CHAPTER V

MULAYAM SINGH YADAV

AS A PILLAR OF SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN UP
Mulayam Singh Yadav is best defined as one of the *Regional lords*, is further described as the one having unassailable position in UP, where electoral victory can be attributed to his success in building winning caste coalitions of demographically preponderant classes. The influx of the so called lower orders into the field of democratic contestation, has in short radically altered the vocabulary of the electoral arena and inducted new beliefs as well. Here the ideological spectrum was disturbed by homespun ideological fragments. The raw narratives of social justice articulated by Mulayam Singh Yadav achieved what Lohia’s sophisticated philosophy of history failed to do three decades ago – to make it respectable to talk about caste in the public political domain.

The emergence of social justice as a rubric to talk about caste equity, political representation of castes and communities and issues of communitarian self respect and identity is a distinct achievement of this period. Emergence of Samajwadi party under Mulayam Singh Yadav leadership reflected upon two important trends in post 1989 era. First the growing regionalization of Indian policy, where as Gillian Wright famous remarked rise of *Mulayam Singh Yadav is the decline of congress*, where Congress was no more a force of a party capable of accommodating conflictual social interests, thus creating a vaccum, which was filled in different ways. So as in UP by caste and class based mobilization vehicles.

Secondly the rise of SP also reflected upon the democratic upsurge, where new social strata and groups were introduced to the political processes.

- **PERSONALITY AND CHARISMA**
  From the wrestling mat to the political ring, MulayamsinghYadav, the champion of the backward and minorities of UP has certainly traversed a long way. The wrestler from Etawah or the Sultan of UP, the sobriquet depending on who is using it, has made a name for bouncing back with
renewed strength everytime, he has been down and down. In fact it is said of him that he is at his best when driven to the wall. The Samajwadi party president has proved time and again that he cannot be written off.

Born on November 12, 1939, in an ordinary peasant family, village Saifai in Etawah district. Right from the beginning, the disparities and inequalities in society and the problems of SC/ST and the backward classes affected him. As a 14 year old, he participated in the canal irrigation agitation launched by Ram Manohar Lohia where he courted arrest.

After a masters and BT from Agra University, he took up teaching, but couldn’t shake off politics and finally took the plunge by becoming a member of the Samyukta Socialist party. In 1967, Yadav entered the UP assembly as the youngest MLA. Of course the political wilderness from 1969-75 made him more strong and experienced. In fact, Mulayam Singh Yadav is best known for his surviving skills. Where he had travelled a long way from the president of the students Union of Etawah Degree collage in 1961-62 to arrive at the political scene of New Delhi, in 1997. Of course, but arrested under MISA act of 1975 during emergency, but reclaimed the assembly seat in 1977 assembly elections, became the minister for cooperative and Animal Husbandry. His political journey is being summarized as follows.

**Evolution of SSP-BKD-BLD-LD-SP in UP (1968-2004)**

1967 Mulayam Singh Yadav elected to UP assembly on SSP ticket.

1968 Lohia dies and, before the next election can take place, Mulayam Singh joins the BKD.

1974 Mulayam elected to UP assembly on a BKD ticket. The BKD and SSP merged to form Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD).
1977  BLD merged with Bharatiya Jan Sangh (BJS), Cong-O, congress for Democracy (CFD) to form the Janata Party. Mulayam Singh becomes a minister in the state cabinet.

1979  Charan Singh forms the Lok Dal; Mulayam stays with Charan Singh.

1980  Mulayam loses in election to UP assembly.

1985  Mulayam elected to UP assembly on LD ticket, and appointed leader of the Opposition in VidhanSahba.

1987  Lok Dal split after the death of Charan Singh in May, into LD (A) and LD (B). Mulayam leads the LD (B) faction in UP.

1989  LD (B) merges with the JD. Mulayam elected to UP assembly. Becomes leader of the JD legislature party and appointed chief minister of UP for the first time.

1990  JD split, Mulayam remains with SJP.

1992  In September, Mulayam leaves SJP and formed Samajwadi Party (SP).

1993  In November, Mulayam Singh elected leader of SP legislature party. He becomes chief minister of the state for the second time, and leads the SP-BSP coalition government till June 1995.

1996  In May, Mulayam Singh wins the MainpuriLokSabha seat for the first time and become union defence minister in the government led by HD DeveGowda.

1998  Mulayam Singh Yadav elected for the second time as MP from the SambhalLokSabhaconstituency. Meanwhile, he became president of the RashtriyaLoktantrikMorcha (RLM) with RJD, which was formed on June 24.
1999  Mulayam Singh leads SP to victory in the 1999 Lok Sabha elections in UP in the month of October.

2002  In UP assembly elections held in February, Mulayam Singh leads SP to an impressive performance winning 143 seats.

2003  After a brief interval of president’s rule, and a BSP – BJP coalition government, he forms the government and becomes chief minister of UP for the third time on August 29, 2003.

2004  The SP decides not to join any coalition, led either by the BJP or the Congress, and to go it alone in the Lok Sabha elections declaring that it would give and take support on issues. But, soon forms an alliance with the RLD.  

In the wake of Janata party dismissal at the center, the UP government was also dismissed, whereas in the 1980 assembly elections Mulayam Singh Yadav lost his Jaswant Nagar seat and it was congress which made the government in UP. As a leader of opposition, appointed by Charan Singh’s Lok Dal, Mulayam Singh Yadav played a very dominant role in opposition. He is more known for his unrelenting attitude, in his continuous efforts of exposing the lacunas of congress government at every front. In fact, there was hardly a place in the state that he did not visit to meet people in real problem.

After the merger of Democratic Socialist front of H.N Bahuguna with Lok Dal 1984, witnessed the formation of Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party. After the assassination of Indira Gandhi the sympathy wave worked in the favor of congress party and in the general elections of 1984 the opposition countrywide received one of its most severe beatings. Where DMKP managed to get just one seat in UP, for which Mulayam responded that “only a battle had been lost and the war is still on”.
This testified itself in the assembly elections of 1985, where under the leadership of Mulayam Singh Yadav, Lok Dal contested and captured 85 seats and Mulayam Singh Yadav himself returned from Jaswantnagar with a margin of more than 63,000 votes. The famous Rasta RokoAndolan of January 1986 is one more incidence verifying it.

By 1988, Mulayam Singh Yadav propelled himself to center stage in the power game. His cultivated image as the leader of the backward community, has won him support at the grass root level. In fact it was largely accepted in 1988 that the real battle in UP would be between the congress and Mulayam Singh Yadav as quoted by The Times of India,'Mulayam Singh Yadav who is as shrewd and humble as Tiwari, or the party president H.N Bahuguna, is the pivot of the entire opposition. In fact he uses the opportunities so well that even congress stalwarts may take a leaf out of his book. The way Yadav has made a room for himself is illustrative of the fact that he can manage a state as big and troublesome as UP.

This was proved amply with a successful bandh all over UP in the wake of Bofors Scandal for Congress. In fact as being a fine strategist, he announced the formation of the Lohia trust in Lucknow on October 12, 1989 with the objective of spreading and popularizing the thought and ideology of Socialist Lohia.

A PERSON – GROUNDED IN REALITIES

He is basically known for his ground to earth and realistic approach. During his tenure at the co-operative minister he became famous to his frequent surprise visits, reaching out to realities directly, visiting various co-operative centers. He believed in the direct engagement with the common man. In fact open to new ideas, he would not be indifferent even to the opposition leaders. He usually attached a lot of importance to their criticism.
In fact this is one quality by which he has created the basis that ensures his survival in UP political scene and by extension, on the national scene. Mulayam has always ensured that he was not saddled with the difficult task of dealing with leaders and personalities who had their own agenda, and yet freed himself from the trappings of being a passive participant in someone else's political scheme.

As reflected in the role he played during the merger of non congress parties in Janata Dal 1988. Where the ego clashes of H.N Bahuguna, Devilal, SharadYadav, Chandrashekhar shed the light on the cracks within opposition parties where he favored the merger, as he believed that the unity should be based on unambiguous policies and programmes and that individuals didn’t matter in the long run.

**LANGUAGE AS A MATTER OF DOMINATION**

Though not against the study of English as a language, Mulayam Singh Yadav was strongly opposed to the socio economic and educational manifestations of the language in the peculiar Indian environment. For Mulayam Singh Yadav, English had acquired a supracultural identity, becoming a mean of domination. There appears a crude demarcation between English speaking rulers and Hindi – speaking natives, explained the English as a tool of elite monopoly, which is leading towards creating an ultra -Society. Collaborating his language policy, he clarified once that he was not in the favor of the eradication of English, while addressing the “remove English from public life convention” in Indore in 1990 said,

“It should be cleared that all we want is to remove English from public life and not to eradicate it. The presence of English is making the other Indian languages neglected and underdeveloped. English perpetuates exploitation, dishonesty. In fact he took some concrete steps such as the compulsory
English paper was withdrawn from the PCS examination conducted by state public service commission.  

**MULAYAM SINGH YADAV AS A PARAGMATIC SECULARIST**

Mulayam Singh Yadav determinism for communal harmony has not only provided him the title of *Maulana Mulayam*, but also helped him in widening the social base for his political performance. The parasite of communalism started haunting the Indian politics and especially in UP where the Ram Janam Bhoomi dispute was conspired by the communalist forces like RSS, VHP and BJP in order to garner political constituency. It was only but Mulayam, a combative Mulayam who summoned all his might to counter these attempts through all his power. In fact in August 1990, he carried the battle to all nooks and corners of the state, addressed public meetings in 48 districts, where he insisted on the matter to be resolved by negotiation or through a court, asked the people not to be misled by those who were attempting to sow doubts in their minds about the patriotism of the Muslims.

Commenting on the tense political environment and vicious polarization of all kind of forces at that moment of time Madhu Limay commented;

“V.P Singh, despite of being the PM of the same party tried to distance himself from Mulayam Singh Yadav and had talks with VHP and Muslim representatives without any sincerity. He did not bring the warring parties together so as to find a solution to the problem. V.P Singh tried to appease BJP – VHP by making Mulayam Singh the scap goat. Throughout 1990 V.P Singh consistently tried that BJP dug Mulayam Singh’s grave.”

All through his political career, he championed the art and diplomacy to be uniquely known as the well wisher of Muslims, in fact left no stone unturned to strengthen his position, ranging the decisions from instituting
over 6,000 post of Urdu teachers in state schools, or including Urdu as a language of exams in different entrances, or declaring it as the second language of state.

**MULAYAM SINGH YADAV AS A CALCULATIVE STRATEGIST**

The year 1989, apart from Mandal and Mandir issue, is also known for a remarkable change in term of ideological shift, where the political compulsions moved MulayamsinghYadav from his long followed Non-Congressismt to non-communalism or non – BJPism. Mulayam role in BabriMasjid protection, steps for minorities protection intensified BJP’s campaign against Mulayam Singh Yadav under Kalyan Singh guidance. Technically BJP was the outside support of SJP government in UP under the chiefministership of Mulayamsinghbut due to Ayodhya dispute they started behaving as opposition. Here Mulayam Singh Yadav turned as a political strategist and he moved the equations of the state politics, and from his basis of non – Congress turned anti BJP for all practical purposes. In fact, after the incidence of garnering Congress support for his government with BJP’s withdrawal, Mulayam Singh Yadav did not hesitate further in aligning with Congress on various issues concerning the secular fabric intact as for Mulayam there is no scope for hesitation in politics. ‘The Non Congressism is not a permanent policy of the Samajwadi party. It was an experiment, an action plan. We like to make it clear that we had ideological differences with the Congress, and these will remain, but when the country is threatened by communal forces and by those who destroy the peace of the nation in the name of religion, we will not hesitate from giving or taking support from the Congress’.

The emerging pattern of party competition which is evolving in UP is no – more strict anti – Congressism or anti BJPism. And also, there appeared a need to move beyond the community based mobilization, where there appears a realization by Mulayam Singh Yadav that there is a limit to
inclusive politics rather, short term political arithemetic based on adhoc calculations is the need as revealed by the performance of Samajwadi Party’s performance in 2004 Lok Sabha elections where SP has gained the support of Thakurs and Dalits apart from his traditional base of Yadavs and Muslims. In fact the drifting away of Muslims has compelled Mulayam Singh Yadav to widen its base. Samajwadi Party under Mulayam Singh Yadav has proved capable to cross the sectarian threshold and their readiness to complicate the electoral scene for BJP and Congress by expanding their ambitions beyond the sections with which they have so far identified.

- **MULAYAM SINGH YADAV – AS A CHAMPION OF SOCIALIST MOVEMENT**

- **LEGACY OF LOHIA AND MULAYAM AS A LEADER OF SAMAJWADI PARTY**

  “Democracy is in many ways government by numbers. In a country where groups cohere through birth and long tradition the most numerical groups tend to acquire political and economical privileges. A war on caste must necessarily mean an “elevation of all” and not merely of any one large section.⁹

  The discourse on transformative politics survived only on the fringes of mainstream politics. It couldn’t make a dent on the Congress dominated politics of social consensus politics meant a hegemony of a small elite. It was in 1960’s that Ram Manohar Lohia succeeded in pushing the discourse of egalitarian politics on the center stage of Indian’s mainstream institutional politics, sought to give a direction to oppositional politics by giving at a radically different social and cultural basis in the growing democratic aspirations of the masses. For him politics above all was a means of transformation and nation building.

  This agenda for party politics was to create a new political majority by empowering and politically uniting the socially discriminated, economically
oppressed and culturally marginalized groups – all occupying similarly disadvantaged locations in the social structure. Only that political party has a future now which would make itself the spearhead of this social revolution and by its organization herald a new dawn. In fact to attain socialism, in a country cursed with caste system, it is not possible to end feudalism and capitalism. Mulayam Singh Yadav, under the strong impact of socialist ideology acquired the Baptism in socialism, through the popular movements launched by Lohia. The socio – eco – political perspective impressed Mulayam since the early formative years. Where along with being an avid reader of JAN, the edited newspaper by Dr. Lohia, also joined SamajwadiYuvjanSabha, which provided an extension and expansion to his socialistic tendencies issues such as use of Indian languages, removal of English from public life, 60 % reservation or positive discrimination in favor of backward castes brought Mulayam Singh Yadav closer to the social equality plank of socialist movement.

The socialist movement in India under the leadership of Lohia during the 50’s and 60’s reflected a transformative tendency, or one should call it as the Indianization of socialism, which denoted a sense of flexibility in terms of ideological – political undercurrents as once mentioned by Lohia;

"No greater disaster could be fall socialism if the historical peculiarities of its career in Europe were sought to be universalized and reproduced in other party of the world. He emphasized that socialism in India could not sustain itself with Borrowed breath. And an independent thought suited to Indian conditions was required instead of a blind imitation of Marxian doctrines." 

Thus Mulayam is performing under the strong influences of Lohia’s version of flexible and yet innovative socialism.

In April 1967, the Congress government was brought down by Charan Singh with the support of SSP, Jan Sangh and Praja socialist party, with the
sudden demise of Lohia in October 1967, and loosening of his seat in 1969 assembly elections, Mulayam Singh Yadav joined Charan Singh’s BhartiyaKranti Dal (BKD) and was elected to the UP assembly in 1974. Upto that time Charan Singh’s BKD had made a special place for itself in the politics of UP. It had gradually eaten into the SSP’s support base of backward castes, farmers and laborers. In 1974 merger of Swatantra Party, Utkal Congress, BKD, SSP, BhartiyaLok Dal was established with which Mulayam Singh Yadav tasted the close association with ChowdhryCharan Singh. He was arrested under the maintenance of Internal security act (MISA ) an emergency provision, stayed in jail for 19 months, released in 1977, got elected third time to UP assembly, and was a minister in the Janata Party government by Ram NareshYadav. At the age of 38, Mulayam Singh Yadav became the minister for cooperative and animal husbandry.

Even though he had parted ways with the socialist party and joined Charan /Singh. His decision were guided by ideas that were rooted in an ideological framework – a socialist one, that Lohia had formulated. He introduced reservation for the other backward classes (OBC’s) in the jobs of his department as co-operative minister This has helped Mulayam Singh Yadav in carving out a very distinct political space apart from providing him an opportunity to ensure some ideological cover to political paragmatism. As ChaudhrayCharan Singh’s political game was more guided by the tendency of carving out the space for marginal players and then to use it as a bargaining tool, with anyone and everyone. Here Mulayam Singh Yadav has ensured a sense of political legitimacy in order to guard some location at the political spectrum.

Reflecting his socialist vision he firmly believed that cooperative movement could not be run on party lines. In fact at that time the co-operative societies had become infamous for distributing unaccounted and fake loans, riding high on untrained, corrupt officials, Mulayam Singh Yadav
took various steps ranging from passing the amendment act for cooperative societies, setting up of training centers for staff, distribution of seeds, fertilizers for the farming sector, arrangements for the availability of good quality consumer items through Janta shops, giving representations at world bank for a scheme of multi purpose godowns to the development of fisheries and animal husbandry.

As a consequence of changes in the state politics, Banarsi Das became the chief minister on 28 February 1979. Mulayam Singh Yadav was retained as the minister for cooperatives in the state. In a way, this was a recognition of his performance.

SOCIALISM FROM AN IDEOLOGY TO A POLITICAL STRATEGY

• ROLE OF MULAYAM SINGH YADAV:

“Being a leader of opposition in UP legislative assembly, following his socialist orientations, Mulayam Singh Yadav kept the government on tenterhooks along with the help of statistics. Once he maintained that the Congress party was pursuing capitalist policies behind a socialist veils, he said ‘one can for once imagine even the impossible phenomena like sun rising at night and moon during day, but not a future for socialism so long as Congress remains in power.’”

KRANTI RATH:

Keeping up the momentum with Charan Singh’s demise, the overriding ambition of Charan Singh’s son, Ajit Singh led to the split of Lok Dal into Lok Dal (A) with Ajit Singh and Lok Dal (B) with H.N. Bahuguna. Keeping in line with lohia’s strategy of “forging alliance” for strengthening of opposition, Mulayam Singh Yadav laid the foundation of Krantikari Morcha which created a flutter in UP congress. He concentrated all his energies in convincing masses to join the decisive battle against corruption, inflation,
communal tensions, unemployment, in total, went ahead with mass awakening programme. He launched KrantiRath on 14 September 1987, toured various districts and collected unbounded support for the removal of congress government. To translate the brimming anger against Congress, there appeared a call to unite all opposition, where Mulayam Singh Yadav played a critical role in uniting the conflictual personalities, thus formed Janata Dal in October 1988, which was commented by Ashvani Bhatnagar in his article The Outsider,

"In eventful three years, Mulayam Singh Yadav has propelled himself to a center stage in the power game and has achieved credibility as the chief spokesperson of opposition. His assiduously cultivated image as the leader of the backward community has won him support as the grass roots level and he is perhaps the only opposition leader in the state who commands a sizeable following among both legislators and political workers. Even national leaders like V.P Singh, H.N Bahuguna and Chandra Shekhar would rather have him on their side in order to ensure an impressive electoral showing".12

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AND BACKWARD CASTE (OBC)

MOBILIZATION- PLACEMENT AND ROLE OF MULAYAM SINGH YADAV

The emergence of the OBC factor has to be understood in the historically ironical context that though caste Hindus themselves, they were the last to make their voice heard. Sand witched between those who ruled by the divine right of birth and those who bargained through their vote bank status, the OBC’s were the last to arrive on the country’s political scene.13 reflected in the victory of SP-BSP alliance where they have successfully
thwarted three national parties. The history of this arrival, one could sense in Lohia’s perspective of 1960. Emergence of Mulayam Singh Yadav on the scene and his success can be understood as a vindication of Lohia’s vision.

The remarkable thing about mass politics in UP is the underlying theme of caste solidarity which runs through any kind of political mobilization and is crucial to political strategies both of the Congress and opposition.\textsuperscript{14}

It is generally agreed that UP society in rural and urban areas is caste–ridden. The question of caste and caste calculation affect most aspects of social and political relations. The Hindi Satirist Harishankar Parsai captured this centrality in a literary piece. He wrote that he had persuaded Lord Krishna to contest for a seat in state assembly. We talked to some people active in politics, They said, of course, why shouldn’t you? If you won’t run in the election, who will? After all, you are a Yadav, aren’t you? Krishna said, I am God. I don’t have a caste, They said, Look sir, being god won’t do you any good around you here. No one will vote for you, how do you expect to win if you don’t maintain your caste?\textsuperscript{15}

Being a yadav is an important part of being Mulayam Singh yadav. Most importantly Mulayam Singh is a part himself and a leading force of a political process, which started churning the socio-economic transformations of backward classes as a composite whole. Post-independent India witness politicization and transformation of caste under the impact of competitive politics and democracy. The political process has provided a favorable ground for social mobilization on the one hand and intensification of conflicts on the other.

- **AS A LEADER OF SAMAJWADI PARTY**

  In 1992, Samajwadi party emerged as a major player in the politics of the largest state of the Indian Union, formed by Mulayam Singh Yadav on
the basic ideological plank of socialism, considering Ram Manohar Lohia as the political Guru, thus represents the socialist tradition in UP.

Mulayam Singh Yadav entered the UP legislative assembly on the ticket of Samyukta Socialist party (SSP) in 1967 assembly elections under the patronage of Natthusingh from Jaswantnagar seat, pitted against a strong lawyer candidate from Congress, where Mulayam Singh Yadav would talk to the people in local dialect, would explain the meaning of socialism and the way electoral would benefit from this idea of social, economic and political equality, thus won the seat and since then marched on his political journey, riding with socialist pattern shaped and reshaped, reflects in the way he moved on in Indian politics.

In 1993 the OBC's long search for active participation in the power structure was rewarded by the rise to power of Samajwadi party under Mulayam Singh Yadav, he arrived on the Indian political scene as a strong votary of reservations and become a forerunner, a devoted campaigner, for the implementation of Mandal commission recommendations. The formation of SP – BSP alliance government in 1993, and again his coming to power strongly relied for its success on the Assertive politics of backward caste as a metaphor for power.

The OBC's constitute 52 percent of the total population of UP, but internally divided in influential backward classes like Yadav's, Kurmis and Ahirs, and lower backward classes. The influential backward classes are the so called clean agricultural castes who traditionally worked as cultivators, artisans, field labourers. They also suffered a low level of social cohesiveness and educational deprivation, although not so low in terms of economic prosperity, usually belonged to an adequate level of economic well being. With independence, government favored new policy of protective discrimination which entails reservation of government jobs, seats in legislatures and universities for the members of schedule castes but
not for the OBC’s and despite of fragment yet unorganized assertion of their backwardness to establish a claim to a share in power structure, they received the congress government opposition to any kind of preferential or representative treatment for OBC. This caused much of alienation and resentment in this section of society. In fact upto 1960’s and 1970’s backward caste politics lacked an ideological and progressive content in stark contrast to the domination of the upper castes combination on the congress organization and political strength.

**SOCIALIST MOVEMENT TAKEN AHEAD:**

The socialists took the lead in mobilizing OBC’s corresponding to the internal crisis of congress. Of course the backward castes were recognized even by some in congress. Choudhry Charan Singh, as early as in 1947, proposed reservation of 60% of jobs in public services for the Backward cultivating clans. He also presided the backward classes conference in 1956, the first overt expression of OBC political activity. But with the Charansingh split from the congress, as Madhulimay observed, the progressive phase of the congress was over with Zamindari Abolition.

**LOHIA’s VISION**

Socialist ideas propounded by Ram Manohar Lohia provided the ideological foundation for backward caste activities which centered around distancing these groups from the vote bank of congress and the creation of winning non-congress coalition. He maintained,

“’The chief enemy of the socialist movement is within its own ranks. The socialist movement in India is built up largely and overwhelmingly out of the lower middle classes, and the working class or the peasantry have little place in the echelons of its leadership, top or bottom more than ¾ (three fourth) of the Indian people are outside the main currents of politics. To
bring them into the great halls of collective life, as creators and not as objects, should be the supreme aim of a socialist party in India.”

“If the middle class intellectuals in the socialist movement should only consider themselves as manure for the growth of leaders out of working men and lower castes, that one can outshine the mercy politics or relief politics. The plant is not yet rooted in the soil, the socialist movement has not found its base, not until the socialist movement throws the hundreds of millions of the Indian people in the warm melting pot of complete identification of one with another, will it be cleansed of its doss of lethargy, opportunism, double talk and fitfulness.

Anger towards those above and aloofness to those below is not socialism. The socialist movement in India, even that party of it which had been genuine, has suffered from a deadly malady. It has often provoked and excited without making the adequate effort to imbibe the masses, without consolidating them through earnest intellectual work and emotional identification leads to large surface activity but little substantial change. India, at her best sought to achieve equality of mind and she neglected the claims of social and economic equality. As the socialist movement pursues its battle for identification and against exploitation in the context of India, it (socialist movement) will try to evolve a doctrine of socialist thought and action which will seek to achieve equality in the material worth and also in that of the mind”.

Thus socialist strategies focused on two interlinked issues; promotion of Hindi and reservations for the OBC’s, as agrarian issue was already justly distributed by Congress and later by chaudry Charan Singh. The socialists supported reservation of 60 percent of leadership posts in political parties, government service business and armed forces for backward classes, which in the forthcoming years for transformed the eastern UP as the epic center of the political change, this process of confrontational politics go as taken
further by Janata Dal in 1980 and the Samajwadi party under Mulayam Singh Yadav in 90's onwards.

The national importance gained by the reservation issue in wake of mandalcommissions implementation set the stage which was sensed by Mulayam Singh Yadav, who felt the need to shift from the earlier strategy of reconstructing pride in the Yadav – Kurmi identity to a more inclusive or collective group identity. Convinced that lower caste politics and Hindu nationalism are basically opposed to each other (in the wake of Ayodhya dispute) Mulayam Singh Yadav privileged caste solidarily by emphasizing the mobilization of lower castes on the platform of social justice against upper castes. Forget a new coalition of OBC's Dalits and Muslims in 1993 to counter the BJP’s efforts to build inter caste unity within Hinduism. Further more the primary of caste as a means of mass mobilization displaced Hindu – Muslim cleavage as the master narrative of politics.18

For Mulayam Singh YadavMandalization was the corner stone of Lohiaite politics – socialist politics to which he was strongly committed, and since his brand of politics held no distinct appeal for the upper castes he felt there was no need to be defensive about it. As he said

“For more important than economic well being is status and honor in society, when a backward becomes a government offices he is recognized by society. But even if he has money but does not hold a government job, no one is prepared to even sit with him”.19A regard to the charges levelled against the Yadav clan he answered, “first on the count of numerical strength, and next for the reason that Yadav’s possessed the guts and conviction to fight the communal forces led by the BJP whose expansion can thwart the political gains of social change.20

The very acceptance and implementation of caste based reservations was a decisive symbolic victory of the OBCs. In fact OBC driven change has radically altered the framework of superordination-subordination in UP’s
power structure. However still asking more from its leaders more homogenization and consolidation.

**INDIANIZED SECULARISM AND SOCIALISM - MATTER OF SOCIAL BASE**

Mulayam Singh Yadav, driving the ideological inspiration from Lohia’s version of secularism, appeared on the political scene of UP with the unflinching commitment to secularism. The grave communalization of Indian politics has its origins at Ram JanamBhoomi – Babri Masjid dispute. This issue provided Mulayam Singh Yadav the base of his electoral constituency, with this issue the Hindu vote turn more towards BJP, here Mulayam Singh Yadav projected himself as the leader that cared for minorities, in fact ,was labeled as Mullah Mulayam. At a time where in the name of the construction of Ram Tample in Ayodhya. BJP was busy in teasing the communal harmony, and all other parties were silently watching the spectrum of communalism let loose, Mulayam Singh Yadav was the only leader with an opposing stand against it. Responding to Ms. SushmaSwaraj’s accusation towards SP role in using violence during Babri Masjid dispute he responded,

“’We have not only protected Masjid, but also Mandirs, Churches, Gurudwaras. We worked to maintain the unity and its fabric in India. We used force, not to take away the lifes, but to safeguard all. We need not to label ourself with lord Rama’s devotees in order the safeguard all.'

- **MULAYAM SINGH YADAV – AS A MINISTER/DEFENCEMINISTER**
- **AS A MINISTER**

The victory of Janata party after facing the black period of emergency, revised itself in UP assembly elections too, where Mulayam Singh Yadav was also got elected for the state assembly for the third time, and was made a
minister in the Janata party ministry in UP headed by Ram Naresh Yadav. With the portfolio of “minister for cooperative and animal husbandry”. He set out on a political project, influenced by Lohiaite thought, which exactly helped him in having some ideological support and placed him at a recognizable platform of political space.

At the time he assumed the charge of the ministry, the cooperative movement was virtually in shambles. Totally devoid of the involvement of the people and was widely viewed as the corrupted den of government officials. In fact the department was plagued by a resource crunch with high interest rates of funds.

Mulayam Singh Yadav under the impact of welfarist ideas took concrete steps to rectify the maladies and to the make the cooperative movement a people’s movement. He was of the firm conviction that the cooperative movement could not be run on party lines. Thereafter he proceeded further with following steps to ensure the complete reconstruction of the system.

1. The cooperative sector was given a democratic character in terms of UP cooperative societies amendment act. This set an unambiguous criterion for identifying defaulters.
2. The lending rates of the UP state cooperative bank (UPSCB) was reduced from 14 to 13 percent to ensure cheap and ready availability of credit.
3. To augment the farm sector, seeds and fertilizers were distributed among the farmers and the system was put into place in order to oversee the proper disbursal of goods.
4. Due to the lack of infrastructure the transactions at the cooperative banks were taking place at the whims and fancies of accountants, secretaries, to get rid of all such evils from the system a complete drive was initiated by Mulayam Singh Yadav in order to fill in the gaps.
5. In order to benefit the poor and the weaker sections in urban areas, consumer schemes were introduced. Mulayam Singh Yadav ordered the opening of 50 Janta shops for the sake of ready availability of good and consumer items.

6. To check the huge financial irregularities Mulayam Singh Yadav adopted the policy of striking at the leaded toward the collection of 2.5 crore of rupees to the state exchequer.

7. In order to solve the storage area problem Mulayam Singh Yadav met a delegation of the world bank and submitted a scheme for 4,620 multipurpose, godowns in the rural area, and also proposed of developing them into small banks for the purpose of providing space.

8. In the field of husbandry, Mulayam's deep interest in husbandry was supplemented by his rural background, he took various decisions in order to bring some kind of white revolution in UP.

9. Having been a farmer himself, Mulayam Singh Yadav understood the importance of various credit societies, thus established land development bank (LDB) to extend more facilities to small and marginal farmers. LDB also undertook the task of dairy development under its fold.

10. Reservation for schedule caste and weaker sections of society was provided for in the cooperative structure and an experiment was made to a well social tensions through cooperatives since the problem had its origin in economic disparity. Various supportive schemes were launched by the instrument of cooperative society and banks.

    Thus proved quite efficient and honest for the cause of the welfare of needy sections.


MULAYAM SINGH YADAV – AS THE DEFENCE MINISTER
With 1996 general elections, the political current by sidelining both Congress and BJP, waved united front government in power, which was a amalgamation of Janata Dal, CPI, CPI(M), Samajwadi party and Mulayam Singh Yadav was appointed as the Union Defence Minister in the government led by H.D Devegowda.

Working in a backdrop of a coalition form of government, and facing the national eyes, Defence ministry charge had put him at a very sensitive political juncture the purulia arms drop case provided him the first task in term of security whereby he made noteworthy contribution in the following aspects.

1. Being a Defence Minister his vision of friendship took the concrete shape in the form of SU – 30 deal, which was pending for years this was a part of cementing of ties with Russia. Along with this contract of deal in November 1996, a joint research programs between the officials of both the countries took place. This was followed by an agreement with his Russian counterpart for periodic exchanges of views, information on matters of military interests besides mutual deputation of military specialists.

2. Mylayam Singh Yadav kept a close watch on the missile programme of India. Pertaining to Prithvi, surface to surface missile, akash surface to air missile. He also witnessed he flight trials of third generation anti tank missile, Nag, and so as went ahead with various progressive steps for the upgradation of Indian defence.

3. Considering the long standing conflictual positioning interms of neighbour policy, Mulayam Singh Yadav provided the framework of Indo – Pakistan – Bangladesh confederation. He believed that a such a combination would serve as a bold step in the direction of a supra national world order. However once he maintained in the parliament...,
“Our plea of confederation should not be understood as the license given to any country be it Bangladesh or Pakistan to spread any anti-nationalist ideas. The conflicts amongst us are more political than ideological. We aspire for a cordial relationship based on mutual peace”.

4. Mulayam Singh Yadav paid the attention towards various needed spaces, required the policy related matters in Defence. One of which was considering the plight of ex-serviceman. He took personal interest to ensure that financial assistance to them and their families is suitably revised. And he also extended the domain of assistance to educational and medical areas.

5. In order to keep the morale of the forces high Mulayam Singh Yadav visited the Siachin and forward areas in Jammu and Kashmir, Rajasthan and the North-East for a first hand view of the conditions in which the offices and jawans works. Being an avid observer, he was quite regular to air bases, and to the drill exercises of armed forces, or like witnessing the exercise conducted by INS viraat in Arabian sea. And despite all his commitments he used to make it a point to personally review defence preparedness at meetings of the top brass civil services and the armed forces on a weekly basis. In his close interaction with the personnel of the forces and after a deep analysis of their problems, he was convinced of the need of improving upon pay, perks and service conditions of the forces in order to attract and retain best talent, he, therefore, took a very firm stand on the issue of better pay for defence personnel in fifth pay commission. He bargained it hard all along with all the chiefs.

6. One more noticeable and commendable aspect of Mulayam Singh Yadav tenure in defence ministry was initiating hindi in the working culture of defence. Which was until recently was considered a citadel of English speaking. In fact Dr. Abdul Kalam started beginning to
put his signatures in Hindi as a beginning of the promotion drive supported by Mulayam Singh Yadav. As a whole, Mulayam’s stint as a Defence minister reflected his urge, willingness and capacity to acquire a larger role in the national scene, got a lot of support and appreciation for making SU – 30 deal, in fact as being the Defence minister was rated the best among all functionaries of United Front. Lt. Gen. (Retd) Satish Nambiar in a write up awarded him the status of most active and capable defense minister till date.

**AS A CHIEF MINISTER**

In the autumn of 1990, an Ahir wrestler politician from the Badlands of Chambal became the most disliked man in UP. His effigies were burnt out, name being painted in black, glorified with multiple versions of his atrocities and brutalities on the Ram devotees, with an earnest wish to get him punished with the extreme known kind of torture.

This was taste of Mulayam Singh’s first chief ministership in UP in 1989, which had been under the rule of Congress. Largely governed by Brahmins and Rajputs. Mulayam Singh Yadav policies and Performances can best be understood in the following way where a phase wise elaborative analysis is being done.

**I PHASE AS CHIEF MINISTER:**

The strong presence of Janata Dal to which Mulayam belonged in 1989 elections, which was 54 Lok Sabha seats and 208 assembly seats, the UP has raised the possibility of a biapolar party system. Despite of having Intra party bickering of Ajit Singh faction. He became the chief minister in December 1989, as being a non – congress political alternative.
In fact Gillian Wright remarked that Mulayam Singh Yadav had a definite role to play in the decline of Congress. He orchestrated the 1989 Janata Dal campaign which brought the party to power and Congress would do nothing in reviving its image, moreso, secondly when the Janata Dal splitted in 1990, he formed a minority government with just 121 MLAs with Congress support.25

MAJOR ISSUES AND STEPS

A. The national importance of reservations generated substantial political support for it as the principal issue in UP’s political arena and since Yadav had been trained in the middle caste peasant politics of Ram Manohar Lohia and Chowdhry Charan Singh, he in a way spearheaded the non-Brahmin or anti-upper caste domination movement of the north. Mulayam Singh Yadav understood the need to shift from the earlier strategy of reconstructing pride in the Yadav or Kurmi identity to a more inclusive or collective group identity based on a sharper assessment of goals which, if put realistically, traded social reform for political power. Mulayam Singh Yadav, as a chief minister, was a strong votary of reservation, rather moved a whole headed campaign for the implementation of Mandal commission. The state government under him promulgated an ordinance providing for 15 percent reservation in government services for the OBC in July, 1989 even before the central government reservation policy was announced and in November 1989 the quota was increased to 27 percent, raising the total reservation to 52 percent.

B. Mulayam’s party had no scope for religious fanaticism too, significantly the announcement for reservation, including Muslim group – nonashrafs was made on 12 November 1990 when the Ayodhya movement was at its heights, undoubtedly intended to give reservation precedence over so called nationalist Hinduism. Since BJP
in the name of promising the construction of Mandir at the disputed site of Ayodhya, was following the calculated move of creating a communal polarization across the country and in UP in particular, to gain electoral benefit out of the Muslim exclusionist policy. Mulayam Singh Yadav took an aggressively secular stand on the temple issue. In fact as a matter of strategy also, forged a new coalition of OBCs, Dalits and Muslims to counter BJP’s efforts to build intercaste unity within Hinduism. Emphasizing the secular dimension of the politicization of caste, he argued that social mobility was a bulwark against communalism.26 The Mulayam Singh Yadav 1990 regime is most known for its protection of the disputed Babri Masjid from the wrath of a violent and uncontrollable mob of Hindu Karseveks, who held Ayodhya to ransom till the police were ordered to open fire in October – November 1990. This led to his being accused of running a police state and being dubbed Mullah Mulayam by BJP, which earned him and his government sympathy and support of a large majority of the left and democratic forces as well as the minorities across the country. In fact he spearheaded a campaign in UP to counter the attempts of BJP, through a campaign for communal harmony. Carrying his political – social agenda Mulayam Singh Yadav addressed public meetings in 48 districts. The historic rally at Lucknow on October 22 was the major one. In this crusade for the survival of secularism, he was supported by Chandra Shekhar, JyotiBasu and Kanshi Ram. Although the firing orders did generate negative comments on Mulayam Singh role, and a section of Muslims also held him responsible for the further communal atrocities faced by them in the wake of this incidence, but the demolition of Babri Masjid in December 1992 made him vindicated and proved the double talked miscalculation of V.P Singh.

C. In the wake of loosening the power by V.P Singh, Mulayam Singh Yadav faced the split in Janata Dal and the danger of his removal too.
Mulayam Singh Yadav took a major decision, where he moved beyond the non-congressism of Lohia and decided to accept the support of congress and won the confidence of the house. In this wake, the noteworthy aspect was that,

“Lohia's non-congressism was not a dogma, and not even an ideology, it was merely a strategy to demolish the congress monopoly in the present scenario there is no logic and rationale for sticking to that strategy particularly when the national interests are involved.27

D. Mulayam Singh Yadav in this phase of chief ministership, implemented his party manifesto. Agricultural loans upto Rs. 10,000 were waived, minimum wages for the daily wage earners were revised and an upward revision was made in sugarcane prices.

E. One of the most important step taken was the replacement of English by Hindi for the purpose of administration. Following Lohia's vision, he wanted to break the hegemony of English as a language, which instilled the feeling of inferiority and deprive the people their cultural identity and superimpose an elitist upper caste dogma. For which he ordered for the provision of teaching Kannada, Malyalam and other regional languages in eight selected districts of the states. Elaborating his language policy he said, “it should be clear that we are neither aiming at eliminating English, no opposing the people learning the language, our aim is just to remove it from the public life and English's presence exploitation, dishonesty and corruption and sense of inferiority”.

II PHASE OF CHIEF MINISTERSHIP

In the wake of Babri Masjid demolition and president rule in UP after 1992, the establishment of Samajwadi party on November 5, 1992 came as a breakthrough in UP politics, which witnessed SP – BSP alliance in order to keep the communal force of BJD out of power in 1993 assembly elections,
and Mulayam Singh Yadav became the chief minister for the second time on December 4, 1993 with the support of Janata Dal and Congress.

**MAJOR ISSUES**

This phase of Chief Ministership was marked by efforts from Mulayam Singh to consolidate his power – base for a long run. Which reflected in his acceptance of Mayawati – Kanshi Ram style of politics also.

1. He introduced KhaliyanDurghatnaBeemaYojna (Barn accident insurance scheme), waived surcharge on electricity lines, form private tubewells, pension schemes for farmers were also launched.

2. Mulayam Singh Yadav government established a schedule caste/schedule tribe commission to safeguard the interests of people in these categories and to suggest measures for their upliftment. Government also established Shanti SurakshaBal a special force to curb the communal riots. Provisions were also made to allow the candidates to attempt the test paper in Urdu.

3. Mulayam Singh Yadav never lost focus of development agenda. For the first time tourism policy was established. In a bid to attract NRI’s, he signed four MOUs in London.

4. In order to establish his social base among minorities. He created greater employment opportunities by instituting over 6,000 posts of Urdu teachers in the state’s schools.

5. He announced the Urdu language as the second language of the state.

6. By showing concern to trading sections he replaced the sales tax with the more rational trade tax, abolished octroi, put forward a new industrial policy. He also accepted Moti Lal Vora’s recommendation for greater financial autonomy to universities.

7. The ban on free movement of wheat paddy and coarse grains was lifted so that farmers could get remunerative prices for their products.
This tenure of Mulayam Singh Yadav was mostly consumed by the tricky relationship with its alliance partner BSP and its misconduct all through its existence. The alliance was more of a kind of experiment and an urge of Mulayam Singh Yadav to expand the focus of social justice and electoral base. But he didn’t find BSP on the same ideological plane, events such as violent clashes between backward castes and SC’s, public condemnation and bashing of Mulayam Singh Yadav by Kanshi Ram in Allahabad rally, usage of vulgar expressions and language for Gandhi Ji by BSP had put serious question marks on the alliance sustainability, which finally resulted in the withdrawal of BSP from the government on 1st June 1995 followed by the infamous guest house incidence, and dismissal of Mulayam Singh Yadav government by the governor and swearing in of Mayawati government.

Reservation for women and schedule castes along with backward classes was provided for in the Panchayati Raj institutions. Jail reforms, labour welfare, development of the power sector, strengthening of the cooperative movement, special provisions for purvanchal development fund, was some other areas where the government concentrated.

The major issue which grappled Mulayam Singh Yadav in this tenure was the reservation issue in Uttrakhand region where being committed to the cause of social justice Mulayam Singh Yadav made provisions to raise the existing 15 percent reservation upto 27 percent in accordance with the recommendations of the Mandal commission, which was agitated by the higher castes of the state on the pretext of their strength in comparison to OBC population, supported by congress and BJP trying to draw mileage from the sensitive issue. Frequent rallies and marches, demonstrations, clashes with police for almost two months, death of almost 20 agitators by police firing in Mussoorie, followed by the accusation of molestation by armed forces nailed down Mulayam Singh and he offered unconditional apology to the people.
III PHASE AS CHIEF MINISTER

The SP under Mulayam Singh Yadav has made a virtue of the necessity of remaining in opposition for almost seven years from 1995, consolidating its position at the national level and also spent time and energy in strengthening its social base. In UP assembly elections held in February 2002, Mulayam Singh leads SP to an impressive performance winning 143 seats and 25.41 percent of votes. With this SP switched back to portray itself as the only credible opposition to the BSP and Mayawati in UP.

IDEOLOGICAL MATTER

For now, “the experience has taught Mulayam Singh a great deal of pragmatism not that there was any lack of it in his politics, but this period has blurred the difference between the secular and the communal or between Left and Right. Even caste mobilization, a cleavage based patronage and occasional stint of muscle power were not proved adequate to stay in power.29

This reflects in the glamorized corporatization of party by Amar Singh’s position in the party. So as reflected in his tacit understanding with Kalyan Singh during 2002 elections, despite of his role in Babri – Masjid demolition. The long era of BJP cordiality in the wake of Mulayam Singh yadav disapproval of Sonia Gandhi for the prime ministership in 1999 upto 2004 are all examples of changing and evolving facets of Mulayam Singh Yadav political engagement.

Dramatic events in August 2003 led to the outser of Mayawati and to Mulayam Singh, being sworn in the chief minister for the third time in his
political career. The stand off between BSP and BJP over Taj corridor, CBI inquiry all prepared the background for this.

INCLUSIVE TREND IN SP

Upto now, it became clear the SP and BSP are playing the political game with sharpest contradictions, neither side setting too much in ideological store, but of course SP appeared to be improving upon its social base side. Which appeared more inclusive, more balanced and less blatantly caste based. "Having the advantage of being in power in the state, Mulayam Singh Yadav tried to reposition the party, having a new vision, to transform the state into a developmental one beyond recognition".30

MAJOR STEPS

1. Mulayam Singh Yadav formed UP development council, which is being described in political circles as the supercabinet the members appear as Adi Godrej, Anil Ambani, K. Birla, Subroto Roy Sahara, and Amitabh Bachchan with Amar Singh as the chairman of the council followed by the announcement of a series of mega projects in the state, one of which was claimed to be Asia’s largest gas – based power plant and a massive township.

2. An attempt by Mulayam to widen the SP’s support base was the state government’s KanyaVidyaDhanYojna a scheme to provide a grant of Rs. 20,000 to girl students from poor families who had completed their high school, being personally supervised by MulayamSingh Yadav.

3. Electricity appeared as a major issue faced by Mulayam Singh Yadav, where he ordered a regular supply of electricity. In fact this appeared as a major issue during the by- elections of October 13, 2004, which
were won by SP, and this victory on 12 seats actually reaffirmed the SP position in the state.

4. The other problems which appeared quite important for Mulayam Singh Yadav were the rising crime rate in the state, acute drought situation in almost 52 districts, constant controversies pertaining the developmental projects, getting implemented the plan approved by the center to renovate the power sector and completion of hydroelectric projects.

OBSERVATION
a. Thus, 2004 witnessed an evolved Mulayam Singh Yadav moving ahead of politics not solely based on caste identity, learning more political sharpening. He has also reflected the ability to cross the sectarian threshold, and readiness to complicate the electoral scene by expanding the ambitions beyond the sections with which they used to be identified traditionally. SP under Mulayam Singh Yadav seems to have adopted a multilevel strategy to overcome the constrains of its cleavage politics. And has engaged itself in development rhetoric, thus being defined as the political outfit engaged in the formation and consolidation of a cleavage as well as overcoming it, and this is ongoing under the strong, visible, dominant control and guidance of Mulayam Singh Yadav.

b. ‘With the paradigmal shift in the caste character of UP, there appear that even when the intermediate castes may not show a very consistent pattern of political retention, neither the congress in its present avatar nor BJP can hope to single handedly capture the power in the state without keeping these castes in good humour. Leaders like Mulayam Singh Yadav may not have lasted his full chief minister ships, but he continued to be crucially independent center of power in the state. He
may have been electorally humbled at times, but could never really be ignored.31

Thus, Mulayam Singh and his performance can be credited with a numerous achievements in terms of targeted areas. Not denying his dynastic control and functioning in Samajwadi Party, yet his pragmatic but strategic hold and persistence to socialist moorings credits him an unchallenging placement in state as well as National politics.

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