manisha, *Sr. Lecturer* in Political Science, Loretto College, Kolkata

Manjari Katju, *Reader* in Political Science, University of Hyderabad,
Hyderabad

Pankaj Pushkar, *Sr. Lecturer*, Lokniti, CSDS, Delhi

Malla V.S.V. Prasad, *Lecturer*, DESSH, NCERT, New Delhi

Rajeshwari Deshpande, *Reader* in Political Science, University of Pune, Pune

Sajal Nag, *Professor* of History, Assam University, Silchar

Sandeep Shastri, *Director*, IACT, Bangalore

Shailendra Kharat, *Lecturer* in Political Science, Shinde Sarkar College,
Kolhapur, Maharashtra

Srilekha Mukherji, *PGT*, St Paul School, New Delhi

MEMBER-COORDINATOR

Sanjay Dubey, *Reader*, DESSH, NCERT, New Delhi





REQUEST FOR FEEDBACK

How did you like this textbook? What was your experience in reading or using this? What were the difficulties you faced? What changes would you like to see in the next version of this book?

Write to us on all these and any other matter related to the textbook. You could be a teacher, a parent, a student or just a general reader. We value any and every feedback.

Please write to:

Coordinator (Political Science)

DESS, NCERT, Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110 016

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to acknowledge the following for the stamps, cartoons, newspaper clippings, pictures and extracts of texts used in this book.

Postal stamps

The National Philately Bureau, Department of Post and Telegraph, Government of India for all the postal stamps used throughout this book.

Cartoons

Shankar Narayanan and *Times of India* for cartoons by R. K. Laxman on pages 18, 70, 71, 82, 85, 93, 98, 106, 109, 110, 114, 116, 119, 122, 124, 153, 169 and 174. The Children's Book Trust for cartoons by Shankar on pages 21, 22, 26, 28, 40, 56 and 62. *Laughing with Kutty*, *Free Press* for cartoons by Kutty on pages 90, 95, 98 and 157. Sudhir Dar, Sudhir Tailang and UNDP & Planning Commission for cartoons on page 52 and 144. Janaki Abraham for cartoon by Abu on page 103. *India Today* for cartoons by Atanu Roy on page 122, Ravi Shankar on page 192, Ajit Ninan on pages 172 and 178. *HT Book of Cartoons* for cartoons by Rambabu Mathur on page 166 and Sudhir Tailang on page 176.

Pictures

Sunil Janah for pictures on pages 2 and 13. *The Hindu* for pictures on pages 7, 33, 136, 138 and 152. DPA/PIB for pictures on pages 9 and 17. *Hindustan Times* for pictures on pages 49, 120, 128, 129, 134 and the collage on the cover page. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library for pictures on pages 3, 10 and 64. Sabeena Gadihoke for pictures by Homai Vyarawalla on pages 6, 7, 42 and 69. *India Today* for picture on page 139. Raghu Rai for pictures on pages 86 and 166. Kumarappa Institute of Gram Swaraj for picture on page 55. Pankaj Pushkar for picture on page 144. Robin Shaw Pushp/ Rajkamal Prakashan for picture on page 43. Narmada Bachao Andolan for picture on page 141. *Outlook Classic* and www.thesouthasian.org for pictures on the back cover.

Press clippings

The *Hindustan Times* for the clippings (from *History in the Making: 75 years of the Hindustan Times*) on pages 4, 51, 59, 69, 75, 77, 83, 95, 111, 154, 166, 181, 185 and 187. *Times of India* for the clippings on page 7, 75, 77, 110, 153, 156, 160, 161, 164 and 169. *The Hindu* for clippings on pages 32 and 33 and news on page 47. *Nai Dunia* for the clippings on pages 33, 71, 102, 110, 111, 159, 166 and 181. *The Pioneer* for clippings on page 186. *The Statesman* for clipping on page 186. *The Indian Express* for clipping on page 188.



Posters/Advertisements

GCMMF India for Amul advertisements on pages 61, 71, 91, 111, 166, 173, 174 and 175. Design and People for posters on pages 131 and 140. Anhad/NCDHR for posters on page 133. Zuban for poster on page 137. Uttarakhand Sanskritik Morcha for poster on page 148.

Sources of extracts and citations from reports and books

Ramchandra Guha, *India after Gandhi*, Picador India, 2007, for the quotations on pages 25, 29, 30, 67, 68, 72 and 88. Sundeep Dougal, translation of Faiz Ahmend Faiz, Subh-e-azadi on the website <http://members.tripod.com/~SundeepDougal/Faiz.html>. Umair Raja, translation of Amrita Pritam's poem "Today I Call Waris Shah" at www.chowk.com. Text and translation of Sadat Hasan Manto, 'Kasre-Nafsi' (Hospitality Delayed), Mushirul Hasan, ed. 2000. *Inventing Boundaries: Gender, Politics and the Partition of India*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi. Fanishwarnath Renu, *Maila Anchal* translation from Indira Junghare, *The Soiled Border*. Shrilal Shukla, *Rag Darbari* translation by Gillian Wright, Penguin Books India, 1992. Translation of Namdeo Dhasal's Marathi poem in Golpitha, translated by Jayant Karve and Eleanor Zelliot, in Mulk Raj Anand and Eleanor Zelliot (ed), *An Anthology of Dalit Literature*, New Delhi, Gyan Books, 1992. Rajni Kothari. *Politics in India*, Third reprint, Orient Longman, Delhi, pages 155-156. Partha Chatterjee (ed.) *State and Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997 for extracts from Rajni Kothari on page 448; David Butler, Ashok Lahiri, Prannoy Roy on page 149; Sudipta Kaviraj on page 74; Sanjib Baruah, on page 507. *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, Sept 1957-April 1961*, Delhi, GoI, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Publication Division, Vol 4, page 381. Francine R. Frankel, 2005, *India's Political Economy (1947-2004)*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, page 71; Zoya Hasan, *Parties and Party Politics in India*. Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2004, pages 33-34; Anand Chakravarti, 'A Village in Chomu Assembly Constituency in Rajasthan' in A.M. Shah (ed), *The Grassroots of Democracy*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2007; Report of the Justice Nanavati Commission of Inquiry, Vol.I, 2005, page 180; National Human Rights Commission, Annual Report 2001-2002, pages 317-318 and Shah Commission, Interim Report, pages 96-101, 120-139.



CONTENTS

Foreword --- iii

Letter to the Readers --- v

Chapter 1	
Challenges of Nation Building	2
Chapter 2	
Era of One-party Dominance	26
Chapter 3	
Politics of Planned Development	46
Chapter 4	
India's External Relations	64
Chapter 5	
Challenges to and Restoration of the Congress System	82
Chapter 6	
The Crisis of Democratic Order	102
Chapter 7	
Rise of Popular Movements	128
Chapter 8	
Regional Aspirations	148
Chapter 9	
Recent Developments in Indian Politics	172

