

CHAPTER V.
C O N C L U S I O N

Among Indian political parties the Congress the Independence turned political party dominated the political systems, winning the successful five general elections. Maharashtra too was no difference to it. Y.B.Chavan was the chief architect of the party. He galvanized caste, class and party to evolve stable and developed Maharashtra under the leadership of Nehru and later Mrs. Gandhi. The stability of Maharashtra was largely depended upon the abovementioned four elements which are interrelated with each other affecting the stability of the Maharashtra. It could be evident from the 11 years of smooth rule when V.P. Naik was at the helm of affairs in Maharashtra.

After the 1972 assembly elections, in which Cong (R) under Mrs. Gandhi single handedly swept the polls, the economy of the country as a whole was strained owing to many problems such as international energy crisis, successive droughts in India etc. The opposition parties under Mr. J.P.Narain were united in the Bihar agitation and the Gujarat agitation and especially in the wake of the Gujarat elections. They formed the Gujarat Morcha and succeeded in elections. This and further the Allahabad high court's decision to declare Mrs. Gandhi's election to Lok-Sabha illegal on grounds of violating electoral laws in the election. The opposition parties unitedly demanded Mrs. Gandhi's resignation. The country was facing political crisis. But Mrs. Gandhi declared emergency and thus gave administrative reply to political

problem and arrested the political leaders and banned the political and non-political organisations. People had to face excesses and atrocities during emergency rule. Democracy was strained. But in the wake of heavy criticism Mrs. Gandhi declared sixth general elections in 1977 and released the opposition leaders. The opposition leaders in the jails had decided to form one party and soon the unexpected declaration of elections hastened the process of formation Janata Party. The Cong (O) the Jana Sangh, the Socialist party, the BLD and the rebel congressmen joined together to fight out Mrs. Gandhi in the elections.

In the Lok Sabha elections of 1977 the Congress was badly defeated in the North India in Maharashtra also the Congress lost majority of the seats got by Janata and allies. After the elections the Congress was no more stable, it affected the State as well and the congress leader Y.B. Chavan brought Vasant Dada replacing V.P. Naik - After a few month's silence Mrs. Gandhi reentered politics much to the dislike of Y.B. Chavan and others - This created tension in the party which later split. Mrs. Gandhi formed her own party called as Congress (I). Most of the congressmen were with the congress.

On the other hand the Janata Unit of Maharashtra was strengthening its organisation in the state through party conventions etc. The congress was becoming weak because of defection. Soon the Assembly Elections were declared. The Janata failed to reach an understanding over seat adjustment with the P.W.P - its major ally with the help of which the Janata was seeking the social base in rural areas.

The Congress (R) was being supported by Sugar Cooperatives and they were at the helm of affairs/^{of} many ZPs and panchayat Samities. The Congress (I) was not properly organised. But the results showed that Congress (I) emerged as a force with 62 seats while Congress (R) could get 69 and the Janata 99 only. No party got majority in the elections. Vasant Dada hurriedly formed the Cong (I)- Congr (R) front Government with the blessings of Mrs. Gandhi and the Cong (R) leadership. But Vasant Dada and other state leaders were keen to unite both the congress parties. They worked hard to achieve it but failed. Sharad Pawar with the blessings of Y.B.Chavan, resigned from the Cong (R) - Cong(I) front Government with 40 MLAs and Vasant Dada had to resign. Janata offered post of CM to Sharad Pawar and shared the Power. He was expelled from the Cong (R). Vasant Dada V.P. Naik etc were active towards unity of both the Congress parties which was ^{not} materialized because of the radical opposition by Y.B. Chavan and the like minded leaders as well, Y.B.Chavan's leadership became questionable. Soon in the Z.P. elections the P.D.F. on the whole emerged as the victorious but it was a defeat of Janata party which had failed to consolidate its base in rural areas. During the same period the Janata party at the centre which was always under strains because of factional infighting, was heading towards the split. The image of the Janata party was badly mauled. The struggle by BLD and Jana Sangh to control the party was heightened. Though Charan Singh and his BLD men who had resigned or forced to resigne were reinstated into the government - things were not running

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smoothly. Raj Narain the spokesman for Charan Singh - kept out of cabinet carried out tirade against Morarji Desai, Chandrashekar and the Jana Sangh. The dual membership issue was raised which subsequently gained ground and ultimately the Janata party split when the opposition leader Mr. Y.B.Chavan introduced the no confidence motion against the Janata Government and following this, the BLD group and section of socialist party and some CFD men deserted the Janata party to bring the party in minority in the parliament. Afterwards the President invited the opposition Y.B.Chavan to form government failing which he invited Charan Singh who had resigned from the Janata party and entered the newly formed Janata (S) by Raj Narain, Charan Singh formed the government with the help of Cong (S), the Cong (I), C.P.I. DMK etc. but soon in a dramatical move the Cong (I) withdrew its support and brought the Charan Singh Government into minority - the Janata leadership was changed. The new leader Jagjivan Ram claimed to form the government, but the President dissolved the parliament declared elections within six months. Charan Singh government worked as a Care-taker Government for the interim period.

The Janata split did not affect the Janata party Maharashtra as only a few insignificant leaders had joined the Janata (S), the P.D.F. continued though the Cong (E) leaders were crossing over to the Cong (I). The M.P.C.C. of Cong (S) merged with the Cong (I). Pawar who had formed new

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party Cong (P) was taken by in the Cong (U) before elections in principle, practically he joined after the elections. The Janata party could not reach any agreement with its allies. Janata fielded 31 candidates and the Cong (U) 24 while the Cong (I) contested all 48 seats. The Cong (I) won 39 seats blowing a crushing defeat to the Cong (U) and the Janata. The Cong (I) failed to defeat the Janata in Bombay. Cong (U) just managed one seat while the Janata got 8 seats; all other parties drew a blank. The Janata was badly defeated throughout the country. The Cong (I) came to power. Mr. Jagjivan Ram was elected leader of the Janata in parliament but soon he resigned from the party over dualmembership issue blaming the R. S. S. the issue of dualmembership once again was raised by some socialists in the party and this resulted another split. The Janata Sangh came out of Janata party and formed the Bhartiya Janata party. After the Lok-Sabha elections 1980, the Cong (I) dissolved the P.D.F. government led by Pawar who had successfully managed to pull together the various factions within the parties. Assembly elections were declared in which the State Cong (I) leadership went into the hands of A.R. Antulay who played vital role before and after the elections. This was an attempt by Mrs. Gandhi to dislodge the Maratha leadership, only a limited no. 33% tickets were allotted to Marathas. Sharad Pawar exploited the caste loyalties in the elections. The Janata party after the second split was in bad shape. It was to ascertain its strength in the changed circumstances. Cong (I) secured (196 seats) majority as expected but it got less votes in

this elections. Sharad Pawar emerged as the opposition leader his party secured 47 seats. The Janata 17 followed by the BJP 14 A.R. Antulay became the CM of Maharashtra much to the dislike of Vasant Dada group.

Political Dynamics in Maharashtra :-

The period 1977-80 in the political history of Maharashtra was important one. The state experienced ups and downs in its political life. Similarly the emergence and decline of a new party at the national level and its coming into existence in the state when one party had (the congress) firmly established its roots well in the state and was stable in its strict sense needs to be properly understood. Subsequently how the various social strata react to this and to what extent it affects the stability of the already established and well entrenched party also needs to be examined. Similarly what was the secret of the political stability of the state and to what extent stability depends upon the ruling party at the centre. Lastly why did the Janata party failed needs to be understood - All this enable one to comprehend the dynamics of Maharashtra politics.

Since 1960 Y.B. Chavan hailing from the Maratha Community which constitutes more or less 38% of the population deftly handeled the levers of power so shrewdly that no voice of dissent against him could gain ground. He symbolized the caste to remain in power but soon he saw ^{to} it that the economic upliftment rapidly takes place through a net work of co-operatives agro-industries and the land development Banks. He enjoyed the support of

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the Congress leadership at the centre. The economic upliftment process was responsible to create a rural capitalist class. This class strengthened the Y.B.Chavan leadership so that Y.B.Chavan remains the sole leader of emerging Maharashtra. Thus Y.B.Chavan succeeded in galvanizing the mutual interaction of class-caste into party's interests. The interests of the three elements were so much interdependent that neither party, nor the class nor even the powerful caste could operate and preserve its interests alone without seeking the help from the other two. This set up succeeded and this resulted in the stability of Maharashtra. One could see that V.P. Naik ruled 11 years over Maharashtra. Y.B.Chavan through political give and take also compromised the conflicting or the potential threat to the set up patronized by him.

All was not well after the emergency was declared in which democracy was muzzled. After the declaration of Sixth Lok-Sabha elections, Janata Party was formed. It was an effort after the realization of the opposite parties that they alone could not get over the ruling Congress party in Maharashtra which was one of the most developed states in India, there was a sizable section of modern educated people which was angry over the emergency rule supported the Janata and this resulted the defeat of congress. At the centre too the Congress was defeated.

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This cracked the caste-class-party set up of Maharashtra Congress and result was the ouster and bringing in of Vasant Dada at the helm of affairs to preserve the set up and thereby maintain stability which was not possible as there was change in Central Government which was out to challenge the congress in the state. This affected the "set up" which depended upon the Central Government support. In the changed circumstances Y.B.Chavan was trying in vain to emerge as an alternative to Mrs. Gandhi, for this he was to re-adjust the set-up maintain the status quo with the only difference of change in the patron it was Janata Party rather than the congress. This is the answer to why Vasant Dada's government was not dissolved soon after Janata came to power and later when Vasant Dada was shifting his loyalty from Y.B.Chavan to Mrs.Gandhi to remain in power in Maharashtra and invited the wrath of Janata party rulers this was contrary to the interests of the "set-up". Y.B.Chavan sought to dismiss Vasant Dada front Government formed with the alliance of Cong (I) and took refuge under the Janata party. Here it could be seen that the Janata party in Maharashtra failed to strengthen itself in the rural Maharashtra especially in Vidarbha, W.Maharashtra because it could not align the social base in the rural Maharashtra which was divided between Cong (S) and Cong (I).

Similarly the Janata party Maharashtra could not hit at the weakest link - i.e.the social strata which were

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out of the Congress elites established "set-up" could not be won over by Janata party because Janata party was essentially the party of "caste leaders" representing the interests of higher castes - e.g. The Janata Party opposed the demands of the Neo-Buddhists of Maharashtra to give them same facilities such as given to the schedule castes and scheduled tribes. Secondly soon after the Janata came to power the country saw many anti-Muslim communal riots. This convinced the Muslims the dominance of R. S. S. over the Janata party. So the Janata failed to seek their support. On the other hand Mrs. Gandhi rallied the depressed classes which were taken into granted in the "set up" of Y. B. Chavan. This is the reason why Mrs. Gandhi emerged and why the Janata failed in Maharashtra.

The Janata party at the centre was essentially a compound of various interests. BLD representing the rural capitalists while the Cong (O) and Jana Sangh represented the urban ones. There was a clash of interests e.g. Charan Singh's insistence over equitable reallocation of resources to both the rural and urban areas. The break down of Janata coalition is the result of the failure of the rural capitalists to deminate the political power in order to tilt the national investment towards the rural industries. Charan Singh's attempted moves and ambition to become the Prime minister had very much to do with this.

The failure of Janata was partly the failure of its leadership which could not handle the coalition with the

necessary adjustments and flexibility in dealing with dissent.

Also, the different parties half-hearted merger and hypocritical acceptance of secularism, socialism i.e. ~~the~~ failure to break away from past ideologies especially the Jana Sangh, the BLD etc. made the matter worse [&] Janata collapsed.

The Maharashtra politics too was affected with this. The rural capitalists once again shifted their loyalty to Mrs. Gandhi and tried to maintain the status-quo in the changed circumstances. But . . . Mrs. Gandhi became sceptical of it as she lost faith in its loyalty as it had betrayed her during the Janata rule. This was evident in the much reduced strength of Maratha candidates in the assembly formed in 1980.