
CHAPTER FIFTH

C O N C L U S I O N .

CHAPTER - VC O N C L U S I O N

The Indian National Congress has played a crucial role in the history of India in the twentieth century and provided inspiring leadership through great figures like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhabhai Patel, Abul Kalam Azad, Rajendra Prasad and S.C. Bose. The Indian National Congress as studied in the first chapter points out to the fact that at the initial stages although it was a organisation of upper caste, class, with the entry of Mahatma Gandhi it transformed into an organisation of the masses. The establishment of Indian National Congress studied in detail in the first chapter, alongwith the objectives of the Congress. It was the first congress to question the right an alien authority to rule over India, first to oppose communalism and espouse the ideal secularism, first to launch struggle for freedom - political, economic and social and adopt socialism as a national goal; through the following phases. The first phase (1885-1905) known as ascendancy of liberalism or as a period of political mendicancy. It mainly represented educated middle class intelligentsia who believed in only bringing about constitutional reforms without challenging the British empire, having faith in British sense of justice and fairplay.

This phase has been criticised by scholars. But one cannot deny the fact that the INC led down the foundation of freedom struggle.

The second phase (1905-1920) could be demarcated to be under such leadership who did not believe in constitutional methods and British sense of justice (extremists). The extremist group led by Lal, Bal, Pal promoted the growth of aggressive nationalism in the country, maintained closer links with the people and provided a broad base to the national movement. Although during this phase our freedom struggle under Tilak got momentum it didnot succeed in achieving total freedom. Like the first phase Tialk's phase was also limited to a specific class. The third phase (1920-1947) is known as the era of mass movement or the phase of Gandhi. Under Gandhiji the national movement succeeded in awakening an emboldening the mass and making it a mass movem^ent. Having faith in religion and peaceful means Gandhi began his action in 1917 by practising Satyagraha for the first time in Champaranya. In 1919 against Rowlat Bill. The non-cooperation movement swept all over the country under his leadership. It was after 1928 that Gandhiji emerged an unchallege leader of the National movement. Civil disobedience movement was very crucial step in our freedom struggle, taking the nation closer to independence. In 1942, the AIOC passed the historic Quit India resolution under Gandhiji's leadership who gave a clarion call " Do or Die "

which put the whole country on its toes to fight against the British. This movement succeeded in preparing ground for the transfer of power. Through various efforts under Gandhiji in the form of Wavell plan, Cabinet Mission, Mountbaten Plan and Indian Independence Act 1947 to independent states viz. Indian Union and Pakistan was created on August 15, 1947. After independence unlike Gandhiji's desire to continue as a Lok Seva Dal, the INC transformed in to full pledged political party, under Nehru's leadership.

Overall the first chapter points out the role of INC slowly transforming from social, economic, political demands within the British empire, limiting it to upper class intelligentsia in the first phase, to the middle class interests under Tilak's leadership. In the third phase under Gandhiji leadership the INC demanded for total freedom with the non-violence and non-cooperation as the means to achieve the political end. This phase was crucial one as it included the mass every individual under the roof of India was inspired and involved in this freedom struggle which brought success to India in 1947.

The second chapter deals with the study of manifestoes under Nehru's leadership. During his tenure as a Prime Minister from 1952 to 1964 Jawaharlal Nehru seems to have had a vital impact of his ideas in the congress manifestoes.

In the political field Nehru moved in form national integration secularism, co-operative commonwealth to socialism, decentralisation and planning. In the social sphere besides development of Scheduled Castes, Tribes and Backward Class, he opposed communalism and succeeded in abolition of Zamindari and Jagirdari and introducing ceiling on land. In economic equality, price control, mixed economy, savings and continuation of co-operative movement was the main economic features. Technical and scientific education was given priority besides importance to primary education and child welfare, scholarships and loans. In case of industry the congress under Nehru's leadership encouraged cottage and rural industries advocated public and private industries and opposed the laissez faire. In case of Women during Nehru's period the Congress advocated to oppose the dowry system besides standing for equal opportunity for women. Reform of Hindu Law w.r.t. divorce, marriage and inheritance was also a part of the manifesto. Nehru's impact on the foreign policy of India is clear since the Congress advocated for non-alignment (Panchsheel) and peaceful co-existence.

The third chapter deals with the study of manifestoes under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi from 1967 to 1984. From 1964 to 1966 the Congress was led by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri who did not make any major changes in Nehru's policies

and views. After the short span of Shastri's leadership (after his death) the Congress was led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Mrs. Indira Gandhi in the four manifestoes continued to advocate Nehruvian policies in all the spheres with minor changes. In the political field, promise to implement Directive principles of state policy was made, 42nd Amendment making major changes in the constitution to achieve social, economic goals was made. This led to end of privy purses which was a crucial decision during her period. Besides implementing 10-point programme relating to Garibi Hatao was promised. Changes was also made in the economic field particularly relating to Bank Nationalisation, Public and private sector and revision of tax structure. In the educational field the manifesto promised to launch a vigorous programme of child welfare, to expand and improve education and adult education and for this purposes to amend the constitution suitably. Congress had redeemed this promises despite the destruction caused by crisis in Bangladesh the 1971 war, 1971 international economic crisis and severe droughts of 1972 and 1973, besides the obstructions putfourth by opposition parties. In case of foreign p_ol_ic_y and women Mrs. Gandhi continued same policies of Nehru. In implementing the non-aligned principle. She resolved the Bangladesh issue and also provided for rehabilitation. In case of industry also besides continuing Nehru's policies she gave a boost to public sector and industries.

Thus, during Mrs. Indira Gandhi's tenure important changes were made through the 42nd Amendment, reiterating faith in socialism, by promising to end privy purses, limit property rights and nationalisation of Banks. It was in 1975 that Mrs. Gandhi declared national emergency. This had an adverse effect on 1977 General election, due to which the Congress party for the first time couldnot achieve majority as table VI shows. But in 1980 she was voted back. But unfortunately could not remain for full five years since she was assassinated on October 31st, 1984.

Rajiv Gandhi was throned as the succeeding leader of the Congress who continued upto 1991. The manifestoes putfourth during 1984,1989,1991 elections point out towards major changes during his regime. Besides continuing the ideas of democracy, national integration, secuarism by his predecessors he made charges in almost all the spheres relating to the contemporary issues and situation. In this respect he promised to solve the problem Assam, Jammu Kashmir, Punjab, Ramjanbhoomi issues. He also introduced Panchayat Raj and Nagarpalika Bill. In social sphere the waqf Act was promised to be revived with special previlages for scheduled castes, tribes and for Backward class. He was highly opposed to terrorist activities. Major changes was introduced in economic field by criticising public sector, introducing competitive principle,

new economic policy and market economy. The Congress seemed to bend towards private/sector and support *laissez faire*. In educational field new education policy was advocated. Even in case of women emancipation of women became a target by setting up a separate division for women and child welfare. Despite these efforts he was highly criticised in the Shah Bano case, fair fax, Bofors issue.

In industrial sector modernisation of public sector and competitive principle and abolition of monopoly was given priority. The foreign policy continued to remain the same as put fourth by Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

The whole study points out that there was continuity and gradual change in all the spheres. The manifestoes studied also point out that the major social, political, economic and international issues were taken into consideration in formulating the manifestoes. In political field the party moved from socialism to liberal views which reflected in social sphere by upliftment of backward classes and privatisation (market economy) and supporting *laissez faire* in economic sphere enhancement of education (100 % literacy programme), national commission for women to resolve women's issue and modernising industries were the major changes made by the Congress.

In the survey made it was observed that the manifesto had no relevance to the lower class, incase of middle and upper class only those actively involved in politics were aware of the manifesto. Slogans like Garibi Hatao, Indira Hatao, Ten point programme, twenty point programme had an impact on the lower and middle class. Hence it may be said that the manifesto does not seem to be the sole criteria to win the elections.

It has also been observed that the personality impact has been a vital element during Nehru Era which continued under Indira Gandhis and Rajiv Gandhi's leadership. The changes made in the policies as observed earlier were in line with the contemporary issues and situations. The major changes are observed during Rajiv Gandhi's period which were influenced by the growing awareness and public opinion of the people. Hence we may conclude that leadership, leaders ideas and ideology, contemporary issues, public opinion and growing awareness of the Indian masses seems to have influenced the Congress manifestoes which were radical and dynamic. The recent trend has totally changed the basic ideological commitment of the earlier Congress. This can be read in terms of being influenced by the changing international scenerio which is moving towards economic globalisation.

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