CHAPTER 5

MODUS OPERANDI OF THE MOVEMENT

This Chapter is divided into two parts. Part I discusses the issues focused on in different phases of the movement. Part II is devoted to the process of mobilization and communication. The focus is on strategy and tactics adopted in different phases of the movement. Efforts have been made to understand the micro dimensions of the movement.

I

The activists of the movement raised different issues at different times. From the beginning of the movement till two decades after the independence, the distinct socio-cultural, economic, geographic and linguistic identity of the region was the main issue. In 1946, in a seminar at Haldwani, presided over by Kurmachal Kesri B.D. Pandey, special status was sought for Uttarakhand region. The argument put to justify the demand was that because hill districts of UP were distinct from the plains districts of the state in terms of geographic, socio-cultural, economic, and linguistic features — its
development will not be possible if it remains a part of such a big United Province. But G. B. Pant then premier of United province opined that "because people in the hills do not take interest in vocations other than government jobs, they will get more employment opportunities by remaining with United province" (Markandey 1989:1).

After independence the CPI was the first political party to raise the demand for a separate state of Uttarakhand in 1952. P.C. Joshi then General Secretary of the CPI justified the demand on the basis of decision taken by the INC at its Karachi conference in 1928 and a resolution adopted by it in 1952, where the INC accepted language and geography as the basis for re-organization of states.

In 1954, Indra Singh Nyal (member of Legislative Council) again raised the issue of distinct geography of the region. In a letter to G B Pant he asked for special arrangements for the region owing to its inhospitable and distinct geographical conditions.

G. B. Pant in his reply assured that no region can be neglected in a democratic state. So, there was no need
to worry about Kumaon in particular (ibid). Indra Singh Nayal also demanded an increase in the number of MLAs elected from the region.

The developments in the decade following independence proved that the fears of Uttarakhand agitationists about discrimination were not unfounded. All hopes of economic development in the region began to disappear. The people in the region were now convinced beyond doubt that development in Uttarakhand was not possible as long as its status vis-à-vis the state of UP remained the same.

The underdevelopment of the region not only bred discontent among the people but it also resulted in the inadequate political representation of the region. 1967 was the year of general elections. About a year before the elections, the Indian National Congress, the party in power organised a regional conference in June 1966 at Ram Nagar. The conference presided over by Jagmohan Singh Negi was organised to discuss the problems faced by the region. Here the congress leadership admitted for the first time that development had not taken place in the region as per expectations.
and emphasized the need to adopt a special policy in that regard. After the conference a committee was constituted which was headed by Manvendra Shah. The Committee recommended the constitution of the hill region of UP into a separate administrative unit for speedy development of the region. But no steps were taken in this direction. Thus, the issue of economic backwardness of the region came to occupy the centre-stage of the movement. The first concrete step in this direction was the formation of the Parvatiya Rajya Parishad (Hill State Council) in June 1967 at Ram Nagar. The Council expedited pace of the movement by opening up branches outside Uttarakhand.

During 1970's the Chipko movement dominated the socio-political scenario in Uttarakhand. The aim of Chipko andolan was to protect villagers' haque-haquoaks (traditional rights to the forests). It was a struggle between the state and the people for control of natural resources. The movement equated the protection of the forests with the protection of the right to life itself.
On 2 May, 1973, the activists of the Chipko at Gopeshwar made five demands to the authorities: one, abolish the forest contractor system and establish a forest labourers' cooperative society; two, reasses and redistribute peoples' haque-haqooks; three, ban the export of raw-material from the hills and provide technical training to the villagers to establish small forest based industries; four, undertake reforestation on large scale and; five, provide for villagers' participation in management and protection of their forests (Aryal 1994:8-23). These issues directly or indirectly related to the right to the autonomy of the region, dominated the Chipko phase of Uttarakhand movement. As the Government banned commercial logging of trees in the hills in response to the Chipko, the focus once again shifted to the issue of statehood.

The next development in this direction was formation of the Uttarakhand Kranti Dal, the first regional political party in July 1979. The Dal in its founding convention declared that, "Through this resolution those present here want to state categorically that the division of UP has become an utmost necessity. Therefore, it should be carried out as early as possible. So that the hill
districts of UP with the territories once ruled by the Chand, the Katyuris and the Panwars get the status of a separate state..." (UKD1979:3).

Early 1980s saw the emergence of anti-liquor movement popularly called Nasha Nahin, Rojgar Do (Give jobs, not liquor) in Kumaon. The issue involved here was not restricted only to opposing the liquor policy of the government but it questioned the very model of development pursued by the state. Alcohol consumption was symptomatic of a deeper malaise afflicting the society. The movement opposed the capitalistic model of development which creates an unjust and inequitable society. The movement did not intend to curtail individual freedom. It argued that in a society where basic needs of the people are not fulfilled consumption of alcohol cannot be viewed as a healthy practice. This movement reappeared in early 1990s and still goes on.

In late 1980s movement for statehood for Uttarakhand picked up momentum and issue of separate state again came to the forefront. In 1994 when the UP government declared 27 per cent reservation for the
OBCs in education and government jobs, there were protests all over Uttarakhand against the move. As the OBCs constitute only 2-3 per cent of the population of the region, the move to reserve 27 per cent seats for them was thought of as unjustified. The issue of reservation for the OBCs became instrumental in mobilising students to support the demand for a separate state. First time in the career of the movement students participated in such large numbers; till now they were conspicuous by their absence.

The demand to roll-back 27 per cent reservation for the OBCs soon transformed into the demand to extend reservation to whole of Uttarakhand. Eventually all the issues receded into the background and the issue of statehood came to dominate the movement. The men were always involved in the movement but the issues which had greater appeal for women were employment opportunities for their children, single digit lottery system and the increasing consumption of liquor by men in the hills. These were the issues which directly affected the well-being of their families.
Since 1952 three forms of separate administrative setup for Uttarakhand have been suggested from time to time: first, a full-fledged state comparable to other states in Indian Union; second, an autonomous Uttarakhand and; third, Union Territory status. The first form found favour with the Uttarakhand Kranti Dal. The second was advocated by the CPI and the Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini till 1989. The Congress party has always favoured Union Territory status for Uttarakhand.

Usually any political party in power when perceives that the public opinion is in favour of a separate state, it talks about Union Territory status for the region. In 1977 after assuming power some parties who earlier stood for a separate state changed their stance and the voices in favour of a separate state began to emerge from the Congress party (Pathak 1989:40-47).

II

The first phase of the movement lasting till late 1960s lacked any well defined long term strategy. During this phase the protests sporadic in nature were few and far between. The rally at Pouri followed by founding of the Parvatiya Rajay Parishad in 1967 is the only memorable
event of that phase. In 1955 on the initiative of the CPI leader P. C. Joshi, an All Party Front was formed to coordinate the activities of different political parties championing the cause of Uttarakhand. But the Front could not achieve any success. The Congress party leaders from the region took the opportunity to express their views whenever the party held its annual session in the hills. The CPI and the Akhil Bhartiya Jansangh were also working without any coordination with others. In 1970 P. C. Joshi founded yet another front called Kumaon National Front but it also met with failure.

Rallies, peaceful protests, sit-ins and presentation of memoranda were the means employed by the activists in the first phase of the movement. The content as well as the style of communication was elite oriented. The leaders organised seminars, distributed pamphlets, and wrote articles in the newspapers to propagate the ideology of the movement. But only educated had access to these channels. All mobilizational activities were oriented to urban educated middle-class. The rural population did not form the target group to be mobilized.
Though the distinct socio-cultural identity of the region was the main issue in this phase of the movement, one does not come across any process of crystallization of a unified 'Uttarakhandi' or 'Pahari' identity in this period. Another weakness of the movement at this stage was its failure to relate the issue of statehood to day to day problems of the people in the region.

In early seventies a new kind of mobilization emerged in some parts of Uttarakhand. Though it did not spread to whole of Uttarakhand, it addressed issues which were relevant for the entire region and had important consequences for the politics of the region. This phenomenon called the Chipko movement constituted one stream in the movement for statehood for Uttarakhand. This phase of the movement presented a contrast to the preceding one in terms of strategy, tactics and style of communication adopted by the movement participants.

As the Chipko emerged in the villages in dense forests its strategy was to generate consciousness among the masses about the forest policies of the government and their consequences for the region. Within Chipko there
were three groups working independently of one another according to their interpretations of the movement. For Sunderlal Bahuguna it was an environmental movement from the very beginning. Chandi Prasad Bhatt holds that it started against commercial logging but soon transformed into an environmental movement. Instead of coordinating their activities the two sarvodaya leaders talked bitterly of each other. They have always been engaged in a tussle over whose work is seen to be more important and who gets more. The Vahini had its own programmes, for them it was a “purely political movement” aimed to challenge the political system.

The Sarvodaya leaders advocated non-violent tactics such as peaceful resistance, hugging the trees, padyatra and fasts. Sunderlal Bahuguna undertook a 120 days padyatra within the region to mobilise the villagers. A similar march was undertaken by some students in 1974. They traveled about 700 km from Askot, in the eastern Kumaon to Arakot in Himachal Pradesh.
A unique emotional gesture was observed in December 1977 in Henvalghati. Here village women tied *raksha bandhan* cords around the tree trunks. The silk thread symbolised their determination to protect the trees. The same gesture was repeated by a group of about 200 villagers in Ranichauri, Tehri Garwhal. They tied silken threads around the trunks of the trees in Loital forest that had been auctioned (Aryal 1994:8-23).

The Chipko had a mass-oriented style of communication. It relied heavily on mass contacts. Its activists travelled from village to village to spread the message through folk songs sung to the tune of harmonium. At the sites of sit-in protests bhajans were sung. Some times readings of Geeta were organised (Guha 1987:301-17).

The Sarvodaya leaders came to be glorified. Brian Nelson writes about Chandi Prasad Bhatt in 'Whole Earth Review': "He is one of those rare individuals though remarkably gentle, somehow leave a deep and indelible impression on everyone he meets. He exudes a kind of controlled inner energy that is difficult to describe but easy to feel" (quoted in Aryal 1994:16).
Similarly an Indian journalist writes:

In certain circles he is known as 'the only true Gandhian after Gandhi'. Many address him as 'Saviour' yet others call him a politician. Serene and unruffled in the midst of this controversy stands Sunderlal Bahuguna.... He is the man who went to meet an applauding Kurt Waldheim, the then UN Secretary General, with a bundle of firewood strapped on his back... (ibid.).

Though the Sarvodaya leaders advocated non-violent modes of protest the Chipko was not entirely non-violent in nature. In a protest in Reni forests led by Gaura Devi, a Bhotia woman, women activists set fire to the labours' hut, threw stones and gave a chase to the contractors. Moreover, the third group within Chipko, the Uttarkhand Sangharsh Vahini was more aggressive in its protests. In October 1977, the Vahini organised a large demonstration in Nainital at Club House where forest auctions were to be held. As a result, the auctions were rescheduled for the last week of November. On 26 November the police lobbed tear gas shells on the demonstrators and arrested 53 of them. It led to chaos and the club house was gutted in fire. The subsequent months saw many such demonstrations and lathi-charges in Kumaon. On February 24, a bandh was
observed in whole of Uttarakhand against the arrests in Nainital. In January 1978, villagers camped out in the Chanchridhar forest in Dwarahat and prevented the contractor from entering the forest (Aryal 1994:8-23).

When the Chipko movement was going on many political parties and the leaders who had been championing the cause of Uttarakhand watched from the sidelines. They organised their programmes in Delhi or Nainital away from the agitating hill people. In 1972, the separate Hill State Council organised a seminar in Delhi; the Uttaranchal Parishad was constituted at Nainital; and the activists of Uttarakhand Vidhan Parishad held a rally at Delhi Boat Club and courted arrests. In 1973, the Parvatiya Rajya Parishad was reconstituted. It organised a seminar in Delhi and held a rally at Boat Club. In 1979 Uttarakhand Rajya Parishad was reconstituted. It held a sit-in protest at boat club and submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister.

The isolation of the forces championing the cause of Uttarakhand from the popular mass based Chipko movement pointed out their failure to reach out to the
villages in Uttarakhand. Till then they had not taken the issue of separate state to the rural masses.

The Chipko was instrumental in forging a kind of unity between Garwhal and Kumaon. At sub-regional level people realised that they shared common interests and subjected to common deprivations vis-a-vis the outsiders. This led to the emergence of the 'Pahari' identity. Its credit is due to the Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini and the groups of students who participated in Chipko.

The third phase of Uttarkhand movement, from 1979 to mid 1994, saw the formation of several regional political parties to champion cause of the movement. Many national and state level parties also extended their support to the movement. This phase witnessed proliferation of associations and development of the organizational network. The base of movement widened as the movement spread to rural areas and became relatively more heterogeneous, thereby, increasing the scale of the movement.

In this phase, the movement evolved a more complicated strategy and adopted aggressive tactics.
Early 1980s saw the emergence of anti-liquor movement led by the Uttarakhand Sangarsh Vahini in Kumaon. The Vahini with the help of students and women activists fought for the cause both in urban and rural areas. Like Chipko it was also a mass based movement. And here too the section of political elite integrated into UP state or India national politics championing the cause of separate state was conspicuous by their absence.

In 1987, the BJP declared its support to the demand of a separate state of Uttarakhand. All the regional organizations were forced to review their strategies. Till then, there had been little coordination and where it obtained it was confined to a select few. In July 1988, the UKD called an all party meeting to form a joint front to wage a collective battle. But it could not succeed. Again in 1990 it tried to forge an all-party front. The UKD held five meetings between 9 July and 6 November at Pithoragarh, Rishikesh and Ramnagar but the parties failed to reach any consensus. In February 1989 eight associations held a seminar in Delhi and founded the Uttarakhand Sanyukt Sangarsh Samiti (Uttarkhand Joint Action Committee) to run the
movement. The USSS was constituted by the Uttarakhand Pragatisheel Yuva Manch, Uttarakhand Sangarsh Vahini, Uttarakhand Jan Parishad, Uttarakhand Raksha Manch, AISF, Uttarakhand Yuva Shakti Manch, Uttaranchal Pradesh Sangharsh Samiti and Yuva Janta Dal.

Similarly, in June 1989, the UKD, the Vahini, BJP, IPF and CPI formed a coordination committee at Haldwani. In November 1989 the CPI held a demonstration at Uttarakhashi in which the Vahini also participated and they formed a coordination committee. In January 1991 the Uttarakhand Mukti Morcha was formed with the sole objective of bringing all the left oriented organizations under one umbrella. In February 1993, the IPF, UKD and the Vahini felt the need to evolve a minimum common programme. In May 1993, an all party seminar was organised under the banner of Uttarakhand Sanyukt Sangharsh Manch to discuss the issue of Uttarakhand. The efforts to coordinate activities was a new feature of the strategy of movement which bore very little fruits.
The efforts aimed at coordination were not confined only to the region as the activists of the movement also tried to forge ties with the all India level associations working for federalism or re-organization of states. In September 1990, the Vahini represented Uttarakhand movement in a seminar held in Delhi on the issue of federalism. Again in October 1991, the UMM leader V.S. Nautiyal, a well known writer took part in the Founding Convention for a Federal Front. Many associations and leaders agitating for the formation of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Vidarbha and Telangana participated in the convention. In April 1992, the representatives of the UKD, the Vahini, IPF and Congress party took part in a meeting organised by the National Movement for States Reorganization in Delhi for the formation of States Reorganization Demand Committee. Leaders from Uttarakhand also participated in a seminar organised by the United Front For Smaller States in Delhi on 4 March, 1993.

In this phase almost all the regional political parties went through the process of fission and fusion. The Uttarakhand Kranti Dal (UKD), the first regional political party in the region split within a decade of its formation.
In Dec. 1987, the Dal's members from Tehri and Uttarakashi broke away and formed the Uttarakhand Jan Parishad under the leadership of Vikram Singh Bisht and Ajay Sharma. Just two years later the Parishad fused with Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini and Uttarakhand Pragatisheel Manch to form Uttarakhand Jan Shangharsh Vahini (UJSV) under the leadership of S.S. Bisht. Within a couple of years the Vahini split, and the splinter group formed the Uttarakhand Mahasabha. The following year in July the Mahasabha was joined by some more people from the Vahini and some members of the UKD to form the Uttarakhand Party in Delhi. Its president Jagdish Kapri was once a member of the UKD in Bombay. The Uttarakhand Party by and large was a party of emigrant Uttarakhandis in Delhi and Bombay. In 1991, Alok Upadhayay, a former member of the UJSV, formed a new party called the Uttarakhand Mukti Morcha (UMM). The UKD split for a second time, one of its leaders Puran Singh Dangwal engineered the split to form the UKD (D).

We see that the UKD lost its members to almost all the parties which came to be formed in the later years. Similarly, the UJSV lost its members to the UKD, IPF
and UMM. The UKD, UJSV and the Uttarakhand Party were formed with the explicit objective of mobilising the people into collective action to achieve statehood for Uttarakhand. But these parties strayed away from their main objective and got involved into electoral politics and opportunistic alliances. The UKD ran its candidates in all the Lok Sabha and Assembly elections except in 1995 in the region. In 1989 it formed an alliance with the Janta Dal. When its candidate lost the election in 1991, the Dal in 1992 declared its intention not to participate in elections till statehood was conferred on Uttarakhand. But again in 1993 it fought the elections in alliance with the UJSV. Similarly, the Uttarakhand Party stated in its constitution that it would not fight election in the region till the formation of Uttarakhand state. But its President was alleged to have hob-knobbed with the BJP though unsuccessfully to get a ticket for himself. These parties had not been consistent in their strategy about participation in elections.

The last phase of Uttarakhand movement started with the protests against reservation for the OBCs in government jobs and education. On 31 July, 1994
students organized a protest and put forward six demands: one, withdraw reservation for the OBCs; two, devise separate employment policy for the hill area; three, 50 per cent concession in bus fare to the students and unemployed youth in Uttarakhand; four, improvement in drinking water facility; five, impose prohibition in the hills; six, open a Center of the Uttar Pardesh Public Service Commission at Pithoragarh. The movement was not just a reaction against reservation for the OBCs (as it projected by the media), it was much more than that.

On 2 August a student rally at pouri was lathi-charged. Same day students held a meeting at Nainital and founded a front called Students–Intellectuals front. A plan of action for next 20 days was chalked out. Leadership was to remain with the Student Unions. An advisory committee consisting of ex-student leaders was formed. Two members were taken from each organisation to constitute a committee to organise the movement. The committee decided that mass contact and _nukkar nataks_ would be performed between 3 to 10 August; contact programmes in the colleges on 16 and 17 August; On 19 August, sit-in protests all over
Kumaon and memorandum to the governor of UP; gherao of Kumaon Commissionary on 20 August.

On 4 August, the students held a meeting at Kumaon University campus at Nainital and formed nine units each consisting of ten students. Each unit was assigned one ward and was to accelerate the pace of the movement and clarify that the movement was against the reservation for the OBCs, not for SCs and STs.

The Uttarakhand Kranti Dal was waiting for such an opportunity. Here was a chance for the Dal to regain its lost credibility and mobilise students in support of the demand for a separate state. Its two senior leaders I M Badouni and Bhatt sat on an indefinite fast at Pouri. In Kumaon the UKD started a relay hunger strike at Nainital. The UKD's strategy was to mobilise into collective action as many social categories as possible. It tried to channelise the energy generated by the anti-OBC reservation agitation towards the goal of statehood. In this phase of the movement the UKD was the only surviving or active regional political party. Thus, it made efforts to coordinate its activities with
other categories active in the movement such as students, teachers, karamcharies, women, lawyers, ex-servicemen and traders.

On 21 August, the UKD leader K.S. Airee warned that if Mulayam Singh’s government was not dismissed the UKD would be forced to drive away all the officers of plains origin and bring the administration to a halt. On 29 August, the UKD formed a strategy to run a parallel government in Uttarakhand; it formed Uttarakhand Sanyunkt Sangharsh Samiti and appealed to the people not to cooperate with the government; refuse to pay taxes; not allow transport of raw material from the region; buses were to stop plying; Banks and Post-Offices were to open from Monday to Wednesday only. It shunned the strategy of hunger strike instead used this energy actively. It called on people to rise above party politics. It planned to have uniform programmes in Kumaon and Garhwal, and appoint four spokesmen to announce the strategy of the movement simultaneously in Kumaon, Garhwal, Delhi and Lucknow. It made clear that the movement was not against reservation but for the extension of reservation to the whole of Uttarakhand. The first cracks
developed in the students' movement when students Joint Action Committee got divided over the issue of holding talks with Mulayam Singh on August 31. The group of students which was not in favour of holding the talks, wanted the movement to be 'non-political'. The office bearers of the Kumaon University Union met at Nainital Club on 31 August and declared that they would blacken the faces of all those MLAs and MPs form the region who tried to participate in the movement without resigning their membership to the Assembly or the Parliament. They also decided to part ways with the UKD and not to participate in its programmes. On 29 August a group of students expressed the apprehension that the issue of anti-OBCs reservation might get sidelined because of the statehood issue.

On the initiative of the UKD a meeting of Karamchari leaders was held in Nainital on 27 August. The day after the UKD organised a meeting of Kumaon University teachers. They expressed the opinion that either Uttarakhand should be covered under 27 per cent reservation or the OBCs reservation should be commensurate with the proportion of
OBC population in the region. Moreover, the reservation should be confined only to jobs.

On September 1, Uttarakhand Chhatra-Yuva Sangharsh Samiti was formed at Ramnagar. It demanded withdrawal of the reservation for the OBCs and constitution of a separate Public Service Commission for the hills. It called an all party meeting in Nainital on 22 September. Despite efforts at coordination cracks soon appeared in the movement. Different social categories had their own associations and agenda. In Kumaon itself there were at least five major groups in the movement – the UKD, the Parvatiya Karamchari-Shikshak Sangh, the students, the BJP and the Congress party. In the later stage the Karamchari-Shikshak Sanghathan also got divided. The students were divided on party lines and had at least five groups. The UKD, BJP, AISA and the Congress all had their student wings. One of the student groups was politically neutral and received support from the Kumaon University teachers. On October 12, the University teachers formed a body called the Jagrit (awakened) Uttarakhand and requested B.D Pandey to fill the leadership vacuum in the movement. The
women, the lawyers and the ex-servicemen formed their own associations. Later on the lawyers' association also split due to lack of consensus about the strategy of the movement.

Some opined that 30 per cent reservation for women in Panchayatic Raj Institutions accounted for the unprecedented participation of women in this phase of the movement. The women candidates were being prepared for Gram Panchayats and Block Samities. An informant, a teacher in Kumaon University at Nainital observed, "30 per cent reservation for women in Municipal Council in Nainital is a great incentive for educated women to participate in the movement. Nine seats are reserved for women. Let us assume three candidates for one seat, the figure comes to twenty-seven. And there are around thirty women leaders in Nainital."

In this phase of the movement we come across some counter mobilizational activities. On 2 August a rally was held in Haldwani in support of the reservation for the OBCs. Students belonging to the SCs, STs and the OBCs organised a meeting at Haldwani ITI and condemned anti-OBC reservation agitation. They
offered to help the administration with the work of distribution of admission forms. On 6 August, Nainital Nagar Balmiki Panchayat congratulated Mulayam Singh for implementing the reservation policy. On 2 August, the SCs, STs, OBCs and Minorities Welfare Action Committee held a meeting at Kashipur and resolved to fight the anti-reservation movement with all its might.

There were also protests against inclusion of tarai area of Nainital district in the proposed territory of Uttarakhand. On 14 September, 1994, an all party meeting was organised at Nanakmatta Gurudwara demanding exclusion of tarai from Uttarakhand and carving out a new district of Rudrapur. The Tarai Action Committee and Zila Banao Action Committee were formed to achieve this objective.

In the last phase of the movement many slogans were used to embarrass those who did not participate in the protests, and to instill in the participants a sense of belonging to the movement. Slogans such as ‘Dekhne walo choori pahano, sahane walo choori pahno’ (Bangles to those who tolerate injustice); ‘Khade dekh rahe hain jo yaar, choori pahana do unko
char' (Give four bangles to the onlookers); 'Khade khade muskate ho, kaya OBC main aate ho' (You stand aside and smile are you in the OBCs) were commonly used. One slogan targeted particularly those communities which did not support the movement: 'Uttarakhand ke teen gaddar-Muslims, Sikhs aur desi (three traitors of Uttarakhand- Muslims, Sikhs and those of plains origin). At Berinag in Pithoragarh 50 stray dogs were taken out in a procession with a slogan struck on their backs reading, 'Hi majboori hai, mai mulayam hoon' (I cannot help it, I am soft).

We observe a shift in the strategy of the movement from one phase to another. In the last two phases there was focus on coordination among various associations in the movement. Relatively aggressive tactics were adopted in the latter phases. Initially the communication was elite oriented but towards the end efforts were made for mass mobilization.