Chapter 2

Haryana: Socio-Economic and Political Profile
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Before making an attempt to study the pattern of social structure of political elite, it would be appropriate to study the socio-economic and political profile of the Haryana state.

Following the linguistic reorganization of the erstwhile Punjab, the state of Haryana came into being on November 1, 1966. At that time it was one of the smallest states of India with an area of 44,222 sq. kms and a population of 89 lakhs. It lies between 27°.35': 30°.58' N latitude and 70°.30': 70°.36' E latitude. It is situated within Indo-gengetic plains and Himalayan foothills which extends south-westward through Sind to the Arabian Sea and in Southeast through Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal, surrounded by Himachal Pradesh in the North, Rajasthan in the South (Thar desert), Punjab in the West and Uttar Pradesh in the East where river Yamuna forms a natural boundary. The plains of Haryana are the most recent deposits formed by the rivers. The soil in plains is fertile for wheat, gram, barley, jawar, bajra, maize, sugarcane, cotton and vegetables. However, no important river passes through the state. The Ghaggar, a non-perennial river, flows in the northern extreme part while the Yamuna which is a fairly good source of irrigation flows along the eastern boundary of the state. The slope of the land is towards South-West and gangetic-type in the rest of the region, that is extreme hot summer alternating with extreme cold winters. The annual rainfall varies from 25 cm. to 100 cm. with an average of 52.7 cm.

Tracing Haryana State

The distribution of provinces in India by the British had no rational basis. It was merely 'due to accident and the circumstances attending the growth of the British power in India. Haryana region was one of the worst sufferers in this historical process. It was made to change its shape, size and position every now
and then. In 1803, they made it a part of the Bengal Presidency. It was called ‘Delhi Territory’. In 1834, it became a part of Punjab though known as ‘Haryana region’.

The people of Haryana had played an important part in the uprising of 1857. This was, understandably, not liked by the Britishers. They wanted the people of Haryana ‘to be taught a lesson for their misbehaviour’. Accordingly, they were treated shabbily. The doors of government services were closed upon them; they were denied other benefits of the raj like education, health and social welfare measures, irrigational facilities etc. for a pretty long time. As a result the people here became literally the hewers of wood and drawers of water. They were a ‘colony’ of Punjab.

The Haryanavis’ suffering was, however, immense. Their economy was in bad shape; their cultural development was next to nil. The people over here stood reduced, as stated earlier, to the status of the hewers of wood and drawers of water. They had wounds inflicted upon them, but their wounds had no tongue. They felt very strongly that separation from Punjab was necessary so that they could be saved from this situation. But they could not give expression to their feeling in this period. This period is, therefore, designated as a period of passive developments.1

In 1919, the Haryana territory roughly corresponded to the Ambala, a Division of Punjab which was formed in 1890 with 6 districts of Ambala, Karnal, Gurgaon, Rohtak, Hisar and Shimla as well as six ‘native states’ of Pataudi, Dujana, Loharu, Jind, Patiala and Nabha. It constituted two types of territory i.e. the British territory comprising the districts of Ambala, Karnal, Gurgaon, Rohtak and Hisar spreading over an area of 14004 square miles and the second the native states mentioned above with an area of 2839 miles. The total population of Haryana territory was 14% of the total population of Punjab. 2667250 (73.20%) of them were Hindus, 229630 (0.63%) were Jainis and a few hundred composed

of Buddhists, Christians and Parsis. The territory was purely rural having no city in the modern sense.2

Agriculture was the mainstay of 64% of population. The industrial progress in the region was poor due to geographical conditions, absence of financial institutions, lack of means of communication and transport. The area was quite backward educationally and 87% people were illiterate.

Demographically the total population of the state as per Census 2001, is 21082989, out of which 11327658 (53.73%) are males and 9755331 (46.27%) are females. The rural population is 14968850 (71.0%) and the remaining 6114139 (29.0%) is urban. The density of population is 477 per sq. km.3

*Not*: For District and Tehsil-wise population of the state see Annexure-I.

**Social View**

The state represents a diversity of language, religion and caste. Majority of the people are Hindi-speaking and only one-fourth speak Punjabi, Urdu and other languages. The dialects are Mewati, Ahiroli and Bangru. The state consists of two main divisions in terms of caste and class – the agriculturists and the non-agriculturists. This is a legacy from the days of the Unionist Party of Sir Chhotu Ram when he sought to free agriculturist classes from the exploitation by non-agriculturist urban classes. Now the agriculturist castes constitute about 55% of the total population and have a significant hold over the rural-power structure. The Jats, the most dominant caste form 38%, Ahirs 7%, Gujars 6%, Rajputs 4% (which includes 2% of Meo Muslims of Gurgaon). Rors and Sainis and Tyagis 1.5% each. If 5% of the Brahmins are included in the agriculturist caste, their total strength would be between 55% to 60%. Besides these agriculturist castes nearly 20% of the state population consists of refugees from West Punjab who migrated after the partition of the country in 1948. They include Sikhs, the most of them

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2 Census of India, 1921, Lahore, Civil and Military, Gazette Press, 1923, Part-2.
having adopted agriculture as their avocation. But the Hindu refugees are concentrated in towns and constitute a class by themselves. The backward castes consist of artisans, Kumhars, Nais, Telis, Jhiwars and Khatis etc. The Scheduled Castes who are 19.07% of the state population include the Chamars, Balmikis, Khatiks and Dhanaks etc. The remaining 4% come from miscellaneous castes.4

In religion-wise composition, the Hindus constitute the bulk of population, that is, 89%, which were 89.23% according to 1971 census. The percentage of Muslims and Sikhs is 4 and 6% respectively. The Christians and the Jainies constitute 0.01 and 0.31% of the state population respectively and 0.2% do not share their religion.5

Educationally, Haryana state has recorded 68.59% literacy rate during 2001 Census. Male literacy is found higher than female literacy rate in all the districts. When we look at our neighbourhood we recall that this entire region has a significant gap between male and female literacy. To compare this with 6.34% of Kerala and almost 5% for the N.E. Even for Punjab the journey is half way through. This subject definitely needs a detailed study.6

If the individual districts are taken into consideration, Ambala ranks first with 42.11% among females and 57.89% males followed by 41.33% in females and 58.67% in males in Yamunanagar. The lowest female literacy rate is in Jind district.7 The sex ratio of literates in Haryana is given in table 2.1.

| Table 2.1 |

**Sex Ratio of Literates (per Thousand)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>State/Disst.</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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5 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
As highlighted in table 2.1 that highest number of literate persons per thousand are in Ambala district followed by Yamunanagar, Panchkula. However,
in the urban areas the Panchkula district ranks the first but in the case rural areas it is Ambala.

In order to encourage excellence in the field of higher education, meritorious students who obtain 65% and above marks in the annual examinations in the rural areas and 70% and above marks in the annual examination in the urban areas are honoured by the department every year in a state level function. The students of colleges affiliated to different universities of the state, who achieve excellence in annual examinations are honoured in state level functions. Computers are given as prizes to the University toppers of B.Sc./B.Com./B.A. final year. This step has been greatly appreciated and it shall go a long way in encouraging merit in future in the state. From the year 2002-2003 the conditions of percentage of marks has also revised to 70% for students of rural areas and 80% for students of urban areas.8

The Government has granted permission to more than 200 aided private colleges for starting new courses on self financing basis with a view to encourage higher education in areas of high job potential. Under graduate and post graduate courses in Information Technology have also been started. To encourage private initiative in higher education, permissions are liberally being granted for courses in emerging areas with potential of high employality. The State government has also granted no objection certificates to the four educational societies to run B.Ed. and other courses during 2002-07.

The government of Haryana is of the firm view that quality must be the hallmark of higher education and therefore, quality assurance is one of the major objectives that have been explicitly detailed in the “Education Policy-2000” for the state. The purpose of this policy is to achieve a two fold target in higher education i.e. (i) to ensure excellence and quality assurance in higher education and (ii) to make it job oriented, progressive, forward looking and responsive to

suit the present day environment. As per UGC instructions, all the colleges in the state have to be assessed and accredited by December 31, 2007. This process of accreditation will help to identify institutions that can subsequently develop into center of excellence such as colleges of commerce, institutes of home science, institutes of applied sciences, institutes of information and technology etc. in accordance with the State Education Policy. So far, 135 colleges in the State (out of total 176 colleges) have submitted their Self Study Reports to National Assessment and Accreditation Council, Bangalore.

In view of policy objectives as laid down in “Education Policy-2000, Haryana” which provides that State should take effective steps to encourage transfer of elementary education institutions to the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) and the Urban Local Bodies in a bid to empower the community and other stakeholders, the Department of Primary Education has transferred functional control of government primary schools to Zila Parishads/Local Bodies w.e.f. April 1, 2001, but taken back by the Hooda government in 2005.

In order to encourage healthy competition and promote quality education, the Haryana Private University Act has been passed in 2006. To boost the expansion of secondary level schooling facilities in the State, 126 primary to middle, 69 middle to high and 106 high to senior secondary schools have been upgraded during 2005-2006. As many as 2170 middle, 5317 high senior secondary schools are functioning in the state with 20.33 lakh students including 9.02 lakh girls. Middle schools level educational facilities are available at an average distance of 1.45 kms, high school level at a distance of 1.77 kms and senior secondary school level facilities at a distance of 3.19 kms. In order to make the educational system more flexible, semester system has been introduced in the state w.e.f. 2007-08. To improve the quality of education in schools, the

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9 See Educational Policy, Haryana, 2000.
programmes of work experience, school complex, science exhibition and scout and guiding are running.

In this modern age of science, importance of computer is acknowledged not only by the State government but also by the masses. At 10+2 level, computer science has been introduced as a subject and offered in all 1232 secondary schools in the State. Based on the recommendations of 11th Finance Commission, a sum of Rs. 3.28 lakh has been provided for running District Resource Centres for Computer Training to school children. Information technology is being increasingly recognized as the new creator of wealth and provider of employment. With this end in view, District Resource Centres are proposed to be set up in all the districts. In first phase 17 District Institutes of Education and Training and State Council for Education Research and Training (SCERT) have been covered in 2002-2003 and the remaining are to be covered by 2007-08.

Computer education has been introduced as an optional subject in all the government colleges of the state from the session 2001-2002. Two agencies viz. M/s. Tata Infotech and Hartron have been engaged for this purpose. Computer education has already started in 55 government colleges in the state. A free computer training to the students of class 6th to 12th is provided in 1232 government senior secondary schools by a private service provider w.e.f. 2007-08. For this purpose an amount of Rs. 2187 lakh has been sanctioned. Moreover, a computer lab is to be established in all senior secondary schools of the state till 2009-10.

The imparting of education through EDUSAT has been started from July 2006. To boost literacy activities, three academies namely “Haryana Sahitya Academy, Haryana Urdu Academy and Haryana Punjabi Sahitya Academy” have already been established in Haryana. The state government has set up Haryana Sanskrit Academy vide its notification dated August 8, 2002.11

During the 10th Five Year Plan one model school is proposed to be set up in each district. One such model school has been set up at Panchkula and 19 such schools have been started during 2007-08. These day-boarding schools would cater to the needs of talented children and will have their own specialities such as computer aided teaching, aptitude test, guidance and counseling, well equipped language lab etc. These institutions will serve as lab areas for introducing new pedagogical interventions.

Keeping in view the vital importance of education in the reconstruction of society, the Department of Primary Education has been making all out efforts to enroll all children in the age group of 6-11 years in the schools so as to achieve the target of Universalisation of Primary Education. Primary schooling facilities are now available within a distance of 1.12 km. in the state.

During the year 2005-2006, 27 pre-primary schools/balwaries and 12179 primary schools were functioning in the state. Total number of children studying at pre-primary and primary stages were 2119221 including 986426 girls.\(^ {12} \)

With a view to enroll and retain children particularly girls, belonging to Scheduled Castes and weaker sections of society, a number of incentive schemes have been introduced for the children of these sections such as free uniform, stationery, Rs. 500 for jersey for the students of Scheduled Castes and weaker sections. A certain amount has been provided for giving attendance prizes of girl students belonging to Scheduled Castes and weaker sections. A sum of Rs. 235 for purchase of dictionary and a book-bank scheme for providing free text-books to students girl students of Scheduled Castes and weaker section in the year 2007-08.

In order to enroll and retain children of Nomadic Tribe a provision for giving special attendance allowance to students belonging to these tribes is made.

\(^{12}\) Ibid.
A certain amount has been released to District Primary Education Officers (DPEOs) for stipend to the de-notified children.

In order to enable the children of those parents who are engaged in unclean occupations to continue their studies, the Departments of Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes, Haryana has introduced a new scheme under which every eligible student in primary classes is given a scholarship of Rs. 25 per month (for 10 months) in an academic session) and an adhoc grant of Rs. 500 per annum.

Under Mid-day meal scheme, a nutritious food having 450 grams calories and 12 grams protein is provided. 1849 kitchen sheds are built up government primary schools and the scheme has been extended in private schools up to middle level w.e.f. October 2007. The scheme is working in 36 blocks, which are educationally backward spread over in 10 districts. The supply of cooked food in Mewat Areas has been started w.e.f. January, 2003 in all government/government aided primary schools.13

The state government is committed to implement the Centrally Sponsored Scheme of SARVA SHIKSHA ABHIYAN (SSA) in financial partnership with the Central government. The financial partnership during the 11th Plan period between the state and Central government would be in the ratio of 35:65. This scheme is being implemented through a state level society and the work has been entrusted to District Primary Education Programme (DPEP). This scheme is a multi-attempt to achieve universalisation of primary education by 2007, eight years schooling by 2010 and to ensure that all children in school by 2003. The programme has been launched in 16 districts w.e.f. April 1, 2002. The remaining 3 districts of Gurgaon, Bhiwani and Mahendergarh are to be included from April 1, 2003 taking it to all districts of the state by 2007.

13 Ibid.
The state government attaches great importance to the growth of technical education in the state to cater to the needs of the industry, business and trade as well as to promote self employment. Special emphasis has been given to consolidation, quality improvement and up-gradation of the existing facilities in the existing as well as new institutions. In order to expand technical education and to set up at least one polytechnic in each district as a policy, private sector is being encouraged to establish engineering colleges and polytechnics throughout the state. Consequently, the number of degree and diploma level institutions has increased from 58 in the year 1999 to 257 in 2007-08, thereby increasing the annual intake capacity from 9,338 to 52630 seats. Regional colleges of engineering, Kurukshetra has been given the status of Deemed University by converting it into National Institute of Technology, Kurukshetra. The 11th Five Year Plan has fixed the targets for diploma holders at 50000.

To improve the quality of technical education, the curricula of various courses in the engineering colleges and polytechnics is being revised according to the emerging requirements of industry and business. New courses in emerging areas of technology having better placement opportunities are being introduced. M. Tech. courses in Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering and Electronics and Communication Engineering are proposed to be started at YMCA Institute of Engineering, Faridabad and C.R. State College of Engineering, Murthal, which is now given a status of full-fledged Technical University. New courses are also proposed to be started at Government Polytechnic, Manesar, Loharu and Nathusari Chopta. A training programme for call center business is proposed to be started on pilot basis at Government Polytechnic, Ambala and if this experiment succeeds, more such programmes would be started at other polytechnics.

An college in the memory of Ch. Devi Lal namely Memorial Engineering College is being set up at village Panniwala Mota in district Sirsa at an estimated cost of Rs. 36.25 crore, which would provide engineering education at graduate
and post-graduate level in the new areas of technology. This college has started to function from the academic sessions 2003-2004 in four disciplines i.e. (1) Computer Science and Engineering; (2) Electronics and Communication Engineering; (3) Electrical Engineering; and (4) Food Technology, with an intake of 60 seats in each discipline. Moreover, three polytechnics at Sanghi, Usana and Ceeka have been started w.e.f. 2006-07. Four state of art institutions are to be set up at Rohtak during 2008-09. Moreover, there is a proposal to open new polytechnics at Sampla, Meham, Bhiwani, Faridabad, Panchkula, Hathni Kund and Morni up to 2009-10.14

In order to improve the quality of technical education in the State, the State Government, along with Government of India and five other states, has successfully negotiated a project, namely, Technical Education Quality Improvement Programme, with the World Bank. In the first phase, four engineering colleges/universities namely YMCA Institute of Engineering Faridabad, C.R. State College of Engineering, Murthal, Guru Jambheshwar University, Hisar and Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra and two polytechnics, namely, Government Polytechnic, Ambala City and Bilokheri are proposed to participate in this Programme. The State government proposed to take assistance to the tune of Rs. 100 crore in the first phase of the programme. The National Institute of Technology, Kurukshetra is also participating under the World Bank Programme as a central sector project. Major components of the programme would be for the promotion of academic excellence by way of improving curriculum, introduction of courses, improvement of infrastructure, etc.

Realizing the role of internet in education and exchange of information, it has become very important to provide internet facilities in technical institutions. The government has decided to provide internet connectivity in all the government polytechnics and engineering colleges in a phased manner so that

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14 Ibid.
students of our state are able to derive maximum benefit from internet. A detail of recognized educational institutions in Haryana is given in Table 2.2.

**Table 2.2.**

**Number of Recognised Educational Institutions in Haryana**

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<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arts &amp; Science Colleges</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>110</td>
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<td>150</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Teachers Training Colleges</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>High/Senior Secondary Schools</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>1129</td>
<td>1473</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>2356</td>
<td>2998</td>
<td>3915</td>
<td>4138</td>
<td>5317</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle Schools</td>
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<td>881</td>
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<td>1887</td>
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<td>Schools for Handicapped</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Two more Universities namely Ch. Devi Lal University Sirsa and Technical University Murthal have been set up in 2002 and 2006, respectively.*
Table 2.2 depicts that the state has 6 universities including one Ch. Devi Lal University set up at Sirsa in 2002 another Technical University at Murthal in 2006. The number of arts and science colleges in 2005 is 168, teachers training colleges-36, high or senior secondary schools-5317, middle schools-2168, primary schools-12152. Thus, there is a well-knit network of educational institutions in Haryana.

**Economy**

The state economy continued to record a rapid growth @ 11.4 percent since 2006-07. According to quick estimates, the Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) of Haryana at constant (1999-2000) prices has been estimated at Rs. 92053.11 crore in 2006-07 as against Rs. 82603.88 crore in 2005-06 recording a growth of 11.4 percent during 2006-07. At current prices, the Gross State Domestic Product has been estimated at Rs. 126474.66 crore in 2006-07 as against Rs. 106385.26 crore in 2005-06 recording an increase of 18.9 percent.15

The growth of 11.4 percent in the Gross State Domestic Product in real terms during 2006-07 is mainly due to good performance of agriculture, Trade, Transport and Construction Sectors. During this year, the Trade Sector has recorded a growth of 9.9%, Transport Sector 11.4% and Construction Sector 6.1%. During the year 2006-07, there was increase in the production of almost all crops in the state. During this period, the production of wheat, bajra, barley, gram, oil seeds, sugarcane and cotton recorded increase of 5.5 perent, 13.6 percent, 45 percent, 45.6 percent, 26.4 percent, 1.1 percent, 15.3 percent and 20.7 percent respectively over the previous year resulting in overall growth of 9.7 percent in agriculture sector.16

The sectoral analysis reveals that the Gross State Domestic Product at constant (1999-2000) prices from Primary Sector which comprises Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing and Mining Sectors has increased from Rs. 18555.58

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15 Budget at a Glance, Haryana, 2007-08.
16 Ibid.
crore in 2005-06 to Rs. 20332.83 crore in 2006-07 showing an increase of 9.6 percent. The Gross State Domestic Product from Secondary Sector which covers Manufacturing, Construction, Electricity, Gas and Water Supply Sectors had increased from Rs. 25188.15 crore in 2005-06 to Rs. 27843.21 crore in 2006-07 registering an increase of 10.5 percent. The Tertiary Sector, which comprises Trade, Transport, Banking, Ownership of Dwellings, Public Administration and Other Services Sectors recorded an excellent growth of 12.9 percent. Its contribution to total Gross State Domestic Product has increased from Rs. 38860.15 crore in 2005-06 to Rs. 43877.07 crore in 2006-07.¹⁷

The structural composition of state economy has witnessed significant changes since the formation of Haryana state. Agriculture Sector still continues to occupy a significant position in state economy, although, the share of this sector in the Gross State Domestic Product is continuously declining. The predominance of Agriculture Sector is also responsible for instability in the growth rate of economy due to fluctuations in agricultural production. Natural calamities and fluctuations in rainfall often cause substantial loss in crop production which eventually results in fluctuation and instability in growth rate of economy. Moreover, rapidly increasing share of Service Sector is also responsible for decline in the share of Agriculture Sector. The composition of Gross State Domestic Product at constant (1999-2000) prices reveals that the share of Primary Sector which includes Agriculture and Allied Sectors has declined from 32.1% during 1999-2000 to 22.1% during 2006-07.

Manufacturing Sector which occupies the second important place in the economy after Agriculture and Allied Sectors has witnessed a considerable improvement in its share. Its contribution has increased from 28.5% during 1999-2000 to 30.2% during 2006-07 reflecting healthy sign of industrialization in the state. The state has adopted liberal industrial policy and is committed to create healthy environment of industrialization to attract foreign as well as domestic

¹⁷ Ibid.
investment to speed up the growth of industry and to generate additional employment. The share of Secondary Sector which also includes Manufacturing Sector has increased from 26.2% during 1999-2000 to 28.1% during 2006-07.

Tertiary Sector which is a combination of different services like Trade, Transport, Banking, Public Administration, Education, Health etc. also witnessed significant increase in its share. Its share in Gross State Domestic Product at constant (1999-2000) prices has increased from 39.4% during 1999-2000 to 47.7% during 2006-07. Trade Sector which occupies the third important place in state economy after Agriculture and Manufacturing Sectors witnessed an increase in its share in the Gross State Domestic Product and its share rose from 13.2% during 1999-2000 to 16.6% during 2006-07 at constant (1999-2000) prices. The continuous increasing trend in the share of this sector indicates its good scope and potential in future also.

The composition of Gross State Domestic Product reveals that the share of Primary Sector is continuously declining whereas the share of Secondary as well as Territory Sector is continuously increasing. It shows that the state economy is shifting from Agriculture to Manufacturing and Service Sectors, which is a sign of healthy economy.

The Per Capita Income (per capita Net State Domestic Product) in real terms at constant (1999-2000) prices has been estimated at Rs. 35779 during 2006-07 as against Rs. 32724 during 2005-06 showing an increase of 9.3% during 2006-07. At current prices, the Per Capita Income has been estimated at Rs. 49038 during 2006-07 as against Rs. 41988 during 2005-06.\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{Poverty Alleviation and Welfare Schemes}

The state government has been constantly making efforts to eradicate poverty in the State by assisting people living below the poverty line through various schemes in order to break the various circle of poverty. Necessary steps

\textsuperscript{18} Economic Survey of Haryana, 2007-08.
are being taken to identify the poorest of the poor families and for distribution of pink ration cards under “Antyodyaya Anna Yojna”, a new schemes of Government of India launched in Haryana during 2001-2002. Under this scheme, 35 kilograms of wheat per family per month is being supplied to the Antyodyaya Families at the rate of Rs. 2.00 per kilogram. The transportation and dealers margin is borne by the state government @ 50 paisa per kilogram amounting to Rs. 5.80 crore per annum. Under this scheme, the Government of India is allocating 10235 tonnes of wheat per month to the state of Haryana for Antyodaya families. Pink ration cards have been issued to 2.93 lakh Antyodaya families under this scheme in the state up to January 2007. The state has also taken up several measures for carrying out socio-economic programmes especially for the welfare of the backward classes, handicapped persons, destitute women and weaker sections by adopting a policy of one job one family, permits to unemployed youths for operating maxi-cabs, introduction of “Subalh Sauchalayas”, liberation of scavengers from their traditional occupation of manual removal of night-soil and universalisation of education.

Haryana state ranked first in the country in implementation of centrally sponsored rural development schemes in the year 2001-2002 whereas it ranked second during the year 2000-2001. Among the poverty alleviation programmes, “Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY)” is a holistic programme covering all aspects of self-employment such as organization of the poor into Self Help Groups, training, credit, technology, infrastructure, marketing etc. The target of the scheme is to bring every assisted family above the poverty line within three years. Under this scheme, total funds to the tune of Rs. 2229.36 lakh were available up to the month of December 2007. Against the available funds, an amount of Rs. 1196.53 lakh has been utilized for assisting 8785 Swarozgaries up to the end of December 2007. Among them, 4994 Swarozgaries were Scheduled Castes and 6186 women.19

19 Ibid.
Under SGRY and Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) is being implemented for rural poor who are in need of wage employment and desire to do manual and unskilled work in and around their village. The wages to the workers are being paid in the shape of cash and kind. At present, 12 kg of wheat @ Rs. 6.86 per kg. and cash wage of Rs. 116.42 per manday is being provided to the workers engaged under SGRY. Under this scheme, total funds of Rs. 7902.21 lakh were made available during 2007-08.

"Pradhan Mantri Gramodya Yojana – Gramin Awaas" Scheme is based generally on the pattern of “Indira Awaas Yojna (IAY)". Under this scheme, 6137 houses were constructed and construction work of 778 houses was in progress for the rural poor in 2007-08.

As far as the urban areas are concerned, “Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY)” provided gainful employment to the urban employed and under-employed through setting up of self-employment ventures, providing wage employment through skill development training. Under this programme an amount of Rs. 686.75 lakh was released during 2007-08. The state of Haryana was ranked first in the country for utilization of funds under Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana during the year 2001-2002 because the utilization was 102 percent of the total allocation.

The state has also taken a number of steps of rehabilitation of blind, deaf, handicapped and mentally retarded persons. As many as 70968 physically handicapped persons are being provided pension @ Rs. 200 per month. Scholarships ranging from Rs. 100 to 750 per month are being given to handicapped students. Un-employed allowance to the educated handicapped persons ranging from 150 to Rs. 250 per month is being given. Retainership allowance @ Rs. 1500 per month is also being given to the blind caners.

A new scheme known as “Devi Rupak” has been introduced in the state from 25.09.2002. The scheme aims at checking the discrimination between a boy and a girl and declining sex ratio. Those couples would be given Rs. 500 per
month for 20 years as an incentive money who would adopt a terminal method of family planning after the birth of first girl child. Those adopting terminal method of family planning after the birth of second girl child would be given incentive money of Rs. 200 per month. Similarly, those adopting terminal method of family planning after the birth of first boy, would be given Rs. 200 per month.

Under “Kanyadaan Scheme”, girls belonging to scheduled castes families living below poverty line are given Rs. 5100 on their wedding and 3651 beneficiaries have been covered under this scheme as against 3647 beneficiaries covered during the corresponding period of previous year.

A Directorate of Women and Child Development is functioning in the State for overall development and empowerment of women and children. Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS) Scheme is being implemented in 116 blocks including 5 urban blocks through which supplementary nutrition has been provided to 9.64 lakh children between 6 months to 6 years of age and 2.33 lakh pregnant and nursing mothers. There is a target to cover 12 lakh children and mothers under supplementary nutrition programme. To eradicate malnutrition among children below 3 years of age, malnourished children are being provided supplementary nutrition under Pradhan Mantri Gramodya Yojna. In addition to this, 2.88 lakh, 2.77 lakh, 2.77 lakh and 2.81 lakh children have been immunized against BCG, DPT, POLIO and MEASLES respectively and 2.56 lakh pregnant women have been immunized against Tetanus Toxide (TT) through network of ICDS scheme.

Haryana Women Developing Corporation is functioning to promote activities for women’s development, awareness generation, vocational training and arrange institutional finance for self employment to ameliorate the socio-economic conditions of women belonging to weaker sections. World Bank/International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) assisted Sewa Shakti Pariyojana known as “Rural Women’s Development and Empowerment Project”, at a total approved assistance of Rs. 16.88 crore is being implemented
through Women Development Corporation in three districts namely Sonepat, Jind and Bhiwani. The project was incepted on September 14, 1998 for five years. The emphasis of the project is to promote women’s Self Help Groups. Out of target of forming 1550 groups, 1498 Self Help Groups have been formed with the help of 14 NGOs. The Corporation is implementing a loaning scheme for women under which, against the target of 2850 women, 1379 women have been provided financial assistance in the form of margin money, subsidy and bank loans. For the year 2007-08 there is provision of Rs. 33.50 lakh under this scheme.

The 2nd phase of United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) assisted “Integrated Women’s Empowerment and Development Project” started from January 1, 1999 for the three years and further extended up to December, 2002 was implemented in Mahendergarh and Rewari districts at a total approved assistance of Rs. 1561.10 lakh. The Project period is to ended in December, 2002. In the project area, women have been empowered through awareness generation by using various media and by making intervention in the areas of health and education by providing them innovative trainings in nutrition, self defence, legal literacy, including training to women panches and sarpanches, training to Dais (Traditional birth attendants) and gender sensitization training to employees of line departments apart from foundation training to Sanjeevanies and life development skill training to adolescent girls.

The Haryana State Commission for Women is functioning to protect the constitutional and legal rights of women to improve their status since 1999. The Commission has taken steps for hearing complaints of 570 women victims of atrocities to redress their grievances during 2007-2008 by organizing 111 district/State level meetings.

A state training institute called “WAMA” Women Awareness and Management Academy is being run at Rai, Sonepat for providing training to grass root level women workers. During the women’s empowerment year 2001, this institute was upgraded to the Regional Level Gender Training Institute to provide
training on gender sensitization. Since 2002-2003, 296 field functionaries have been given training. This institute is also running a Middle Level Training Centre for Supervisors of ICDS scheme. Women and Child Development Department is also implementing many other programmes/schemes launched by State/Central Government like “Apni Beti Apna Dhan”, “Balika Samridhi Yojana”, Kishori Shakti Yojana”. “Swayamsidha Scheme” and “Mahila Mandal Scheme” etc. for the upliftment of the status of the girl child and women.

The Haryana Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation has provided the financial assistance to 6165 Scheduled Castes persons and proposes to provide financial assistance to more than 10,000 Scheduled Castes persons in the current year.

Haryana Backward Classes and Economically Weaker Section Kalyan Nigam is working for the economic upliftment of backward classes, minority communities and handicapped persons. During the year 2007-08, a target of Rs. 6.65 crore is fixed for providing financial assistance to 1510 persons of backward classes. Against this, loans of Rs. 63.01 lakh to 172 persons of backward classes is to be given up to December 31, 2007. Target of Rs. 5.25 crore is fixed for providing financial assistance to 1262 persons of minority communities. The Nigam has to manage to disburse loan worth Rs. 125.89 lakh to 244 handicapped persons up to December 31, 2007. During the year 2007-08, target of providing financial assistance of Rs. 2.50 crore to 400 handicapped persons has been fixed. 379 cases have been got sanctioned from National Handicapped Finance and Development Corporation and an amount to Rs. 207.41 lakh is to be received for disbursement up to December 31, 2007. Rs. 56.76 lakh is to be given to 141 persons of handicapped category up to December 2007.

The state government has taken necessary initiative and steps to maintain industrial safety and climate of harmonious industrial relations. As a sequel to the efforts made, level of industrial safety has improved and industrial relations have been satisfactory. The incidence of accidents in the State is 0.49 per thousand
workers per year as compared to national average of 11.32. Minimum wages of the unskilled workers in the state are Rs. 3,500 per month w.e.f. July 1, 2005, a new and innovative scheme “Sharam Sahayata” has been initiated by Labour Department in collaboration with Labour Welfare Board. Labourers, industrial units and other establishments have availed trouble free and accelerated services offered by the Department under this scheme. To generate awareness among labourers, publication of a new quarterly magazine ‘Haryana Shrimik Sandesh’ has been initiated during 2002. An amount of Rs. 14.77 lakh is to be disbursed to the industrial workers and their dependents under various welfare schemes run by Labour Welfare Board. The Haryana Labour Welfare Board has also decided to confer one Chief Minister Sharam Ratna Puruskar, two Chief Minister Sharam Bhushan Puruskars, 19 Chief Minister Sharam Veer Puruskars and 38 Chief Minister Sharam Devi and Sharam Shri Puruskars amounting to Rs. One lakh, Rs. 50,000, Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 20,000 each respectively to the outstanding workmen for giving best suggestions for increasing productivity.

The ‘Vridh Vishram Greh Scheme” was launched during the year 2000-2001 for the welfare of aged persons. These vishram grehas are providing a common place to the senior citizens to relax and share their moments with each other in rural areas. The funds for setting-up these homes are being provided either by panchayts from their own sources or are got allocated from concerned M.Ps under the M.P. Local Area Development (MPLAD) Scheme. The running cost of these vishram grehas will be met by availing of the funds from Government of India under “The Day Care for the Aged” scheme. At the initial stage, it was proposed to construct 100 homes at least one home in each Assembly Constituency whereas at present 413 old age homes are to be constructed.20

“Tau Devi lal Old Age Pension Scheme” prevalent in the state has been based on economic criteria and the eligibility age is 60 years or more so as to give the benefit to the really poor and needy persons. Under this scheme pension @

Rs. 200 per month is given to the eligible senior citizens of Haryana domicile. The norms of the existing scheme have also been relaxed to widen its scope. 8.58 lakh senior citizens have been covered under the scheme up to the year 2002. It has been decided that beneficiaries of old age pension are to be provided free medicine and spectacles from the year 2002.

"Widow Pension Scheme" is also being implemented to provide security and financial assistance to widow and destitute women. Under this scheme, widows and destitute women aged 18 years and above, who have no other financial support, are provided pension of Rs. 350 per month and a total of 4 lakh women are covered up to December 2007. Moreover, the state is running 3 homes for destitute women and their children.

In order to combat the problem of female foeticide and arrest the declaring sex ratio in the state, an incentive scheme Ladli under which Rs. 5000 are given per year on the birth of second daughter for five years w.e.f. August 20, 2005. As many as 58711 beneficiaries are covered under it up to December 2007.

**Information Technology**

Information Technology (I.T.) is a major tool in achieving socio-economic development of any society. The State government accords highest priority to the Information Technology sector and has announced a comprehensive I.T. Policy in the year 2000. The main thrust of the policy is to make information easily accessible, to improve the quality of delivery of public services to the citizens, to improve government efficiency and to promote I.T. industry so that more and more jobs are created in the I.T. sector, to promote I.T. education and literacy and to promote I.T. infrastructure in the State.\(^{21}\)

For efficient and transport administration, the state government is also giving top priority to the use of Information Technology in the working of the government departments. The I.T. Department has set up a Centre for E-

\(^{21}\) Ibid.
governance with various facilities. This Centre is providing facility for
development of software and for imparting training to officials of the government
departments, Boards and Corporations. The Centre has so far trained more than
8000 employers.

To give further boost to this sector in the state, a Cyber City in the private
sector is being set up at Gurgaon to provide world class infrastructure for I.T.
companies. The Software Technology Park of India (STPI), a Government of
India organization, is setting up a Dedicated Earth Station and its office at
Gurgaon to provide high speed data communication facility for I.T. industry in
and around Gurgaon region. The state government is also exploring the possibility
of setting up of similar facilities at Panchkula. The software export from the state
has been achieving higher growth rate as compared to country’s average for the
past several years. Gurgaon is now ranked 3rd among the country’s major software
export locations in India. Further, a Regional I.T. Industry Promotion Office has
been set up at Gurgaon. This office would facilitate single window clearance for
the I.T. industry in the region and would play a role of a liaison office with the
I.T. industry and be a catalyst to solve their local problems.

The state is implementing SWAN for connecting its offices up to block
level with a project outlay of 102.62 crore. For this purpose a state network
management center is set up at Chandigarh and its horizontal office in all 22
districts headquarter.22

On-line Treasuries Information System is being implemented at all 21
treasuries and 80 subs-treasuries in the State. Haryana Registration Information
System (HARIS) is being implemented in all 67 Tehsils and 32 Sub-Tehsils.
Encouraging results have been received in terms of revenue maximization, cost
minimization and public convenience and satisfaction. District Network (D-NET)/
NAI-DISHA is standard application software with around 25 types of
information/services, which has been developed as a Citizen interface on D-NET

22 Ibid.
and is being implemented in six districts. The state is going to set up 1159 common service centers in rural areas for delivering citizen center services.\textsuperscript{23}

The application software package like annual budget computerization, ways and means, pay revision analysis, loan and advances, payroll, civil lists updating etc. are operational in Secretariats and Finance Department. Comprehensive computerization of Excise and Taxation Department has been initiated. Court cases at Advocate General’s office have been computerized. Data pertaining to more than 30,000 cases is available in the computerized format. The Sarkar Aapke Dwar programme Monitoring System has been implemented at Directorates and Districts. The database has details of more than 34,000 projects. Software for issuing the birth and death certificates, caste and domicile certificates has been developed. The software for assessment and collection of house tax and fair tax has been developed as per the policy of state government. The complete system has been implemented at all 67 municipalities. Significant increase in house tax collection has been recorded. The driving license and vehicle registration software implementation has resulted in increase in revenue, transparency and improvement of service delivery to public and ease of data analysis. The HARTRON under Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) scheme with financial assistance of the Government of India has completed training for 1800 rural girls in computers and 1090 girls in Repair and Maintenance of Home Appliances/Electronic Assembly.

\textbf{Administrative Set-up}

Administratively, the Governor is the Chief Executive of state administration. He has a Council of Ministers of 11 members headed by Bhupender Singh Hooda, the Chief Minister to aid and advise him in the discharge of his executive functions. The Council of Ministers has three layers of

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, 2007-08, pp. 113-14.
ministers i.e. Cabinet ministers, Minister of State and Chief Parliamentary Secretary/Parliamentary Secretaries.

In order to formulate development planning, we have State Planning Board chaired by the Chief Minister. It has one Deputy Chairman, 10 official members and 13 non-official members.

For recruiting the civil servants at the state level we have Haryana Public Service Commission having one Chairman and 11 members. For subordinate services there is a provision of Haryana Staff Selection Commission with a Chairman and seven members.

The state has been divided into four divisions namely Ambala, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Hisar. There are 20 districts out of which 5 districts of Ambala, Panchkula, Yamunanagar, Kurukshetra and Kaithal comprise the Ambala Division, another 5 districts of Karnal, Sonepat, Rohtak, Panipat and Jhajjar are in Rohtak divisions, 5 districts of Faridabad, Rewari, Mahendergarh, Mewat and Gurgaon in Gurgaon division, the remaining 5 districts of Hisar, Fatehabad, Sirsa, Jind and Bhiwani in Hisar division. Moreover, Palwal is declared to be 21st district of the state by the Chief Minister in April, 2008.

Furthermore, there are 47 sub-divisions, 67 tehsils, 45 sub- tehsils, 116 blocks, 106 towns and 6955 villages.24

Political Process

Political process forms the bedrock of democracy which is the most viable and accepted form of government in free societies. It is the party system through which the modern political system can organize mass political participation.25 In democracies, the parties represent the various interest group of the society and restrains the governmental power to some extent.26 Thus, political parties are

called flesh and blood of the government as well as of the society because they reflect the political and social milieu of the country.\textsuperscript{27}

Interestingly, the Constitution of India is silent on the issue of party system and thus the parties are called an extra-constitutional phenomenon. The party system in Haryana has not a very long past. There was no political party in the Punjab Legislative Council before the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. The process of political participation in the Haryana region started after the introduction of the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909. At that time the political participation was limited to the educated and well to do sections of society and feudal elite. But World War I brought a change in this respect. The participation in war efforts and recruitment in army awakened a large section or rural society, particularly, the educated persons, the professional class, the petty government servants and the army personnel of the area. The influence of Army Samaj and the Indian National Congress led to the politicization of the more articulated sections of the urban society.\textsuperscript{28}

Some educated people were attracted by the Congress founded in 1885 at Bombay. As many as 24 eminent persons became the members of the Congress from the area, 9 of them Banias, 6 Jats, 5 Brahmans, 2 Muslims one Rajput and Khatri each. On the whole 15 belonged to urban areas and 9 to villages. Religiously 22 of them were Hindus. During World War-I the Haryana helped the Britishers. But the people annoyed with the Britishers joined the Congress Movement.\textsuperscript{29}

The Haryana leaders opposed the Rowlatt Bills on the call given by Mahatma Gandhi. A resolution was passed by the Congressmen in Ambala in February 1919 while opposing the Bills. Similar resolutions were passed and submitted to the government from Hisar, Hansi, Rohtak, Bhiwani and Palwal. The

\textsuperscript{29} District Gazetteer, Rohtak.
Satyagraha committees were formed to oppose the bills. A mammoth public meeting was organized by the local Congressmen at Bhiwani to oppose the Act. Following it hartals and demonstrations were held at Rohtak, Bahadurgarh and Sonepat, Ballabgarh, Gurgaon, Faridabad, Satroad, Panipat, Ladwa, Karnal, Jagadhri, Thanesar, Jhajjar and Rewari.30

The Jalianwala Bagh tragedy was also opposed by organizing protest and hartals by the Congressmen in Haryana region. The Muslims condemned the agitation and turned loyalist to Britshers. The Arya Samaj also entered into the political arena particularly in Rohtak and Hisar districts.

To take active part in non-cooperation movement, the Congress formed propaganda committees at Rohtak appointing Sri Ram Sharma as its convener. These committees visited a large number of villages. Moreover, Congress committees visited a large number of villages. Also, Congress committees were formed at every district headquarter and big towns. In Rohtak district alone about 80 Congress committees comprising 7500 members were formed. Each committee was composed of 3-4 workers. Moreover, the Congress started to organize party conference from Rohtak on October 8, 1920. However, Chhotu Ram preached in the villages against the movement of leaving the schools by the students.

Impressed by the popular demand for formation of provinces on socio-linguistic basis, the Indian National Congress passed in 1920 a resolution for redrawing the map of India on socio-linguistic basis. The government, however, took no note of this suggestion. In 1921, the Congress on its part gave a concrete shape to its resolution by setting up linguistic provinces for its own organizational purposes. Surprisingly, Haryana did not figure even in the list of 18 Congress provinces. It was clubbed with Punjab, although its existence was implicitly

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30 Ibid.
accepted by accepting that Punjab was a bilingual province, Punjabi and Hindustani being the languages of its people.\textsuperscript{31}

Besides this, the Congress emphasized the need of rewarding the map of India on socio-linguistic basis on several occasions. It supported the cases of several suffering people. But never was a word uttered about Haryana.

**Elections to Central and Provincial Legislatures, 1921**

The Congress decided to boycott the elections. Its candidates withdrew their nominations from the legislatures. The people were exhorted not to cast their votes if some candidates insisted upon going to the councils and for this purpose a large number of meetings were arranged.

So the non-Congress candidates won hands off. Mention may be made of Lajpat Rai from Hisar, Swarup Singh-Rohtak-East, Lal Chand-Rohtak-West, Balbir Singh – Gurgaon, Hans Gopal-Karnal, Daya Ram-Ambala, Shimla, Mohd. Hyat Khan-Hisar, Shafi Ali Khan Ambala-North, etc. Most of these elected members were non-party men being the loyalist to the government.\textsuperscript{32}

Thereafter the leaders boycotted the use of foreign cloth and other articles going by the Swadeshi. The cloth merchants of Bhiwani, Hisar, Rohtak, Jhajjar, Bahadurgauh, Beri etc. decided not to buy foreign cloth. At Bhiwani, a Swadeshi Jalsa was held for a week. Picketing of liquor shops was another step which got momentum in Haryana. The Jhajjar Congress Committee decided to picket the octori posts and hoisted its flag on the hall of Municipal Committee\textsuperscript{33}. The police raided almost very district to arrest the volunteers indulged in picking of liquor shops and thousands of them were arrested.

Moreover, the government encouraged the loyalists to form ‘Aman Sāhba, Haryana Rajbhakti Sabha and Raja Praja Hitkari Sabha to counter the Congress


\textsuperscript{32} The Tribune, September 22, 1921.

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.
movement in Haryana. However, the Congress termed the loyalists as traitors and public in general boycotted their meetings.\textsuperscript{34}

In 1922 the non-cooperation movement was withdrawn due to some reasons i.e. split in Congress, emergence of rival party namely Unionist Party. In Haryana also the Congress divided into two groups. Moreover, the Unionist Party led by Chhotu Ram promised to work for the development of backward classes and areas in rural population whereas the Congress until was the champion of urban people.

In 1923 National Unionist Party came into being which fought general elections to the Legislative Council, Central and Provincial, and it was a Congress versus Unionist Party affair.

The Unionist Party swept the Punjab Legislative Council elections from the Haryana region. It captures 7 of the 8 constituencies. Coming to the legislative council as a whole the Unionist Party swept the election. The Hindu Mahasabha could not get even a single seat. Several Independents who contested were defeated badly.\textsuperscript{35}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swarajists</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGPC\textsuperscript{*}</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalists</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberals</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khilafates</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total         | 71       |

\textsuperscript{*} SGPC – Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee.

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, June 12, 1921.
\textsuperscript{35} Haryana Tilak, October 1924.
Lal Chand and Chhotu Ram were appointed as ministers which gave a new turn to the Haryana politics. The Unionist Party became very powerful and its confrontation with the Congress came to the forefront. The Congress did not fare well in those elections. It could not send any candidate from the three constituencies belonging to Hindu, Sikhs and Muslim communities.

**Elections to Provincial Council, 1926**

Similarly in Provincial Council elections in November 1926, the Congress/Swaraj Party proved very weak. The main reasons were a division in the ranks of the party, the powerful opposition from the Unionist Party etc. Moreover, in-fights among the Congressmen came to the fore when Neki Ram Sharma inaugurated his campaign for Independent Congress Party and toured the region extensively in October-November, 1926. Another leader M.M. Malaviya visited Haryana and addressed many well-attended meetings while criticizing the Swarajist Party. On the other hand the Unionist Party was united and disciplined. Chhotu Ram addressed many peasantry meetings and criticized the policies of the Swaraj Party and Congress terming it 'a coterie of Banias'.

In 1926 elections, the Unionist Party captured 4 of the 8 seats leaving one each for the Swarajist and Congress, 2 for Hindu Mahasabha. But the Lt. Governor adopted a policy to weaken the Unionist Party by appointing ministers those opposed to the unionists. The elevation of Chhotu Ram was not acceded to by the Governor.

In 1926, the Naujawan Bharat Sabha came into existence led by Bhagat Singh. It was a peasant and labourers oriented Sabha having its branches in every district in Haryana region with about 270 members. But after some time it was declared as an unlawful organization and its leaders were arrested and jailed. Consequently the Sabha was organized in some different names e.g., Naujawan

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36 The Tribune, November 10, 1926.
37 Haryana Tilak, March 1929.
Hindu Sabha, Youth League, Bal Bharat Sabha etc. at Ambala, Rohtak and Dabwali.38

Meanwhile the Congress called a political conference at Rohtak in March 1929 which was attended by J.L. Nehru. Thereafter a peasants and workers conference was held at Rohtak in which system of forced labour and village patrol were criticized39 and people were advised not to pay their taxes. Peasants and workers societies were organized in villages and towns of Haryana. Moreover 23 Congress committees were organized in nine towns and 14 village of Rohtak and Sonipat, 20 in Hisar. The Congress celebrated the Independence Day on January 26, 1930 in all the district headquarters, big towns and villages. In 1930 Satyagrah Sabhas were organized and salt were prepared and sold at Rewari, Hisar, Bhiwani, Ambala, Rohtak etc.

The peasants, after a long sufferings, formed a Kisan Sabha with Neki Ram Sharma as its President. It focused on fair wages and price for agricultural produce. Soon the movement led by Kisan Sabha turned violent and its members, in large number, were arrested on the complaints of landlords. However, a compromise was struck while reducing the rate of land tax.40

Elections to Punjab Legislative Council, 1930

The main contestants were Congress, the Unionist Party and Hindu Mahasabha. The Congress wielded great influence over urban voters and it won in Karnal and Hisar. However, the Unionists secured maximum seats in Rohtak, Ambala and Gurgaon. The Hindu Mahasabha had its influence over a few urban traders and Ahirs of Gurgaon because of Rao Balbir Singh.41

In Punjab Legislative Council, the Unionist won 4 seats out of 16, Congress-3, Hindu Mahasabha-3, leaving one for an Independent. On the whole,
the Unionist Party fared well in Punjab and it formed the government when Chhotu Ram was also inducted as a Minister.

Moreover, after the elections to the Legislative Assembly in 1934, the Congress got weakened by in-fights and it went in to hibernation up to 1937-38.42

In 1937 elections, the Congress, the Nationalist Party, the Unionist Party and Hindu Mahasabha entered the fray. The Congress formed an Election Board at Rohtak with Sri Ram Sharma as its in-charge. Chhotu Ram was appointed as the in-charge of Unionist Party campaign and Rao Balbir Singh of Hindu Mahasabha. The Congress fielded 29 candidates. All important leaders campaigned for the party and so the Unionists and Hindu Mahasabha.43

The Unionists made a clean sweep in the poll in Haryana region while bagging 16 of the 29 seats and the Congress could get only 4.

The positions in the Punjab Legislative Assembly was as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalsa Nationalist Party</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu Masabha</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akalis</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itihadi-Millat</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahrass</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress Nationalist</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>175</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42 Ibid.
In view of the responding victory of the Unionist Party, its leader Sikander Hyat Khan was invited to form the government. He formed a six member Cabinet while inducting Chhotu Ram as Development Minister.

Thereafter the Congress started to make its base in rural areas by holding a series of meetings in the villages where the Unionist Party had strong bations. It could hold the Annual Conference of the Party at Madina-Rohtak on March 7, 1938 which was a big affair. To counter it, the Unionists held a Conference at Rohtak on October 7, 1938 in which thousands of people participated. The crowd was unruly which attacked the houses of some Congress leaders, shops were looted and property was damaged.

Again the Congress meeting at Asaudha was also disturbed and the women workers were humiliated. However, the meeting was again held in January 1939 which was disturbed in the mid-way. The meeting was held for third time in February which invited a big crowd but the Unionist did not allow it to be a peaceful affair by injuring more than 50 persons. This sort of violent activities left a bad impression on the general public and the Unionist party realizing it decided not to disturb the Congress meetings. The Congress held its meeting in March 1939 which was attended by a large crowd and it ended peacefully. Subsequently several other meetings were held for making its base in rural areas.

In 1938, the Congress Party reorganized itself following the visit of Subhas Chandra Bose in Haryana. While taking a stock of the situation of the famine stricken people and the ongoing relief work he met many delegations, visited many villages and addressed a number of political meetings. The main aim of reorganization of party was to spread its network to the villages. For this purpose District, Tehsil and village committees were constituted. A committee was organized for each district of Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak, Hisar and Gurgaon. At tehsil level four committees each were constituted in Ambala, Karnal and Hisar

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44 Jagdish Chandra, op. cit., p. 104.
46 The Tribune, November 29, 1938.
districts, three in Rohtak and five in Gurgaon. Thus a total 20 tehsil committees and 205 town and village sub-committees were set up. The Congress did a commendable service for the draught hit areas of Hisar and became popular.

Surprisingly, when the organizational map of Congress was redrawn in 1939 and the strength of its linguistic provinces was raised to 20, but Haryana’s separate existence was again negated. Punjab, which was bilingual in 1921, became unilingual in 1939. This strange phenomenon can be easily explained if we throw a glance over the Congress leadership of Punjab at that time. It comprised by and large of the Punjabi Hindus. The backward Haryana region had hardly any leader there who could speak on their behalf. Muslim League also advocated the separation of Haryana from Punjab because in case of separation of Haryana Muslim would be about 61.80 per cent in Punjab, a clear majority.47

In IInd World War, the Congress refused to co-operate the Britishers. But the Unionist Party and Loyalists decided to help them. The Muslim League stood indifferent. This particular decision of Unionist Party proved a reason of its decline in the time to come in Haryana. The Congress capitalized the issue and succeeded to hold meetings in the strongholds of the Unionist Party. A ‘freedom fund’ was raised. Meanwhile Indian National Army was raised by Subhash Chandra Bose in which about 2715 soldiers of Haryana joined.

The Congress formed Praja Mandals in Haryana to get the land tax reduced. Such Mandals were effective in Pataudi, Dujana, Jind in Haryana region.48

**Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections, 1946**

After the IInd World War elections to state legislatures were held in Punjab. Many Congress and other party leaders visited the Haryana region. At

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47 The Tribune, January 4, 1941 and K.C. Yadav, Language Religion and Politics : A Study of Formation of Haryana, presented in the University of Texas in USA.

48 Ibid.
that time the Unionist Party became weak because Chhotu Ram was no more. The Muslim League campaigned actively in Muslim dominated areas.

In these elections, the Congress gained second position leaving first to the Muslim League. But from Haryana region it got 16 of the 29 seats pushing the Muslim League to second place. However, the Unionists could get only 4. The party-position\textsuperscript{49} in Punjab Legislative Assembly is given as under:

\begin{center}
\textbf{Party Position in Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1946}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l l}
\hline
\textit{Party} & \textit{Strength} \\
\hline
Muslim League & 75 \\
Congress & 51 \\
Akali Dal & 22 \\
Unionist Party & 20 \\
Independents & 07 \\
\hline
\textit{Total} & \textit{175} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Though the Muslim League was in majority but it could not form the government because the Congressmen, Akalis and Unionists joined hands to form a coalition Ministry. However, it could not do well because of communal problems created by the Muslim League.\textsuperscript{50}

After independence, the demand for Haryana state gained momentum because of political zeal in Haryana. In the meantime, the Sikhs also raised their demand for a Punjabi suba by excluding the Hindi-speaking areas of Haryana from Punjab. They wanted that if Haryana was separated then Sikhs would be 52.8% and Hindus 34.8% and they would be able to rule the State after division.

\textsuperscript{49} Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, February 19, 1946.  
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid.
After a while two demands of Haryana and Punjabi Suba for the bifurcation of the State got linked together. The Punjabi Hindus for their fear of being reduced into a minority opposed both the demands. And so did the government. A question arises here, however: What precisely were the reasons which made the government change its old stand of forming states on linguistic-cultural basis? Obviously, the partition of the country which had created such a fear in the minds of the leadership that any demand for a separate state was also looked upon as endangering the national unity still further. More so in the case of Punjab where religion was mixed up with a linguistic-cultural question.

Instead of accepting the demand for bifurcation, the Punjab government took some measures to assuage the feelings of both the groups voicing the demand. The Education Department, Punjab ordered, for instance, in June 1948 that 'all education in the school of the East Punjab shall be given in the mother-tongue of the children'. This did not satisfy the people, however, the Punjab government took another bold step on October 1, 1949, they gave that is known as 'the Sachar Formula' according to which the state was divided into two regions: (i) Punjabi speaking region; and (ii) Hindi-speaking region. Punjabi in Gurmukhi script was made the official language in the Punjabi region, and Hindi written in Devanagari script in the Hindi region. Even this could not solve the problem.

As in Punjab, so in other parts of India, there was popular demand for fulfilling the promise to give linguistic provinces made before independence. As a result, there came the States Reorganization Commission (SRC), 1955. Both the parties - the protagonists of the Punjabi Suba and Haryana, as also the antagonists to the demands presented their cases very forcefully before the Commission. The Commission was, however, not convinced by the arguments of the 'separatists'. It gave its verdict on October 10, 1955 against any division of Punjab saying that "We are convinced that the separation of the so-called Haryana areas of the Punjab which are deficit areas, and are according to the memorandum submitted by the Akali Dal, only a liability which can be better home by their neighbours.
with whom they have greater affinity in language and culture will be no remedy for any ills, real or imaginary from which this area at present suffers.\footnote{31}

After the 1952 general elections of Punjab Legislative Assembly, Devi Lal and Sher Singh, Jat leaders helped Pratap Singh Kairon to come into power and Sher Singh became Minister in his Cabinet.\footnote{52} Besides, Rao Birendra Singh, an Ahir leader, who also inducted into the Ministry but he was removed in 1960. Sher Singh was also dropped from the Ministry immediately after 1957 elections and in 1962 elections a Brahmin from Haryana -- B.D. Sharma, was boosted to counteract the growing Jat influence in the region. It was because of this that Sharma was opposed to the formation of a separate state of Haryana.\footnote{53} Thereafter Devi Lal left the Congress Party and formed a group called 'Progressive Independent Party'. This led to a very long leadership conflict between the two stalwarts of Haryana politics.\footnote{54}

A study of the political behaviour of the people of Haryana in 1962 elections is very interesting. The most interesting feature to be noted is that the Hindu leaders of this region found it possible from time to time to co-operate and combine with political groups which the Hindus of the rest of Punjab considered inimical to the general interests of the Hindu community. Before the partition the support of the Hindus for the Unionist party, which was branded as anti-nationalist and pro-Muslim, came from Haryana. After independence the Hindu leaders of Haryana at times, directly or indirectly, supported the claims of certain sections of the Sikh community, which the Hindus of Punjab region felt, were injurious to the interests of the Hindu community. Again with the Congress party, the change-over of governmental leadership from a Hindu Chief Minister to Sikh one in 1956 was accomplished largely with the help of Congress leaders of

\footnote{31}{The Tribune, October 11, 1955.}
\footnote{53}{Ibid.}
\footnote{54}{S.C. Kashyap, Politics of Power, Delhi: National, 1974, p. 162.}
Haryana. This phenomenon suggests that sectional loyalties can cut across loyalty to a single religion.55

Of considerable political significance in Haryana even now is the division between the rural and urban areas. In the pre-partition Punjab, the Unionist Party, a party of notables organized around the land-owning interest, dominated the policies of the state. Nonetheless, the rural bloc within the Congress party exercises considerable political power. In fact, the replacement of Bhimsen Sachchar in 1956 by Pratap Singh Kairon as Chief Minister represented the overthrow of the urban-oriented leadership through a coalition of the rural delegates of the legislative wing of the party. So it is very difficult to ignore the agriculturists class in the politics of the state.

The SRC report caused great resentment among the supporters of the two subas. As expected, there was agitation on the part of both the parties. Surely, the agitation of Akalis was much more forceful and dynamic than that of their Haryanavi counterparts. However, to assuage the agitated feelings of the people, the government came with a new formula – the so-called Regional Formula56, on July 27, 1956, according to which: (i) the state of Punjab was made bilingual, with Punjabi (in Gurkukhi script) and Hindi (in Devanagari script) as the official languages of the state; (ii) the state was divided into two regions – Punjabi and Hindi region; (iii) the official language of each region at the district level and below was to be the respective regional language; (iv) for each region a Regional Committee of the members of the state Assembly belonging to each region was formed which was supposed to legislate on specified matters relating to their respective regions; (v) the state was to continue to have one Legislature for the whole of the state, however, and one Governor to be aided and advised by the Council of Ministers

55 Link, New Delhi, July 1966.
56 The Tribune, July 25, 1956.
This formula also failed to satisfy either side. The protagonists of the demand for separate Haryana kept on voicing their demand, though their voice was feeble. But this was not the case with the Akalis. They took the government bull by its horns. By 1960, their agitation became a bloody struggle. The government reacted strongly and put 50,000 Akalis behind the bars. There was lull in the storm for some time.

However, the period after independence could be described as the era of the Congress domination in the erstwhile state since 1947, that is, All India political parties and local parties. The Zamindara League, a local party, disappeared after the 1952 general elections. The other local party was the Gandhi Janata Party which was formed by Sri Ram Sharma and Sri Chand in 1956. But Sri Chand joined the Congress in 1957 and the Gandhi Janata Party came to an end. Though it put some candidates in the 1957 Assembly elections, all of them lost their security deposits. Sher Singh, after being expelled from the Punjab Congress Legislature Party during the Hindi agitation in 1958, formed the Haryana Lok Samiti, a few months before the 1962 Assembly Elections.\(^\text{57}\)

In 1962, the leftist movement in the state was very weak. The SSP had some influence in Hissar. The CPI had only pockets of influence in the industrial town of Faridabad and in some peasant areas. The last general elections in this region bear testimony to the fact.

**Results of Third General Elections in Punjab, 1962**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes Polled</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
<th>Seats Won</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>1136792</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akali Dal</td>
<td>9820</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>82253</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{57}\) Ibid, November 20, 1962.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jana Sangh</td>
<td>353030</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>53599</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swatantra</td>
<td>167792</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSP</td>
<td>32159</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>731867</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>23942</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2591254</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the state, except for the Jana Sangh, there seemed to be really no organized opposition to the Congress. In the last general elections it polled 8.40 lakh votes in the district of Hissar, Gurgaon, Karnal, Rohtak and Mahendergarh against 5.48 lakh votes polled by the Independents. The Congress could have done even better in 1962 elections, but for its failure to accommodate Congress leaders of the region who had either been squeezed out from the party or had bolted it. Loyalties in Haryana were to be more candidate oriented than issue-oriented or party-oriented. The Congress had suffered for the tactical mistakes of the incumbent leadership. The opposition to Congress candidates, who were mostly new-comers to the party, came from the former stalwarts of the Congress like Sri Ram Sharma, Devi Lal, Sher Singh and their followers. Devi Lal and his group in fact, bolted the Congress not many weeks before the 1962 general elections over dissatisfaction with the allocation of tickets, which had been so allocated as to keep in check a prospective rival to the existing leadership of the Congress Party in Punjab.

But accordingly another view in Haryana neither the Congress nor any other political party had any organized mass base, a reflection of the weakness of the democratic movement and a direct result of the failure of the national movement to strike roots in this region even in pre-independence days. This was
reflected as early as in the first general election in 1952 when the Zamindara League – an organization of the landlords and rich peasants – polled 6.9% of votes in this area. Subsequently these pro-Unionist leaders in Haryana politics as represented by the Zamindara League joined the Congress while another section led by Pratap Singh Daula leaned towards the Communist Party.

As a result of this new alignment of forces among the upper layers of society in 1957, the position of the Congress improved and it polled in the Haryana region of the state 43.3% of vote against 38.1% of the voted polled by it in the whole of Punjab in the 1952 general election. By the time the state went to the polls during the third general election in 1962, a powerful section of congressmen split away from the Congress including Devi Lal. The percentage of votes polled by the Congress in this region again declined to 40%.

A regional party - Haryana Lok Samiti was also formed by the dissatisfied Congressmen. It contested the 1962 general elections and won one Parliamentary and three Assembly seats. Sher Singh contested against Bhagwat Dayal Sharma, but lost. Later this party merged into the Congress.

All political forces except the Jana Sangh in the Hindi region including the bulk of Congress legislators and Ministers stood for carving a Haryana Prant. If the demand was not to be accepted they pleaded for greater autonomy for Hindi Regional Committee – with guarantees of rapid economic development and greater share in the services and political power.

The Jana Sangh and the dominant group in the PCC and Council of Ministers stood for status-quo i.e. continuation of two Regional Committees.

In February, 1966, three formulas were envisaged: the first was to keep the status-quo with Punjabi as its main language and certain linguistic guarantees for Hindi-speaking region. But this was described as weak formula. The second solution was to create three Regional Councils in the state each enjoying considerable autonomy. But the whole state would be having one Legislature, one
Governor and one Cabinet. All the three regions would be represented in the Cabinet. However, this was problematic itself. The third formula was to divide the state into three separate parts with its own Legislature and government. These parts would be linked into a single unit by a common Governor, a High Court and Electricity Board.\(^{58}\)

But the Jana Sangh organized a warning day and Akali group of Master Tara Singh declared to start a ‘Dharam Yudh’ against the re-organization of Punjab. Sant Fateh Singh threatened to immolate himself. Some Hindu communalists also threatened to sacrifice their lives if re-organization did not take place.

Shortly afterwards, a Parliamentary Committee of twenty-two members belonging to different parties and from both the Houses of Parliament was appointed to recommend a solution to the problem. The Committee looked into the matter and recommended bifurcation of the state of Punjab. On March 21, 1966, the Minister for Home Affairs made a statement in the Lok Sabha that ‘the government had given careful thought to the recommendations made by the Committee of the members of the Parliament and had decided to accept in principle that the present State of Punjab be reconstituted on linguistic basis’.\(^{59}\)

On April 3, 1966, the Punjab Boundary Commission consisting of Justice J.C. Shah, S. Datt and A.M. Philip was constituted to draw the boundary line dividing the two states. The Commission submitted its report in May 1966, recommending the inclusion of the areas in Haryana: Hisar district, Mahendergarh district, Karnal district, Gurgaon district, Rohtak district, Narwana and Jind tehsils of Sangrur district and Naraingarh, Ambala and Jagadhari tehsils of Sangrur district. The rest of Punjab constituted the Punjabi suba. The Parliament accepted the report and passed the Punjab Re-organization Bill on September 18, 1966: it became the Act 31 of 1966. In consequence, the

\(^{58}\) Link, New Delhi, February 1966.

\(^{59}\) The Tribune, March 27, 1966.
seventeenth State of Haryana was born on November 1, 1966. A long cherished dream of the people was fulfilled.

The champions of Haryana Prant were Progressive Independent Party (PIP) leader Devi Lal and Sher Singh who were very close to the Congress Party. Of the 57 legislators from the Hindi region, only nine belonged to the opposition. If Devi Lal would join the Congress, the Jana Sangha with its three members would constitute a tiny opposition in Haryana along with a solitary socialist and an Independent member. In the Punjabi region, the Congress had 59 MLAs and the Opposition 28.

In Haryana, through the Jats constituted 35% of the total population and out of 54 MLAs from this region, there were not more than 10 Jat MLAs and three of them were in the run for Chief Ministership – PWD Minister Ranbir Singh, Irrigation and Power Minister Rizak Ram and Rao Birendra Singh. The situation in Haryana was more fluid than in Punjabi area because a clear pattern of alliance among the non-Jats had not yet emerged and the future plans of such non-Congress Jat leaders as Devi Lal and Sher Singh were still in the formative stage. The PCC Chief B.D. Sharma and Harijan leader Chand Ram were having a prominent place in Haryana future set up as they had a great pull with the Congress High Command.

Under the Constitution, at least 60 members were required for a state Legislature while Haryana region was having 54. Therefore, the Haryana leaders demanded the inclusion of certain pockets of Punjab-speaking areas on the basis of 1961 census report in which majority of the population of Abhor and Fazilka areas of Ferozpur district were declared as Hindi speaking. But the Punjab demanded that 1931 Census should be the basis of demarcation of state boundaries and they said that whole of Ambala and Karnal districts (excluding the Panipat tehsil), Sirsa and Fatehabad tehsils, Tohana and sub-tehsils be merged with Punjab. The CPI and Akali Dal supported the idea. On the Chandigarh issue the

60 Ibid, April 17, 1966.
Punjab wanted it to keep its capital whereas the supporters of Haryana Prant claimed that the town was bilingual and situated in Kharar tehsil which was predominantly Hindi-speaking, be given to Haryana.

The question of demarcation of boundary and public assets and liabilities brought the administrative work in the state to a stand-still. Ministers from Haryana believed that certain decisions in the transitional period would be to their disadvantage as the administrative machinery was Punjabi-dominated. Therefore, a three-man Boundary Commission was constituted. To get justice in the process, a 21-member Committee of Haryana Congress leaders led by B.D. Sharma was made. All political parties in Haryana, barring the Jana Sangh, came under one banner to support 1961 Census as the base of demarcation.

After the joining of the Haryana Lok Samiti leaders including Sher Singh in the Congress, the issue of leadership hot up. The contenders were Ranbir Singh, Rizak Ram, B.D. Sharma. The Jat leaders claimed that the demand for the formulation of Haryana Prant was pressed by the Jat population and non-Jats were either passive or suspicious about the demand. B.D. Sharma also opposed the linguistic re-organization of Punjab should not claim the leadership of Haryana. Surprisingly all claimant of Chief Ministership belonged to Rohtak district. Most of the non-Jats were backing B.D. Sharma. Thus, the local rivalries, Arya Samaj’s intervention, caste affiliation were detrimental in deciding the leadership issue.

With the resignation of Ram Kishan Gupta’s Ministry in June 1966 factional wranglings in the Congress started. In Haryana region the group headed by PCC Chief B.D. Sharma urged the High Command to elect the Pradesh Congress and Pradesh Election Committee for the new state. However, Ranbir Singh and Rizak Ram were opposed to the move. B.D. Sharma entered, into a

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61 Ibid, April 24, 1966.
secret agreement with party High Command to transfer Chandigarh to Punjab. Similarly, Ranbir Sing also made commitment to support the Centre.64

In July 1966, PCC elections were held. Three candidates B.D. Sharma, Rao Birendra Singh and Mani Ram Godara were in the fray. Rizak Ram and Ranbir Singh opposed B.D. Sharma as Mani Ram was a nominee of Ranbir Singh. Chand Ram supported B.D. Sharma. However, B.D. Sharma won the election by a narrow margin. After his election as President of HPCC, B.D. Sharma started to consolidate his position both in organizational and political spectrum. In a sudden move, he criticized the PPCC for demanding certain areas including Chandigarh for Punjab. He also criticized the Punjab for its step-motherly treatment to Haryana in the division of assets and liabilities of the state. The Committee on Division of Assets and Liabilities also tried to prove the case of discrimination against the Haryana region. The aim of all those moves was obviously to create the impression among the people of Haryana that B.D. Sharma represented their aspirations.65

B.D. Sharma manipulated the support of majority of the Congress legislators whereas a process of defection began in the camp of opponents. Mrs. Om Prabha Jain expressed her willingness to join B.D. Gupta group. The opposition group fielded Rao Birendra Singh for the post of Chief Minister. Meanwhile they persuaded Dalbir Singh a non-Jat leader to go for Chief Ministership to break away the B.D. Sharma’s group. But Dalbir Singh declined the offer. The Congress Legislature Party, Haryana met on October 21, 1966 to elect its leader. Meanwhile 4 Congress MLAs belonging to B.D. Sharma group defected to Rao Birendra’s camp. Despite all such developments, B.D. Sharma was elected as the Leader of Haryana Congress Legislature Party.

B.D. Sharma followed the Kairon style in the selection of his ministers and distribution of portfolios. He kept his hardened opponents out of his Ministry

64 Link, New Delhi, July 3, 1966.
and took the key departments with him. However, the opposition parties, mainly the Jana Sangh and Swatantra were watching the situation carefully. They expected the breach between the Jat group and the dominant ministerial group in the Congress would be widen. The powerful Jat leaders led by Devi Lal extended its support to Rizak Ram. B.D. Sharma decided to depend mainly on the support of the non-Jat sections.66

After the creation of Haryana as a separate state, Sher Singh along with his supporters joined the Congress in December, 1966. Thus on November 1, 1966, the total strength of the Congress Legislature Party was 48 in a House of 54.


Caste in Politics

The strongest influences within the Haryana region have always been those of caste, personality and of military service, in a way, all closely interlinked. Haryana has essentially been a land of soldiers. The soldier character and the importance traditionally attached to caste in the recruitment and organization of the army units had led to a greater class and caste consciousness and to the cult of the individual being more important than the party. The Jats, Rajputs and Ahirs who make excellent soldiers have developed a respect for personality and a sense of superiority to others. They must, almost as a rule, give first preference to their own caste. An Ahir in the Gurgaon-Mahendergarh areas, for example would not easily vote for any party unless its candidate happens to be an Ahir, the same holds goods for other caste groups in other parts of the state. There is a very

66 The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, November 13, 1966.
telling local slogan heard during the elections which says: “Jat ki beti Jat ko, Jat ka vote Jat ko”, be just as a Jat’s daughter should be married only to a Jat, a Jat’s vote should go only to a Jat. But now this saying is getting weak. The caste influence is not confined to Hindus alone. The Meo-Muslims have their own “gotras” and they also prefer to vote for the candidate of their own gotra unless a Meo has to be supported against a non-Meo. In a population of a little over about 10 million in the new state of Haryana, Hindus are 89%. Muslims less than 4% and Sikhs 6.5%. The four major caste groups among the Hindus are: (a) Brahmins (12%), (b) Jats (35%), Ahirs (8%) and Scheduled Castes (22%). Others are Gujars (8%), Rajputs (5%) and Banias (8%). Castewise, the Jats are the toughest and constitute the single largest group with the Scheduled Castes coming next. The latter are sharply subdivided between the Chamars, the weavers and the sweepers. Of these, the Chamars are the more numerous 18% and the more privileged in as much as they always obtained a greater share of political spoils. Among the higher castes, the Brahmins, for reasons of traditional caste superiority and higher level of literacy, exercises a tremendous influence and occupied many positions of power quite disproportionate to their numbers. The non-Chamar Scheduled Castes and non-Brahmin higher castes (including the Jats, Rajputs and Ahirs), therefore, happens to be the more disgruntled sections of the society.67

Besides being the most numerous caste group, the Jats are the peasant-proprietor or the land-owning class; they also supply the largest number of recruits to the army. The most outstanding figure produced by the Haryana region in the last hundred years and the most glorious names among the Jat politicians were that of Chhotu Ram and Devi Lal. The former kept himself aloof from the national movement for country’s freedom, was knighted by the British and in the ‘thirties became an important leader of Sir Sikander Hayat Khan’s Unionist Party which was dominated by the Punjabi zamindars loyal to the British Government in India and raised the bogey of the agriculturist non-agriculturist conflict. Chhotu

Ram successfully fought against the exploitation of the Jat peasant-proprietors by the Bania moneylenders and secured a general debt cancellation. Thereby he removed "the crippling yoke of the moneylender" and ensured for the Jats a powerful place in the future political system. Following independence and partition, the Unionist Party of Chhotu Ram formed a coalition Ministry with the Congress and after the first general election in 1952, a Brahmin, Sri Ram Sharma and later the Jat leader Devi Lal emerged as top Congressmen in the region. Devi Lal and another Jat leader from Haryana, Sher Singh helped Pratap Singh Karion to come to power and both of them became Ministers in the Kairon Cabinet. However, the Jats were among the late-comers in the Congress Party while the Brahmins had been traditionally in it from the pre-independence period. Most of the Haryana leaders, including Devi Lal, were in and out of the Congress Party. Both Devi Lal and Sher Singh soon lost the favour of Kairon who boosted a Haryana Brahmin, Bhagwat Dayal Sharma to counteract the Jat influence in the region. This was to be the beginning of a long leadership conflict between Devi Lal and Bhagwat Dayal and of a general aversion of the Jats to the leadership of the latter. Even though the Jats had been in the forefront of the demand for a separate Haryana state and Bhagwat Dayal Sharma as the then President of the Punjab Congress was opposed to it, when the state did come into being, Sharma became its first Chief Minister much to the chagrin of Jat leaders.

The Classes

The classes are yet another division of the society. Persons belonging to different castes, but having one specific type of economic interest, from a class, cutting across caste affiliations. To begin with, there were, as elsewhere, three classes – the upper, middle and lower – here. A number of rajas, nawabs, and jagirdars formed the first class; a few hundreds of their professional servants formed the middle class; and the rest formed the lowest classes. After some time,
especially after the advent of the British in 1803, the situation changed, but urbanization, industrialization, new education and some other such things had a serious impact on the social fabric. In the succeeding century some legislations, too, affected the position. Take for instance, the Land Alienation Act of 1900 which forbade the non-agriculturists from buying agriculturists' land. The Banias and moneylenders who were investing in land until the passage of the Act (1900) now diverted their wealth and usury towards cities. As a result, several industries were started at Ambala and textile ones at Bhiwani and Hisar. This affected an increase in the urban middle classes and the working classes. In the rural areas the well-to-do peasants purchased the lands of the smaller, needy farmers on relatively easy terms owing to the absence of hard competition with the rich Banias and thus became owners of big holdings. As a result, a section of the middle classes also grew up in the villages among the peasants.

Besides this, army service also did a lot of good things to the village peasantry, for savings and inams of the soldiery bettered their financial position and pushed them from the lowest classes to the middle classes. Further, new members of the rural middle class sent their sons to colleges, and universities and many of them joined services and took to such professions as legal practice, etc., after their education. This was another addition to the new class. The landless labourers and poor peasants, however, still remained in great numbers in their old lower (working) classes.

The above account shows that the process of class formation on the modern lines had begun in this region after the British came on the scene. To begin with, this was a very feeble process. Subsequently, especially after the uprising of 1857, it received some impetus. Seriously speaking, the position was still far from satisfactory, however. The real class consciousness came to have hold on some sizable population only after the turn of the nineteenth century in the wake of the nationalist movement. In this period, the upper classes, forming a

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68 Ibid.
microscopic minority, became a non-entity. The middle classes gained in strength manifold. The working classes, however, still remained weak, though their number increased owing to setting up of new industries, especially after the First World War. The development of class consciousness did take place among them until the advent of independence.

At present the middle classes are relatively numerous. And so is the case with the working classes. In the latter, the urban industry workers are organized and have a sort of class-consciousness. In the rest the class-consciousness is only skin-deep. They are torn between tradition and modernity-caste and class appeals.