CHAPTER – IV

TYPES AND TECHNIQUES OF PRESSURE GROUPS

In all modern democracies business groups organize and are active in the determination of public policy. Madison in 1778 referred to the various mercantile interests in new nations, “property will go in search of power, and power in search of property”. Business is represented in the political arena by a variety of organizations. These has not attempted to represent any particular business interest and has limited its activities largely to conducting research and issuing reports on a number of public questions. These reports have been carefully reasoned and informative and have undoubtedly helped to shape some public policies. From the standpoint of members or organizations and energy expended in influencing governmental decisions.

Industrial development in India has under gone an accelerated growth over the years. The growth of trade and industry is welcome sign and something to be wished for the nation’s health and economic advancement. Chambers of commerce, associations and central bodies representing business have a special role in developing countries and in any mixed economy. Indian industry involves colossal national resources, human and material, including foreign exchange required for development and import of technology and equipment. A huge infrastructure of economic development has taken place in India since independence. The business community of India has contributed to the industrial growth of the modern India. Most of the business is owned and managed by the private sector. Hence top businessmen as individuals and through their associations exert much influence in
shaping public policy in India. Stanley A. Kochanek contends that “business in India has considerable political capital and resources to draw upon, and because it has become the best organized interest groups in the country. It is the only group in India capable of sustained action and continuous day-to-day contact with both the Parliament and ranking head of Government”.¹ Basically the factors which contribute to the political power of business stem form its economic power from the big business leaders and large business and commercial organizations of the country. These business associations attempt to assist political parties financially and exert influence by promising electoral support at the polls. The business unity on political questions is strongly exhibited by business associations such as Chamber of Commerce and Association of Manufacturers. Influencing the legislative assembles at each stage in the legislative process. Business resorts to techniques to influence public policy as do the other interest groups. Business relics on co-operation and unity among business men to achieve its ends. An infinite variety of business reports, pamphlets and materials are made available to the public for moulding favourable public opinion. Business is united on managements right to manage and has insisted that certain items not be the subject of bargaining, including the determination of products to be manufactured, financial policies, prices and job content. Business groups hail a healthier, non-politicized atmosphere in which to conduct private business.

Use of public relation is probably the most important technique of business. With the press, radio, television and motion pictures in the hands of private enterprise, industry and trade are able to living their messages directly
and subtly to millions of independent votes. Business corporations sponsor symphonic and other radio programs to stress Indian business new enterprise and initiative in the business filed. Similarly radio and television news casters, favourable editorials in the press and friendly newspaper columnists build up much good will for commerce and industry through the channels of mass communication. Business elicits and usually receives the general appreciation of bureaucrats and professional groups. Business cannot afford to displease its customers by incurring their displeasure. Business associations are spending large sums of money to develop a friendly relationship with Universities and students. Many colleges an universities are beneficiaries of research funds provided by big business establishments. In India, several big business houses have a powerful lobby in the parliament and in the legislature. They also have representatives and public relations officers who keep in touch with administration and top bureaucracy. The largest and the most influential organization of private capital in India is the FICCI. It represents the more than 40,000 firms. It has a large business corporate world with it. The political parties are dependent on its funds. In turn they serve their interests in giving them, the concession in the form of trade, tariff, investment fax etc., In the contemporary scenario of globalization and liberalization the role of FICCI is all the more important. The government seeks the suggestions and advice of this group particularly on major policy issues of economical and commercial nature.

The other known business groups like ASSOCHAM i.e., Associated Chambers of commerce, confederation of Indian Industries (CII) the Tata’s , Birlas, DCM, Dalmia and Hindustan Lever etc., They all try to influence the
industrial policies and lows of the government. Many industrialists like Birlas and Tatas are running educational institutions. Outstanding professors are invited to attend seminars or to accept internships in large industrial concerns. Graduate and post-graduate scholarships for meritorious students are a part of their programme. An infinite variety of materials on business is made available to academicians. Business affected with a public interest or public utilities is especially active in the field of public relations. In almost all countries business is getting monopoly oriented and centralized with a view toward trying to consolidate, co-ordinate, integrate and expand the power of business to influence public policy makers and also to control public opinion in its favour. Business, thus retains a position of potency in public affairs. Since business in India is too much controlled by the Government, the business community resorts to lobbying as do the other interest groups. It may be mentioned that big businessmen have access to the channels of government. A common concern of organized business is to be alert against any legislative proposal which is calculated to improve the lot of labour but may be harmful to the common interest of the business. Such proposals have been a prime factor in bringing businessmen together in organizations for common defense. Most of the labour legislations have been opposed with vigour by most business organizations. At times business leaders may be animated by self-interest; at other they may be motivated by noble service and dedication of the people. Often legislative and administrative policy decisions are announced with consultation with leaders of great business enterprises. Of more fundamental significance is the continuing propaganda by business community. Calculated to shape favourable public attitude which is communicated to those vested with
the power of decision. The politics of business involves for more than lobbying for or against legislation and mixing into election campaigns. Numerically business community is a well minority and vulnerable to political attack. Business associations represent the respective industry before legislative committees and other public authorities when public action is desired or when policy decision threatens common interest of businessmen.²

The most conspicuous spokesmen for business enterprises in India are numerous business and industrials organizations and chambers of Commerce, such as the All-India Manufacturers Organization, Federation of Associations of small Industries of India, the Indian Jute Mills Association, the Bharat Chamber of commerce, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, and Industry of India and others in every major commercial and Industrial field. Some of the business associations are regional and some represent particular communities. All the business associations make their views known to the people and to the governmental agencies. Business pressure seeks to shape and influence policy formation in its favour. After Independence of the country, the economic policies of the government were directed to encourage the industrial growth of the country and widen its industrial base.

A Chamber of Commerce is a co-operative organization of the business community established to promote commercial and industrial interests. A chamber of commerce serves as a central agency for industrialists, businessmen, commercial firms and companies and trade associations for promoting and protecting business interests. It is through this central commercial agency that varied business groups deal with common commercial
problems and also influence governmental policy-makers for protecting the interests of the business community. Chambers of commerce also attempt to advance the general interests of the business community as a whole rather than serving as isolated economic group. A chamber of commerce, therefore, serves as a central agency for business firms and companies for protecting and promoting business interests. It is mostly through this agency that varied interest groups deal with common problems and evolve common business strategy. Chambers of commerce attempt to advance the general and common interests of the business community rather than serving one economic group. Political scientists think of chambers of commerce as pressure groups which serve as agencies for the articulation of respective business demands and pressing of group claims on the governmental and public agencies.

Chamber of commerce provide service to their members. They deliberate and formulate their views on government policies and communicate views to the appropriate public authorities through various advisory bodies and councils on which they are represented. The government often asks the chambers of commerce to acquaint the government their views on policy matters or a some proposed legislation. A chamber of commerce serves its constituent units and its members by providing expert information on legislation affecting industry and trade such as tax legislation, customs tariff, import an export control, providing arbitration services for settlement of commercial disputes, providing the facilities and information required or business development, etc. The services which chamber of commerce provides depends very largely on the business requirements of its members and the co-operation
and support which it receives.

With Independence of India, the nature and character of the chambers of commerce and business associations underwent a change. There was no more struggle between the chambers of commerce organized by British businessmen and those organized by Indian businessmen. The constitutional position which granted commercial bodies and business associations separate representation in the Central and State Legislatures disappeared after India’s Independence. Though the old situation had disappeared, the established business organizations continued. The British chambers of commerce continued to contribute towards India’s commercial development. After independence, the economic policies of the Government were directed to encourage the industrial town such as Durgapur, Bhilai, Faridpur and many other townships emerged in the country. Numerous industrial and commercial Acts, Rules and Legislations were enacted after independence. The governmental policy encouraged establishment of many specialized business association in the different parts of the country. The leading business houses comprised of the Tatas, birlas, Dalmias, Singhianias and Goenkas. The “Tata Type” and the “Birla Type” are the prototypes whose basic characteristics have served as models for many of the Indian commercial groups. Emerging groups represented by Mahindra, Godrej, Bajaj, Kirloskar and Larsen & Toubro are examples of new and present industrialism. These leading business firms were soon forced to think in terms of adopting lobbying techniques to ventilate their difficulties and put their problems before the governmental agencies, particularly the legislatures ministers and the top bureaucrats to influence
public policy to their benefit and advantage. The common objects of chambers of commerce are to protect and promote the general commercial and industrial interests of India, to safeguard the interests of the business community against foreign business competition, and to secure the well-being and interest of persons engaged in trade, commerce and industry.

The chambers of commerce in India represent a multiplicity of business associations. Some are regional whereas some represent particular communities have been the Marwaris and Parsis. The House of Tata representing the Parsis, and headquartered in Bombay ranks first, with 53 business companies and assets of almost one billion dollars. The House of Birla representing the Marwari Community, based in Calcutta with 151 companies and assets of nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars.³

Chamber of Commerce which have played a very significant role in advocating and pressing respective business claims on public agencies were first established by British business in Calcutta in 1833, and in Madras and Bombay in 1836. The Associated Chambers of Commerce (ASSOCHAM) came into existence in 1920 in order to protect British Industrial and trade interests. Initially it consisted of British Chambers in India. The Chambers organized by Indian businessmen stressed equal opportunities and tariff protection. Calcutta was the hub of business activities and the British commercial interests dominated banking, shipping, insurance and jute, coal and tea industries. The first chamber was named “The Calcutta Chamber of Commerce”. The political agitation of the Indian National Congress was making the country increasingly conscious of the need for rapid industrialization. The
Indian Chamber of Commerce was formed in 1925 under the leadership of Sri. G.D. Birla. The Indian Chamber of Commerce which claimed to represent all business interests played a major role in the formation of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) in 1927. It may be called the apex organizations of several business chambers and is representative of major industrial and business interests. The Federation is dominated by big business magnates of the country. It is said that the noted Birla House plays major role in directing and controlling the activities of the Chamber. FICCI became heavily dependent on finance by large business houses.

There are numerous chambers of Commerce, associations and central bodies representing commercial and business interest of business community in India. Their main object is to protect, promote, and secure the well-being and interest of persons engaged in trade, commerce and industry, directly or indirectly. In the case of regional chambers, specific aims and objects have been provided to develop trade and industry in a particular region. Thus the Constitution of the Federation of M.P. Chambers of Commerce provides for the development of trade and industry in Madhya Pradesh. There are about 250 chambers of commerce in the country. The leading chambers are the Indian Merchant's chamber of Commerce. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the Southern Indian Chamber of Commerce, the Bharat Chamber of Commerce, the Gujarat Chamber of Commerce, the Punjab, Haryana and Delhi Chamber of Commerce, the Rajasthan Chamber of Commerce, the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, Karnataka Chamber of Commerce and numerous others chamber of Commerce. Most of the
chambers of commerce in India are in the membership list of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI). A few chambers of commerce are the members of the Associated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ASSOCHAM). Apart from these chambers of commerce, there are a large number of trade and industry associations, small industry associations, all India bodies of specific industries, export-promotion bodies, etc. which also represent business and industry at national, state and regional levels.

The chambers of commerce, business and industrial associations in India have emerged as powerful pressure groups in influencing planners and policy makers. Before independence, chambers of commerce had representation on central and State Legislatures. This gave the chambers of commerce and large business association opportunity to influence the policy-making of the government by participating directly in legislation relating to business affairs and lobbying in the sense of attempting to influence legislators. After independence, they have denied such representation, but they continue to get representation on a large variety of promotional, regulative and consultative bodies and committees at different levels. They are mostly of administrative character to review the policies to understand difficulties in the implementation of governmental policies and generally to consider various aspects of administration of a particular government department or agency. There are advisory committees of railways at national, zonal and divisional levels, Post and Telegraph Advisory Committee at both Central and regional levels, Import and Export Advisory Committees, Central Excise Advisory Committees, State Electricity Consultative Councils, State Advisory Committees on Industries,
Sales Tax Advisory Committees, Committee concerning Food and Drug Administration and various consultative committee concerning urban development, labour matters, minimum industrial wages etc. These consultative bodies discuss the problems pertain in to their respective departments. An opportunity is given to the representatives of the chambers of commerce to place the difficulties and problem of their members in the implementation process of administrative policies, to acquaint themselves with the official position on the issues and to press for suitable modification or change in the policy. The interest of business are also the prime concern of thousand of trade associations, many of which are national in scope each of them represents a particular industry and is devoted to gaining advantages for those who engage in it. This is of course a legitimate and proper activity, but trade associations some times engage in price fixing and other practices of doubtful legality. Such mutual consultation produce good results in favour of rendered humanitarian services to workers of the member firms, to industrial society at large and to the community in general. Unlike the farm and labour elements, business interests do not have membership in the millions nor is there so much unites in the organizations of business as exist among farmers and workers but business has the power of money. Big business firms and industries managed by Birlas, Tatas and Dalmias, for example, have established permanent trusts to set up higher technical institutions and research centres for the benefit of the community at large. During floods, famines and such calamites, chambers of commerce and trade association such as the Indian Jute Mills Association, the Indian Tea Association, Associations of small industries and the like, have collected funds and have
undertaken relief work. Many chambers and associations have instituted prizes, scholarship and merit-awards to outstanding academicians in different faculties.

The chambers of commerce, trade and industrial organizations maintain direct dialogue with governmental agencies and top officials. The chambers forward to the government resolutions passed by their executive committees. The chambers publish their annual reports in major newspapers of the country. Most chambers invite Ministers and top bureaucrats to attend and address their meetings or to meet with their executive boards. In pre-independence, the FICCI invited the Viceroy of India to address its annual meeting as its Chief speaker. Since independence, the FICCI has been inviting the Prime Minister of India or his cabinet colleague to deliver the opening address at its annual conference. Industrial deadlocks with the government are mostly solved by such get together between the industrialists and top governmental spokesman.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) is mostly represented on all important Government Committees and Councils on business. The FICCI, major chamber of commerce and business associations in their efforts to influence public policy maintain continuous contact with ministers, members of Parliament and State Legislatures, They seek all types of access to the ruling party and its National Development Council have seen consulting chambers of Commerce and large trade associations. The planning Commission was established in 1950 to act as an advisory body to Parliament on national economic development. So far the Planning Commission has drafted seven Five Year Plans. These Plans have given priority to economic and industrial development of the country increasing agricultural productivity,
starting river valley developments for purposes of increasing irrigation facilities and the supply of electric power, socio-economic development of rural India are in close touch with the Planning Commission. The chambers of commerce and trade associations bring a detailed and expert knowledge of ways and means of industrial planning. But businessmen like the Tata and the Birla groups can be highly effective through their presence in joint consultative bodies of the Planning Commission and through their lobbies in the Parliament seek less government in business and more business in government and protection, and minimum, administrative interference. Thus, the access of business magnates, chambers of commerce, trade associations and business groups to the centres of political power is indeed, great. Most of the chambers of commerce maintain a powerful public-relations unit and a large research section, both for the benefit of its members and to influence top government officials, members of the cabinet and elected representatives of the people in the Parliament and State Legislatures. The organized business thus assumes its own importance in a democratic political set up of the country and plays the powerful role of a pressure groups in effectively influencing economic planners and public policy formulators by providing export data relating to business. The attention of the business community is always directed to the making of public policy and its implementation. Business influence on both policy and administration has been considerable, we can cite a few instances in which the business chambers have persuaded the government to modify or reverse its earlier decisions, such as the abolition of specific export duties such as those on oil seeds, the abolition the capital gains, decision enlarge the Tariff Board the abolition of sales tax on hand-loom cloth modification in wealth tax that included a tax on
corporate wealth as a result of opposition of this tax by business chambers throughout the country, and other governmental policies that affect business community. Every year the witness substantial concessions in taxes announced by the Finance Minister in the Parliament after the Budget is presented to the House in order to appears the business community. The business community also seeks contact with highly placed individual bureaucrats to secure business concessions and business favours. This leads to business gifts or ‘Bakshish’, bribery and other types of administrators and business men in often difficult to be detected by vigilance staff of the government. Sometimes top administrative officers are detected involved in such search financial transactions and are punished accordingly for accepting unauthorized gratification. The ‘permit’ or license system to oblige business men is also the cause of corruption among servicemen.

One peculiar development of modern political systems finds place the interpenetration of political parties and business groups. For the sake of having power both parties and organized pressure groups have to depend upon the help and co-operation of each other. Contributions or donations to the political parties—particularly the party in power—serves to enable the organized business to gain political access and business favour. While it is difficult to ascertain the exact amount which a particular political party receives from the business community although such figures are often presented in the parliament in response to questions from M.P’s. This found that business community supports the party in power by contributing to the party funds or to party candidates to contest elections. The names of Birlas, the Tatas, the
Goenkas, the Singhanias, the Mafatlals, The Dalmias, The Mahindras and Godrej, Bajaj, Kirloskars are openly mentioned in the press on the eve of country’s Parliamentary elections. The Congress Party (now Congress-I) has been in power in the centre since, India’s independence excepting the Janta Party’s short period role of about 3 years is may 1977 under the Prime Ministership of Morarji Desai. The Congress Party, therefore is said, to be the greatest beneficiary of such donation to the Party’s fund by leading chambers of commerce, business and industrial organizations sand individual businessman. The Congress Party as such is the best financed party donations are mostly wrested from big businessmen and through industrialists pressure and political promises for future business benefits. A part from contributions to the party’s election campaign fund, the business community and industrialists also supports the party in power to the several relief funds of the party and the government to meet floods, famines, water scarcity, victims of accidents and other natural disasters. Medical aid, food and clothing is also provided at times as a relief measures.

Naturally the businessmen and industrialists seek commercial concessions, permits, licenses and other financial benefits. Indeed, the kind and degree of pressure exerted by business interests are extremely varied. The business associations continuously lobby M.P’s. They seek access of influence on the Planning Commission, the Economic Ministry and the various licensing bodies of the government. From these governmental agencies, the business community makes effort to get the maximum government aid and protection. The businessmen also have considerable influence on the High
Command of the ruling-party—the Congress Party which has been heavily dependent on business contributions and donation to its funds to contest elections.

Election is in deed, a very costly affair. It is seldom that a candidate can meet all expenses out of his own pocket. It opens flood gates for the inflow of money and the business groups seeks to make their hay when the sun shines. Any party, or candidates, having better prospects of success at the polls has the luck to bank upon the financial support of the business groups intending to utilize the recipient of aid as their agent in the government. The practice of political parties receiving money from industrialists and businessmen under the garb of election funds should be deprecated. Blank money is the direct result of political pressure groups on business community and big business houses like the Birlas and Tatas to pay such money to political parties in their election funds to contest country’s election to the Parliament and Legislative Assemblies. Payment of such money or donations is also used by many businessmen and industrialists as a cover to amass huge amounts of black money and to lobby against industrial measures detrimental to financial interests of business people. Pressure of business and industrial groups on public policies is great. The bulk of press in all languages is controlled by them. Most of the widely circulated newspapers of India are owned or controlled by them. Commercial journal such as Indian Finance, Capital, India’s leading financial weekly, newspaper devoted to the development of industry and commerce. Commerce-weekly magazine of news, business and industry, Bombay, Indian Economic Journal, published by the Delhi School of Economics, Eastern Economist—a Birla enterprise, Tata Quarterly and
Fortnightly Review, published by Federation of Indian Chambers of commerce and Industry (New Delhi) are all business and commercial journals of business news and opinion. The contents of these business journals and periodicals are very useful and informative for business community as well as to the governmental agencies entrusted with policy making. The organized business groups thus adopt all means of modern media of communication to create a favourable political climate in favour of big business and industrial undertakings and thus bring the group influence to bear on legislation and administration. In short, the chambers of commerce and industry, business and trade association stock exchanges and Indian banking, insurance, foreign trade and the large industrial houses seek to influence the public policy in business favor by winning the public support by creating favourable public opinion. Business community spend vast amounts of money in the process. The business lobby is thus a very powerful agency affecting public policy in a democratic polity.

After independence, the economic policies of the Government were directed to encourage the industrial growth of the country and widen its industrial base. The organized business groups and chambers of commerce have participated in the working groups and development councils appointed by the Planning Commission. These business associations did influence planning in respect of industries, both old and new. Many times the business bodies have succeeded in suitable modification of change in public policy as a result of pressure of organized business community. The federation of Indian Chambers of commerce and Industry registered notable achievements in influencing the official policy regarding the industrial licensing location, capital
issues, loans, foreign collaboration, foreign exchange, raw materials, bank credit for working capital etc.

The Federation organizes a number of conferences, workshops and seminars on such subjects as industrial licensing, transport, power energy distribution and production of coal and other matters relating to trade and business. In these conferences, officials and experts from private business participate and exchange their experiences. The agreed recommendations are then submitted to the concerned authorities for consideration and action. These conferences have proved to be of great utility to the business community as well as to the administrators. Business pressure has often succeeded in shaping and modifying governmental policy formation. Business magnates and their lobbies seek to maximize government aid and protection, and minimize government’s interference.

The original budgetary proposals presented in our State Assemblies and Parliament are often revised as a result of representations and political pressure of the business community and their associations. To take an example, the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha, imposed a new Turnover Tax in the budgetary proposals of 1982-83. The tax was to be imposed at every turn and an every sale transaction. The tax would result in 3 to 5 percent increase in prices. The business community was greatly agitated over the imposition of turn over tax. The business groups and traders submitted memorandums to the Government and pressed the Government to withdraw this obnoxious tax. The traders observed one day state-wide strike on April-8, 1982. As a result of the agitation of the business organizations, the government announced the
suspension of the imposition of the turnover tax. This shows government response to the demands of business groups.\textsuperscript{5}

Similarly, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who hold the Finance portfolio, while moving the Finance Bill 1987, for consideration of the Lok Sabha announced modifications of the earlier tax proposals relating to book profits of certain companies and a series of excise and customs duty concessions.\textsuperscript{6}

The government allowed fiscal relief as a result of representation of traders and business organizations. The business groups a resort to lobbying as do the other political interest groups and they adopt lobbying techniques to influence public policy, financial legislation and administration. The organized business is thus an influential pressure group of India seeking access to the channels of government.

**LABOUR ORGANIZATION:**

The labour class movements in India took place under the colonial masters when in 1877 the workers at the empress mill at Nagpur called a strike following a wage cut. Following this several other working class movements took place with a demand for regular payment of wage a weekly holiday and a mid–day recess among other. It is estimated that there were is strikes between 1882 and 1890. Due to lack of organization these working class movements could not sustain them selves. The British colonial Government to tackle such labour unrest adopted the first factories Act in 1881. The Bombay mill hands Association formed in 1890 under the leadership of Narayan Lokhande was the
first worker organization in India. Lokhande was the founder editor of the first labour journal Dinabandhu. Production of goods is a joint venture of industrialists who invest money and labour community which produces goods. The contribution of labourers, physical workers and other classes of the working masses to the growth of national wealth and prosperity is great. In the land of Soviet Union, the state takes greatest care of the workers. Exploitation of man is made impracticable by rendering impossible the making of the means of production some one’s private property. The emancipation of the individual is sought to be brought by guaranteeing him the “right to work”, with the guideline “From each according to his work”. The Constitution emphasizes

In Article 42 of Indian constitution emphasis that the state shall make for securing just and human conditions of work and for maternity relief. Article 43 said that the state shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organization or in nay other way to all labour agriculture, industrial or other wise, work a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities on the happiness of the workers as the State in the workers state and the entire economy is the circle round them. In India, the labour force is not effectively organized. It has been subject to barbarous exploitation at the hands of the capitalists and businessmen. As business and industry developed and expanded, the labor force is rapidly multiplies. The phenomenal numerical growth of labor may be considered as a consequent result of the rise of big business particularly since India’s independence, there has been a great spurt in industries. The Five Year Plan have greatly industrialized India. The
Establishment of heavy industries in almost all parts of the country have given birth of new industrial towns and a tremendous increase in the labour population receiving wages.

Labour today constitutes numerically the largest single group in India. Yet, in comparison with business groups, the efforts of labor to make its voice heard by public policy makers have been negligible. Among the more important reasons for this are the lack of unity within the ranks of labor and the widespread opposition to labor’s techniques such as strikes, ‘gherao’ etc. to achieve their objectives. The workers are mainly concerned with their wages, hours of work and better working conditions. Numerically, the workers are potentially the most powerful occupational group, but they are certainly not the strongest and most cohesive power in India. Labors disunity is due to several causes. All workers are not members of the labor unions. The unorganized workers contribute comparatively little to the power and influence of labor community to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses. Even the members of the labour unions are not a homogeneous body.

The labour unions in India are organized, into numerous unions of affiliated to different trade unions. Some of the labor unions are unaffiliated unions. The labor movement has faced opposition from the capitalists and employers who anxious to safe guard their personal monetary benefits. Many labor unions have been criticized as authoritarian organizations in which the policies are formulated by professional leaders who do not belong to the labor community and are not really accountable to the members. Labour unions in India have been highly political.
Trade unions advocating the interests of the labor are essentially the product of modern large scale industries. Trade unions were established in India in the years following the end of World War I. After the first world war serious attempts were made to give trade Union movements in India a concrete shape. The Madras labour Union was founded in 1918. Although it was primarily an asocial ion of textile workers in the European owned Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, it also included workers in any other traders. The Mazdoor Mahajan-Textile labour association was formed in 1920. The year 1920 also marked the formation of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC). By 1924, there were 167 Trade Unions in India in 1952, the Bombay Textile Labour Union (BTLU) was formed and in 1926 another labour union was formed called the Girini Kamgar Mahamandal (GKM). The next important stage was the passage of trade Union Act of 1926. The Indian Trade Union Act 1926 made it legal for any seven workers to combine in a Trade Union. It also removed the pursuit of legitimate trade Union activity from the purview of civil and criminal proceeding. This is still the basic low governing trade unions in the which also published a monthly journal little “Bharati Sramajibi”. In 1928, All India Trade Union Federation (AITUF) was formed. Economic depression created by the War and the nationalist movement that developed in the country were responsible for the rise of the organizations of the toiling masses and trade unions movement. It is important to note that the demand of Indian workers for improvement is conditions of work received favourable support from the working class and factory owners as well. The pressure of population in villages has grown immensely and there was considerable increase in unemployment, rural poverty and misery. Cottage and handicraft industries has disappeared,
leaving millions of artisans and craftsmen without any means of livelihood. Poor peasants, hungry landless cultivators and unemployed artisan had to leave their villages and migrate to cities in search of jobs. The industries that developed in cities absorbed many of rural folk in factories as unskilled workers. The owners of factories and other employers were powerful, alert and conscious. Workers, on the other hand, were ignorant, poor, backward and unorganized. They had no protective organizations which could guide them and help them defend and advance their interests. Soon the workers became conscious of their exploitation at the hands of the factory owners. Out of that poor plight of workers was born the trade union movement which gave articulation to their demands and aspirations for a better economic and healthier life.

The earlier trade unions mainly pleaded for substantial rise in the wages of the workers in view of the steep rise in prices followed by demands shorter hours of work and better working conditions. The year 1920 saw the birth of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC). The first session of the Congress was held in Bombay and was presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai who was also then the President of the Indian National Congress. Later, a number of labour unions developed. The AITUC was associated with the International Labour Organization. The Government of India consulted the All India Trade Union Congress in selecting the representatives of the workers. This gave the congress prestige in influencing governmental policy for an increase in labour wages to meet the price-hike and better working conditions. The government gave legal status to trade unions and trade union workers against civil or
criminal action for their trade union activities.

After independence the labor movement in India turned into ancillaries of the political parties in the country. The All India Trade Union Congress came under the influence of the Communist Party which now dominates the AITUC. A new labour union, namely, the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), came in existence in 1947 under the auspices of the Congress Party. The INTUC operates under the wings of the congress and is the labor front of that party. The other noteworthy labor Unions of the country are the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) established by Marxist.

Indian trade unions have not developed along the pattern of trade unionism in U.S.A. or in western countries, and therefore, their role in the political process is not as effective as in other parliamentary countries. Trade unions in India have not attained the political status of a powerful pressure groups. Most of the trade unions in India by the mediocre leaders of the various political parties as political wings of the parties. Introduction of party politics has seriously weakened the Indian trade movement. There should be no objection to trade unions holding political views on specific matters and affiliating to political parties accordingly. It is, however, not desirable to utilize trade unions as the platform for propagating the views of a political party. The tug of war among rival political parties for wooing trade unions ought to be condemned. The affiliation of trade unions to political parties is detrimental for the growth of trade union movement. In Britain the trade union movement created its own political party, and even today the trade unions still control the policies of the Labour Party. Trade Unions in India are different from those in
the Western countries in that they less independence form political parties. Trade unions in India have to seek political affiliation because collective bargaining which is the key to the success of their demands is not sufficiently developed. Secondly, better wages and other questions relating to better working conditions demanded by trade unions can be met by a political party in power in a democratic system of government, trade unions, favour political parties to influence them in meeting their demands. Union activities are therefore mostly limited to demonstrations, political propaganda and strikes.

India’s labour legislation has safeguarded rights of the working class. The most important legislation after Independence is the Industrial Disputes Act passed in 1947. This Act created judicial adjudication of industrial disputes, conciliation and arbitration machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes. Under the provisions of this Act, a Labor Commissioner is appointed in each state. He belongs to I.A.S. cadres. It was realized that it was a convenient way of avoiding strikes and lockout and securing justice to workers. The Labor Commissioner appoints Conciliation Officers to talk to workers and managements to settle a dispute of conciliation fails, the Labor Commissioner may recommend to the Labor Minister the appointment of a labor tribunal whose decisions are binding on both parties. It is for the government to determine which disputes should be placed under arbitration. Trade unions exert pressure upon government to appoint tribunals if they feel that tribunals would do justice with them. Trade unions are extremely vocal in their demands and often threaten the government with strike and other costive or militant methods to fulfill the union’s demands.
The machinery of judicial adjudication of industrial disputes was of help to workers and trade unions. It enabled workers to get higher wages allowances and bonuses and improvement in working conditions. It also proved a convenient way of avoiding strikes and lockouts and securing socio-economic justice to workers. Yet strikes and lockouts could not be altogether avoided. The so-called white collar workers have also organized unions, for example, in Railways, Posts and Telegraphs Department and amongst other sections of government employees. Unionism grew amongst all classes of government employees in the central and State Government such as Civil Service Union, Class II Class II, Class III and Class IV employees. Unions have also been organized by employees of All India Services such as Unions of I.A.S. and I.P.S. Officers. Unions come into existence in this manner in banks, in insurance companies and in almost all commercial and industrial organizations.

Trade unions grew in strength in course of time. Political parties patronized them due to growing numerical strength of the members of different trade unions. They began to be considered as powerful and influential pressure groups of labour community. Trade union openly favour and canvass candidates of political parties contesting elections to the Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies. The years of World War II were years of high prices and acute scarcities of essential commodities. Profiteering, black marketing and hoarding flourished in those days. The post-war period was one of great economic distress. There was intense discontent amongst workers. Almost all trade unions demanded rise in workers wages. Industrial disputes increased. Trade unions often resorted to strikes. During war years, the central and
provincial governments sanctioned some allowances and increase in workers wages to compensable them against rise in prices. The INTUC always make efforts to improve by all possible means the working and living conditions of labour. It champions the main demand of the workers, rise in their wages in accordance with the rise in price index number.  

Since independence, trade union and labour unions have become very active. The workers exhibited and admirable sense of unity. Several trade disputes were referred to adjudications for the settlement of their disputes. In many cases, strike notices were served by the trade unions and different federations of workers. The threatened country wide strikes on August 8, 1957 by the Post and Telegraph workers all over the country was obverted by the intervention of the Prime Minister and appeal to the workers not to resort to strike. The All India Railwaymens Federation served strike notice several times. There were negotiations and the strike was postponed. There were disputes in almost all major industries of the country such as in the steel towns of Jamshedpur, Durgapur and Bhilai, textile towns of Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur and other industrial cities. The notable strike to pressurize the government to the raise the emoluments was of teachers including teachers of colleges and universities. In the Uttar Pradesh, in 1986 secondary school teachers remained an indefinite strike several days.

The civil service unions of different categories have been demanding through their respective unions revision of their pay scales interim relief’s and other economic benefits. The government had to yield to the demands of the labour unions, trade unions and civil service unions. As a constant pressure of
all categories and sections of its employees, the Government decided to appoint Pay Commissions to inquire into the conditions of service of government employees and to make recommendations regarding their pay scales, allowances, leave rules, retirement benefits, gratuity etc., and the machinery for the settlement of the disputes. Similarly the Government has assisted the labour unions to meet the demands of labour through arbitration, appointment of labour court and other channels of dialogue between the labour and the management: Sometimes the Government is forced to take hard decisions to prevent, labour strikes and managements lockouts in order to safeguard country's economy. In 1974, for example, the strike by the two million workers belonging to the All India Railwaysmen's Federation was abandoned after about three weeks because the Government took strong action and arrested several thousand labour leaders and workers. From 1980 to the present day, there have been constant strikes by labour unions. The Government has to bear the brunt of pressure to meet labour demands. In this sense, labour unions often play this role of political mobilization by affiliating to the political parties and influencing the labour policy makers. The labour's numerical strength is quite large. The political parties make efforts to woo their support and votes at election time.

The trade union lobby has become an influential pressure group. Work in legislatures of the country for the enactment of legislation beneficial to the labor community is one of the foremost functions of trade unions. The trade unions sponsor their own representatives to legislatures. There are some trade unionists in the legislatures elected on the tickets of various political parties.
Labour unions mobilize man power that can benefit the party during election campaigns. The labour lobby keeps in constant contact with legislatures and their members so that they may be able to initiate or influence legislation for ameliorating the socio-economic lot of the workers. Several useful laws have been enacted for ameliorating the social and economic status of the workers. Wages, Bonus and other allowances to the workers have been raised in accordance with the rise in the Consumers Price Index Number. Hours of work are laid down. Elaborate amendments have been incorporated in the Indian Mines Act of 1952 for protecting the health and safety of workers and for promoting their all round welfare. Some other useful Acts passed are the Provident Funds Act, the Industrial Disputes Act, the Employees State Insurance Act etc. Under the Insurance Scheme, there is provision for sickness benefit, maternity benefit, injury benefit and dependent’s benefit. The Insurance Scheme is of contributory character. It is extended in many places to cover the families of insured workers. Wage Boards have been set up for the determination of fair wages. It is decided that the minimum wage of a workers should be ’need-based’ provision is made for the payment of retrenchment compensation in the case of a bonafide closure of business or transfer of ownership from one employer to another. Another significant development in the interest of labour is the new idea of workers participation in management, thus leading to industrial peace and better between the management consisting of representatives of management and workers. Recently, Workers Education Scheme has been introduced. A separate organization called the Central Board for Workers education has been formed. The government finance its activities. The Central Organizations of the trade unions such as the INTUC, the AITUC, and
the HMS are granted representation on the governing body of the Central Board. The Board has established Regional and sub-Regional Centres for training workers.

The Constitution of India and the laws of the land have guaranteed to the workers, the right to organize industrial development is taking fast in the country. India has embarked on a programme of planned development. The Seventh Five Year Plan is nearing its end and discussion have already started about Eighth Plan under the Five Year Plans there is bound to be a big spurt in industries in the public as well as private sectors. Workers participation in management and their influence in political process and labor policy formulation will gain greater strength in course of time. The number of labor unions is increasing and unionism is spreading to groups and classes of workers who had not so far joined the trade union movement. A trade union is now essentially a social organization looking after the all-round interest and welfare of workers as a social group. The highly organized labour groups such as the INTUC, IUTUS, HMS and others, have well-staffed bureaus of press agents, active membership groups throughout the country and maintain contacts with governmental agencies to influence and secure the desired decision and action from executive, legislative and judicial officials. The labour organizations are playing a vital role as pressure groups in securing all round socio-economic progress and better living standard of the workers. Trade unions also in India have, however, not attained the independence and strength of trade unions in Britain and other European countries on account of their dependency upon outside leadership and illiteracy as well as financially
backward condition of Indian workers. However, due to growing industrialization of the country and consequently, the rapid increase in the number of workers and their unions pressure of labour lobby and our public policies is considerable.

**AGRARIAN GROUPS:**

The struggle for Indian independence visualized the socio-economic amelioration of peasants, abolition of land lordism, rural development and a Panchayati Raj in Free India. Despite seven Five Year Plans, Indian economy has remained essentially an agricultural economy. Agriculture has been and continues to be the main occupation and primary economic activity in India. The contributes a significant part to the national income and wealth of India. Despite rapid industrial development in India, agricultural has continued to be the backbone of the Indian economy and forms a major sector. According to the 1981 Census, about 70 percent of the working population was engaged in agriculture which contributed 42 to 45 percent of the national income of India. The great body of the people of India thus continues to be rural. The peasants are seen as the “backbone of India”, and the personification of simplicity. In country’s political elections to the parliament and State Assemblies, agriculturists have a larger vote than business. They associate either with political parties or form their unions or bureaus in their attempts to influence public opinion and in making demands upon government. However, the political voice and influence of the Indian peasants is very feeble in comparison to developed countries like U.S.A. The vast majority of Indian farmers have been extremely poor besides being illiterate and bound by tradition and superstition.
They have neither the technical knowledge nor the financial ability to adopt modern techniques of production such as chemical fertilizers, pesticides, improved and hybrid seeds, etc. Nor do they have the expert training to use improved agricultural implements and machinery. True, in recent years after political freedom of the country, there has been considerable improvement in the adoption of modern techniques of production. But the hulk of the marginal farmers are still untouched by the improvements. Due to widespread illiteracy combined with economic backwardness and indebtedness of the peasants they have been badly exploited by the middlemen agrarian interests in India have, therefore been voiced mainly through Zamindars and landlords. The land tillers or peasants, for want of resources of money and powerful Kissan organization have carried like weight in influencing the government in enacting favourable and beneficial legislation in the real interest of the peasants. The underlying causes of peasants uprisings were the deep dissatisfaction and disgust created by the economic exploitation at the hands of their more advanced and politically powerful neighbours-the landlords. Thus peasant struggles emerge largely due to feudalistic-capitalistic character of our rural society which has effectively maintained its over power while limiting the effectiveness of peasant organizations.

Agrarian groups were formed as a consequence of peasant revolts during India’s struggle for freedom. The British Government neglected the problem of agriculture sector and peasants. At the same time, the Bengal government banned the blue crop and acquired farmers lands. In addition to this, they imposed heavy taxes and enhanced the prices. All these caused for
Kheda movement. As early as in 1928, Gandhiji started Civil Disobedience Movement to seek redress of peasants economic plight. In Bardoli (Gujarat), “an ultimatum was issued and a no-tax campaign, but for the purpose of obtaining redress of an agrarian grievance”. The Agrarian uprising in Gujarat was led by the congress leader-Sardar Vallab Bhai Patel. The movement succeeded in securing numerous agricultural concessions by the British Government. Almost all the major political parties have adjunct peasant organizations to support the party in its political propaganda and elections. The peasants do not command the educated leadership required for the articulation of their interests. Such peasant organizations are usually led by leader of political parties which have party interest and other motives, rather, than the improvement of the peasants conditions.

The first major peasant association-the All Indian Kissan Sabha was founded in 1936 by the Congress Party, as a means of mobilizing and seeking support of the rural masses for the nationalist cause. The congress dared not advocate exclusively the peasant interest, since this would have annoyed the big and powerful landlords and zamindars whose political support the congress also wished. The All India Kissan Sabha (Peasant Association) consequently feel into the hands of the Communist Party. The Congress Party has now its own peasant wing which represent the interests of farmers and landless labourers. The Krishak Sangh (Agriculturist Association) and the Farmers Forum reflect Congress Party views on rural problems and agrarian interest. The Hind Kisan Sabha (Farmers Association) is communist controlled and the Kisan Panchayat (Farmers Council) which was formerly an organ of the Praja
Socialist Party in the rural area now supports the Janta Party. Other political parties too have created peasants cell to champion the cause of the farmers. These agrarian groups are capable of articulating and enforcing the peasants social economic and political interests. The political parties, particularly the party in power, ascertains the peasants attitude on pending legislation affecting agriculture and their legislative needs.

Peasant revolts have been frequent in India. The Communist party organized peasant uprising (1946-48) in Teleangana in erstwhile Hyderabad State. The movement aimed at eliminating the zamindars (landlord) and conferring tenancy rights on actual tillers of the soil. The movement claimed to have covered about 2,500 villages where ‘commune’ system was introduced instead of zamidari system. During the period of the movement, land was redistributed among the landless and cultivators debts were cancelled. The Teleangana agitation was suppressed by the Government and the Communist Party withdraw the movement in 1951. During this period, Tanjore in Andhra Pradesh, interested, communist-led peasants revolt by landless farmers against large land owners. Naxalbari in the hill district of Darjeeling in West Bengal witnessed a similar peasant uprising sin 1967 in Naxalbari where agricultural tenants sought to occupy forcibly the lands they cultivated. Naxalite activities were also seen in Andhara Pradesh and Kerala. In 1968 the peasants of Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh clashed with landlords and began to occupy the lands they litted. In Kerala the Marxists organized an abortive peasant rising through the Kisan Sabha. In West Bengal, the farmers organized the Kisan movement and forcibly occupied several acres of land from the
possession of Zamindars. An unrelenting advocate of the peasantry the most popular Kisan leader and the former Prime Minister, Mr. Charan Singh’s birthday was celebrated on December 23, 1978 at New Delhi by most of the Kisans of northern states of India by organizing a ‘Kisan Sammelan’ that is, Peasants rally. In Maharashtra, Sharad Joshi and in Tamil Nadu Narayan Swami Naidu contributed greatly to the Kisan Movements and urged the Government to lift the peasants of India from the economic morass in which they have floundered for centuries. The Kisan movements spread rapidly in Karnataka Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and other states too.

One of the largest Kisan Rally was held at Boat Club, New Delhi on 16th February 1981 in support of the ruling Congress Party (I) and its leader Smt. Indira Gandhi. It was estimated that more than 25 lacs of people from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari participated in the Rally. Since then Kisan Rallies have become a frequent feature in Indian politics. Large rallies of peasants were organized at Delhi during the Lok Sabha and State Vidhan Sabhas pre-election years in 1982 and 1983. Such peasant rallies were also held in different parts of the country 1986 and 1987.

The Naxalite and militant peasant movements of agrarian sector in Independent India may be designated as rural pressure groups represented by landless labourers and tillers of the soil and made a big impact on the rural politics in India. Not only the agrarian movement succeeded in many places increasing the wage rates for agricultural labourers and securing a due share for poor peasants and securing a security of tenure for them. The movement has also helped the poor sections of the peasantry to gain self-esteem, dignity
and the courage to retaliate against the treacherous landlords exploiting them. In the political arena the peasant movement has smashed the political factions that are vertically integrated segments of the rural society, dominated by landlords and a few rich peasants at the top, and with poor peasants and landless labourers at the bottom.

In view of the fact that about 80 percent of India’s population dwells in villages, rural development is the key to country’s progress. As a result of peasant revolts and political awareness of the rural folk of their voting strengths at the time of country’s General Elections, pressure has been exerted by organized agrarian lobbies to persuade the Government to improve the socio-economic position of the farmers. Hence varied land reforms measures have been implemented since independence. The major land reforms measures have been implemented since independence. The major land reforms include abolition of Zamindari system, tenancy, reforms, ceiling of land holdings and setting up of co-operative farms. As a result of these reforms intermediaries between the actual cultivators and the state, known by various names, such as the Zamindars, Jagridars, etc., have been abolished. Ownership rights have been conferred on cultivating tenants. To make land reforms meaningful for the rural community, a ceiling has been imposed on horticultural holdings, and much has been done to distribute surplus land among the landless. Co-operative farming is encouraged. Price support policy has been adopted to assure the cultivator that price of his produce will not fall below a certain minimum level. All these agrarian measures are conducive to achieving a dynamic and progressive rural India.
PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS:

These associations are of persons engaged in a particular profession such as Unions or Associations of lawyers, doctors, school teachers, college and university teachers, government employees of different departments and other types of semi-government and private type of employees. Many leader of professional associations are well organized for the purpose of safeguarding their professional interests and pressuring the governments for seeking better service conditions, better emoluments, gratuities, pensions, housing facilities etc. These professional associations have direct correspondence with the government contacts with legislators and higher administrative bosses and also participate in the joint consultative committees of respective departments and thus are engaged in lobbying that may be fruitful to achieve their economic demands and other facilities. Recently there has been a phenomenal growth in the number of such professional associations. They present their demands before the Government and adopt mostly peaceful methods to get their demands accepted. Their methods are demonstration before their respective offices, holding rallies, ‘dharna’ mass casual leave, hunger strike, gherao, pen-down strike and general strike etc.

In recent years, we have witnessed a number of strike by professional associations and their number is on the increase. Due to present economic crisis on account of soaring high prices of essential commodities, almost every profession is compelled to agitate for better pay scale and other pecuniary interests. To take a few examples, doctors of the central health services went on an indefinite strike in July 1987. The doctors Federation main demands
were a higher pay-scale at entry service, three promotion in 15 years a non-practicing allowance which is 50 percent of the basic pay. The Delhi University teachers remained an indefinite strike in 1986 to seek better emolument. Ultimately the government accepted their demands to the possible extent. The all India Federation of University and College Teachers Organization resolved to go on indefinite strike from August 4, 1987 to press its 10 points demands, chief among them the scrapping of the newly introduced multi-tiered grade structure of salaries, implementation of uniform pay scales and emoluments and retention of the existing promotion schemes. It is for the third time in almost as many years that the University and College teachers are once again on strike. In 1983, their strike lasted 110 days. In 1986, 78 days were lost when the teachers protected against the scrapping of the Merit Promotion Scheme. One wonders what the effect will be on academic calendar. The respective Unions and Associations of different categories of employees of the central and state government as well as semi-Government Departments articulate their common demands and pressurize the government to accept their demands within a stipulated period failing which they may proceed on in indefinite strike.

**INTRA-COMMUNAL AND INTRA-REGIONAL GROUPS:**

Regionalism has been an important feature of Indian politics. Since the down of independence. But in the late sixties and seventies the regional claims verging on parochial demands for separation and autonomy grew so strong that they became a serious threat to the unity of country. Before making a study if impact of regionalism on Indian politics it shall be desirable to understand the
meaning and dimensions of regionalism. Numerous intra-communal and intra-regional groups play their respective role in the politics of India. These community associations are based on religion, caste, language, tribe and region. Of all the factors, religion in has played a vital role in the creation of an Indian political community and a viable democratic system. There are a number of religions professed in India. The most important is the Hindu religion whose followers number about 68 percent of the total population. Akin to the Hindu religion and almost coning within its fold are Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism. Although Hinduism, of one variety or another, is the religion of the vast majority, a very substantial minority of Muslims, representing over 10 per cent of the total population left on the Indian side of the border after the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan. Religion is the most characteristic social organizing factor in India. Before the partition of India, India’s politics tended to be dominated by religion conflicts between the Hindu majority and the Muslim minority. Other minorities too such as the Sikhs, Jains and Christians also exerted political pressure in the interests of their religious communities. Even within the Hindu sect socio-political conflicts existed between the Brahmin and non-Brahmin communities, between caste Hindus and the so-called ‘outcaste’-the ‘untouchables’. Minority communities, for example, the Muslims, the Sikhs and the Tribal peoples sought protection from the Hindu majority by demanding minority rights in political and economic life from the British rulers and, after independence of the country from the political leaders of India. The Britishers adopted the shrewd policy of ‘Divide and Rule’ in order to perpetuate British colonialism in India. Politically, the religious problem of the country is more of a communal nature. “Communalism” in India refers to the exclusive socio-
economic and political interests of particular religious communities and ultimately played the role of communal pressure groups. Accordingly, the Britishers in India, evolved the system of ‘communal’ and ‘special’ representation. In the Government of India Act of 1919, “Communal” and “Special” constituencies were created over and above the “Genera” constituencies. It was also proposed to provide “Separate Electorates” for the so called “untouchables” or as Gandhiji called them “Harijans”, but the proposal was dropped as a result of Gandhiji’s “Fast unto death”. In pre-independence politics of India, the problem of communal representation remained the chief bone of contention between the British and the Indian National Congress. The Congress under political pressure was forced to accept it as a basis of negotiation with the Muslim leaders.

Differences of religious belief have posed a serious threat to the creation of an united India and a viable democratic polity. The various earlier religious institutions such as the Brahman Samaj and the Arya Samaj played a significant role in ameliorating Hindu society. Soon, many other voluntary societies, both religious and Sowal, sprang up all parts of the country. The Ramkrishana Mission and the Theosophical Society founded by an Irish woman Mrs. Annie Basant are such examples. These institutions contributed to the growth of nationalist movement. Along with the philanthropic societies, several religions and communal organizations spread up in the country in pre-independence as well as in post-independence period. The Muslim organization such as Jamaat-e-Islami and Majlis-e-Mushawarat, the Akali Dal, the Shiva-Sena etc. are a few examples of religious bodies created to
safeguard the interests of their communities.

The Muslim League formed in 1906 for the avowed purpose of promoting “among the Muslims of India a feeling of loyalty to the British Government” proved later on a powerful communal pressure group articulating the political interest of Muslim community in India. To be in brief, in 1940, the Muslim league under the leadership of Jinnah adopted a resolution demanding a separate and independent state for Muslims. The Hindus and the Muslims fundamentally differ as communities and religions. Since the Muslims constitute the largest minority in India, the Muslim League demanded a separate homeland and separate stall. The demanded for partition of India and the certain of Pakistan was thus accomplished under growing pressure of communal violence and tension in the country. Other prominent Muslim organization are Jammat-e-Islami, Majlis-e-Mushawarat and Jamait-ul-Ulema. These Muslims groups stand for the protection of the interest of the Muslim community and Islamic culture. They have played the role of religious pressure groups in influencing governmental policy relating to the provision of constitutional protection to Urdu language, establishing the minority character of the Aligarh Muslim University and maintaining the status-quo character of Muslim Personal Law. The political parties also seek patronage from the religious groups in contesting elections.

The political turmoil and the unrelenting outburst of violence that holds Punjab in its grip today may be said to be the political manifestation of disgruntled hearts and homes. “Since India’s social system has both hierarchical (caste and class) and horizontal (Tribal, religious, linguistic)
groupings, political expressions follow suit; and since both hierarchical and horizontal divisions tend to be local or regional in character there is a multiplicity of local parties and interest groups of an order rarely found in other nations.” In the Punjab, the Akali Dal the propounder of the cause of a separate ‘Sikh homeland’, should be regarded as more of a religious pressure group than that of a regional political party. The mass appeal of the Sikh leader, Master Tara Singh welded the Akali Dal into a strong and well-financed organization of the Sikh community in the Punjab. The Party’s original demand was for a separate and sovereign Sikhistan. The Gurudwaras of the Sikhs have served as bases for the political activity of the Akali Dal and are controlled by the extremists. The demand for Khalistan seems to have found a place in disheartened hearts and homes of the Punjab. The Operation Blue Star at the Golden Temple in Amritsar failed to maintain peace in the state. There is rampant lawlessness. The crime of killing has become routine in Punjab and other cities in India. Religious and communal pressure groups are taking a heavier and a more frequent toll. The popular Akali Dal Ministry headed by Surjeet Singh Baranala failed to put an end to the ghastly human butcheries and present lawlessness in the Punjab. Hence, President’s Rule had to be imposed in the state in May 1987 on the report of the State Governor. The threat posed by religious and communal pressure groups to the national unity and integrity of the country must be met unitedly.

Hinduism, despite its diversity has produced a few other militant type of pressure groups such as the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS), the Shiva Sena and others. The R.S.S. was formed in the twenties of the present century
by Dr. Keshav Hedgewar. He was succeeded by M.S. Golwalker commonly known as ‘Guruji’ under whom the R.S.S. activities grew rapidly. The RSS is highly fanatical, militant and fascist. Hindu organization and highly disciplined devoted to the preservation and spread of Hindu culture and Hindu Raj in Akhand Bharat (United India). The RSS was banned by the Government several times for its anti-Muslims and highly provocative communal activities. The Shiva Sena founded in 1966 in Maharashtra is also an example of fascist type of communal movement preaching “Maharashtra for the Maharashtrians” (Its attack is directed primarily at South Indian immigrants). In the Bombay civil poll (April, 1985), the Shiva Sena Chief Mr. Bal Thackeray cleverly exploited both linguistic and regional sentiments to turn the table against the Bombay Regional Congress Committee (I).

CASTE:

Casteism in India still plays a major role in the politics of the country. Caste factions operate as powerful communal pressure groups by invoking parochial and sectarian feelings to mobilize support and thereby serve its interests.

Caste and occupation are so closely linked with each other that they are quite often taken as synonymous. In the past, every caste had an occupation exclusively of its own. But with the passage of time the nature and structure of caste is changing and similarly the traditional caste occupation, relationship is also changing with varying degrees depending upon the level of socio-economic advancement. However, in spite of the increasing complexities of the
The modern caste system traces back to the theory of ‘Varna’ of the Vedic age. The organization of caste is essentially a division of society into various groups or classes according to the profession or occupation of the members. Broadly speaking, powers at the command of society have been divided into those of learning, physical strength, wealth and physical service, corresponding respectively to different classes, commonly known as Brahmins (Priests), Kshtriyas (rulers and warriors), Vaisyas (Mercantile Class) and Shudras (Mannual workers). Besides these major varnas or caste, there evolved the lowest rank of the Shudras which was comprised of the ‘outcasts’
or ‘untouchables’ such as scavengers. The criteria of determining one’s caste came to be one’s birth and not ‘karma’ which seems to have definitely gone to the background. Casteism has deprived many an able man of his basic right to rise higher in society and has prevented lots of people to humanity at large without any personal fault. This is gross social injustice to human beings. This social system of casteism which is essentially as institution of the Hindu society became highly oriented along sectional and regional lines. Usually the linguistic boundary is the caste boundary. Caste provides the social structure of a community and limits inter-dining and inter-marriage etc. These relatively small kinship groups not only seek the socio-economic interests of their communities, but they play the role of effective pressure groups in political affairs, particularly elections. We may cite a few examples of the role of casteism as pressure groups in the politics of some states in India.

Among the communal pressure groups in Kerala which is a more reticular state due to highest literacy percentage, are the Nayar Service Society (NSS), organization of Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims (Muslim League). From the analysis of voting behavior and political development in Kerala, particularly in the post-1967 period when the Congress lost its majority in the Kerala Assembly, it was evident that a larger section of the people were influenced by caste considerations in their voting. Tamil Nadu is another state, next to Kerala, with the second highest percentage of literacy. From, the point of view caste-politics, Tamil Nadu (called ‘Madras’ before 1969) is divided into three major groups: Brahmins, Non-Brahmins and Jarijans. The Dravidian Movement in erstwhile state of Madras is essentially an anti-Brahmin social
protest against Brahman who are at the top of the caste hierarchy. The Regional caste lobbies are most conspicuous in the South such as the Nadars the Maravars, the Vakkaligas and the like. The dominant caste of Andhra are the Brahmins, Reddis, the Kammas, the Harijans, the Velamas, the Rajus which exercise a great influence politically through their respective caste associations. In Maharashtra, it is the conflict between the Maharasthrians and non-Maharasthrians. The ruling Congress party is dominated by the rich Maratha peasantry. This elite group operates as a pressure group in Maharashtrian welfare. In Haryana, the political fight has been mainly between the Jats and non-Jats. The Sikhs in the Punjab who are exclusively associated with Akali Dal are at logger heads politically the non-Sikhs Hindus. In Gujarat, the two dominant castes which have been main rivals in politics are the Patidars (patels) and Kshatriyas. These two castes groups are effective pressure groups in Gujarat politics. In Rajasthan, the Rajputs, the powerful Jagirdars and the Brahmins and the Marwaris constitute the political elite. The Lingayats and the Vakkaligas in Karnataka, the Brahmins and the Shudras in West Bengal, the Brahmins, Bhumihar Brahmins, Kshtriyas, Vaishyas, Kayasthas and other backwards and scheduled castes in Utter Pradesh as well as in Bihar, and the Brahmins and Shudras in West Bengal constitute the preponderating caste communities. They act as spokesman of such castes and tend to concentrate an achieving more economic as well as political benefits for their community people. In remaining states too, casteism functions as an effective pressure group.

Several institutions in the country bear the nomenclature of caste, such
as the Hindu University, the Muslim University, Hindu College, Islamia College, Christian College, Kayastha Hostel, Agarwal Vidyalaya, Jain Dharamshala and so on. It is a fact that the rapid process of modern industrialization, means of communication and spread of education are weakening the traditional rigidity of casteism as powerful pressure groups. In fact the communal or caste considerations are being replaced by economic factors as the primary motive force behind the activities of the modern pressure groups. However, caste lobbies still play a significant part in Indian politics. A political party often chooses its candidates from the dominant caste of a particular constituency. In every state, there are caste associations which act in the manner of pressure groups, on behalf of their counties. Certainly, with their numerical strength, they attempt to pressurize and bargain with the political parties in the interests of their members. Caste, thus, continues a political factor of the highest importance, and that it is likely to remain so far long time.

Inter-regional groups also operate as pressure groups in almost each state. Regional organizations invoke parochial regional feelings to mobilize support for the regional autonomy and other interests of the region. Regionalism is closely associated with linguism. The Andhra state was the first state in India to be formed on the linguistic principle. The Andhra state was the result of an agitation by the Telugu speaking people of the then Madras state for a separate state of their own. The agitation led to a fast- unto-death by one of the leaders of the separate Andhra movement. The States Reorganization Act, 1956, provided for the reorganization of fourteen states on the basis of linguistic affinity. However, Bombay and the Punjab were not reorganized on a
linguistic basis. The demand for separate tribal states including the creation of Jharkhand out of the Chota Nagpur–region of Southern Bihar and the adjoining tribal districts of Orissa as well as the demand for the creation of Nagaland consisting of the Naga tribes in the hills along the Assam-Burma border were by passed. As a result of agitations, Gujarat and Maharashtra out of Bombay state were constituted as separate linguistic states. The Punjab was also ultimately divided in 1966 into Punjab Suba and Haryana corresponding to the regions of language dominance, namely Punjabi and Hindi. Chandigarh was made a joint capital for the states. The creation of linguistic states has aggravated regional feelings and led to demands for greater state autonomy. States reorganized on the linguistic basis started activist agitations against outsiders.

The growth of regional loyalties has not only created problems for the functioning of the national parties, it has given birth to a number of regionally-based parties. One of the most important of contemporary regionally-based parties. One of the most important of contemporary regional parties is the present Akali Dal in the Punjab. This party is the political wing of the Sikhs. Unfortunately, the Akali Dal had adopted terrorist methods to achieve its objective, namely the formation of Khalistan, that is autonomous Punjabi Sabha. Such a demand for regional autonomy threatens the unity and integrity of the country. The ghastly butcheries on the roads of Punjab are the deeds of a few sectarian maniacal fanatics.

The other southern states under the control of regional parties and powerful pressure groups are Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. In Tamil Nadu
the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) party is the pioneer of the Dravidian movement. The DMK which originally demanded a separate and sovereign state of the Dravidians, called Dravidisthan, modified its demand for an autonomous state of the Tamil speaking people within the Indian Union. Although secessionism has now been dropped from its still fosters and draws strength from anti-Hindi and anti-Northern sentiments among the Tamils. The DMK is in power in the state since 1967. M.G. Ramachandran, the popular matinee idol-cum-politician is at present leading the government. In Andhra Pradesh, the ruling regional party is the Telugu Desam Party which spearheads the cause of autonomy for states. The secessionist threats in the Naga region have been met by creating the state of Nagaland in 1963. Demanding a separate state of Vidarbha the Nag-Vidarbha, Andolan Samiti of Maharashtra had been quite active earlier.

The outbreak of violence and movement by the tribals in the state of Assam led to the creation of state of Maghalaya in 1971. Later to secure the support of tribal leaders and to satisfy the tribal agitations, north-astern region was reorganized. The Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura gained the status of statehood. The North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) was formed into the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh, and the Union Territory of Mizoram. The demand by the militant Gorkha National Liberal Front (GNLF) for the creation of a separate Gorkhaland, comprising the hill areas of Darjeeling in north Bengal means divisions of West Bengal. The movement is anti-national, secessionist and extremist. It has drawn attention to the presence of Nepalis (Gorkhas) who earlier had merged with the local population. The Gorkha Front
as such does not operate as a political party. It is more in the nature of a pressure group which does not have a wide enough base in the state. It is regretted that the political parties contribute to the growth of such militant pressure groups whenever it suits their interests to do so. The policy of appeasing the divisive forces, whether communal linguistic or regional, is strengthening the forces of fundamentalism and obscurantism all over the country.

**STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS:**

The student organization in India have associated as pressure groups both prior to independence and after independence under the leadership of Lal Lajpat Rai a student organization was established in the Punjab in 1928. The All Bengal students Association was formed in the same year. The All India Students Federation was established in 1936. Subsequently the communists acquired control over his organization. The All India Student’s Congress which was established in 1945 functioned as the young wing of Indian National Congress. It was dissolved in 1950 with a view to keep the students away from politics. But the same year the National Union of students was organized, which was to act as a non-political student’s body. The youth congress was established in the same year by Indian National Congress.

Student’s Organizations have recently emerged as powerful pressure groups dominating not only the academic field but also effectively influencing the decisions of the socio-economic and political institutions in the country. The emergence of the Student as a new power force is felt in all spheres of
public life. Student power, though diffused, exists with all its fury and vengeance with out definite ideology. The growing unrest amongst the student and the resort to violence to which it leads can be regarded as a part of the general unrest and discontentment from which the community at present is suffering today. Student power exists because it has a tremendous energy force behind it. It has increased its tempo by its alliance with political forces. There are several causes of the great increase in the student power. There has been a unprecedented expansion of higher education in the country without corresponding increase in job opportunities for the educated youth. This naturally leads to growing unemployment, desperation and disrespect for higher education. The students are filled with the vigour of the age and believe in action. They come under a spell of communist ideology.

Whatever be the philosophy of student agitations in modern age, the cry for student power is world-wide. Students seem to believe that their numerical strength has the power to make the authorities terror-stricken and ultimately accept their demands which are often most unreasonable and ultimately harmful to their own interest. Students played an active role in the nationalist movement in India. Students played an active role in the nationalist movement in India. They participated in mass agitations, beginning with the non-cooperation movement in 1920 upto the Quit India Movement in 1942. After Independence, the student movement seems to have lost its old zeal and militants unity. The political parties began to patronize the student population to serve their political ends. The nationalist feeling was replaced by sectarian and regional feelings aimed at specific grievances of student community.
The mere qualities expansion of higher expansion with limited resources combined with the scarcity of qualified teaching staff, requisite apparatus etc., and pressures on the admission of students of the scheduled and backward classes, and reservation of seats in professional institutions have contributed to a lowering of academic stands, which devalues the University's Degrees. In response to regional pressures, the number of universities has steadily increased, creating difficulties for the maintenance of proper academic standards. In Madhya Pradesh, for example, there are Government Colleges at almost each tahsil level. In addition to colleges for boys, there are Girls Colleges at the district level. There are Separate Universities at Divisional Headquarters. The statistical expansion of the institutions of higher learning has led to several serious consequences which contribute to growing student restlessness and indiscipline in the campus. Since the job opportunities are dark, students are not serious about their study. Their unions start shameful agitations for lowering of the pass percentage, supplementary examinations for failures, postponement of examinations, relaxation of admission rules of the institutions, protest against increase in fee, constitution of students union etc. The students display their annoyance with their institutions by destroying buses, college property and causing destruction in other ways. Many of the Colleges and Universities remain closed for indefinite periods due to students strikes and agitations. Authority is unable to impose itself in facing rebellions and violent acts of students community. Police action only aggravates the situations. The authorities often respond to organized pressure of students demands. The agitation methods are campus demonstration, strike, hunger-strike, ‘ghero’, ‘bandh’ etc. Often students demonstration’s take a violent turn.
Indian Universities and Colleges have a large number of students who have failed in examinations, and have nothing to look forward to. There are disgruntled and pessimistic about their future. Such professional students take upon themselves the role of student leaders. Political parties also take part in associating with student leaders and creating troubles in the campuses. The presence of professional students and the indirect interference of political parties who are more interested in propagating their political ideology and utilizing the students numerical strength to meet their political ends, is also a contributory factor to growing law-less-ness in the campuses. It has also bed to the creation of unions of students affiliated to one of the other political party and thus wielding all types of pressure on heads of educational institutions to fulfill their groups interests.

Students pressure groups articulating the interests of the student community are divided along party lines. The political parties have created student wings to function as party adjuncts. Mobilization of students power in the interest of a party helps the party, particularly in election propaganda. Among the many organizations of students, the most important are the Congress dominated National Union of Students of India (NSUI), the Socialist-sponsored Socialist Students Organization, Communist – dominated All India Students Federation, Progressive Student Union sponsored by Marxist left, Akhil Bhartiya Vidhyarti Parishad started by the Bhartiya Jan Sangh, Samyukta Chhatra Samaj as students organ of Samyukta Socialist Party, Students Bloc sponsored by Forward Bloc and a few more student bodies affiliated mostly to regional parties.
Students have responded to the clarion call of political leaders since the days of Gandhiji’s non-cooperation Movement. The organizations of students have taken up both students issues and wider issues relating to the current and pressing problems of the country. As such they operate as pressure groups in each state though they may not bear the label of a pressure group. We cite a few examples. In Tamil Nadu, the Tamil students actively participated in linguistic agitation. Under the state regime of DMK party which came to power in 1987, the Tamil Students Congress started anti-Hindi agitation successfully. The DMK Government resolved to practice two language formula which had no place for Hindi and made Tamil compulsory as the medium of instruction in educational institutions. Andhra Pradesh witnessed an agitation for the creation of a separate state (the area that was part of old Hyderabad State) Telegana in 1968 and 1969. The students were actively involved in the movement. Telangana region is relatively backward and under-developed as compared to the Andhra region of the State. It was contended that the government dominated by the politicians of Andhra region continued to exploit the Teleangana region. The Students also participated in the Naxalite movements in West Bengal and Andhra.

Student agitations in Gujarat (1973-74) and Bihar (1974-75) may be cited as further examples of the role of the students as powerful pressure groups in state politics. There prevailed discontentment among the masses due to constant rising of prices of essential commodities and food scarcities. The student community, about that time, had made an issue of high mass-charges. The students of Ahmedabad launched an agitation in protest of rising prices on
December 20, 1973. Later, the student also raised the demand for eradication of political corruption. The agitation spread in other parts of the State and soon became violent. The opposition parties joined the agitation. The students formed a new society of students, namely, “Society of Reconstruction” (Nave Nirman Yuvak Samiti). Meanwhile agitating students demanded the resignation of the Chief Minister, Chimanbhai Patel. The agitation drew mass support. The students gave a call for statewide Gujarat Bandh in January 1974. The students intensified their activities which resulted in widespread violence. A month later, the Chief Minister resigned. The President’s Rule was imposed and the State Vidhan Sabha was ultimately dissolve. The student agitation succeeded.

In Bihar, the students started the movement in March 1974 against the growing lawlessness and administrative irregularities, corruption and rising prices. The students submitted a charter of their demands to the State Government. Getting no responses from the government, the students decided to cordon off (Gherao) the State Assembly which led to outbreak of violence. The agitation soon spread in other parts of the State. Demand was made for resignation of the Bihar Cabinet and dissolution of the Vidhan Sabha. The Sarvodaya Leader Jayaprakash Narayan who hailed from Bihar patronized the student agitation, gave the students a call for ‘Total revolution’ and withdrawal of students from schools and colleges. The students decided to boycott educational institutions for a year and formed ‘student agitation council’ (Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti) to direct the movement. Educational life in the state came to a stand still. Incidents of violence were widespread. Student
agitations were suspended due to proclamation of Emergency in the country in June, 1975.

In other states too, student organizations are enlightened and most vocal in their protest against injustices. Almost all major political parties have student wings which work as party adjuncts. Student unions have displayed a remarkable amount of talent and organizing ability. Their grievances are quickly and readily looked into by the administration. Indeed, in a developing society like India, the student have an important role to play with the growth of higher education in the country, students and their organizations have emerged as a new power force, both in strength and number. The new education, policy aims at all round development of students personality. The students are now greater associated with academic bodies of universities. Their voice carries much weight, student organizations are thus powerful pressure groups in contemporary India and their activities contributes much to the socio-economic and political development in the country. In short, the agitations sponsored and led by student community are witnessed almost all over the country. Several Universities and Colleges remain closed for long periods, due to active pressure groups of student assisted by politicians. One of the biggest Central Universities of India-Banaras Hindu University remained closed indefinitely in 1994 as a result of the undemocratic pressure activities of the pressure groups of student community.

WOMEN ORGANIZATION:

The women organizations in India have played their legitimate role as
women pressure groups and sought to influence the policies of the government to the benefits of women folk. The women participated in the freedom struggle of India. Mass participation of women in the nationalist movement was unique one movement provided them with an opportunity to get involved in activities outside the home. They began participating in politics. The elite women took a lead in social reform movements. Women, who had largely spent their lives in the limited environment of the household, were now attempting to adapt to the world politics. Nationalist leaders encouraged and assisted the women organizations to the cause of all round amelioration of women. The nationalist movement in India had enabled women to evolve from an oppressed and subordinate position to an enlightened and equal participation in the social and political affairs of country. Name of women like Aruna Asaf Ali, Sucheta Kriplani, Sarojini Naidu, Hansa Mehta or Kamladevi Chattopadhyay may be cited as symbols of their new image in Independent India.

Women have organized themselves in a variety of ways in an effort to improve their position within society. Most of the organizations emphasized social reform and women education. The growing political and social awareness among women is evident by number and popularity of women's organizations. Of these the most important organizations in all India Level are the Women's Indian Association organized in 1917, the National Council of women established in 1925 and the All India Women's Conference (A.I.W.C. founded in 1927. They have branches throughout the country. The Women's associations demanded equal franchise to women like men an of all discrimination on account of sex. They succeeded in securing equal rights and
opportunities with men. The Constitution of India guarantees adult suffrage to all without any discrimination of sex. As a consequence of women associations and political pressure, women are given party tickets to contest elections for seats in the Parliament and in the State Legislative Assemblies. Women are appointed to international delegations as ambassadors. Vijayalaxmi Pandit was appointed India’s Ambassador to Soviet Russia. Lakshmi Menon was elected to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Many women form all strata of society are members of the Parliament and State Vidhan Sabhas. Women are also appointed as Cabinet Ministers, Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers, in the Union Cabinet and State Cabinets.

Almost all women elites and women politician supported women’s movements and were actively involved in, women’s organizations such as the All India Women’s Conference and the Women’s Indian Association such women organizations play the role of pressure groups in championing and influencing the government for socio-economic and political reforms of women. Women’s associations widely publicized the injustices to which women were exposed such as child marriage, purdah system, women illiteracy, dowry etc.

In post-independence era, women associations have actively participated in several movements. To take a few examples, thousands of women were involved in the Naxalbari movement in West Bengal and anti-dowry campaigns in the seventies. In 1972, tribal women in Dhulia district (Maharashtra) campaigned against alcoholism. In 1974, in Gujarat, the Nava Nirman Movement (society of reconstruction) brought women out into the streets to protest against rising prices, scarcity and hoarding. Women
associations have forced the state governments and the police to be vigilant and check harassment of women in public places. Family planning is made popular through modern publicity media of press, cinema, television etc. In pursuance of demand of women student unions, heads of educational institutions have taken stern measure to prevent ragging in their respective institutions.

The women organizations have, thus, played a powerful role as pressure groups in the emancipation of women in modern India. The injustices and oppression associated with the conservative images of Indian women, have been effectively country acted by the women’s movements. In the field of law, the last 10 years have seen the passing of the Dowry Prohibition Amendment Act (1984), the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1983), the Equal Remuneration Act (1976) and the Family Courts Act (1984). The dowry and rape laws were amended in the face of considerable pressure from women’s groups. To provide police protection exclusively to women, women police station has been set up in Kerala and also at Bhopal, in Madhya Pradesh (August 1987). As a result of these reforms and legislations, Indian women and their organization are convinced that they could use the available opportunities and identify themselves with the social, economic and political affairs of the country.

**GANDHIAN PRESSURE GROUPS:**

Besides the above major and powerful pressure groups in Indian society, these are numerous groups in the country representing varying interests of the society. These are cultural associations, ethnic groups service
associations anomic groups, Gandhian pressure groups, sectional interest
groups and groups which are disciples of the teachings of some dominant
personality like Bhoodan leader Vinoba Bhave, Subash Chandra Bose,
Sarvodaya Leader Jai Praksh Narayan and others. The cultural associations
propagate a particular cultural and traditions. Such associations are interlinked
with race, religion, language and community and invoke sectarian feelings. In
the modern world, such considerations are being gradually replaced by
economic concerns as the real motive force behind the activities of modern
pressure groups. Recently several cultural societies have been formed to
revive and depict ancient cultural richness of the country. It may be noted that
inspite of diversities, the fundamental unity of her culture has been throughout
maintained. Most of the groups are short lived and may be regarded as anomic
groups. Such groups which rise and fall suddenly and raise a particular
demands, create conditions of lawlessness and general hooliganism by
resorting to agitation tactics like a strike, demonstration etc. leading to outbreak
of violence.

Finally, these have come into existence Gandhian groups in post-
independent India. Such groups do not hanker after political power but their
motive is to serve humanity. Gandhiji was not only the Father of the Indian
Nation and of the Indian Freedom Movement, but Gandhism attracted the
imagination of the people all over the world. His ideal of truth, non-violence and
satyagraha are fact spreading even beyond the frontiers of the country. Gandhian Satyagraha lends support to ethical humanism. Gandhian Samities
(societies) insist on socio-economic rejuvenation of the people of India by
persuading the government to enforce prohibition, villages uplift, introduction of village handicraft industries, cooperative farming, decentralization of political power, creation of village society, popularity of spinning (charkha) etc. One of the great disciples of Gandhiji was Vinoba Bhave’s aim was to establish a classless society based on love and non-violence. This society is to be established through Bhoodan (land gift), sampattidan (wealth gift), Shramdan (labour gifts), Buddhidan (wisdom gifts), and Premdan (love gift). Vinoba Bhave’s Bhoodan Movement gained much popularity in the country. Jai Prakash Narayan dedicated his life to Sarvodaya movement which stood for people’s all round progress. Since these movements are closely associated with Gandhian ideology, the government patronized their socio-economic and political programmes. The students agitation in one form or the other are constantly continuing.

**FUNCTIONING TECHNIQUES:**

The democratic way of life is in a sense a way of comprise, adjustment of consensus. The majority in power must be responsive to the legitimate expectations of the minority. The brute numeral majority should not alone be the justification of legislation and executive action. In democracy citizens can not claim to remove the legitimate government in power by violent acts. Throwing up the government which is formed by the verdict of the people through an election process is wholly inconsistent with the true concept of democratic behavior. Parliamentary democracy of the British model which has been adopted in our construction stands a three main pillars, namely fair and free elections, freedom of thought and expression including freedom of the
press and independence of the judiciary. A parliamentary government is ultimately accountable to the people. It provides adequate channels for ventilating citizen’s grievances both within and outside the legislature than in any other system. The parliament provides a forum for justifying its acts in the face of public criticism. Democracy rests on certain assumptions. There is an acceptance of certain rules and conventions of governmental actions such as the Rule of Law, stressing the importance of equality before the law. Pressure groups are widely recognized as an important part of the democratic process. Some groups offer opportunities and a political voice to people who would traditionally be thought of as disadvantaged or marginalized from the mainstream population. In this way pressure groups strengthen the democratic process by giving voice to a variety of people. Pressure groups also offer alternatives to the political process by providing opportunities for expressing opinions and desire for change.

Democracy rules out violence in governmental acts. Democracy believes in the creative power of persuasion and winning over the people to one’s side in a peaceful manner. The institutions of democracy make this possible. It rests on the belief that people can in the long run be educated to see the validity of criticism of governmental policies advanced by individuals and their groups on particular issues. Pressure groups enable new concern and issues to reach the political agenda, there by facilitating social progress and preventing social stagnation. Continuous efforts to educate the public on the issues involved, the mobilizing of public opinion, forming pressure and interest groups to influence government policies and persuading members of parliament are all democratic
methods influencing the governmental agencies of bringing out reform in laws of the country. If the criticism of laws and needs for change in such laws have secured social sanctions, and if the means adopted are socially recognized as constitutional, the government is compelled to yield to such popular demand for change. Political parties and pressure groups serve as active agents within a political system presenting their claims or demands to the decision-making organs of government for fulfillment. Thus, political parties supported by various socio-economic and parochial pressure groups constitute a vital part of the democratic political process.

**ELECTIONEERING:**

Elections are the requirements of a democratic system of government. Such a type of government represents the desires and aspirations of the people of the country through their elected representatives. Popular elections are denied in an authoritarian political system. Democracy is meaningless without popular elections. Conduct of elections to country’s parliamentary institutions at periodical intervals in a constitutional requirements. Democracy and republics permit a large number of people to have a share in determining the policies and personnel of government. Suffrage qualifications are set for the by the constitution or by the laws of the state. Suffrage has been denied or permitted as the basis of sex age, citizenship, residence, payment of State Taxes etc. Voting at elections is part of political participation-which makes popular government meaningful. The Constitution of India establishes representative democracy by providing universal adult suffrage and free and fair periodic elections. The Election Commission of India conducts elections to
the parliamentary and assembly seats. Election symbols are allotted to major national political parties of the country. Eight General Elections to the Union Parliament (Lok Sabha) and some state Legislative Assemblies (Vidhan Sabhas) have been held so far—the last election was held in December 1984.11

Election is a political feud contested by the political parties to impart political education to the citizens. The principal activities of political parties are directed primarily toward one goal namely, winning the election. All political parties perform the fundamental functions of nominating candidates and electing them to office. Electioneering constitutes an important aspect of elections to seek the support of the eligible voters. The election campaigns are perhaps the most colourful and festive phase of mobilizing electorate. Electioneering process is very much expensive too. Each candidate is financially supported by party funds. He also spends lot of money from his own pocket. He engages several paid and voluntary workers who devote their time and energies in canvassing for their party candidate’s victory. Assistance is sought from influential pressure groups of the country in the form of financial aid and support. The press has a tremendous potential in the realm of mobilizing voters. Party manifestos are issued and distributed widely. All available agencies of mass such as new reels, documentary films, public platform, radio and television are utilized for moulding public opinion in favour of the party and its candidate. As an election device, the candidate seeking also appeals to specific groups on grounds of religion, caste, language, region and such other narrow sectarian factors. Candidates attempt to capture the support of the leaders of such communitarian groups. Some pressure groups
particularly those seeking economic interests and benefits develop indirect links with the political parties. These groups work in a suitable manner in winning support for the party’s candidates in election.

**DONATIONS:**

The election campaigns involve much expenditure. Money or finance has always been a major factor in election in a democratic governmental set up as in India. Electoral campaigns are said to be a means of educating and informing the people about the party and its manifesto. The elections are linked to a political ritual by which a party obtains popular verdict to govern. In the midst of election campaigns of different political parties the political wisdom of voters determines the survival of a popular government. Political parties and pressure groups need money for contesting elections and to sustain the huge party apparatus which requires massive funds all the time at all levels and for all sorts of election contingencies. The costs of election campaign have increased with each successive election. The high cost of campaigning is due to party’s propaganda to mobilize public support and mould public opinion in its favour by organizing public meetings in one’s constituency, printing and distribution of party’s literature, its achievements and party’s election manifesto, engagement of paid workers to conduct the election campaign and expenditure on other means of mass-communication. In modern times the use of radio and television broadcasts by the leaders of the parties costs much. Party workers are engaged and paid, particularly on election day to persuade and drive voters from their homes to the polling booths to cast their votes. Huge sums of the money are expanded on organizing political rallies and other activities of the
party to win the election. The organization and management of the election campaign in thus costly. Campaigns are the arenas for contenders of political power. Vested interests and different pressure groups associate themselves with political parties which promise to articulate and protect their group interests. Again, a pressure group, utilizing its associations with political parties may succeed in securing some seats in the legislature for its own members. Most of the business and industrial pressure groups of India are represented in the Parliament and State Assemblies of India on account of their connections with the political parties.

Political parties and pressure group collect funds from a variety of sources to meet election expenses. Party funds are derived from party membership fee. The Congress Party for example, is the best financial political party and its primary members pay a substantial amount of contributions. Rich members if the party donate liberally to the party funds. Particularly on the eve of elections, intensive fund raising campaigns are organized and huge sums of money are collected to fight the election battle. All sorts of sources for raising funds are tapped. Members of the Parliament and State Assemblies are persuaded to contribute compulsorily a certain percentage of their salaries into the party coffers. The party derives some income from its publishing material. Prominent leaders are invited to address public meetings and appeals are made by the party leaders to donate liberally on the spot to the party fund. Funds are thus solicited at the meeting by passing the hat or towel among the audience after an appeal by speakers for funds. Rallies of party workers and supporters are organized both for party propaganda and for raising voluntary

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contributions. Cultural programmes are organized by political parties and pressure groups. Admission to such functions is by ticket. Often, popular film stars are involved to participate in such shows. The glamour of the presence of film stars attracts people in great number to purchase costly admission tickets. The money so collected goes to the election funds of the party or group. Influential pressure groups representing different group interests associates themselves in raising funds and contributing them to the party fund. The parties have different economic centres of gravity to suit their political ideologies. The various associations contribute liberally in the election-campaign if they are convinced that the party's victory will oblige them in their economic pursuits. The major of the financial support of almost all political parties comes from prosperous manufactures, business magnates and rich contractors.

Business groups contribute a major part of the party fund. Business depends upon government patronage in a number of ways. It is alleged that the Congress Party is the best financed party because it is in power at the Centre since India's independence except for a period of Janata Party rule. Some foreign agencies are also accused of helping financially political parties and groups of India in contesting elections. Most of the so-called political parties like Hindu Mahasabha, Akali Dal etc. powerful groups like Shiva Sena also extract handsome contributions from industry & business, often through considerable pressure. The business groups and rich business houses depend upon the government for 'permits', 'license', foreign exchange and other commercial facilities. It is difficult to collect information regarding party's funds all sources. Often, on demand by Members of the Parliament the government
informs the House regarding such donations to the political parties by business groups, companies and public sector enterprises. The amount of money donated by such commercial and industrial firms to various political parties and pressure groups is highest at the time of election. This kind of donations to political parties and groups is often termed a joint venture benefiting both the politicians and capitalists. Even when elections are not in the offing, business groups donate money to the political parties and other politically influential pressure groups. For example, the Congress (I) Party received the following amount of money from the leading business groups of India during two years of the Congress Centenary celebrations:

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Donations to political parties and pressure groups by big business and companies have resulted in the creation of business lobbies in side political parties, pressure groups, legislature and other governmental agencies. One cannot alienate the pressure of the business community from the inherently sympathetic attitude toward business of those directly responsible for formulating public policy. Donations encourage black marketing in business circle. It is also alleged that the party which comes in power as a result of popular election oblige such commercial firms and companies by distributing favours to them by granting licenses, permits and special quotas. The opposition parties and groups presented this type of malpractice of permitting
business companies to give donations and considered it a threat to clean public life and smooth working of democracy in this country. A ban on such type of donations was demanded to check the increasing role of money in the lection. A bill placing ban on donations by companies to political parties and individuals for political and election purposes was duly passed by the Parliament and placed on the statute Book in 1969. The statutory ban was liberalized in October 1974, permitting political parties to spend any amount of money in support of the party candidate. These expenses shall be excluded from the personal accounts of election expenses incurred by a candidate. The political parties and powerful pressure groups continued to get financial assistance from business firms and companies, not openly but under the table in unpublicized ways. The ban on companies regarding donations to political parties and groups could not serve its purpose of cleaning public life.

The Election Commission of India wrote to the Government in September 1982 that expenses incurred by political parties should be included in the election expenses of a candidate in order to check the growing role of money in the election. Election expenses have very much increase. Hence limit of maximum election expenses which a candidate may incur for contesting Lok Sabha election is raised from one lakh of rupees in 1980 to one and half lakh of rupees in 1984 in most of the States. For contesting election to State Vidhan Sabha, the limit of election expenses varies from thirty thousand rupees to rupees fifty thousand. Return of election expenses have to be submitted by the candidate to the concerned authority within thirty days of the declaration of election result. In March 1985 the statutory ban on donation to political parties
by joint stock companies has been lifted. It is of paramount importance to
rescue democracy and democratic institutions from corrupt practices and
growing influence of money power in elections. The political parties have been
demanding that party’s election expenses should be met by the government.
This would place a strong check a money power and flow of election funds from
questionable sources. It will also discourage those forces which tend to corrupt
political life and adversely effect healthy growth of democratic institutions in the
country. The Election Commission had also recommended that all legitimate
election expenses of political parties could be borne by the government. The
Minister of State for law, however, told the Rajya Sabha during question hour
on 28th July 1987 that there is no proposal to set up a special fund to finance
election expenses of various political parties. A decision is yet to be taken by
the Government with regard to the proposal for electoral reforms in consultation
with political parties.12

The techniques of raising donation to meet election campaigns of the
parties are similarly adopted by pressure groups which play active role at
almost all levels of decision-making. The powerful pressure groups of India
function mostly as adjuncts of political parties-in elections. A few pressure
groups of ‘Fronts’ begin to play the role of a political party and collect donations
on religious and regional grounds, such as Akali Dal in the present politically
turmoiled state of Punjab, Gorkha Front in the hilly tract of north Bengal, the
Naga tribes in the hills the Assam-Burma border and others. Naturally these
pressure groups are actively involved in the political and decision-making
processes. Since such pressure groups succeed in collecting heavy public
donations on religious or regional ground, they raise parochial demands. The political activities of such pressure groups are detrimental to the unity and integrity of the country.

The pressure groups of business undertakings are mostly independent organizations and are financially sound. They donate liberally to the political parties and may succeed in setting up their own candidates to contest elections to the legislatures. The pressure groups representing labour communities raise funds from public donations. All other groups which have vested group interest in the political field collect donations like political parties. These pressure groups support political parties of their choice by financially assisting the parties and actively participating in election campaign. The proliferation of pressure groups of all types in modern democratic society and their extracting public donations in variety of ways mentioned above along with their active role in the present political system, have made pressure groups, powerful agencies of influence on administration and law-making agencies. They have, indeed, become a third house of legislature. Well financed pressure groups are usually found in linkage with the ruling political party in order to secure governmental patronage to the benefit of such pressure groups.

VIOLENCE:

Recently, resort violence is gaining ground secure speedy settlement of a pressure group’s demands. Violence has been defined as the “illegal employment of methods of physical coercion for personal or group ends”. Unfortunately for society, violences in public affairs is assuming alarming
proportions. Violent techniques are forceful and coercive techniques, adopted by the pressure groups particularly when the authorities are either adamant to respond to any other kind of representation or turn a deaf ear to the demands of pressure groups. To some extent, direct action involving violence is a legacy from the nationalist movement of India’s struggle for freedom from foreign rule. The mass poverty or people’s hunger is a contributing factor to violent demonstration by the people. Pressure groups will continue to take recourse to violent acts as long as violence pays dividend. Violence are ignored. Unfortunately violent acts of pressure groups result in destruction of public property and loss of human life due to police action. Some times, peaceful demonstrations by pressure groups in the beginning lead to outbreak of violence at a larger stage, as it happened during agitational demonstration by political parties and pressure groups in Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Bihar and other parts of the country.

The explosion of mob violence on a wide scale in the country which we are witnessing today poses a grave threat to the future of democracy in India. It is wholly inconsistent with the rule of law and constitutional government. It is true that Gandhiji had fundamentally based his whole programme of political struggle for the independence of the country on the basic concept of satyagraha (truth) and ahimsa (non-violence). He suspended his programme whenever he found people indulging in violent acts. It is true that the pattern of agitations which are adopted by masses of citizens or political parties and pressure groups in protest against governmental policy or acts continue to be the same as were witnessed during our struggle for independence. It is
common sight to see long processions of slogan raising people, strikes, ‘bandhs’ and fasts. We witness processions starting peacefully but turning violent and indulging in destroying public property as a result of some provocation and committing violent acts. Students have been often found participating in a large measure in violent acts. The police and the magistracy responsible for maintaining law and order have to use force to prevent sporadic violent acts. The police action results in killing of innocent people. This is most unfortunate aspects of present political administration.

Non-violent movements and violence are inter linked. The political parties are supported by fronts or pressure groups. It is perfectly possible for a pressure group to propagate violence to achieve speedy results and then publicly deny this instigation to violence by blaming other groups for engineering violence. Political parties and pressure groups also find it convenient to blame vested interests in such instigations of violence. The communist groups are often charged for propagating violent acts. Sometimes politicians in power and influential leaders of various pressure groups representing, for example, business community and students have often patronized mass violence whenever they felt that such violent acts would suit their interests. The politicians and group leaders often seek cheap popularity by finding solutions which are convenient for the moment to appear the violent mob irrespective of the future implications of their decisions in the larger interest of the society. The main aim of any violent demonstration is ultimately to mobilize public opinion, influence the government and the policy decision-makers, and seek for speedy redress of grievances.
The cult of violence has increased tremendously in recent years. Police firings and lathi charges followed by mass arrest of leaders and others are a common feature these days. Newspapers, Radio and TV news are filled with news of outbreak of violence in some part of the country almost every day. Protest demonstrations, strikes, 'bandhs', 'gheraos' and riots often result in violent acts and loss of precious human lives. Strikes by labour groups in industrial towns of India, violent acts resulting from the fanatic acts of groups based on casteism, communalism, linguisticism and regionalism, peasant revolts led by groups of Indian peasantry and supported by mostly opposition parties, and violent demonstrations by student organizations on flimsy pretexts resulting in indefinite closure of academic institutions for a greater part of the year and consequent loss of teaching have become sight these days. Many of the violent incidents are subject of judicial enquiry thought not much comes out of these enquiries.

A pressure group may sometimes adopt to the techniques of physical demonstrations and indulge in violent acts. It is the characteristic of the anomic pressure group to gain its objective by organizing physical demonstrations, riots, etc. However, every type of pressure group is found to make use of this coercive technique in certain situations. A pressure group may be forced, to resort to technique of violence just because in the prevailing circumstances it may appear to it as the only effective and speediest one or just because the prevailing frustration in the general mood of the adherents of a pressure group compels the group to indulge in violence. The anomic pressure groups usually resort to unconstitutional methods of violence and direct action and cause
much damage to public property. Such type of pressure groups are usually in liaison with militant or extremist elements in the country, and are interested in creating lawlessness. Such anomic type of groups or associations give a clarion call for ‘Bandhs’ and paralyses the routine life of the people by closure of agencies of supply of essential commodities and blocking means of communication and transport.

It is unfortunate that the Government often yields to the demand of militant pressure groups for maintaining public peace. To cite a few examples, Gujarat Vidhan Sabha was dissolved in 1975 due to agitational and violent acts of a newly created powerful pressure group named “Navnirman Samiti”. Similarly, the Naxalites in Bengal and Shiva Sena in Maharashtra adopted violent tactics to force the government to protect the economic interest of the natives of the state. Such groups preaching parochialism assume aggressive posture. The students organizations of Assam, Namely, the All Assam Students Union and the All-Assam Gana Sangram Parishad spearheaded the agitation on the foreigners issue in Assam. It resulted in outbreak of violence in several parts of Assam. Many people were killed in demonstrations. Elections were postponed under threats of violent demonstrations. A settlement was reached in 1985 and election to the Vidhan Sabha and for the Lok Sabha seats from Assam were held on December 16, 1985. The Akali Dal in Punjab is in fact, a powerful pressure group of the Sikh Community and propagating exclusively the interest and unity of the Sikhs. The Akali Dal led by the Surjeet Singh Barnala as Chief Minister of Punjab in September 1985, failed to check the violent acts of the extremists resulting in indiscriminate killings of innocent
persons. The terrorists shattered the authority of the State Government. Hence President’s Rule was imposed in Punjab on May 12, 1987 and Barnala Ministry dismissed. Indulgence in violent demonstration has become a political creed with most of the pressure groups to seek speedy redress of their grievances. As Morris-Jones observes: “Even after independence government is relied upon, and at the same time spat upon and abused. The same man who is looking to government one moment may in the next take part in demonstrations involving violence and on a scale that threatens to make any government impossible.”

The increase in the tempo of violence in recent years is attributed to several socio-economic and political factors. When Indian attained freedom, people were naturally very jubilant and hoped that an era of joy and happiness would soon dawn. The foreign rule in India had resulted in great economic exploitation of the country and growing poverty of the people. The country was looking forward to the speedy from British regime kindled in the minds of the citizens fond hopes of enjoying life, liberty and happiness. Promises made by politicians were not fulfilled. In virus of personal gain spread and corruption in public life increased. No meaningful efforts were made by the party leaders for uplifting the socially backward and degenerated class of people. The country was torn of personal and communal strikes. Charges of corruption and nepotism were frequently made against many group workers and political leaders in power. The hearts of the people were getting disappointed and politically sick. Demonstrations were organized which often resulted in explosion of violence.
The economic factors have also contributed to the explosive situation in the country. Though lot of industrial expansion has taken place in the country since independence, yet the economic gains have not reached the lower state of society. According to the Government estimate (Sixth Plan Estimate), about 51 percent of the rural population and 38 percent of urban population—or an average of 48 percent of the population are below poverty line in the year 1977-78. In Indian nearly 40 percent of the people are still below the poverty line. The practice of bonded labour in rural areas is barbarous. India's economic as well as social backwardness is marked by various stigmas of underdevelopment, such as mass poverty, low standard of living, widespread unemployment, inadequate irrigation and power facilities, high rates of illiteracy, poor national income and black marketing. As in well know, trade union leadership in India comes from outside the ranks of labourers and the labour leaders cannot resist the temptation of exploit their followers to promote their personal gains. The economic situation prevailing in the country is such that the rich are getting richer and the poor becoming poorer. Notwithstanding the fact that our eight Five Year Plans have been substantially implemented, the common man's economic lot is till not as good as it should have been. In recent times, prices of essential commodities have been constantly rising and inspite of increases in wages and salaries in recent times, common men are finding it difficult to meet the primary requirement of every day life. These factors lead to frustration and anger of the masses and the pressure groups. It is the consequent result of such feelings that force the pressure groups, 'fronts' and 'morchas' to organize demonstrations which lead to violence against private and public property.
Pressure groups and opposition parties resort to pressure tactics by organizing demonstrations on account of the growing feeling in the public mind that the Government or the leaders of the party in power have become complacent and unresponsive to public feelings expressed through peaceful media. The demonstrations in the form of strikes, Bandh etc. Organized to express public grievances by these groups and parties lead to frustration, anger and violence. The unrest amongst the students groups and organizations can be regarded as a part of the general unrest from which the community at large is suffering in modern time. There are certain other factors contributing to the students unrest. Namely, the indiscriminate admission of students to colleges and universities irrespective of their academic competence, the growth in the percentage of failures in examinations, and the uncertain future facing the educated youth growing unemployment with the ground in higher education, presence of student politicians in the campus, lack of proper communication between the student community and the teachers, and the exploitation of students power by scrupulous pressure groups in propagating their group interest lead to manifestation of students anger and explosion of student violence. The technique of violence adopted by various pressure groups in pursuit of group’s parochial interest is wholly inconsistent with the democratic way of life and with the true concept of democracy itself.

**STRIKE:**

Strike or ‘Hartal’ is a popular functioning techniques of pressure groups. The means concerted refusal to work by employees till some grievance is remedied. General strike connotes the complete stoppage of work with a view
to securing some object by paralyzing business. During the course of strike normal functioning of a business undertaking or may be office, a college, university etc. any institution are brought to a halt till a settlement or some compromise between the parties over makers in dispute of reached. The Indian Industrial Disputes Act defines strikes “Cessation of work by a body of a persons employed in an industry acting in combination, or concerted refusal under common understanding, or of any number of persons who are or have been so employed to continue to work or to accept employment”. The main purpose of strikes is to influence and pressurize the management to accede to the demands of its workers. A strike is a coercive public protest.

Peaceful strike, that is stoppage of work was a political, weapon of his non-violent national movement for India’s freedom. A strike has to be peaceful, orderly and unaffected by intimidation. A strike is organized for the redress of specific grievances of the community. The strikers declare their minimum demand before proceeding on strike. The constitution of India guarantees to the people the right to form associations and freedom of speech and expression. Organizing a peaceful strike after due management to the management is legal unless other wise declared professional associations and groups assuming the role of the pressure groups are often found inciting such associations to resort to strike to settle their demands. Groups whose sectional or group interests suffer as a result of the enactment of new legislation in the public interests protest them and initial members of such groups to proceed on strike without any regard what so-ever to the broader social or national interest. The growing impact of the democratic system since the introduction of adult
franchise in India has compelled pressure groups to make political compromises suiting to the needs and demands of such groups often leading to the organization of strikes.

A strikes is the most popular type of public protest in the country and is reported in newspaper almost everyday resulting in the loss of several working days, Most of the strikes in India are over the demand for higher wages, higher rates of bonus and improvement in working conditional there have strikes in public sector undertakings. For instance, workers of the Bharat Heavy Electricals at Bhopal had to proceed on strike on the issue of the recognition of their union as well as their demand regarding better wages and conditions of work. There have been similar strikes in Sindri Fertilizers in Bihar, Steel works at Bhilai, Hindustan Antibiotics at Pimpri and in other public sector undertakings. The two million workers belonging to the All India Railway men’s Federation organized railway strike in May 1974 for increase of workers wages and better conditions of service. The strike was given up after twenty days.

The eighties (1980s) have witnessed to flow of strike all over the country from lower strata of employees to the higher ranks mainly over the issue of better emoluments, prompt avenues, higher dearness allowance, etc. The government employees-particularly of Class Three and Class Four - have organized strikes in recent years, the bank employees also declared a day’s token strike several times in the past. There have been Doctors strikes in Delhi, Bhopal and other places. Educational institutions remain closed for greater part of the year these days due top strikes by students on all types of issues, like admission rules, stiff examination paper, demand for students concession in
bus fee, cinema tickets and such other demands by students. In August 1987 the strike of 2.3 lakh colleges and university teachers of India belonging top the All India, Federation of University and College Teachers Organization (AIFUCTO) crippled the national academically. The AIFUCTO had demanded 100 percent Central Assistance to meet the revised salaries for teachers, the restoration of the three-tier running grade of lecturer-reader-professor, instead of the multiplicity of grades introduced by the Mehrotra Committee and protection of the Merit Promotion Scheme. The thirty-two day ‘teachers strike was called off by AIFUCTO on the intervention of the Government. The agreement states that “The Government will continue to do its best to persuade all state governments to accept the scheme and implement revised pay scales form January 1, 1986”\textsuperscript{14}.

Some times strikes adopt other types of protest and thus paralyse work in their respective establishments such as “Chalk-down” or “Pen-down”, “Mass casual leave” “work according to rules” and other methods of “Go slow” in work. Fasting hunger strike or ‘fasting unto death’ are other forms of a strike which are practiced by strikers in case their demands are not met to their satisfaction. Such types of strike is very common in the face of growing discontentment amongst the people of India. The call for the strike and other activities of the unions are mostly led by leaders of political parties and powerful pressure groups seeking to exploit them for their groups strength and personal gains.

**NON-VIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE:**

Non-violence civil disobedience of laws of the state is the popular form of agitational technique of particle parties and pressure groups in India. The
nature of non-violent civil disobedience technique are the same as was
adopted during India’s struggle for political freedom under the leadership of
Gandhiji. In South Africa, Gandhiji fought racial discrimination through the
techniques of non-violent resistance that he called ‘satyagraha’ meaning
“Holing fact to truth” in thought and action. After his return to India, Gandhiji
pleaded to the Indian National Congress to adopt a nation-wide non-violent
civil disobedience campaign against British rule in India. The Congress willingly
agreed to the non-violent civil disobedience technique to fought foreign
imperialism, under Gandhiji guidance. Gandhiji led to the non-violent civil
disobedience movement by violating various laws of the state. But he continued
his experiments with truth (non-violent civil resistance) which successfully
carried India toward ‘Purna Swaraj’ or complete independence. Gandhiji’s civil
disobedience movement was entirely non-violent in nature. Whenever the non-
vviolent movement was marred by violent episodes of any type, he violent
movement was marred by violent episodes of any type, he suspended the
movement. The favourite techniques of non-violent civil disobedience are
peaceful strikes, dharna (sit-down-strike), passive resistance behavior, fasting,
sometimes fast unto death and other types of peaceful mass demonstrations.

Non-violent technique of civil disobedience was for Gandhiji a moral
creed and philosophy while the Congress party and its succeeding leaders of
post – Gandhi era accepted it more as a matter of convenience than as matter
of principle. The weapons of non-violent civil disobedience such as the
Satyagraha, Dharna or fasting were used by Gandhiji to overthrow British
government in India. These non-violent techniques soon became popular
among the masses. Political parties and pressure groups started practicing these techniques on non-violent agitations after Independence/Satyagraha and fasting are common sights these days to attain personal or group objectives at the cost of peace and national welfare. The Government has to face an embarrassing situation in which the Gandhian era political techniques of non-violent civil disobedience are followed. The country’s economic progress is often thwarted and endangered under the constant pressure of satyagrahas, fasting and disobedience of the laws passed by legislatures elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage. Such non-violent methods of civil disobedience paralyse the normal functioning of government. If law and order become frequent casualties in the hands of non-violent agitators, it may pose a danger to democracy and democratic way of life.

It is true Gandhiji had based his whole programme for the fight of India’s freedom (Purna Swaraj) on the basic concept of ahimsa or non-violence and the various pressure groups which have vested interests to fulfill continue to adopt the same forms and techniques although these peaceful agitations turn into angry and violent mob at sudden provocations. It is a common sight these days processions and demonstrations led by groups leaders. These pressure groups articulating varied aggregate interest of our socio-economic and political life attract the attention of the legislators and executive agencies by approaching them with their memorandum or ‘charter of demands’ and often threaten these governmental agencies with strikes ‘fats’ no tax campaign and other forms of peaceful demonstrations. Such agitational movements have, on some occasions, led to violence.
BANDH:

A bandh is a relatively total stoppage or cessation of all types of economic activity and the functioning of public institutions. It is a closure or near-total closure of markets, educational institutions, offices, factories, transport, etc. It is a pattern of peaceful agitational demonstration adopted by masses of citizens in protest against public police or any public grievance. This form of agitation was popular during our struggle for political freedom and Gandhiji too patronized this form of mass agitation as an outlet of peoples annoyance of governmental misdeeds. However, we, cannot ignore the fact that whereas Gandhiji’s political movement for India’s independence was non-violent in nature, today strikes and bandhs often lead to violence. The masses exhibit their anger and dissatisfaction by destroying public property and performing other types of aggressive acts. The bandhs are in the nature of political strikes or revolts against the government mostly organized by vested interest, pressure groups, leftist political parties, business magnates affected adversely by governmental levy, taxation policy etc. There is a call by political parties business groups students and pressure groups, for ‘district bandh’, ‘province bandh’ such as ‘Utter Pradesh Bandh’, “Madhya Pradesh Bandh”, and sometimes there is a call by a powerful pressure group for ‘Bharat Bandh’, to coerce the government to achieve their objectives dislocating the routine daily life of the community. Direct action of this kind is in the form of pressure which forces the government to reconsider its decisions regarding policy.

In recent years, the country has witnessed an unprecedented spurt of Bandhas resulting work stoppages loss of man-days and reduction of
production resulting of the loss to the country’s economy. The loss resulting for Bharat Bandh, Bombay Bandhy, Calcutta Bandh, Delhi Bandh, Mapur Bandh and bandhs of major cities of India may run into crores of rupees. Such bandhs also results in temporary unemployment to million of people and strain the administration heavily with the problem of law and order. A bandh often results in outbreak of violence leading to destruction of public property. Popular means of transport like railways and public buses are cancelled during bandhs leading to much public inconvenience. “Every Strike, more so hartals and bandhs on a large scale, adversely affect the interests of society and therefore, of worker as well. It is not only monetary and production losses. The evil is greater. The whole atmosphere become foul. Unscrupulous etc. elements take charge of the situation. Respect for law and order diminishes”. Bandhs are, mostly instigated by pressure groups representing their narrow socio-economic and political interests. Country’s progress and economy are ignored in a cell for bandh. The leaders of pressure groups usually seek cheap popularity among the people for bettering their election prospects. A bandh is not always to be detested. A bandh is sometimes the correct response and a useful safety value for expressing people’s anger. For example, Delhi and most of the towns in India observed bandh in July 1987 to protest against the massacre of the innocent men, women and children in Punjab and Haryana by terrorists. These cold-blooded killing created widespread anger as well as anguish leading to bandhs. Violence and arson marred Delhi Bandh in July 1987.

**GHERAEO:**

Gherao is another aggressive form of detaining, cordonning or
confinement of a person in authority by the employees for coersing or illegally pressing him to accept immediately their demands. “When employers and factory managers etc. are encircled in their offices or elsewhere by the labourers and are prevented from freely moving about or out for hours or days together until their demands are conceded, the action is called gherao” Gherao is thus the physical confinement of a person preventing the person in authority from freedom of movement and action. Such a type of confinement may continue till the person so ‘gheraoe’ accedes to the demands of those, who encircle him physically. It is the most coercive techniques and an undemocratic method of agitational politics. Pressure groups resort to ‘gherao’ of persons in power when other approaches of democratic protest donot succeed. It is not the Gandhian technique of non-violent agitation.

Gherao is a threat to the free functioning of democracy on account of its aggressive and despotic method to force to a person to accept any type of demand under physical pressure. Gherao creates terror in the minds of person holding responsible and decision-making posts in administration. Chief Ministers of States, Ministers, Officers of high ranks, police stations are often the targets of gherao. Vice-Chancellors of universities and Principals of Colleges are also physically confined by student community and kept in gherao till their demands, which cannot be other wise accepted, are acceded to by these authorities. Gherao thus endangers freedom of thought and action and is a grave threat to the democratic way of life. Pressure groups adopting this type of technique of political agitation hamper the growth of healthy democratic institutions in the country and pose a serious danger to democracy. Gherao is
basically grave inconsistent with the true concept of democracy itself.

**DHARNAS:**

Pressure groups may resort to Gandhian non-violent mode of dharnas to exhibit their protest in fulfillment of their demands. A dharna is a type of sit-down strike before the offices or residence of public men by persons to resist their moral resistance to injustice or to demand certain actions by the administrators, business chiefs or by persons in authority. Dharna by pressure groups and opposition parties in front of the government approved shops setting country liquor to close down such shops in the interests of labour class was a common sight during India’s struggle for freedom. Persons participating in a dharna observe fast and do not take food for a specific period. Sometimes a person who observes a dharna threatens to fast unto death to persuade the authorities to accept the demand of his groups. A Dharna may be planned by pressure groups for socio-religious reforms. For example, several organizations, fronts and pressure groups, including women’s organizations, trade unions, civil liberty organizations and other held a Dharna on Boat Club Lawns in new Delhi against the evil system of Sati to mobilize public opinion and to bring pressure on the Government to act to prevent opinion and to bring pressure on the Government to act to prevent its recurrence. An incidence of Sati, that is, burning of a woman after her husband’s death had occurred in Deorala village in Rajasthan. A Dharna is thus organized by people to express their anger or grievances concerning a public matter and to force the government and the political party in power to take step to remove such public grievances. It is a technique of expressing peaceful protest by disgruntled
pressure groups and often succeed in its objectives. Dharnas may continue till the demands of the people, society, associations or the groups which sits on a Dharna are fulfilled or an assurance to meet its demands is given by the management. A Dharna is thus a political technique of influencing the government to prevent the prevalence of certain governmental acts against public welfare. It is aimed at redress of grievances of the people or a pressure group by peaceful and non-violent manner.

**EVALUATION:**

In our modern times role of pressure groups in political process is very much increasing, pressure groups, are a power behind the curtain in modern political systems. These adopts several techniques to get their objectives achieved and try to influence not only electorate, but also the three organs of the government. It is their at most desire to create public opinion in their favour and as far as possible they make every effort to bring bureaucracy under their control.

Non-violent functioning techniques of expressing public frustration and anger by pressure groups to claim due solution of the wrongs which they feel are inflicted on them by resorting to satyagraha, peaceful strikes, bandhs, gherao etc. are full of potential danger to the peaceful democratic way of life. There are Gandhian techniques based on satyagraha and non-violence and adopted by Gandhiji during India’s freedom struggle against British rule and Gandhiji succeeded in the freedom fight. The reason of his success was that throughout his life. Gandhiji strived to uphold the sovereignty of individual conscience through non-violence and various techniques of satyagraha,
namely civil disobedience, fasting etc. Gandhiji’s mass movement was ethical in nature. In post-independence India these techniques of mass movements have been frequently used; but without any ethical preparation for using those Gandhian techniques. The constructive and enduring significance of Gandhian solution to the ill of the present day world has to be sought in his creed of non-violence and the technique of passive resistance. Gandhiji had a passionate desire to control mob fury and a determined will to prevent mob frustration from turning violent. Unfortunately the parties-mostly opposition parties and pressure groups articulating sectional interest adopt Gandhian techniques of non-violence but fail to control the mob anger leading to eruption of violence. The growing explosion of violence witnessed in different places of India resulting in loss of much public property and killings of innocent persons during public demonstration has badly disturbed sensible citizens. Violent acts by pressure groups to achieve narrow section interests at the cost of broader public good is a threaten to the progress of the country and raises the question about the future of Indian democracy and unity of the people.
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9. *The Ezhavas are a community representing the oppressed and untouchable castes.*


13. Modi, G.M.: *Presidential Address at the 33rd Annual Session of All India Organization of Industrial Employers.*
