

# The Crisis of Democratic Order

## Fastrack Revision

### Economic Context

- ▶ In the elections of 1971, Congress had given the slogan of 'Garibi Hatao' (remove poverty).
- ▶ The social and economic condition in the country did not improve to a great extent after 1971-72.
- ▶ **Reason:** The Bangladesh crisis had put a heavy strain on India's economy. About eight million people crossed over the East Pakistan border into India leading to war with Pakistan.
- ▶ **Consequence:** The US government stopped all aid to India.
- ▶ With global increase in prices of crude oil, there was an unexpected inflation in the country.
- ▶ The situation got more worse with the increase in price of food grains due to failure of monsoons for two consecutive years.
- ▶ Unprecedented fall in industrial productivity was seen and unemployment was very high during this period.

### Gujarat and Bihar Movements

- ▶ In the Congress ruled states of Gujarat and Bihar, the students started protest movements against the increasing prices of food grains.
- ▶ In January 1974, students in Gujarat started with the protest and in March 1974 in Bihar.
- ▶ The students' protest was joined by major opposition parties which became widespread due to the imposition of President's rule in the state.
- ▶ Jayaprakash Narayan was invited after a point to join the student led movement which also helped in uniting the student movement across the country.
- ▶ Jayaprakash Narayan is well known for three key contributions:
  - Fight against corruption
  - Principle of communitarian Socialism
  - Championing of 'Total Revolution'.
- ▶ His principle of communitarian Socialism views India as a society of communities encompassing three key layers—community, region and rashtra—all combining together as an example of true federation.

### Knowledge BOOSTER



The Naxalite Movement has used force to snatch land from the rich landowners and give it to the poor and landless.

### Railway Strike of 1974

- ▶ The National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen's struggle led by George Fernandes gave a call for nationwide strike by all employees of the Railways.
- ▶ The demand was related to bonus and service conditions which were opposed by the government.
- ▶ As a result, the employees of India's largest public sector went on a strike in May 1974.
- ▶ The government finally declared the strike illegal.

### Conflict with Judiciary

- ▶ The relationship between the Judiciary and the government was tensed.
- ▶ Supreme court declared many initiatives of the Central Government as the violation of the Constitution.

### Declaration of Emergency (Crisis and Response)

- ▶ On 12 June 1975, Justice Jagmohanlal Sinha of the Allahabad High Court passed a judgment declaring Indira Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha invalid.
- ▶ The order came on an election petition filed by Raj Narain, a socialist leader and a candidate who had contested against Indira Gandhi in 1971.
- ▶ Jayaprakash Narayan pressed for Indira Gandhi's resignation and organised a massive demonstration in Delhi's Ramlila ground on 25 June 1975.
- ▶ Jayaprakash announced a nationwide Satyagraha forcing Indira Gandhi to resign on the basis of verdict of the Allahabad High Court.
- ▶ On 25 June 1975, a situation of National Emergency was declared and imposed in the country by the recommendation of Indira Gandhi under the Article 352 of the Constitution.
- ▶ Once an emergency is proclaimed the federal distribution of powers remains practically suspended and all the powers are concentrated in the hands of the union government.
- ▶ The government also gets the power to curtail or restrict all or any of the fundamental right during the emergency.

### Consequences of the Emergency

- ▶ Emergency brought the agitation to an abrupt stop: strikes were banned.
- ▶ Many opposition leaders were put in jail on the ground of preventive detention the political situation became very quiet, though tense.



- ▶ Press censorship was imposed.
- ▶ The national organisations like Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Jamait-e-Islami were banned.
- ▶ Protests and strikes and public agitations were also disallowed.
- ▶ The Constitution was amended so as to include the elections of President of India, Vice President of India and Prime Minister could not be challenged in any court of law including the Supreme Court of India.
- ▶ Under the provisions of emergency, the various Fundamental Rights of citizens stood suspended, including the right of citizens to move the court for restoring their fundamental rights.
- ▶ Many journalists were arrested for writing against the emergency. Many underground news letters and leaflets were published to bypass censorship.
- ▶ Kannada writer Shivarama Karanth, awarded with Padma Bhushan and Hindi writer Fanishwarnath Renu, awarded with Padma Shri returned their awards in protest against the suspension of democracy.

### Lessons of the Emergency

- ▶ One lesson of emergency is that it is extremely difficult to do away with democracy in India.
- ▶ Secondly, it brought out some ambiguities regarding the emergency provision in the Constitution that have been rectified since.
- ▶ Thirdly, the emergency made everyone more aware of the value of civil liberties.
- ▶ The critical years of emergency brought many issues that have not been adequately grappled with.
- ▶ The actual implementation of the emergency rule took place through the police and administration.

- ▶ As per the finding of Shah commission, there were many 'excesses' committed during the emergency.

### Politics after the National Emergency

- ▶ The experience of 1975-77 ended up strengthening the foundations of democracy in India.

### Lok Sabha Election-1977

- ▶ General elections were held in January 1977 with the lifting up of emergency.
- ▶ The result of the elections were really shocking as Congress lost the majority for the first time since the country got independence.

### Janata Government

- ▶ The Janata Party Government came to power.
- ▶ With the intense competition from Jagjivan Ram and Chaudhary Charan Singh, Morarji Desai was elected as the next Prime Minister of the country.
- ▶ Morarji Desai could not complete his full term of Prime Ministership and was succeeded by Chaudhary Charan Singh.
- ▶ The Janata Party Government could not bring about a fundamental change in policies from those pursued by the Congress.
- ▶ The Janata Party split and the government which was led by Morarji Desai lost its majority in less than 18 months.

### Legacy

- ▶ The party system had changed dramatically between the elections of 1977 and 1980.
- ▶ Congress party had started shedding its character as an umbrella party which accommodated leaders and workers of different ideological dispensations and viewpoints.
- ▶ In an indirect manner, the issue of welfare of the backward castes also began to dominate politics since 1977.
- ▶ The makers of India's Constitution trusted that all political parties would basically abide by the democratic norm.



## Practice Exercise

### Multiple Choice Questions

**Q 1. Which of the following events does not relate to the period of proclamation of emergency in 1975?**

- The call for 'Total Revolution'
- The Railway Strike of 1974
- The Naxalite Movement
- The Allahabad High Court Verdict

**Q 2. Who among the following had announced a nationwide satyagraha on 25th June, 1975 for the resignation of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi?**

(CBSE 2023)

- Morarji Desai
- Jayaprakash Narayan
- George Fernandes
- Atal Bihari Vajpayee

**Q 3. Which of the following statements about emergency is incorrect?** (NCERT)

- It led to the suspension of all fundamental rights.
- It was declared in 1975.
- It was proclaimed due to the deteriorating economic conditions.
- Many opposition leaders were arrested during the emergency.

**Q 4. Who headed the Shah Commission?**

- Justice J.C. Shah
- Justice K.C. Shah
- Justice M.C. Shah
- Justice D.C. Shah

**Q 5. The ..... elections turned into a referendum on the experience of the emergency.**

- |         |         |
|---------|---------|
| a. 1969 | b. 1977 |
| c. 1979 | d. 1989 |



## Answers

1. (c) 2. (b) 3. (c) 4. (a) 5. (b)  
6. (a) 7. (d) 8. (d) 9. (a) 10. (a)  
11. (b) 12. (a) 13. (b) 14. (c) 15. (b)
16. Garibi Hatao (Remove Poverty)  
17. May 1974  
18. J.C. Shah (retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India)  
19. The Mini Constitution of India  
20. Mandal  
21. True 22. True  
23. False 24. True  
25. False  
26. The relationship between the judiciary and the government was tensed.  
27. Many journalists were arrested for writing against the emergency.

## Passage Based Questions

### Passage 1

Read the passage given below and answer the questions that follow by choosing the most appropriate option:

Students' protests in Gujarat and Bihar, both of which were Congress ruled States, had far reaching impact on the politics of the two States and national politics. In January 1974 students in Gujarat started an agitation against rising prices of food grains, cooking oil and other essential commodities and against corruption in high placed people. The students protest was joined by major opposition parties and became widespread leading to the imposition of President's rule in the state. The opposition parties demanded fresh elections to the state legislature. Morarji Desai, a prominent leader of Congress (O), who was the main rival of Indira Gandhi when he was in the Congress, announced that he would go on an indefinite fast if fresh elections were not held in the State. Under intense pressure from students, supported by the opposition political parties, assembly elections were held in Gujarat in June 1975. The Congress was defeated in that election.

- Q 1. When did the students protest start in Gujarat?  
a. November 1974      b. December 1974  
c. January 1974      d. None of these
- Q 2. What was the implication of the Gujarat Protest?  
a. Re-election in Gujarat  
b. Students were arrested  
c. Imposition of President's rule  
d. None of the above

Q 3. Morarji Desai belonged to which party?

- a. Congress (O)  
b. Congress (I)  
c. Janata Dal  
d. Bharatiya Janata Party

Q 4. When did the assembly elections in Gujarat take place due to the pressure of the protests?

- a. June 1975      b. July 1975  
c. March 1973      d. April 1974

## Answers

1. (c) 2. (c) 3. (a) 4. (a)

### Passage 2

Read the passage given below and answer the questions that follow:

Once an emergency is proclaimed, the federal distribution of powers remains practically suspended and all the powers are concentrated in the hands of the union government. Secondly, the government also gets the power to curtail or restrict all or any of the fundamental rights during the emergency. From the wording of the provisions of the Constitution, it is clear that an emergency is seen as an extraordinary condition in which normal democratic politics cannot function. Therefore, special powers are granted to the government.

Q 1. When was emergency imposed?

Ans. Emergency was imposed on 25 June 1975.

Q 2. Who recommended emergency to be imposed and to whom?

Ans. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi recommended to impose emergency to the President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed.

Q 3. Mention the implications of emergency.

Ans. The implications of emergency are:

- (i) The federal distribution of powers remains practically suspended.  
(ii) All the powers are concentrated in the hands of union government.  
(iii) The government also gets power to restrict all or any of fundamental right of citizens during emergency.

### Passage 3

Read the passage given below and answer the questions that follow:

The National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen' and Struggle led by George Fernandes gave a call for nationwide strike by all employees of the Railways for pressing their demands related to bonus and service conditions.

The government was opposed to these demands. So, the employees of India's largest public sector undertaking went on a strike in May 1974. The strike by the Railway employees added to the atmosphere of labour unrest. It also raised issues like rights of the workers and whether employees of essential services should adopt measures like strikes.

**Q 1. Name the leader who led the Railway strike in 1974.**

**Ans.** George Fernandes.

**Q 2. Why was the government of India opposed to the Railways strike? Explain any two reasons.**

**Ans.** Government of India opposed the Railway strike due to following reasons:

(i) The government opposed the railway strike as it is the largest public sector undertaking, going on strike meant disrupting the entire transport and communication.

(ii) The another reason was the protest as against the leadership of Indra Gandhi and was motivated by personal opposition to her.

**Q 3. Should the workers and employees of essential services be allowed to go on strike? Support your answer with a suitable argument. (CBSE 2017)**

**Ans.** No, in our opinion workers and employees of essential services should not be allowed to go on strike, as railway is the largest public sector unit in the country.

## Passage 4

*Read the passage given below and answer the questions that follow:*

The Emergency and the period around it can be described as a period of Constitutional crisis because it had its origins in the Constitutional battle over the jurisdiction of the Parliament and the judiciary. On the other hand, it was also a period of political crisis. The party in power had absolute majority and yet, its leadership decided to suspend the democratic process. The makers of India's Constitution trusted that all political parties would basically abide by the democratic norm. Even during the Emergency, when the government would use extraordinary powers, its use would be within the norms of the rule of law. This expectation led to the wide and open ended powers given to the government in times of Emergency. But they were abused during the emergency. This political crisis was more serious than the Constitutional crisis.

**Q 1. The Constitutional battle was drawn between which two organs of the government?**

**Ans.** The Constitutional battle was drawn between Judiciary and Executive.

**Q 2. Explain any one reason that led to the imposition of emergency in 1975.**

**Ans.** On 12th June 1975, Justice Jagmohanlal Sinha of the Allahabad High Court passed a judgement declaring Indra Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha invalid on ground of use of government services in her election campaign. This was the climax of the confrontation between judiciary and the executive.

**Q 3. Highlight the excess that took place during emergency.**

**Ans.** During emergency, the government made extensive use of preventive detention and large scale arrests without any authentic proof. The arrest could not be challenged through Habeas Corpus petition.

## Passage 5

*Read the passage given below and answer the questions that follow:*

There were many acts of dissent and resistance to the Emergency. Many political workers who were not arrested in the first wave, went 'underground' and organised protests against the government. Newspapers like the Indian Express and the Statesman protested against censorship by leaving blank spaces where news items had been censored. Magazines like the Seminar and the Mainstream chose to close down rather than submit to censorship. Many journalists were arrested for writing against the emergency. Many underground newsletters and leaflets were published to bypass censorship. Kannada writer Shivarama Karanth, awarded with Padma Bhushan and Hindi writer Fanishwamath Renu, awarded with Padma Shri, returned their awards in protest against the suspension of democracy. By and large, though, such open acts of defiance and resistance were rare.

**Q 1. Why did people begin to protest against the government?**

**Ans.** People began to protest against government for the imposition of emergency.

**Q 2. How did newspaper protest against censorship?**

**Ans.** Newspapers like Indian express and the Statesman protested against censorship by leaving blank spaces where news items had been censored.

**Q 3. How did writers protest against the emergency?**

**Ans.** Kannada writer Shivarama Karanth awarded with Padma Bhushan returned it in protest against suspension of democracy.





## Very Short Answer Type Questions

**Q 1. Who became the Deputy Prime Minister in 1977 government?**

**Ans.** Jagjivan Ram and Ch. Charan Singh became the Deputy Prime Ministers in 1977 government.

**Q 2. Who became the Prime Minister for only more than four months?**

**Ans.** Chaudhary Charan Singh the leader of Bharatiya Lok Dal and farmers leader from U.P. became Prime Minister for only more than four months.

**Q 3. The statement "Government that are perceived to be anti-democratic are severely punished by the voters" is related to which party?**

**Ans.** The above statement is related to Congress Party after the emergency as it lost election of 1977.

**Q 4. What is the essence of transformation according to Jayaprakash Narayan?**

**Ans.** The essence for transformation according to Jayaprakash Narayan revolves around 'man who could be the real catalyst of change in India'.

**Q 5. What are the basic principle of Integral Humanism?**

**Ans.** The philosophy of Integral Humanism is based on three principles:

- (i) Primary of whole, not part
- (ii) Supremacy of Dharma
- (iii) Autonomy of society

**Q 6. List the objectives of Democratic Socialism.**

**Ans.** Democratic Socialism has two objectives:

- (i) Economic objective like food and housing.
- (ii) Non-economic objective like democracy and freedom.

**Q 7. Who interpreted the political participation of the lower classes as the "Second Democratic Upsurge" during 1980s'?**

**Ans.** Yogendra Yadav interpreted the political participations of lower classes as the Second Democratic Upsurge during 1980s.

**Q 8. Why did the Janata Party Government appoint a commission of inquiry headed by Justice J.C. Shah in May 1977? (CBSE 2020)**

**Ans.** Janata Party Government appointed a commission of Inquiry headed by Justice J.C. Shah in May 1977 to receive the excess committed during National Emergency of 1975.

**Q 9. Analyse the root cause of the fall of the government headed by Morarji Desai. (CBSE 2020)**

**Ans.** Internal difference and conflict within the Janata Party resulted into the fall of the government headed by Morarji Desai.

**Q 10. Analyse any one reason for the defeat of the Congress Party in 1977. (CBSE 2018)**

**Ans.** Political and administrative powers were handled badly and central government headed by Congress party misused constitutional powers, so Congress had to face humiliating defect in 1977.

**Q 11. What was the main demand of the railwaymen during the railway strike led by George Fernandes in 1974?**

**Ans.** Their demand was for bonus and service condition.

**Q 12. Explain any two lessons learnt from the emergency imposed in 1975. (CBSE SQP 2023-24)**

- Ans.**
- (i) One lesson of Emergency is that it is extremely difficult to do away with democracy in India.
  - (ii) Secondly, it brought out some ambiguities regarding the Emergency provision in the Constitution that have been rectified. It amended that internal emergency could be proclaimed only on the grounds of armed rebellion. The advice to the president to proclaim emergency must be given in writing by council of ministers.
  - (iii) Thirdly, emergency made everyone more aware of civil liberties: courts also took an active role in protecting civil liberties of individuals.

**Q 13. Name the leader who led a people's march to Parliament in 1975 and states as to what was unique about this march. (CBSE SQP 2022, Term-2)**

**Ans.** Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan was the leader who led peoples' march to Parliament. This was one of the largest rallies ever held in the capital during those times.

**Q 14. Highlight any two excesses made by the Government during emergency of 1975. (CBSE 2022, Term-2)**

- Ans.**
- (i) Internal disturbances and agitations in the country.
  - (ii) Political mood of the country had turned hostile.

**Q 15. Who opposed the concept of 'Capitalist Individualism' and why? (CBSE 2022, Term-2)**

**Ans.** All the supporters of socialism opposed the concept of 'Capitalist Individualism'.

**Q 16. Explain the concept of 'Chouburja Rajneeti' as advocated by Ram Manohar Lohia. (CBSE 2022, Term-2)**

**Ans.** Ram Manohar Lohia advocated Chouburja Rajneeti in which he opines four pillars of politics as well as socialism, centre, region, district and village.

**Q 17. Name the two Prime Ministers of the Janata Dal.**

**Ans.** The two leaders who became the Prime Ministers from the Janata Dal were:

- (i) Morarji Desai
- (ii) Chaudhary Charan Singh

## Cartoon Based Questions

Q1. Study the cartoon carefully and answer the questions that follow:



(i) Identify and name the person holding in his hand the placard 'Save Democracy'?

Ans. Jayaprakash Narayan is holding the placard 'Save Democracy'.

(ii) In your opinion, the group of five persons belongs to which political party?

Ans. Congress Party.

(iii) According to the group of five, what are the intentions of the person sitting on 'Dharma'?

Ans. Support democracy, create chaos, grab power.

(iv) Which issues responsible for the downfall of democracy are highlighted in the cartoon?

Ans. The issues responsible for the downfall of democracy highlighted in the cartoon are:

- (a) Corruption
- (b) Lawlessness
- (c) Violence etc.

Q2. Study the cartoon carefully and answer the questions that follow:



(i) What situation does the cartoon refer to?

Ans. Appearance of Indira Gandhi before Commissions but refused to answer any questions.

(ii) Which Commission is represented into the cartoon?

Ans. Shah Commission's report about emergency.

(iii) Mention some points of this Commission's report.

Ans. The main points of this commission report are:

- (a) There were many excesses committed during emergency.
- (b) Several restrictions were put on the press sometimes without legal sanctions.
- (c) Many people were arrested under preventive detention law.
- (d) Even general manager of Delhi Power Supply Corporation received verbal orders from the officers of Lt. Governor of Delhi to cut electricity to all newspaper presses at 2 a.m. on 26 June 1975.

Q3. Study the cartoon carefully and answer the questions that follow:



(i) When did cartoon appear in the newspaper and why?

Ans. This cartoon appeared few days before the declaration of emergency to capture the sense of impending political crisis.

(ii) Identify the person behind Indira Gandhi.

Ans. In the cartoon, behind Indira Gandhi is the then Congress President D. K. Barooah.

(iii) Identify what does the 'Political Crisis' stand for Explain.

Ans. Political crisis in 1977 made the party system in India look like a two party system i.e., Congress and non-Congress to end one party dominance and emergence of non-Congress party Janata Party as an umbrella for others.

Q4. Study the given cartoon and answer the questions that follow: (CBSE SQP 2023-24)



(i) Identify any two leaders that won the 1977 elections.

Ans. Morarji Desai and Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

(ii) What is MISA?

Ans. Maintenance of Internal Security Act.

(iii) Why was the Congress voted out of power?

Ans. The Congress voted out of power because of Imposition of Emergency, 42nd Amendment, Censorship of press, Misuse of Preventive detention laws.



## Short Answer Type Questions

Q 1. Which characteristics made the Congress an ideological coalition during the freedom movement of India? (CBSE 2015)

Ans. The inclusive and accommodative nature of Congress made it an ideological coalition during the freedom movement of India. It brought together successfully diverse groups, whose interests were often contradictory.

Q 2. What was Shah Commission of Inquiry? How did the government react to it?

Ans. Shah Commission was a commission appointed by the Janata Party government in 1977 to inquire into several aspects of allegations of abuse of authority, excesses and malpractices committed in the wake of the emergency.

The government of India accepted the findings, observations and recommendations contained in the two interim reports.

Q 3. Examine any two main reasons that led to the mid-term elections in 1980. (CBSE 2023)

Ans. Two main reasons for the mid-term elections in 1980 were:

(i) The Janata Dal government lost its support due to the internal disputes and there were internal conflict within the party for the post of Prime Minister.

(ii) The popularity of Indira Gandhi was increasing once again and due to weak centre the decision for fresh elections were taken.

Q 4. Jayaprakash Narayan is known for which three key contributions?

Ans. Jayaprakash Narayan is known for three key contributions of:

- (i) Fight against corruption
- (ii) Principles of communitarian socialism
- (iii) Championing of total revolution

Q 5. What was the historic decision given by the court in the famous Kesavananda Bharati Case?

Ans. In the famous "Kesavananda Bharati Case" the Supreme Court gave a decision that there are some basic features of the Constitution which cannot be

amended by the Parliament at any cost or in any situation. This led to a crisis between the government and the judiciary.

Q 6. What was the reason behind introducing Twenty-Point Programme and who introduced it?

Ans. The Congress government led by Indira Gandhi announced a Twenty-Point Programme to bring law and order, and restore efficiency.

The twenty-point programme included:

- (i) Land reforms
- (ii) Land redistributions
- (iii) Review of agricultural wages
- (iv) Workers participation in management
- (v) Eradication of bonded labour, etc.

Q 7. Who advocated the philosophy of Integral Humanism? What were its basic principles?

Ans. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya advocated the philosophy of Integral humanism which was presented/intended to present an indigenous socioeconomic model in which human beings remain at the centre of development. This philosophy of integral humanism is based on the following three principles:

- (i) Primacy of whole, not part
- (ii) Supremacy of Dharma
- (iii) Autonomy of society

Q 8. Explain the principle of communitarian socialism propounded by Jayaprakash Narayan.

Ans. Principle of communitarian socialism propounded by Jayaprakash Narayan are as follows:

- (i) Jayaprakash Narayan was the first leader who advocated the principle of communitarian socialism.
- (ii) His principle of communitarian Socialism views India as a society of communities encompassing three key layers.
- (iii) Community, region and rashtra, all combining together as an example of true federation.

Q 9. Describe any four circumstances for the proclamation of emergency in India in 1975.

OR

Was the declaration of emergency in 1975 necessary? Support your answer with any three suitable arguments. (CBSE 2022, Term-2)

Ans. Reason to the declaration of the emergency in India on 25th June 1975:

- (i) The Judgement passed by Justice Jagmohanlal Sinha of the Allahabad High Court on 12 June, 1975 invalidated Indira Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha. As per the judgement of the High Court, Indira Gandhi was legally no more an MP and therefore, could not remain the Prime Minister unless she was once again elected as



an MP within a period of 6 months. This decision created political earthquake and now the stage was set for a big political conformation.

- (ii) The wave of political convulsions changed the whole scenario. Jayaprakash Narayan pressed for Indra Gandhi's resignation and announced a nation wide Satyagraha and asked the army, the police and the government employee, not to obey 'illegal and immoral order'.
- (iii) The government declared that there was a grave threat of internal disturbances and the declaration of a state of emergency was inevitable. Consequently, the government declared a state of emergency on 25 June, 1975.

**Q 10. Explain the reasons for the Students Movement of 1974 in Bihar and the role played by Jayaprakash Narayan in this movement.**

**Ans.** The reasons for students movements of 1974 in Bihar. Student Movement in Bihar started in 1974. In Bihar students came together to protest against rising prices, food scarcity, unemployment and corruption. This movement very soon assumed the political character and had become national appeal.

**Role played by Jayaprakash Narayan**

- (i) Students of Bihar invited the socialist leader Jayaprakash Narayan to lead their movement. Jayaprakash Narayan got ready to lead the movement with the condition that the movement will remain non-violent and will not limit to Bihar alone.
- (ii) As the very first step Jayaprakash Narayan demanded the dismissal of the Congress government in Bihar and later gave a call for total revolution in the social, economic and political sphere in order to establish true democracy on public opinion.
- (iii) Under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan students of Bihar organised a series of bandhs, ghehros and strikes against Bihar government.
- (iv) Jayaprakash Narayan wanted the movement to spread to other parts of the country, so he led a people's March to the Parliament which became largest political rallies ever held in the capital. He was also supported by the non-Congress opposition parties like Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Congress (O), Bharatiya Lok Dal, Socialist Party and others. Thus, the students movement of Bihar under J.P. become a national level movement which was seen more as anti-Congress rather than opposing the state government.



### TIP

Students should focus on the key terms to identify the appropriate answer.

**Q 11. Trace the Idea of "Third Democratic Upsurge".**

**Ans.** The 'Third Democratic Upsurge' attributed from early 1990s.

- (i) It represents a competitive electoral market society encompassing all important sectors of economy, society and polity.
- (ii) The Third Democratic Upsurge is based not on the principle of survival of the fittest but rather the survival of the ablest.
- (iii) It highlights three shifts in India's electoral market:
  - (a) from state to market.
  - (b) from government to governance, and
  - (c) from state as controller to state as facilitator.
- (iv) Thus, The Third Democratic Upsurge seeks to promote the participation of the youth who constitute a significant chunk of Indian society.
- (v) Youth have emerged as the real game changers in view of their increasing electoral preference for both development and governance in India's contemporary democratic politics.

**Q 12. How did Janata Party make the 1977 elections into a referendum on the emergency imposed in 1975? Explain.**

**Ans.** Janata Party made the election of 1977 into a referendum on the emergency imposed in 1975 in following ways:

- (i) Janata Party's campaign was focused on the non-democratic character of the rule and on the various excesses that took place during this period.
- (ii) In the backdrop of arrests of thousands of persons and the censorship of the press, the public opinion was against the Congress.
- (iii) Jayaprakash Narayan who led the movement became the popular symbol of restoration of democracy.
- (iv) The party ensured that non-Congress votes would not be divided.

**Q 13. Why is the emergency and the period around it known as the period of constitutional crisis? Explain.**

**Ans.** The emergency and the period around it can be described as a period of constitutional crisis because it had its origin in the constitutional battle over the jurisdiction of the Parliament and the judiciary.

During emergency government gets extra powers.

It gains the power to suspend the fundamental rights of the citizens.

Measures like preventive detention could be used by government. Right to move the court for the restoration of fundamental rights were taken away.

It was also a period of political crisis because the party in power had absolute majority and yet, its leadership decided to suspend the democratic process.



**Q 14. How did the Emergency of 1975 benefit the Indian democratic set up?**

**OR**

**Assess any three effects of Emergency imposed in 1975 in strengthening the democracy in India.**

(CBSE 2023)

**Ans.** The Emergency of 1975 benefitted the Indian democratic set up in the following manner:

- (i) It checked the issues of regionalism and separatism.
- (ii) As a reaction to the Emergency various parties united and fought against Congress in the elections of 1977 and thus consolidated the democracy.
- (iii) It challenged the dominance of one party.
- (iv) Some of the ambiguities regarding the emergency provision in the Constitution were rectified.

**Q 15. The 1977 elections for the first time saw the opposition coming into power at the centre. What would you consider as the reasons for this development?**

**OR**

**Highlight any three factors which were responsible for the downfall of the Congress Party in the 1977 elections.**

(CBSE 2023)

**Ans.** The following factors were responsible for the defeat of the Congress and the emergence of the opposition to power:

- (i) **Imposition of Black Acts:** During the Emergency, the various Black Acts were passed by the Indira Gandhi led Congress government.
- (ii) **Imposition of the National Emergency:** For the first time in the history of free India, National emergency was imposed.
- (iii) **Constitutional Amendments :** Through the 42nd Amendment, Indira government lowered the position of the judiciary.
- (iv) **Compulsory Sterilisation:** At the stance of Sanjay Gandhi, the various states particularly Haryana resorted to the compulsory sterilisation to a great extent.
- (v) **Rising Prices:** The condition of Indian people became pitiable due to the continuous rise in prices.

**Q 16. Analyse any three reasons for the split in the congress in 1969.**

(CBSE 2023)

**Ans.** The split in the Indian National Congress in 1969 was a critical event that had a lasting impact on Indian politics. Several factors contributed to his split. Here are three key reasons:

**(i) Leadership Conflict and Ideological Differences:**

One of the primary reasons for the split was the conflict between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and senior leaders within the Congress party. The older, established leaders, led by the syndicate comprising Morarji Desai, Nijalingappa, and S.K. Patil, had ideological differences with Indira Gandhi. They accused her of authoritarianism, centralisation of power, and deviating from the principles of democratic governance. Indira Gandhi, on the other hand, sought to assert her authority and promote a more populist and socialist agenda, distancing herself from the established Congress leadership. This clash of leadership styles and ideological differences led to the split.

**(ii) Struggle for Power and Control:** The split in the Congress also had deep roots in the struggle for power and control within the party. Indira Gandhi's rise to power as the Prime Minister had created a power imbalance within the party, leading to resentment among the senior leaders who felt marginalised. The syndicate, representing the old guard, wanted to maintain their influence and control over the party. However, Indira Gandhi, with her popular appeal and growing support base among the masses, sought to assert her authority and establish herself as the undisputed leader. This power struggle and the subsequent split can be seen as a result of competing ambitions and attempts to consolidate power within the Congress party.

**(iii) Policy Differences and Economic Reforms:**

Another significant factor contributing to the split was the divergence in policy approaches, particularly on economic reforms. Indira Gandhi's government introduced several controversial policies, such as bank nationalisation and abolition of privy purses, which faced opposition from within the party. The established Congress leaders, representing a more conservative and pro-business faction, criticised these policies as being anti-capitalist and detrimental to the country's economic growth. This policy divergence further deepened the rift within the party, leading to the split.

These three reasons—leadership conflict and ideological differences, struggle for power and control, and policy differences and economic reforms—were key factors that culminated in the split within the Congress party in 1969. The split not only reshaped the political landscape of India but also has significant consequences for the Congress party itself, leading to the formation of separate factions and influencing the subsequent political dynamics in the country.





## Long Answer Type Questions

**Q 1. Analyse any three reasons for imposing emergency on 25th June, 1975. Did the government misuse its emergency powers? Give any three arguments in support of your answer.**

OR

**Explain any four effects of the Emergency declared in 1975.** (CBSE 2023)

**Ans.** Three reasons for imposing emergency on 25th June, 1975 were:

- (i) Indira Gandhi's election to Lok Sabha was declared invalid by Allahabad High Court.
- (ii) Opposition parties under Jayaprakash Narayan demanded Mrs. Gandhi's resignation.
- (iii) They asked army, police and government employees not to obey orders.
- (iv) Mood of the country grew against Congress.

**Argument in support of 'No' answer**

- (i) Technically the government was within the provision of special powers as granted by the Constitution.
- (ii) Federal distribution of powers is suspended on the declaration of emergency and all the powers are concentrated in the hands of the Union Government.
- (iii) Emergency is an extra ordinary measure where democratic politics cannot function and hence special powers are granted to the Central Government.
- (iv) Many people were happy with the law and order situation.
- (v) Twenty-Point Programme was adopted by the government for the welfare of people.

**Argument in favour of 'Yes' answer**

- (i) Many people felt that emergency was unnecessary as people had the right to protest against the government in a democracy.
- (ii) Most agitations were normally peaceful.
- (iii) Government had enough power to deal with the agitations.
- (iv) There was no need to use emergency powers as there was no threat to the unity and integrity of India.
- (v) Many people said that Ms. Gandhi misused the constitutional provision to save her personal power.

**Q 2. What were the major conflicts between the Parliament and the Judiciary during the leadership of Indira Gandhi?**

**Ans.** This was the time when the government and the ruling party had various differences with the judiciary. There constitutional issues had emerged, which were:

- (i) Could the Parliament abridge the fundamental rights? The Supreme Court's answer was negative.
- (ii) Could the Parliament curtail the right to property by making an amendment? Again the Supreme Court said that the Parliament cannot amend the Constitution in such a manner that rights are curtailed.
- (iii) The Parliament amended the Constitution saying that it can abridge the fundamental rights for giving effect to directive principles. However, the Supreme Court rejected this provision also. This led to a crisis as far as the relation between the government and the judiciary was concerned. Further, two more developments added to the tension between the judiciary and the executive. The 1973, immediately after the Supreme Court's decision in the Kesavananda Bharati Case, a vacancy arose for the post of the Chief Justice of India. It had been a practice to appoint the senior-most judge of the Supreme Court as the Chief Justice, but in 1973, the government set aside the seniority of three judges and appointed Justice A. N. Ray as the Chief Justice of India. This appointment became politically controversial because all the three judges who were superseded had given rulings against the stand of the government. Thus constitutional interpretations and political ideologies were getting mixed up rapidly. People close to the Prime Minister started talking of the need for a judiciary and the bureaucracy 'committed' to the vision of the executive and the legislature. The climax of the confrontation was of course the ruling of the High court declaring Indira Gandhi's elections invalid.

**Q 3. "The emergency declared on 25th June, 1975 is seen as a blur on Indian democracy." Assess its impact on the party system in India.**

**Ans.** The emergency declared on 25th June 1975 had a great impact on India's party system. Many changes had been made to the Constitution and reality came in front of people.

Consequences of emergency were:

- (i) Fundamental Rights were suspended.
  - (ii) The power of Judiciary were limited.
  - (iii) Press was censored.
  - (iv) All the powers were concentrated in the hands of Union Government.
  - (v) Civil liberties of the citizens were taken away.
- Important lesson learnt from emergency are:
- (a) Several changes to Constitution came into existence e.g., election of Prime Minister, President and Vice President could not be challenged in the Supreme Court.

- (b) Provision of emergency was rectified too. Internal emergency could only be proclaimed on the basis of armed rebellion after President's formal announcement on the advice of council of ministers.

**Q 4. Describe various issues regarding the National Emergency of 1975 in India. (CBSE SQP 2022, Term-2)**

**Ans.** The various issues regarding the National Emergency of 1975 in India are as follows:

- (i) There were arrests of political worker and undue restrictions on the press.
- (ii) The Emergency directly affected the lives of common people in many cases. Fundamental Rights of the people were suspended. Torture and custodial deaths occurred during the Emergency and arbitrary relocation of poor people also took place.
- (iii) The Constitution simply mentioned 'internal disturbances' as the reason for declaring Emergency. Before 1975, the Emergency was never proclaimed on this ground.
- (iv) Although the then government argued that in a democracy, the opposition parties must allow the elected ruling party to govern according to its policies. It felt that frequent recourse to agitations, protests and collective action are not good for democracy.
- (v) Supporters of the then Prime Minister also held that in a democracy, one cannot continuously have extra-parliamentary politics targeting the government. This leads to instability and distracts the administration from its routine task of ensuring development.

**Q 5. "Governments that are perceived to be anti-democratic are severely punished by the voters." Explain the statements with reference to the emergency period of 1975-77.**

**Ans.** In January 1977, after 18 months of emergency government decided to hold the election. Decision was quick, parties did not have enough time for preparation. Janata Party which had formed during pre-emergency period by coalition of various anti-Congress and anti-emergency parties decided to fight against Congress.

Result of 1977 came out with a big surprise to the country. For the first time since, Independence Congress had lost in Centre. Janata Party won 330 out of 542 seats.

The main reason behind Congress defeat in 1977 were:

- (i) Its anti-democratic decisions.
- (ii) Imposition of emergency had negative impact on the image of Congress.
- (iii) During emergency Congress had used harsh measure like demolition, forced sterilisation, displacement, etc.

That is why people decided not to elect Congress representative to next Lok Sabha election and Janata Party, who gave public a bright look of democracy and was sympathetic towards public, was elected.

- (iv) The middle class from North India, where the impact of emergency was at its peak, moved away from Congress.
- (v) Janata Party became a platform for different group of people.
- (vi) It can be said that voters punished anti-democratic government.

**Q 6. Explain the findings of Shah Commission constituted after the end of emergency of 1975?**

**Ans.** In May 1977, the Janata Party government appointed Shah commission of inquiry headed by Justice J.C. Shah, retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India.

It was appointed to look into the misuse by authority by government and unethical practices like demolition of Jhuggis, forced sterilisation etc. which were conducted during emergency. The commission gathered various evidences and witnesses to give testimonies.

The finding of Shah Commission were:

- (i) It found out that preventive detention was widely used by the government. Around one lakh eleven thousand arbitrary arrest were made of by the government.
- (ii) Newspapers were asked to get permission before publishing of any matter.
- (iii) The Delhi Lieutenant Governor ordered General Manager of Delhi Power Supply to cut off the power supply of news press till the establish censorship apparatus.
- (iv) Jhuggi Jhoperi were forcefully relocated in the barren area of Delhi, people were forcefully sterilised.
- (v) The younger son of Prime Minister did not hold any official position at the time. Yet, he gained control over the administration and allegedly interfered in the functioning of the government.

**Q 7. Describe any three weaknesses and any three points of strength of India's democracy that come to light during the emergency of 1975.**

OR

**Write a short note on lessons of the emergency.**

**Ans.** The emergency at once brought out both the weakness and the strength of India's democracy. Though there are many observers who think that India ceased to be democratic nation during the

emergency. It is noteworthy that normal democratic functioning resumed within a short span of time. Hence, we learnt some lesson:

- (i) The very first lesson we learnt is that it is extremely difficult to do away with democracy in India.
- (ii) Secondly, it brought out some ambiguities regarding the emergency provision in the Constitution that have been rectified since. Now, Internal emergency can be proclaimed only on the grounds of 'armed rebellion' and it is necessary that the advice to the president to proclaim emergency must be given in writing by the council of ministers.
- (iii) The third lesson we learnt is that the emergency made every one more aware of the value of civil liberties. The Court too have taken an active role after the emergency in protecting the civil liberties of individuals. This is a response to the inability of the judiciary to protect civil liberties effectively during the emergency.

#### **Critics View on Emergency:**

- (i) Critics of emergency point out that most of these promises by the government remained unfulfilled.
- (ii) They question the use of preventive detention on such a large scale.
- (iii) There were other and more serious allegation regarding the exercise of government power by people who held no official position, for example Sanjay Gandhi, the younger son of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Not only this the emergency directly affected lives of common people in many cases like texture and custodial deaths, arbitrary. Relocation of people and over-enthusiasm about population control led to cases of compulsory sterilisation.

These incidences show that the normal democratic process had been suspended during emergency.

#### **Q 8. How had Jayaprakash Narayan tried to transform India totally? Give your arguments.**

**Ans.** Jayaprakash Narayan was the first leader in post-independence India who undertook a tirade against corruption through the participation of youth.

- (i) Jayaprakash Narayan is known for three Contributions:
  - (a) Fight against corruption
  - (b) Principle of communitarian socialism
  - (c) Championing of 'Total Revolution'
- (ii) Based on these principles, Jayaprakash Narayan advocated transformation of individual, society and state through his call for 'Total Revolution'.

- (iii) His concept of total revolution encompassed moral, cultural, economic, political, educational and ecological transformation.
- (iv) Political transformation included the right to recall, the importance of village/Mohalla in democratic politics.
- (v) According to Jayaprakash Narayan *uppar ke log* i.e. bureaucrats to join political struggle for a clean politics in the country. In this way Jayaprakash Narayan tried to transform India through Total Revolution. He was of the opinion that the essence for transformation revolves around man who could be the real catalyst of change in India.

#### **Q 9. Discuss the impact of the relationship between the Judiciary and the Executive during emergency period in India.**

(CBSE SQP 2022, Term-2)

**Ans.** The Impact of the conflict between the Judiciary and the Executive was as follows:

- (i) The Indira Gandhi government brought in many changes in Constitution that declared that election of Prime Minister, President and Vice President could not be challenged in court.
- (ii) The government made extensive use of Preventive Detention.
- (iii) To give preference to Directive Principles of State Policy over Fundamental Rights. Due to this provision, any person could be deprived of even his fundamental rights. Along with this, this amendment completely dwarfed the judiciary. At the same time, immense powers were given to the legislature.
- (iv) The government also superseded the practices of the Supreme Court in appointing its Chief Justice.
- (v) The term of the Parliament was also increased from five years to six years.
- (vi) Under the provisions of emergency, the various fundamental rights of citizens stood suspended, including the right of citizens to move the court for restoring their fundamental rights.



#### **Map Based Questions** ↘

**Q 1. In the given outline political map of India, four states have been marked as (A), (B), (C) and (D). Identify these states on the basis of the information given below and write their correct names in your answer book along with their respective serial number of the information used and the concerned alphabets as per format that follows:**

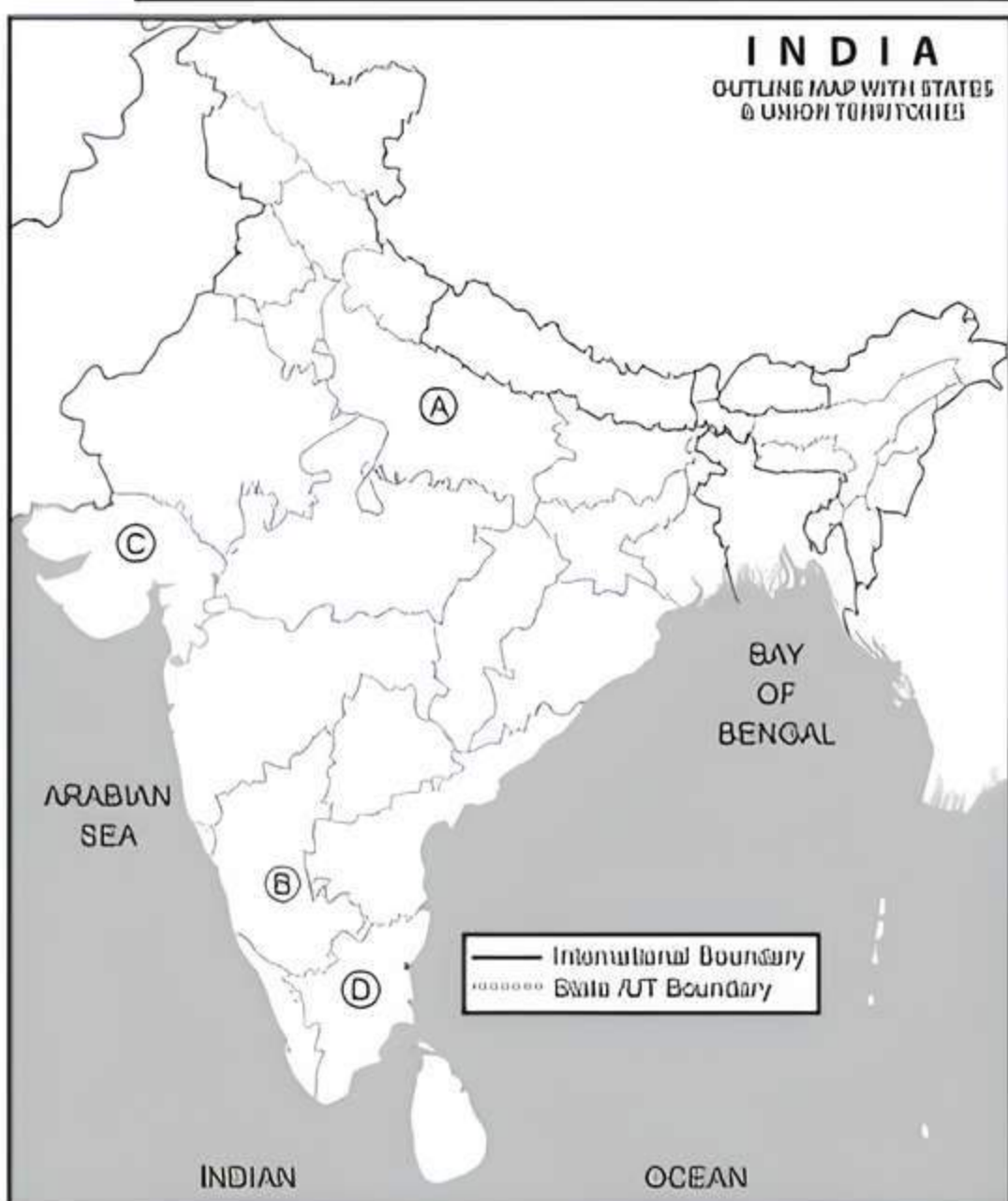
- (i) **The state to which Minister for Communications in the first ministry of free India belonged.**



- (ii) The state to which the former Prime Minister Morarji Desai was related.
- (iii) The state of which S. Nijalingappa belonged.
- (iv) The state related to former Congress President K. Kamraj.

(CBSE SQP 2022, Term-2)

Serial number of the information used	Alphabet concerned in the map	Name of the State
(i)		
(ii)		
(iii)		
(iv)		



Ans.

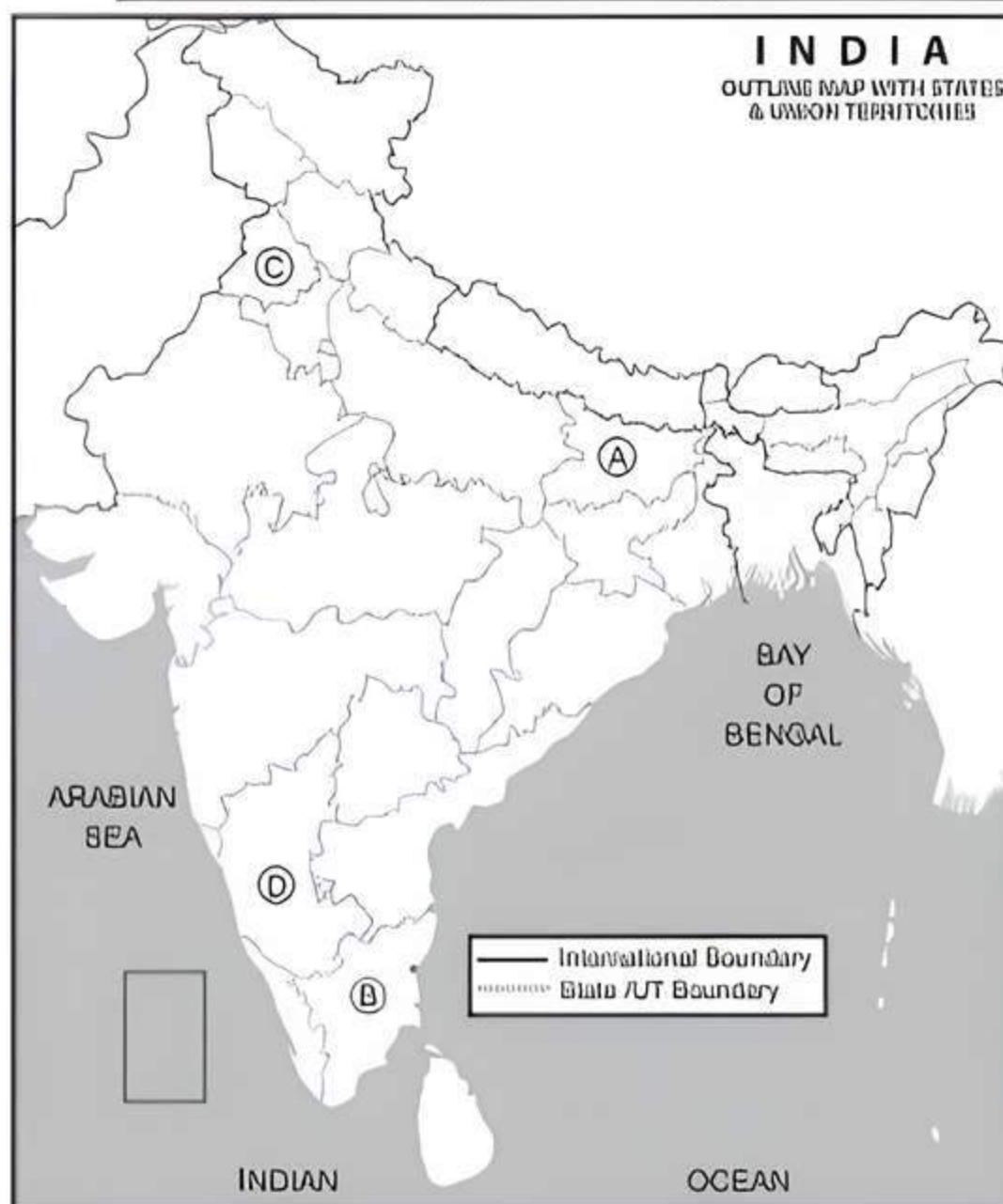
Serial number of the Information used	Alphabet concerned in the map	Name of the State
(i)	A	Uttar Pradesh
(ii)	C	Gujarat
(iii)	B	Karnataka
(iv)	D	Tamil Nadu

Q 2. In the given political map of India, four states have been marked as A, B, C and D. Identify these states on the basis of the information given below and write their correct names in your answer book along with the respective serial number of the information used and the concerned alphabet as per the format that follows:

- (i) The state to which Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, Health Minister in Nehru's Cabinet, belonged.
- (ii) The state to which former Congress President, S. Nijalingappa, belonged.

- (iii) The state where Karpooli Thakur was the Chief Minister.
- (iv) The state to which political party DMK belongs.

Serial number of the information used	Alphabet concerned in the map	Name of the State
(i)		
(ii)		
(iii)		
(iv)		



Ans.

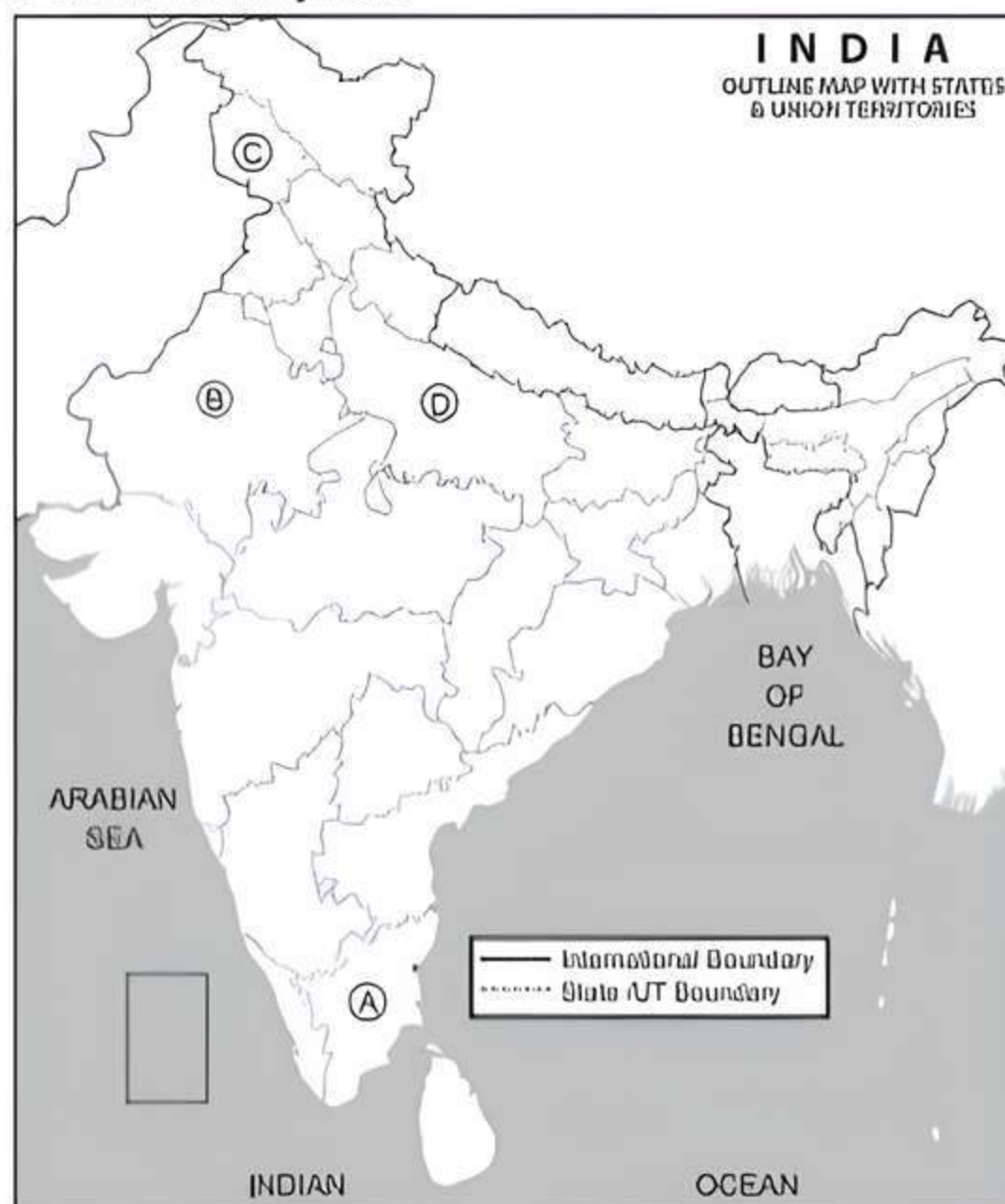
Serial number of the information used	Alphabet concerned in the map	Name of the State
(i)	C	Punjab
(ii)	D	Karnataka
(iii)	A	Bihar
(iv)	B	Tamil Nadu

Q 3. In the given political outline map of India four States have been marked as (A), (B), (C) and (D). Identify these States on the basis of the information given below and write their correct names in your answer-book along with the respective serial number of the information used and the concerned alphabets given in the map as per the following format:

Serial number of the information used	Concerned alphabet in the map	Name of the State
(i)		
(ii)		
(iii)		
(iv)		

- (i) The State with the largest number of seats in its Legislative Assembly.
- (ii) The State to which the first Indian Governor General (1948-1950) belonged.
- (iii) The State where the Congress Party did not get majority in 1967.
- (iv) The region which is a Union Territory now.

(CBSE 2022, Term-2)



Ans.

Serial number of the Information used	Alphabet concerned in the map	Name of the State
(i)	D	Uttar Pradesh
(ii)	A	Tamil Nadu
(iii)	B	Rajasthan
(iv)	C	Jammu and Kashmir



## Chapter Test

### Multiple Choice Questions

- Q 1. The "State of emergency" was declared on:
- a. 13th May, 1971
  - b. 23rd May, 1972
  - c. 25th June, 1975
  - d. 11th March, 1975
- Q 2. Who became the Prime Minister after emergency?
- a. Morarji Desai
  - b. Jayaprakash Narayan
  - c. Lal Krishna Advani
  - d. None of the above

### Fill in the Blank Type Questions

Q 3. Railway strike of 1974 was called by ..... led by George Fernandes.

Q 4. Nav Nirman Movement was started in .....

### Assertion and Reason Type Questions

Directions (Q. Nos. 5-6): In the questions given below, there are two statements marked as Assertion (A) and Reason (R). Read the statements and choose the correct option:

- a. Both (A) and (R) are true and (R) is the correct explanation of (A).
- b. Both (A) and (R) are true, but (R) is not the correct explanation of (A).



- c. (A) is true, but (R) is false.
- d. (A) is false, but (R) is True.

**Q 5. Assertion (A): Democracy is better than other form of Government.**

**Reason (R): It allows us to correct our own mistakes.**

**Q 6. Assertion (A): Woman, Dalit Poor and Minority groups are the biggest stakeholders of Democracy in India.**

**Reason (R): Democracy in India has emerged as the carrier for the desire of self-respect.**

### Passage Based Question

**Q 7. Read the passage given below and answer the questions that follow:**

The opposition to Emergency could keep the Janata Party together only for a while. Its critics felt that the Janata Party lacked direction, leadership and a common programme. The Janata Party government could not bring about a fundamental change in policies from those pursued by the Congress. The Janata Party split and the government which was led by Morarji Desai lost its majority in less than 18 months. Another government headed by Chaudhary Charan Singh was formed on the assurance of the support of the Congress party. But the Congress party later decided to withdraw its support with the result that the Chaudhary Charan Singh government could remain in power for just about four months.

- (i) In which year did the Janata Party government come to power?
- (ii) Analyse any two reasons responsible for the split of the Janata Party.
- (iii) Why could the Chaudhary Charan Singh government remain in power for just about four months only?

### Cartoon Based Question

**Q 8. Study the cartoon given below and answer the questions that follow:**



- (i) What situation does the cartoon refer to?
- (ii) Which Commission is represented into the cartoon?
- (iii) Mention some points of this Commission's report.

### Very Short Answer Type Questions

- Q 9. Who led the Railway strike in 1974? What was its main demand?**
- Q 10. State any one problem faced by the Government of India after 1971-72.**

### Short Answer Type Questions

- Q 11. Why is the emergency and the period around it known as the period of constitutional crisis? Explain.**
- Q 12. What were the reasons which led to the mid-term election in 1980?**

### Long Answer Type Question

- Q 13. "The opposition to emergency could keep the Janata Party together only for a while." Evaluate.**