SHIV SENA IN MAHARASHTRA : A STUDY OF MARATHWADA REGION

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DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation entitled "SHIV SENA IN MAHARASHTRA: A STUDY OF MARATHWADA REGION", submitted by Mr. Pradip Apparao Pachpinde in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University and is his own work.

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PREFACE

The emergence of Shiv Sena in Post - Independent period has given new direction to Maharashtra Poltics. Now a days, Shiv Sena is spreading in Marathwada, in nearly all the districts. This research is concentrated on the study of Shiv Sena in Marathwada region. Even though the region has lot of problems, Shiv Sena never appealed for its solution but still managed a good show in 1991 General Elections.

The question arises is why this sudden success of Shiv Sena in the region? If the Hindu deology is the main issue, then what is difference between Shiv Sena and other Hindu organisations. This raises the need for proper understanding of the problem. This study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter tries to give a background of the problem.

The second chatper deals with rise of Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, in general and analyses how Shiv Sena spread its Shakhas in Bombay. The remaining part of the chapter deals with Shiv Sena's organisational structure, its ideological programme and electoral performance in Bombay Municipal Corporation Election.

The third chapter concentrates on Shiv Sena

in Marathwada region to show in detail, the regional socio-cultural background and causes for Shiv Sena's spread in this region. The last part of the chapter discusses about Shiv Sena's Anti - Muslim, Anti - Dalit stand and its spreading net work.

The fourth chapter solely deal with Shiv Sena's Electoral performance in Maharashtra in general and Marathwada region in particular.

In conclusion we attempt to summarise the main trends of the study in the changing reality of the Maharashtra Politics.

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(PACHPINDE PRADIP)

CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION :

The central theme of this dissertation is to study Shiv Sena as a political force in wider political complexities in Maharashtra. The region as a whole has some distinct features which also influences the political process.

It has always been looked as an isolated phenomenon or as a regional variation in the realm of poltical studies but shares certain commonality along with the mainstream politics. Poltical situations in a country like India, has socio- historical past, from which it continues and thus emerges as a changing phenomenon. Social base of the region is considerably responsible for the continuity and change in the political situation in Maharashtra.

The rise of Shiv Sena is a post-Independence phenomenon. In Maharashtra conflicts between the Muslims and Hindus have historical reasons. Colonial India had also witnessed such conflicts. Here it is not our concern to discuss the reasons of such conflicts. But the fact remains that communal conflicts continue even in the post - Independence period.

During the British period many revivalist movements appeared, advocating the incorporation of certain western norms into the Indian tradition. Social practitioners thus, looked at the past as representing the great traditions, hence, Revivlaist movement was aimed at asserting the national identity.

In the light of colonial criticism of Indian values, Brahmo Samaj and many other such social institutions were founded. It gave a new direction to Indian palitics. Indianness' was being defined within the existing social setup. Gradually this assertion of identity and social power gave birth to organisations like R.S.S. Thus, the values which were thought to be believed the revivalist movements moved in a different direction. With a social base such organisations began to function. Once the attiude towards the assertion of identity goes on the historical conflicts and behavioral patterns within distant social groups different form.

In this post - independent changing scenario, claim and counter claims were made, to protect the interests of particular sections which become a part of democratic politics. This gradually gave rise to many complexities.

Rise of Shiv Sena is seen in the realm of such

post - Independence complexities, which have strong base in Maharashtra's social structure. It is acknowledged as militant organisation having the Hindu fundamental ideology. Fundamentalism in Maharashtra has strong social implications. Discontent and expectations among the people also pushes them towards the fundamentalist organisation.

Fundamentalism is propounded with great vigour and it is also claimed that they would safeguard the interests of dissatisfied social groups.

Maharashtra had witnessed radical social reformers such as Mahadev Govind Ranade, Agarkar and social reformers like Mahatma Jotiba Phule and Dr. Ambedkar. The pattern and the model set forth by the later two reformers, was percieved as an antagonistic attitude towards them by the upper caste concious Hindus. In order to maintain their structural hegemony of society in the post -Ambedkar Phase, for them shiv Sena stood by as a militant force to counter attack the Dalits. Their anti - dalit stand was further, confirmed by the riots and attrocities which they instigated in the Marathwada, Vidharbha, and several other parts in state.

Muslims has been worked as aliens. Therefore, Shiv Sena propogated anti - Muslim ideology

in the name of 'Hindutva'. Inspite of having the strong social movements inthe past in Maharashtra, Shiv Sena could grew as a 'Hindu fundamentalist organisation. This was because of the failures of social movements in the post - Ambedkar period.

Like other organisations which are existing in Maharashtra as well as outside Maharashtra Shiv Sena creates similar psychology among the Hindus, in the entire course of its development. Shiv Sena cliams to be the protector of Hindus and claims as a real Hindu organisation.

Throughout our discussion we are going to pose certain questions, some which had been already posed and answered earlier and some which had never been the focus of investigation by research scholars in the past. The questions which had earlier been posed and answered needs to be verified which will be done in this work and the inadequacies and the new findings will be presented with adequate supporting reasons and logic within the frame work of analysis which problem and phenomenon of Shiv Sena.

The questions which need serious investigation and answers are how it so happened that the reforms in the post Ambedkar period lacked efficacy

and because of which the Shiv Sena could exploit the situation to rise as a right wing Hindu communal force. It had also given slogans for protecting the interests of different sections of the community. Why was this incorporation possible and why was it needed, is an important question which we would like to answer.

In our discussion we will find that in a particular Marathwada region the Shiv Sena is a strong political force. The question here arises is that, how was it able to expand its base to such an extent in that particular region? It will also be seen that the congress which is the largest party in the state in terms of its social base in Maharashtra used Shiv Sena as a force to deal with or to counter the communists challenge in the trade union front. How this helped in development of Shiv Sena?

Marathwada region have peculiar socio-cultural background and where the Muslim population quite sizeable compare with other regions. The Marathwada always ignored in its developments, therefore region recognised as a backward region in the Maharashtra. Our attempt would be to show how all above aspects helped Shiv Sena to dent in Marathwada region?

With these qustions in mind the present study is an attempt to answer them.

CHAPTER - 2

RISE OF SHIV SENA IN MAHARASHTRA

Founding of the Shiv Sena in Bombay on the eve of India's fourth General elections and its growth as a major political force is an important development in city politics. Shiv Sena had occupied a relatively prominent position in state poltics within a short span of time.

Shiv Sena's transformation into a political party, expanded its political mass base inthe city. Shiv Sena came into power in Bombay, Thane and Aurgangabad Municipal Corporations in 1985-86 and in 1988 respecively. The political ambitions of the Sena were boosted by these victories over civic elections.

It was in the 1989 General Elections when Shiv Sena participatied for the first time and won four Lok Sabha seats. In Feburary 1990, State Assembly elections were held,in which Shiv Sena had registered its performance by wining 53 Assembly seats. This is particularly worth noting as earlier, many scholars had dismissed the Sena merely as a 'spent force'. Today Shiv Sena is widely talked about to capture the political power in the state.

The growth of Shiv Sena can be studied in two phases. In the first phase since its inception, when it propagated 'sons of the soil' ideology, and demanded 80% emplyoment should be given to Marathi people in the central and state offices in the city .

If we look at Sena's Statments in its early phase, it was formed to look after Maharashtraians interest in city and its was a social movement, 80% to be social work and 20% to be devoted to politics . It had one point programme i.e. Maharashtra for Maharashtraians.

"The Shiv Sena's" sons of the soil", sloganeering grabbed the hearts and minds of the Marathi youths in the city, who hankered after a job reservation policy like that offered by the Kerala and West Bengal Governments"[1] .

The Sena is widely seen as an off shoot of the long -drawn Samyu kta Maharashtra agitation that culminated in the formation of Maharashtra state in May 1960. The samiti had aroused Marathi consicousness and later then Sena strocked it flames on the question of

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1. The Times of India Febuary 20, 1990

employment to locals.

Mr. Thackeray launched ' Marmik' a cartoon weekly magazine, to mobilise public opinion on this issue. His writings and speeches flared up the imagination of the frustrated Marathi unemployed youth, who came from middle and lower middle classes of the society and who felt discriminated against by their own government [2].

The present chapter deals with the rise of Shiv Sena and its organisational structure in details . It also deals with its ideology and its agitational poltics. The last portion of the present chapter analyses Shiv Sena's electoral performance in BMC civic elections.

THE BIRTH OF SHIV SENA

The Shiv Sena (army of shivaji) derives its name from Shivaji Maharaj, the 17th centruy founder of the 'Hindavi swaraj' was a Maratha emperor. He defended Maratha territory against the invasion of the Mughals.

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2. Ambarish Mishra and Gunvanthi Balaram, "A subdued Silver Jubilee for Shiv Sena, The Times of India, June 23, 1991, p. 3

The Shiv Sena was formally launched on 19th June, 1966, at a public meeting at the Swantantrya Veer Sawarkar memorial site, at a beach called Shivaji Park, by Mr. Balasaheb Thackeray and his supportors. The aim of the movement was to safe guard the interest of the Marathi people and to look after the welfare of the people of Maharashtra [3].

Since 1960's he was propogating feelings among the Marathi people in Bombay that, how non-Mahrashtraians were exploiting Marathi people.

Shiv Sena founder Bal Thackeray started publishing a cartoon weekly - 'Marmik' since 1960. This weekly may be seen as a precursor of the Shiv Sena. 'Marmik' tried to highlight the declining plight of the Marathi speaking community in Bombay.

The Samyukta Maharashtra movement had already kindled the fire of Maharashtrian self - respect. The 'Marmik' succesfully drove this self - respect against non - Marathi communities in Bombay.

Mr. Thackeray began to use this technique of propaganda which had already been used and perfected

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3. " Shiv Sena Sepaks ", 'Marmik' (a cartoon Weekly) Bombay, 1967, p.1

during the Samyukta Mahashtra movement.

Mr. Thackeray, used several propoganda techniques including the Hindu-Muslim controversy. He claimed that the black market was dominated by South Indians, further he declared that " all the lungiwalas are criminals, gamblers, illicit liquors distillers, pimps, goondas and communist" "I want the illict liquor distillers to be Mahrashtrian, the goondas to be Maharashtrians the Mawali to be Maharashtrians!"[4]

The Shiv Sena complains that the natural resources of the state are being exploited by entrepreneurs who are mostly outsiders, while the 'sons of the soil " themselves do not get adequate representation in the employment created in these industries.

But the actual condition was different, for instance Marathi - speaking community has not be doing well in the increasingly competitive life in the city. As a community , it had customarily lacked initiative and entrepreneurial spirit. Other problem for them is that they possess little capital .

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4. Gangadharan K.K. , Shiv Sena : Antisocial movement, Mainstream , March 28, 1970 p. 19

The trade, commerce and industries in the city has always been in the hands of non - Maharashtr ians where as Marathi youth were solely dependent on job. So that competition become tough day by day and growing unemployment brought frustration and bitterness among the Marathi - middle class youths.

Thus, the Shiv Sena encouraged regional pride and systematically propogated feeling aginst non - Marathi, particularly South Indians.

One of the clerk in Bank Mr. G.S. Parab said, ", Bala saheb's ideology swept us off our feet . We Maharashtrian were being treated like dirt in our own capital city."[5]

SHIV SENA'S ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE AND CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION

The Shiv Sena began in 1966 as a movement a spontaneous expression of popular grievance and frustration. It had no formal organizational structure, no mediating mechanism between the leader and the led, and coherent ideology or programme. The

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5. The Times of India, June 23 , 1991 p. 3

Shiv Sena's decision to enter politics highlighted the need for such organization.

Since 1969 Sena had been seriously engaged in building such a structure. The Shiv Sena has a three tier structure. While it functioned initially through informal associations, formal efforts at party building began with the selection of Mr. Datta Pradhan who was the earlier member of RSS[6] to prepare a blue print of the structure and to select and train a disciplined cadre of activists to man the various units.

Uncanny Power strcutrue: According to Sena's "oath Mr. Balasaheb Thackeray, would not seek a single elected post. With the Sena, which has an uncanny power structure , there is no internal democracy even of the limited scale. The supremo is Mr. Thackeray, who presides over his "ashtapradhans"[7] Mr. Thackeray has twelve (12) leaders nominated by him. In the 'ashtrapradhan' council, there is no discussion or any debate, only views are briefly expressed. Then the Shiv Sena Pramukh hands out his decision. " If it is

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6. Daryapukar Rajesh ; Senapati (Marathi) Abhijit Prakashan (Nagpur), Feb, 1990.

7. Model onthe system Chattrapati Shivaji had during his time for consultation before taking any decision

against the majority new, we do not discuss it again but happily accept the pramukh's word"[8].

As the organisational chart shows, Sena chief is on top and no one in organisation matches his prestige and influence, the chief is followed by the karya karani - a 12 members advisory board, whose every member is vested with certain specific responsibilities in the organisational structure of the Shiv Sena. The karya karani is followed by six major organisational components of the Shiv Sena which are : the shakhas, the corporations the Bharatiya Kamgar Sena, the employment Bureau, the Chitrapat shakha, and Shetkari Sena. Following are their brief details :

The Shakhas :

Being the 'organisational back bone' of the Shiv Sena, the shakhas form the most important wing of the party. A shakha generally comprises Bombay's one muncipal ward with about 30,000 voters. Led by local influential leaders, the shakhas are instrumental in mobilising effective political support of the masses for the Sena.Dipankar Gupta opines that "the shakhas are probably the most developed componet of the Shiv

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8. Third state wide session of Shiv Sena activists in Pune, The Hindu (Madras), Dec. 31, 1988.

Sena organisation. They have helped to strengthen and expand the Shiv Sena mass base.

The only other component with an approximate status and an independent mass base is the Bharatiya Kamgar Sena. The Shakhas are mobilized when ever members have to be mustered physically as a show of strength on any occasion".[9]

With separate offices and dedicated office - bearers in every nook and corner of the state cities and towns the shakhas are the most important source of information for the Sena leadership. With library and in door game facilities, the shakhas local offices are convenient meeting places for the youth and Sena followers. Most Shakhas open after 5 p.m. since Sena workers are usually employed elsewhere, the shakha office becomes a meeting place of people with complaints, informations and suggestion as to its activities. These according to Gupta range from husband and wife quarrels to leaking pipes, employment law and order situation[10].

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9. Gupta Dipankar, "Nativism in a Metropolis : The Shiv Sena in Bombay", (1982) p. 76

10. Ibid ., p. 76

Bhartiya Kamgar Sena : The Bhartiya Kamagar Sena is the Shiv Sena's trade union wing which was started in 1968. It provide an umbrella to over 600 factories unions with the membership of over 25,500 under an active field staff.

The following guide lines are carried for the BKS[11]

(i) The Bhartiya Kamgar Sena will not exploit the workers as they have been exploited over the years by the Communists party.

(ii) The workers will be taught to produce more and only then ask for more. The hue and cry about class struggle has fooled the illiterate workers. The poverty of the worker is because he had held up production with strikes.

(iii) The Bharatiya Kamgar Sena will relentlessly attack the red strongholds of the CPI and CPI(M)

(iv) Unlike the communist trade unions they will use donations to help the workers when he is in difficulty.

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11. Marmik, Weekly (Bombay), August 11, 1968, p. 6

By following these guide line they would secure the interest and protect the Maharashtraian workers interest.

The field staff is headed by a president, assisted by a general secretary, eight field workers and varying number of retainers. It also provides legal advisors , which are not necessarily members of Shiv Sena, who were infact on the payrolls of the organisation, to protect the Shiv Sena workers in legal cases.

The BKS oppose prolonged confrontation betwen workers and management. It stand for cooperation between the two. But how far one can believe, it is questionable, because captialists have always turned a blind eye towards workers problems and their hard work in their process of making more and more profit.

Without pressurizing the management, workers would never get their proportionate share. In 1968 many factory owners requested the Shiv Sena to establish its unions in their factories to fight the communist trade unions and thus the BKS came into being. In 1967 union strikes, Bal, Thackeray himself led the Shiv Sena supporters in violent assaults against the communists, raising the slogan of burning

down their red flag, Bal Thackeray, directed . "we must not miss a single opportunity to massacre communists whereever we find them",[12] .

The BKS provides the Sena with vital information about factories , fresh vacancies, general industrial position and activities of the rival trade unions. Later, such information is exploited to promote the Shiv Sena's interests.

Apart from the BKS, Sena trade union function as independent components in vital establishements such as the BEST kamgar Sena and the Mazagaon Dock Union. The latter two unions function under Dutta Pradhan.

Today BKS have established their branches in several industrial belts like, Nasik, Pune Aurgangabad etc.

The BKS does not believe in class struggle but in co-operation between workers and the management,"The workers and management in the factory are the two wings of production."[13] But if the

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12. Gupta, op. cit., p. 159

13. Salve Datta , Rajshree, vol.9 No.7, Sepcial Issue, August 1972.

management is "bewkoof" then we have to fight [14].

The Employment Wing:

The main function of this wing is to look after working conditions and to provide jobs to Maharashtrians. This wing of the Sena operates through various shakhas and provides jobs to the organisations's followers and sympathisers. True to its ideology and manifesto, the Shiv Sena believes that 80 percent of jobs should go to the Maharashtrians, and the employment wings efforts are bent in that direction. The detailed and comprehensive information regarding the applicants is maintained.

Regarding employment, the Shiv Sena's stand is that where ever special skills are not necessary priority should be given to Maharashtrians without the slightest objection. In white collar occupations, similarly be employed as clerks, in hotels as lobby managers, waiters and so on [15].

In 1972 , Thackerary established 11 branches of the Sthaneeya Lokadhikar Sena Smaiti under this wing, with the objective of gaining support from

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14. Gupta, "Datta Salve'spersonal interview" , August 1973

15. Gupta, op. cit., Ibid., Personal interview of prince Marohar Joshi by Gupta March 1973 (Bombay)

amongst the salaried workers, particularly those in financial institutions, such as R.B.I., State Bank of India, and several other banks , Insurance Companies, the Accountant General's office. etc.

The Shiv Sena leader claims that since its inception in January 1972, the samiti has provided jobs to over 1,25,000 youths[16].

The main motive of this samiti was to get employment for Marathi youths. They keep a check on, the harassment of Maharashtrian workers and their promotions, transfers and other benefits. The karya karani and Shiv Sena Pramukh Bal Thackeray feels the samiti is a powerful weapon in their hand.

The Corporation:

The presence of the Shiv Sena in the BMC is a source of strength for the shakhas as the Sena corporators helps ease the task and increase the efficiency of the local office bearers. The corporators protect the interests of the Sena and its followers. They use their presence in the BMC to popularise the Sena's programme name and ideology.

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16. The Times of India, June 23, 1991, p. 3

The BMC affairs are also important, in so far they are the testing ground for the strength of political parties. The commercial expansion of Bombay,with its industrial development spread across a socially hetrogenous population. We find various grouping a cosmopolitan society in which each socially stands apart in its distinctiveness, yet it is closely interlinked with other in economic pursuits. While specific demands of all these groups exert their simultaneous impact on Bombay's civic problems.

The BMC's functions include provision and maintenance of health services; eduations; water - supply, fire protection , markets ; parks. Paying grounds and recreational facilities. It also provide drainage ; housing : electricity supply; bus and other transport within the city.

Providing all above facilties it needs crores of rupees which comes from revenues and other sources.

Since 1985 BMC is under the control of Shiv Sena, with its five mayoral candidates enjoyed one yer term BMC is fully autonomous body having 170 members civic Body elected for the five years term. It has various standing committees under elected members. The chief executive Municpal commissioner is appointed by

the state government for the term of three years. The mayor of the corporation in elected annually by the elected members of the BMC.

Now shiv Sena is using BMC power for expanding net work within Bombay district and out side through its influence. BMC victory turns Shiv Sena's limited aims and objectives into much wider base and issues. It began to spread in the rural areas as well.

Chitrapat Shakha:

The Chitrapat Shakha of the Shiv Sena was established in March 1970 as its cultural wing, dealing primarily with the release and production of Marathi films. The major objectives of the chitraput shakha is to fight injustice against Marathi films.

Chitrapat shakha is very small in size compared to Sena's other operation wings like BKS. But it brings in a lot of funds, publicity and glamour for Shiv Sena. The Shakha was headed by G. Shidke, a Maharashrian film producer and a close friend of Bal Thackeracy. He is assissted by a three member sallagar sabhasad (advisory board) of whom two are non - Maharashtr.ian. There are four Karyakarni Sabhasads.

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In all, Shikdke has 11 officials to assist him and the chitrapat shakha has 1,200 members[17].

According to Mr. G. Shidke, Primary motive of the chitrapat shakha is to fight against injustice. Marathi films were not getting proper theaters for their exhibition and this scarcity dealts a bad blow to Marathi producers. Marathi producers were advised by the chitrapat shakha to book their movies for exhibition through it. For this purpose it opened a special department called the Shiv Sena chitrapat vitaran (film distribution) and it first client was the producer of the Marathi film "nandini".

In 1972 the chitrapat shakha started its Kalakar Sangh to promote junior artists and to "introduce new faces at reasonable rates."[18]

Even before the Chitrpat Shakhar was formed , Bal Thackeray was sensitive to these issues and shiv sainiks had picketed a few halls which did not allow to release marathi films on time. They had also attacked certain films because they were propagating a

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17. Gupta Dipankar , "Nativism in Metropolis : Shiv Sena in Bombay ",(1982) p. 88.

18. Brochure of Chitrapat Shakha, second Anniversary Number, March, 1972

vicious culture according to shiv Sena. Now their activities becomes more intense and organised.

The chitrapat shakha is patronised by many prominent artists. Dada Kondke, actor, director and producer of the Marathi as well as Hindi films, Nana Patekar and so on. Hindi films stars like Mithun, are also helping Shiv Sena in its election campaign and founding its shakhas.

The Shakha collects funds, as much as Rs. 12 is from the lowest technician, (no membership fees are charged in the shakha, all contribution are voluntary). the rates are higher for better paid artists.

The Shiv Sena also announced awards through the chitrapat shakha best actor, actress, supporting actor-actress, music director, director and so on so forth. But iromically many non - marthi artists had also won these awards.

No members from chitrapat shakha nor its pramukh are allowed to attend the meetings where the Bal Thackeray, Karyakarnis and shakha pramukhs participated . They meet Sena pramukh separately and informally. Many Shiv Sainiks do not like to give much importance to chitrapat shakha members.

Datta Pradhan BKS leader feels that as the chitrapat shakha is run by producers it addresses it self mainly to producers, interests, he says " Shidke does not pay much attention to the problems of the workers and techinician".

The Sena pramukh says that, "we must enter into all aspects of our life. The film industry is not only a source of employment, but it also affects the Marathi way of life and can strengthen our patriotism"[19].

Social Welfare service:- In addition to these five Shiv Sena organisational branches, with their special objectives, the organisation is also known for other social welfare activities earlier normally dealing with Bombay based problems now expanding its activities through out Maharashtra. The Shiv Sena runs a hearse service, fleet of ambulances on stand - by duty, registered with most of the hospitals in Bombay and now at least one ambulance for every district.

Shiv Sena have highly popular programmes like blood donation drives, distribution of exercise books

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19. Gupta Dipankar. op. cit., p. 89

at concessional rates, and the home for the aged at Khopoli there are several other small unions working under the organisation , like Maharashtra Riksha Chalak Sena, several clubs for body building etc.

The Shiv Sena's organisation has gradually expanded over the last two and half decades without diminution of the chief's authority as the supreme leader. Appropriate delegation of authority to its specialised branches, and Thackeray's dictatorial style of leading the party, have made the Shiv Sena an effective organisation. The contemporary expansion came about primarily as a consequence of the Shiv Sena "wanting to reach out to a large cross - section of the masses and consolidate itself, rather than because of an ever burgeoning membership "[20] .

Commenting on the organisational structure and its mode of political operation an analyst maintains that "the party's gains have always come the thought quantum leaps, rather than graduaal expansion. Like a weed trying to come up through the pavement, the Sena sinks its roots and bides its time, waiting for a crack to open"[21].

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20. Gupta, op. cit ., p. 103

21. Kaye Lincoln , "Politics of Poison", Far Eastern Econmic Review, Hong Kong, May 18, 1989, p. 45.

Agitational Politics of Shiv Sena:

From 1969 onwards, just three years after its birth, the Shiv Sena increased its agitational politics. The Belgaum -Karwar issue had simmered over the years in 1969. On January 27 , 1969 under the leadership of Bal Thackeray Shiv Sainiks demonstrated against the then Home minister S.B. Chavan during his visit to Bombay. On Feburary 7, 1969 a mob of angry Shiv Sainiks held up Deputy Premier Shri Morarji Desai's car, to present a memorandum demanding to solve the Belgaum -Karwar issue.

In support of the earlier demonstration riots broke out in Dadar and Mahim areas of Bombay. Bal Thackeray was arrested in the connection of riots, under the Preventive detention Act, 1951,[22] and put into Yerwada Jail. The riots continued upto 11 Feb, 1969, in which free - ranging riots, arson, looting and burning down of shops and property, largely belonging to South Indians. 44 People were dead, 293 injured in police firing including S.S. leader Bal Thackeray. The loss of property estimate was Rs. 15 crores. After Thackeray's release from jail, he stated that the Shiv

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22. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, vol. XVII, December 1969 - 70, p. 24048.

Sena would seek revenge for every drop of Shiv Sainik blood that had been spilled. The kind tendency of revenge politics had kept Shiv Sena on war path.

Beside the threat from the South Indians to be Maharashtrian culture and economic resources, Bal Thackeray added the 'growing menace of Islam to Hindusim'. On the eve of the Shivaji's birthday celebration in May 1970, the worst kind of communal riots broke out between the Muslims and Hindus at Bhiwandi on May 7, 1970.

The Shiv Sena, which had originally pitted against the South Indians, the Communists and their trade Unionis, had adopted an intense anti-Muslim stance in the last few years. In Marmik, Bal thackeray , while denouncing"the green menace of Islam", had consistently urged that "Hindus should not only remain Hindus but be fanatic believers and dedicated crusaders of the religion. I am not ashamed to say that I am a Hindu fanatic".[23]

In the estimate of Keesing's contemporary Archieves, in the Bhivandi Hindu - Muslim riots, 82

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23. Bal Thackeray's remarks quoted in Keesing's Contemporary Archieves, Sept. 12 - 19 , 1970, p. 24183.

persons were killed, 1,000 homes burnt down and 34,000 people were left shelterless[24]. Rioting spread to other parts of Maharashtra. On May 12, Home Minister Chavan stated in the Lok Sabha that those killed were mostly Muslims and that nearly all the houses that were burnt down belonged to the Muslims[25]. The judical inquiry squarely put the blame on Bal Thackeray and his Militant Sena[26].

Depsite the involvement in such gruesome tragedy, the Shiv Sena went scot - free. A noted Indian Journalist put it in these words "nothing happened to the Shiv Sena, nobody touched Bal Thackeray. Even up to this day no political

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24. Op. cit., Ibid.

25. Ahmra saeed, "The rise of the Shiv Sena", Region studies, (Islamabad) vol. III No. 4 Autumn 1985, p. 94

26. The Madon commission named five organisation i.e. the local branch of All India Majlis. Tameer - e - Millat, the shiv Sena, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the Sena samiti and Rashtriya Ustar Mandal. The best four are Hindu organisations, while the first belongs to the muslims. The commission named the Shiv Sena as playing a leading role in the communal riots.

party or leader in Maharashtra has pointed an accusing finger at Bal Thackeray. Why? Because he in supposed to be capable of whipping up Maharashtrain Frenzy along un alloyed communal lines. In a session of election imminence, can any body in Maharashtra afford cross swords with the Shiv Sena'.

It will be as unreal as fighting Mussolini's Black shirts or Hitler's Brown shirts in the days when they had appeared on the scene but had not yet ascended the throne"[27].

The Sena had lowered its image during 1971 - 1984. Because of its political somersault in the emergency and its unprincipled alliances with non - communist opposition which proved harmful for its image. Sena was in search of big shot to revamp its image and that was provided by the 1984 Bhiwandi massacres.

The Bhiwandi Massacres:

After the communal riots in Bhiwandi in 1970, the derogatory speeches and statements, of Bal Thackeray pertaining to the Muslim community and their

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27. Chakravarty, Nikhil., "Time to Ban Shiv Sena", Mainstream, (New Delhi), May 1984.

faith were singularly responsible for the 1984 massacres.

On April 21, 1984 at a meeting of the Hindu Mahasangh Bal Thackeray's speech was against Muslims and charged them with spreading " like cancer " in India and accused them for having a "pro-pakistan mentality".[28] Thackeray's remarks against the Holy Prophet aroused the Muslims anger, who staged a rally led by A.R. Khan (MLA) and publicly garlanded a photo of the Sena Chief with shoes.[29] The Shiv Sena reacted by organising a Shiv Jayanti procession (banned since 1970). The youth on both sides attacked each other and tore down flags ... leading inevitably to bloodshed. In three days of riots, 230 prersons died, and 60,000 become homeless. According to slum dwellers Shiv Sainiks demolishing their houses spreading terror in the city. The dwellers mostly belonging to Scheduled Castes .

Engineering communal and caste riots became inevitable phenomenon of Shiv Sena's agitational politics. Wherever, Shiv Sena spread its shakhas, successfully engineered riots between Hindu - Muslim or

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28. See, a report entitled : "Fear over the city", The Illustrated Weekly of India, Bombay , May 27, 1984.

29. Ibid.,

Hindu - Dalits , which always helps Sena to improving its image among the Hindus. For instance, Shiv Sena's entry in Aurangabad city followed communal riots in 1986 and 1988. These were atrocities on Dalits by upper castes Hindus (supportors of Shiv Sena) made Shiv Sena's entry conformed in rural areas.

The question which arise here is why government has not restrictied the Shiv Sena's agitational politics, which is the instrument for spreading communal tension between the two communities. There are several judicial reports stated Shiv Senas involvement in communal riots i.e. Bhiwandi, riots in 1970 showed it.

Electoral Performance: Shiv Sena was formally launched in 19th June, 1966 as social movement on the principle of 80 percent social work and 20 percent political Bal Thackeray categorically stated that Shiv Sena was non - political organisation. Its main aim was welfare of the Marathi people and campaign of hiring the "sons of the soil " in such a blue - collar bastions as the dockyards and textile mills, as well as the white -

collar precincts of banks and public sector companies[30].

For building up its organisational structure, the Sena concentrated on collecting money. The Sena gangsters extorting money for the Sena's activities, made the party parochial threat all the more credible awe and fear were the currencies the Shiv Sena traded in for its bewildering success in the BMC affairs.

The Shiv Sena contested the 1968 civic elections of the BMC and suprisingly won 42 out of 140 seats. - placing itself next to the Congress leaving every other opposition party far behind in the local electoral performance.

During the 1971 general elctions , the Shiv Sena found itself quite helpless against what was popularly known as "the Congress wave". Mrs. Gandhi introduced several new policies, nationalisation of banks, various employment programmes for the youth and

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30. Kaye Lincoln, 1989 op. cit., p. 48. The Shive Sena carefully cultivated its links in organisations that already had a large proportion of "the sons of the soil " on their payrolls . One such organisation was Bombay's police department -- proving extermely informative for the Sena's activities.

successful use of the Garibi Hatao (removal poverty) slogan, the Congress (I) was able to attract voters heavily in its favour . In the May 1972 state assembly elections, the Shiv Sena won the Vile Parle seat and for the first time entered state politics.

In the March 1973 BMC elections , the Sena won 32 civic seats. Ironically, the Shiv Sena corporator, Sudhir Joshi, was elected Mayor of the BMC with the support of Muslim League with 16 seats and the socialists and congress members supported him.

During the Emergency imposed by the Union Government of Mrs. Gandhi, the Shiv Sena supremo supported the Emergency (1975-77) as a necessary measure in the national interest. Bal Thackeray asked his Sena to lend its full muscle in the enformement of birth control and slum clearance schemes of the Congress. Such a stance resulted in an election backlash, and the Sena won only 9 seats in the 1978 BMC elections.

Bombay Municipal Corporation

The 1985 (BMC) Civic Elections:-

The eighth BMC Civic elections held on April 25,1985 . After the gruesome Bhiwandi incident, the Shiv Sena's victory in the BMC elections (in which it won 74 out of 170 seats.) brought surprise even to

its own leaders. The Congress (I) was able to win only 37 seats, the PDF comprising the Janata and the Congress (S) got 19 seats and the BJP 8 seats. Dr. Dutta Samant's group won only three seats. The remaining 24 seats were shared by Muslim league 5, the Bharatiya Congress one, and independent 18 seats.

The Shiv Sena's stunning victory emerging as the single largest party in the corporation could not be attributed solely to the Marathi speaking voters. In the 1984 Bhiwandi riots its had emerged as the sole protector of the majority community, the Hindus, as well as the trading class in the city[31].

The influential section of the ruling Congress (I) went out of its way and, contrary to its anti - communal professions, supported the Shiv Sena cause in the civic elections. The permission given by the Maharashtra state government to "take out procession on the Shiv Jayanti day was utilised by the Sena to streamline its organisation and make its show of strength"[32]. The PDF which had ruled the BMC from 1978 to 1984, got only 19 seats.

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31. Indian Express, New Delhi, April 28, 1985.

32. Ibid.,

1985 BMC Civic Poll Results (total seats 170)

Party	Seats won	Seats contested	Seats in Last BMC
Shiv Sena	74	140	21
Congress (I)	37	170	17
BJP*	13	136	-
Janata	10	102	83**
Congress(S)	9	63	8
BC (Antulay)	1	63	-
KA (D. Samant)	5	82	-
CPI	1	16	3
Muslim league	5	28	3
CPI (M)	-	14	1
RPI	-	28	-
PWP	-	4	-
Independents	15	798	7
Lok Dal	-	41	-
BRP	-	49	-

* Did not exist as a party earlier

** Pre-split position

(Source of data : The Statesman, Delhi, April 24, 1985)

Moreover, attracted by the Sena's slogans to beautify the city, preserve its greenery and remove the

unauthorised encroachments, the Bombay citizens were "sore with the stepmotherly treatment that the BMC received at the hands of the state administration. Supercession of the Corporation was considered an insult to the civic fathers, paucity of funds and rampant corruption among civic officials contributed to the erosion of its image in the public mind'[33] However, Manohar Joshi holds three factors responsible for the victory. The issue of Bombay's possible separation from Maharashtra. Secondly, the BRCC's decision to give the majority of seats to non Maharashtrian's also did considerable damage to the Congress (I) and added to the Shiv Sena votes. Thridly, Joshi believes, that people have appreciated the work done by Shiv Sena's shakha pramukhs, local neighbourhood level leaders.[34]

Conclusion:

The Shiv Sena phenomenon burst on the Maharashtrian political scene in the late 1960 and proved to be potent factor in BMC politics. However, in

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33. "Playing on regional sentiments ", The Hindu.(Madras), May 5, 1985

34. Bakshi Rajni, The Tiger Returns, The Illustrated Weekly of India , May 12, 1985.

the mid - seventies, it began to decline but continued to survive in its local constituency of the BMC, taking up minor issues though of great significance to its followers . From its very inecption, the Shiv Sena, formed its own trade union wing, began to counter the communist & socialist trade unions in Bombay . In the 1970's although the Sena searched for wider issue in the state of Maharashtra, at least to sustain if not wide its base, it was not able to succeed unitl the late 1980's

Since its inception Bal Thackeray rejecting democracy" A weak rule ", believes in dictatorship.

CHAPTER - 3

SHIV SENA IN MARATHWADA

MARATHWADA : A Profile

The Administrative division of Aurangabad, covers seven districts which called as `Marathwada'. The region covers 64,663 sq. km in area, approximately 1/5 of the total area of Maharashtra State, with 97,26,840 population. The divisional head quarter is at Aurangabad. The region has fertile black cotton soil and 75 percent of the land is under cultivation. Though the irrigated area is only 6.3 percent and region gets inadequate rain fall.

Historically, the region had evident Mughal rule and latter it was under the rule of Nizam nearly 200 years. Post-Independence, under the leadership of Swami Ramanand Teerth `Hydrabad Mukti Sangramm' started, and response to that, the region merged inthe Bombay Presidency in 1956 and latter in Maharashtra State in 1960. Since the Nizam's rule the Marathwada remain backward and neglected from all sort of developments. Recently, Aurangabad comes under industrial development.

The ministerial representation to Marathwada was also inadquate and not in proportion to its population. They performance of the Congress party in general elections in the region was not so sat-is-factory. The political under-Joint representation was also cconsidered as one of the reasons. for economic backwarness of the region.

Marathwada could not get proper share in the development of the state. It could not develop a industrial belt comparable to other industrial twons of the state. The young graduates from Marathwada found little access to the jobs in either of these centres. The resultant frustrtion got coupled with increased aspirations. This led to the agitation in 1974. The agiation was started by Marathwada university Students, "Association (MUSA)- for demanding speedy economical development of the region. This agitation was backed by powerful groups in Congress (I). It was blessed by Shankarao Chavan the Minister of Agirculture in State Cabinate and an aspirant for chief Minstership. It is interesting to note that S.B.Chavan became the chief Minster just the next year 1975 replacing V.P.Naik[1].

This emergence of regional feeling in Marathwada thereafter changed into a social unrest chaos . The backward castes groups got aliniated from Congress because of its upper caste politics in the name of Bahujan Samaj. This reality is manipuated by Shiv Sena now a days.

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1. Majeed, A., (ed) Regionalism : Developmental Tension in India New Delhi Cosmo Publication, 1984 , Chap. 6.

A. Social Background of Marathwada Region:

As far as the social history of the region is concerned it goes to the time immemorial long hisotry. Here we are not concern about greater details.

Hindu - Muslim Relations:-

Marathwada region has pecular historical past. There was Maratha rule in the region before Mughals came into power. The region was under the control of the Nizam foralmost 200 years. . It was ruled by the Muslim elite in collaboration with a section of the Hindu elite. The both the elite section of the communities understood the need of the communal harmony for their p:etty gains.

The relations between two communities began to be upset with the Razakar Tehrik on the eve of India's partition in 1947. This resulted in the riots in the region, and since then the Hinu Muslim relations are not so smooth.

Even after the creation of Pakistan on the communal line, many Muslims prefered to stay in the region, so that Marathwada . has sizable Muslim population. Till the early sixties Muslims were

financially quite strong well of, but after that situation started deteriorating with the social and demographic changes which began to taking place with the schemilization of development schemes in Marathwada region. The first manifertation of this was the riots of Arunagabad city in 1968.

The strength of the Muslim popularition in Aurangabad district has come down from 45 per cent to about 30 percent since Independece[2]. Industrialisation has brought non-Muslim from rural and adjoining area in to the urban towns The population has gone down both in number as well as in significance. Muslims have been reduced to penury for two reasons. first, they could not economically adjust to a commercial and industrial economy and remained grounded in a feudal economy. Second, they could not get their proporiouate share of employment in the new business and industrial set up.

1988 Communal Holocast in Aurangabad:-

In fact whole election campaign was based

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2. Engineer A.A., "Aurangabad Riots : Part of Shiv Sena's Political strategy", Economic and Political weekly, June 11, 1988, p. 1204

on communal propaganda and the vote bank concept. This was to create an atmosphere of communal tension. The Shiv Sena used militant Hindu ideology to win that elections.

Thackeray had openly warned his cadres that the congress (I) had converted Aurangabad into a Muslim vote bank[3].

After the AMC elections in 1988, Shiv Sena as a emerged single largest group wining 27 seats out of 60. However, the Shiv Sainiks sense of jublilation turned into furstration as the Congress (I) made political manoeuvring in the Mayoral election, by joining hand with Indian Union of Muslim Lague on one hand and various dalit groups on other.

The unruly Sena crowd went violent on 17th May, burning vehicles and private property. On the very first day five persons were stabbed fatally, four Hindus and one muslim and 138 persons were injured. The riots spread to near by areas, Paithan, Bidkin, which → was directed against the Muslims in retaliation to what happened in Aurgangabad.

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3. Thackery wanted himself to turn Aurangabad into a Hindu vote bank for his own party and hence, his philosophy and ideology was quite fanatic.

Goverment failed miserably to control the situation. The local press indirectly helped to spread riots and it provoked perticular section of the society[4].

It showed that Congress (I) party bosses were delebratly tried to take revenge of its humiliation of defeat in the Municipal elections.

But due to this development from that date Marathwada became favourable ground for communal tension, exploited by both the parties. The relation between two communities remain always suspecting each others activities.

B. The Marathwada University

Anti Renaming Agitation (1978): Dalit - Hindu conflicts

The demand of ramaming of Marathwada University after Dr.Ambedkar, first come up in May 1977 when the Dalit Panthers- militant organization of Dalit youth adopted resolution along with nine other demands on the occasion of the Golden Jubille celebration of a

4. According to Jai Dev Dole sub editor Marathwada Daily), during riots the local press stood by Shiv Sena and projected communal and casteist image.

Satya graha offered by Dr. Ambedkar at Mahad in 1927 in Ratanagri district. The object of the Satyagarha was to make drinking water available to the Dalits of the town from the tank near by, thus symbolizing Dalits fight against untouchability.

Since its inception the demand for renaming the university has gone through number of twists and turns. Altracting nationde attention and giving it under socio-political dimention. It clearly brought a division in the ppeople for and against the demand making it emotionally surcharged.

The immediate cause for violent reaction on the part of the people throughout the region was the resolution adopted by the State Assembly in favour of chaning the name of the University. The reaction of the anit change group was sharp and voilent. The agitation was directed against the government decsion and their main target was public properties.

However, the initial outburst was against the government, when it spread to rural areas took a caste dimension. In the villages, the violence against dalits took many forms: "Killing of people, molestation and rape of dalit women, burning of their hoses and huts, rendering them homeless, shunting them out of villages,

polluting drinking water wells, killing of their cattle, refusal to give them work, etc"[5]. This inhuman act created terror among the rural dalits till today.

The Shiv Sena manipulated this anti-dalit pscyhe of upper caste Hindus by propagating strong anti-dalit stand.

Recently Shiv Sena directly involved in engineering attrocities on dalits in Marathwada region; the causes behind attack was dalit were farming 'gairan' land (lang belonging to government) forcefully. Shive Sena took that advantage and opposed violently due to its militant activity upper caste Hindus were joined hands with lower caste and exploited their anger against dalits.

The Marathwada anti-renaming agitation and present 'gairan' land problem was clearly a caste-conflict. The scheduled caste youths's increased awareness of its inferior status and the imbalance in

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5. Voice, Aurangabad ", A note on the Agitation in Marathwada", submitted to Ram Dhan, Chairman of Parliamentary committee on September 23, 1978.

the development benefits to different social group had created the tension. The caste - Hindus were angry about the reservation policy of the government in favour of the SCs/STs and in general annoyed by their increasing assertiveness. Thsi anger found its vent in the attrocities. on the Dalits in rural areas[6].

Towards the end of "Bhujan Samaj Model" of Congress:-

In Maharashtra competitive democratic pluralism was synonymous with congress party politics up untill 1971. The pluralist model created by Mr Y.B. Chavan the leader of Maratha which is a dominating caste in Maharashtras political and economic sphere.

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6. The atrocities on Dalits has been reported in several places, such as Limboni (Taq Ambad) Sillod, Aurangabad, Kannad, Vaijapur, Khultasad, (Dist. Aurangabad) etc. : A memorandum, submited to SC /ST commissioner on 15 Sept. 1987.

The model was recongised as a Bahujan Samaj Vad, in which political representation had given to elite belonging to Maratha, and other backward castes to manuplate support from all sections of society.

But it is gradually loosing its ground, seen as the support structure of Congress is rapidly under going transformation. The congress party works for the upper and middle class. Very big chunk of its previous support structure, i.e. the other backward castes and the lower classes were shifting away from it. This is the nation wide phenomenon observed in Maharashtra also.

These alineted masses were becoming the base of the Hindutavadi Organisations. In Maharashtra Shiv Sena successfully has manipulated this. It is significant from the list of the candidates of Shiv Sena in 1990 Assembly elections, while out of 52 seats won by Shiv Sena in this elections 32 candidates belongs to OBCs[7].

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7. It is also noted that Shiv Sena gave tickets to 3 dalit candidates in reserve constituencies for Scheduled Castes. They contested two seats out of our reserved for the Scheduled Tribes.

Therefore, it can be said that Shiv Sena was delibarately making an attempt to cut through the caste lines and project itself as a party of all castes. This is a cunning attempt to grab the support of Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the name of Hinduism, even though Shiv Sena had opposed the reservation policy for SCs and STs.

Role of Congress(s) during 1978 to 1986:-

In 1978 the a strong group under the leadership of Mr Sharad Pawar revolted against the leadership of Mr Vasantdada Patil, then Chief Minister of Maharashtra and formed a new party called Congress (Socialist). The leader of this party Sharad Pawar, who was accepted as a political inheritor of former Chief Minister Mr Y.B. Chavan and had considerable support in the Maratha Caste. He formed the government with the alliance with peasants and workers party and other outfits. The alliance is named as Progressive Democratic Front. (PDF).

Congress (S) was a the biggest opposition party. The masses who were alienated due to the policies of Congress party got attracted towards the Congress (S). The seats won by Congress (S) in 1985 Assembly Elections was 54 [8].

Being an ambitious leader when Sharad Pawar realised that politics in Congress (S) would not fullfil his ambitious, so Sharad Pawar left Congress (S) and rejoined into Congress (I) with his 54 MLAs supporters in 1986 at Aurangabad in presence of late Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

It is quite significant that the masses of the other backward classes which were alienated from Congress (I) due to its policies favourable to Maratha elite and upper caste people. This created a political vacuum which was filled up by the emergence of Shiv Sena's Hindutva ideology. The above can be proved by election analysis[9].

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8. Out of 126 seats contested and the % of vote polled by party was 16.73.

9. In 1985 Assembly elections Congress(S) had polled 16.23 % of votes, and Congress(I) had polled 44.86% votes. But after the mergence of Congress(S) into Congress(I), in 1990 Assembly election together got 39.07% of votes, where as Shiv Sena polled 16.27% of votes. It is clearly showes, Sena filled vacuum created by Congress(S).

Emergence of Fascist Ideology in Hinduism:-

As a weapon to safeguard its own interest, the ideology is being used all along. The ideology of Hinduism is also propagated by those who have ample interest in keeping of the hierarchical caste system as it is. Therefore, the move of Hindu unity is the main feature of the Hindutvavadi organizations which attempted to create a homogeneous Hindu conceiousness to counter the possibility of the formulation of class consciousness. They are employing a forceful rhetoric in favour of Hindu consolidation, Hindu cultural supremacy and in favour of nation building on the basis of Hindutava ideology.

"All this goes to suggest that concerted efforts of organizing the society as Hindu Society have been underway and also that the sections of the society wanted to cultivate a Hindu Vote bank. Once such a vote bank takes a shape people become suspectible to religious appeal and look upon themselves as Hindu breathen rather than mambers of various castes and/or classes. It is, therefore, not even necessary to point out that the architects of this would be Hindu unity intended to take advantage of this situation by super-imposing the fictions of religious unity over the caste

class ridden social reality".[10]

Nature of Ideology of Hinduism - Hinduism has two important characters these are integration and militancy. Hinduism attempts an integrationist reinterpretation of History. Therefore, Hinduist propaganda is always full of appeals to all Hindus, to create unity among themselves. No doubt that the caste is the main stumbling block in this process of Hindu integration. Therefore Hinduist talk about playing down the caste conflict and tales of caste-amity are highlighted. Emotional appeals are employed to mobilise people of all cates and bring them together.

The new Hindu offensive resorts to militancy and use of force. It turns to aggression, not only because it is intolerent of opposition, but because it is aware of the limitations of its integrationist appeals. The Hindu unity which it seeks to achieve is, after all, based on the domination of the higher castes, particularly the Brahmans, and Marathas. There are bound to be same not so willing patterns in Hindu Unity. Therefore, the integrationist strategy is

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10.Jayant Lele & Rajendra Vora (ed)"State & Society in India" Vol. 5 Chapter 9 PP. 215-16

supplimented with militancy. This militancy finds expression in words and deeds alike. The vulgar militancy of the outbursts of Bal Thackeray probably surpasses all other. He uttered disrespect for the non-hindus, in strong words, plain threats and abusive slogans, and sheer fanatacism occupy the greater concern of neo-hinduist writtings and propaganda.[11]

Lower castes and muslims are the chief objects of hatred for Hindu militancy. The lower castes incur the Hindus wrath because of their strong demand for reservations and the formation of a seaparate Dalit identity. Hinduist have generally opposed the recommendations of Mandal Commission and have also challanged the wisdom of reservations for the scheduled castes. They got fear that such reservations will separate lower castes from upper castes. The dalits have made their own identity and opposed caste system. At the same time they saw Muslims as the immediate threat to the Hindu nation as they have separate identity and their own culture. The feeling among the muslims that once they were the rulers, it strikes orthodox Hindu severly.

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11. Jayant Lele & Rajendra Vora (ed)"State & Society in India" Vol. 5 Chapter 9 PP. 229-30

Factionalism in Congress:

Rivalry within different groups in Congress also helped Shiv Sena to emerge as a force to reckon with.

The first and important point is that the Hinduist are providing distinct political ideology which differ from congress and cutting accross the various stratas of Hindu Society. The Congress party which is dominated by upper caste Hindus have sympathy towards the Hinduism.

Secondly, the factionalism in Congress which does not affect more during the national level elections but affect scenario during assembly and local level elections. When one rival group fails to get tickets for their candidates they starts working against their opposite groups and for this they support the candidates of the opposite party. In the same way the Shiv Sena was also supported by the prominent leaders in the Congress. For example, to reduce the influence of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee President (BPCC) Murli Deora, then Chief Minister Vasantdada Patil helped Shiv Sena in BMC elections.

This factionalism is seen clearly during the local elections of Zilla Parishads, Corporation elections Thus factionalism increases from state level to local level. This really helped Shiv Sena, and has been manipulated by the Shiv Sena for its benefit.

In recent mid term Lok Sabha elections 1991 factionalism in Congress helped Shiv Sena in Aurangabad. As a dominant group of Dongaonkar Patil did not get ticket and therefore he worked against the official candidate and indirectly supported Shiv Sena in their victory.

Leadership: The bold and shrewd leadership of the supremo of Shiv Sena Mr Bal Thackeray helped more to expand their foothold. Thackeray behave like a dictator and also openly support the dictatorship. He always say that he wants creative dictatorship as that of Maratha King Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaja.

He supported Indira Gandhi's emergency because as he maintains "you do not just move with the people, let people follow you lead the people do no be lead away that is my theory, do not give people what they ask. Think what they need otherwise. They

come in a morcha, they ask for anything.[12]

Because of this and his ability of organization and at the same time his influential vocabulary helped him to emerge as a charismatic and crowd puller leader.

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12. Amra Saeed' - "The rise of Shiv Sena'. Regional Studies Vol. III No. 4. Antumn 1985 PP 102

CHAPTER - 4

ELECTROAL PERFORMANCE OF SHIV SENA IN MARATHWADA

Shive Sena's Performance in AMC Elections:-

The Aurangabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) was established on 8th Dec. 1982. Before that Municipal Council was functioning since 1935. It was a nominated body with District Collector as it 's President. The first elected civic body came into existence in 1952.

For the period of almost 16 years from 1952 to 1967 the Municipal council was under the control of Congress. In 1968 combined opposition disloged the Congress from the council and continued to work till 1972. From 1972 to 1978 the council was under the control of an administrator.

In 1978 Congress(I) emerged as a major party and its nominee Mr. Alaf Khan was elected as President in direct election by the voters[1].

1. Earlier the president of Municipal council was elected by the representative of the people. But the Maharashtra Municipal Act 1965 was assured in 1977 to and the election of the president of Municipality was made directly by the voters. However this system has been changed to indirect elections once again.

The Congress (I) dominance in Municipal Council continued till 1982 after which the council was dissolved to facilitate up gradation of resulting in Municipal Corporation.

The AMC Election : Shiv Sena objective strategy and achievement:

The AMC election was a matter of great importance to Shiv Sena for various reasons. In the firt instance, Aurangabad being the regional headquarter of the backward region, has its own geographical importance. Success in this election, therefore, was regarded by the Sena as an important event for its future image building.

Promoting Organisational work inthe city:

The decision of the Shiv Sena to contest the AMC election was not unexpected. Since the establishment of its first branch in the city, the organisation began to mobilise people's support by taking up the issues of public importance.

Shiv Sena took active participation in Ganesh Festival and Shiv Jayanti functions. The Sena also took up very sensitive issues like shifting of slaughtering house which was located in the mid locality of Aurangabad city and which was one of the

long standing demand which various social political organisations fought for. It took many other civic issues and organised Rasta Roko and Rail Roko agitation and mobilised the support and built up the organisation, with modest expectation of wining roughly 8 to 10 seats out to 60 seats[2].

Since the establishment of Municipal Corporation it was under the control of an administratior. During this period four adminstrators served the corporation . The corporation included eight villages around the city, so that Hindu population increased and become majority in city.

For sixty seats 500 candidates were in fray. The Congress contested all the sixty seats, followed by Shiv Sena 48, BJP 40 Janta 24, Congress (S)[3] 31, BRP (P. Ambedkar) 21, A.I.M.L. 24 and Independents 229 candidates were there. total number of voters was 2,40,360 out of which 83,000 voted.

Propaganda Techniques:-

The canvassing and progpoganda have an important place in the all types of elections

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2. Datye Sunil, taken interview with Mrs. Lata Dalal, S.S. Candidates for councillor.

3. In 1986 Sharad Pawar reentered in congress (I) with his Congress (S) faction.

irrespective of their level. In the AMC election by and large emphasis of almost all the cndidates was on door to door campaign. It was supplemented by distribution of pamphlets publishing advertisements in the local news papers , banners, public meetings etc.

Compared to other political parties the propoganda management of Shiv Sena was certainly better. It was handled by large number of leaders from Bombay. Mr. Vilas Bhanushali and Madhukar Sarpotadar were stationed almost permanently in the city. Among the prominent figures visited Aurangabad during Sena's campaigning were Mr. Thackeray, Bhujabal, Manohar Joshi, Sudhir Joshi and noted Marathi film actor, Dada Kondake had visited the city.

Two Mamoth meetings of Thackeray proved to be decisive factor tilting the balance towards the Shiv Sena. Shiv Sena's appeal was quite militant and aggressive and directly to the religious sentiments. In order to create a large Hindu vote bank references were made on some points which would create a sympathetic impression in the minds of Hindus , like "injustice is being done to Hindus", "The conspiracy of congress party in electing a Muslim as a first Mayour of the city."

It was not only Hindu but also Muslim propoganda[4] Muslims also use to appeal to their community to vote their candidates only. The way in which S.S. conducted itself in the propoganda front amply , showed that it looked at these elections quite seriously as an important exercise for a big venture.

The Electoral out come:-

The election results were quite unexpected and surprising , No body predicted such a grand success to the Shiv Sena. Though it could not get absolute majority, it emerged as single largest group winning 27 seats out of sixty and securing maximum votes compared to other parties.

Table No. 1. Shows that partywise break up of votes polled and seat won in AMC elections of April , 1988 total No. of seats.

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4. The appeal was in Urdu, in cyclostyled pamphlets and unsigned paper distributed in Muslim locality.

Political party	Seats contested	Seats won	%of seats won to the total No. of seats	Valied vote polled	%of valied votes polled
1	2	3	4	5	6
Congress (I)	60	18	30	33926	23.56
Shiv Sena	48	27	45	35509	24.66
BJP	40	-	-	8169	5.67
Janata	24	-	-	1930	1.34
Indian M.L.	24	3	5	8633	5.99
RPI	28	3	5	8612	6.6
Dalit Panther	21	2	3.3	6032	4.18
Other - Inde- Pendents, Congress (S), Nagari agadhi etc.	229	7	11.66	-	-

Source: Poll statistics released to local press by the authorities and subsequently published, the percentage is worked out by Dr. S. Datye).

Above poll analysis shows that real fight was between Congress (I) and Shiv Sena, where as other major poltical parties like Janata, BJP, Congress(S) were reduced to ciphers . The voters rejected then totally. The BJP which had ten councillors in the previous municipal council failed to win a single seat.

The fate of Janta and Congress(S) was in no way different. The detailed analysis of the election results indicates number of other trends.

The dalit votes were divided between the RPI-Dalit Panther and some Independent candidates from dalit community. RPI which was number two in five wards, lost in three by very narrow margin. Most of the seats were won by the dalit candidates and those who occupied number two position were got votes mainly from the outskirt of the city and from the areas in which large number of dalits were concentrated .

Hence, despite their strength the dalits failed to emerge as a sizable pressure group in the city politics.

The setback to the progressive left and democratic secular forces in the city is a serious matter to be noted in this regard. Defeat of Dr. Kango, a prominent CPI worker for last ten years in the industrial areas is very significant. He was defeated from CIDCO ward.

The defeat of almost all candidates representing these forces who contested the elections either as Independents or as Nagari Aghadi candidates was a sad reflection on their influence over the people

and their failure to impress up on them the principles and causes for which they were working. A sizable number of Muslim candidates were elected from mostly Muslim dominated areas in the old city. Out of 60 seats Muslims captured 17 seats. The division of the seats won by Muslims candidates were as follows, Congress (I)-11, Indian Union of M.L. 3 and Independent-3.

This also indicated that Muslim stood solidly behind Congress (I) candidates. Congress (I) fielded 22 Muslim candidates from different parts of the city and 50% of them got success. This also indicates that the Muslim also still look to congress (I) as dependable party for their safety and security and Congress (I) also look to Muslim community as a dependable ally . The result also indicates that Muslim League that was famous for its communal stand could not influence Muslim voters of Aurangabad much.

Though the Muslim representation had gone down compared to its position in the previous Municipal Council elections, it was not unsatisfactory in proportion to their population in the city.

A line about the women candidates deserves

mention. Through all parties 18 women contested the election out of which only one could succeed[5].

The Shiv Sena represent all most all the sections of the city population except Muslims. Caste wise break up of the Shiv Sena candidates elected, indicated that they were from all major castes and communities.

Table No. 2

Caste and Community wise break - up of Shiv Sena Representatives.

Caste /Community	No of Elected Representation
Brahmins	3
Marathas	7
Mali	4
Dalits	2*
Rajputs	3
Others	8**

5. Mrs. Lata Dalal was only woman candidate of Shiv Sena was elected, later S.S.'s candidate for mayorship position.

* The dalit candidates contested on Sena ticket from reserved constitutencies out of which two were elected who belonged to Bhangi and Chamar castes

** Others include one each from Kalal Bhavsar, Burud, Dhangar, Gavali castes and Gujrathi, Marwari and Bengali communities.

(Source: Information collected from Sena leaders through interview taken by Sunil Datye .

This indicates that ShivSena's concept of Hinduism was broadened enough to accomodate representatives from all shade and walks of the life, at least in Aurangabad.

Second point worth mentioning regarding the elected representation of the Shiv Sena is that the group represented the moderately educated young people from lower middle and low income groups.

Table No. 3

Classification of elected representations of the Shiv Sena according to Education, Age and Economic level.

Education	No.	Age group	No.	Occupation	No.
Graduation Above	08	25 - 30	17	Employed/ Self Employed	16*
Matriculates	11	31 - 35	6	Social/political workers	6
Up to Matriculation	04	above 35	4	Students	4
Primary	4	-	-	Agriculture	1
Total	27		27		27

Classification of elected Representations of the Shiv Sena according to Education Age and Economic level.

* This category includes the petty traders and small bussiness men, Tailors, Rikshaw drivers, petty contractors, etc. earning moderate income.

(Source:- Information compiled from Municipal Council notification and interview with the Sena leaders).

Most of these young moderately educated middle or low level income group candidates were political non entities. Except a few who have actively worked for political party in the past, the election

was the maiden effort for them to enter in to active politics. Some had experience of working in the trade union or doing some social work on limited scale. But largely they were quite unknown in their areas who still were elected. People did not bother to see who is the candidate, what is his background, what is his experience and occupation. They just voted for the Shiv Sena and send to corporation young unexperienced members. In seven wards Shiv Sena candidates were on second position and out of it in four wards they lost by a very narrow margin.

Shiv Sena candidates were elected from all parts of city. A large number of its candidates were elected from Hindu dominated constituencies as well as constituencies with mixed population of Hindus and Muslims. They were also elected from newly included outskirt areas and areas with concentration of population having industrial workers. All these facts reveal that the support to Shiv Sena was quite widespread covering educated class, bussiness community, labour population and recently included rural masses around the city.

The unexpected success of Shiv Sena and the miserable failure of the major political parties in Aurangabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) elections has

its long term effects on the Maharashtra politics.

Key to Shiv Sena's Success:

Though the Sena could not gain absolute majority , the election results undoubtely pointed to the increasing influence of the organisation in the city. There is no point to denying the fact that the organisation which was neglected so far and considered to be confined only to the limited areas in the city, had suddenly emerged as potential political force with a wide range of support in the different sections and localities of the city. Its open and bold pro-Hindu stance, militant methods , systematic propaganda on sentimental line attracted the youth, literate and illiterate, middle and lower class Hindu voters alike.

The Sena's success lies in the changed socio - economic and cultural atmosphere of the city. The civic problems especially concerned with proper civic amenities are a common features of any rapidly growing urban centre. The problems of the people in Aurangabad in this regard were nothing but the reflection of the inevitable consequences of its rapid and un-planned growth.

Despite the demoraphic changes, were the

Muslim population of out skirt area adversly affected . But the city still bore the signs of Muslim cultural dmination even after 40 years of the end of Nizam's rule. The concentration of large Muslim population in old parts of the walled city is also an important point to be noted. The poverty, illiteracy and lack of proper opportunities for an average Muslims life in the city drove them away from the mainstream and forced them to undertake any work to earn their livelihood.

The dominance of Muslim culture fast vanishing could be felt by an outsiders who came to visit or settle in city. The feeling among the average Muslims that they were the rulers of the area inthe past and the nostalgia of the past influence and their failure to adjust with the new situation and realities kept this section of population seperate from the rest of the people this polarisation of population in two major communities identified onthe religious basis, widened distance between them.

This process of communal drift was accelerated in recent times. The misunderstanding continued and the most unfortunate part of the situation is that nobody seriously tried to deal with this problem. When ever the communal tension intensified the committees of prominent citizens were

organised on adhoc basis and once the tension was diffused these efforts were abandoned.

The Shiv Sena understood this situation and caught the painful vein of the city and came out openly and boldly with a programme of mobilizing Hindu votes to end this situation and got rich dividends in return. No doubt the Sena talked about a few civic problems and promised clean adminsitration but its major thrust was on the emotional appeal to the Hindu sentiments.

Performance of Shiv Sena in 1989 Lok Sabha Elections

During 1989 Lok Sabha elections the BJP-ShivSena alliance played an important role. But earlier just like other political parties BJP had also critized SS. calling it a militant parochial fascist organisation and its national level leader like Atal Bihari Vajpayi were ardent critique of SS . But state level leaders wanted alliance with SS to avoid the division of Hindu votes. Shiv Sena called itself as protector of Hindus and gave a slogan "Garva Se Kaho Hum Hindu Hai" It made considerable impact on rural Hindus. For their ardent and boldly speeches SS leaders becomes popular. Bal Thackeray emerged as charismatic and crowd puller . Because of this the performance of SS in AMC election and its victory in Vile Parle assembly bye - elections BJP National Leadership to accept the demand of local BJP

leaders like Pramod Mahajan and Gopinathrao Munde and permitted to make alliance with SS on a common programme.

1989 parliamentary election BJP - SS alliance got total 14 seats out of which 10 to BJP and 4 SEATS TO SS.

However, for grabing the Hindu votes both the BJP and SS desided to form a united hard core front. They could not agree on common election symbol but decided to adjust seats for mutual benefit.

In the General elections of 1989 BJP SS alliance fielded candidates in 38 constituencies. Out of these 38 candidates, 31 belonged to the BJP and 7 to the SS They also contested 3 reserve seats for SC and two out of four for Scheduled Tribes. According to Shiva Sena leaders the Sena had little interest in contesing for Lok Sabha as its aim was to capture a majority in the State legislature[6].

Because of this alliance SS got legitimacy among the middle class people who were the base of BJP , while BJP got legitimacy in rural areas .

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6. Farhat Parveen, "The Shiv Sena an overview", Regional Studies Vol XIII No. 3, Summer 1990, Islamabad, p. 65.

The victory of four SS candidates gave boost to SS's ambitions and they felt that in the coming state assembly elections they will take the power . Many ascribe such Sena victory to its strong communalist appeal.

Table No.4

1. 1989 Lok Sabha Elections Results & Partywise seats position & vote polled in percentage.

Party	Seats Won	% of Vote polled
Cong (I)	28	45.32
B.J.P.	10	23.69
S.S.	4	4.43
Janta Dal	5	10.93
CPI	1	1.52
CPM	-	1.22
PWP	-	2.31
RPI	-	2.17

2. 1989 general Election Results ~~in Marathwada~~ party wise breakup in Marathwada Region.

Table - 5

Party	No. of Seats Won	Constitutencies
Congress (I)	3	Osmanabad Latur Hingoli
Shiv Sena	2	A'bad, Parbhani
BJP	1	Jalana
Janta Dal	2	Beed & Nanded

(Source*)

Perforamance of Shiva Sena in 1990 Assembly elections

The BJP - Shiv Sena alliance reached an understanding on seat sharing in 1990 state assembly elections in Maharashtra. The Shiv Sena fielded its candidates in 183 constituencies and BJP in 105. The performance of BJP - Sena combine has been very impressive . Shiva Sena emerged as the only big opposition party in the state by winning 52 seat s. In the previous assembly its strength was mere 2. In Bombay it bagged 14 seats. While Congress and BJP got 9 and 10 respectively. This indicated that this BJP - Shiv Sena alliance has emerged as a strong force in the state.

1990 State Assembly elections partywise seats won and votes polled in percentage.

Table - 6

Party	Seats contested	Seats won	%votes polled
Congress (I)	276	141	31.17
Shiv Sena	183	52	16.27
B.J.P.	105	42	10.80
Janata Dal	213	24	13.11
P.W.P.	40	8	2.35
C.P.I.	16	2	0.84
C.P.M	12	3	0.77
Congress(S)	73	1	0.98
RPI (Khobragade)	19	1	0.54
Independent	2787	14	15.13

Sources*

Table - 7

Regionwise Seats Won by Various Parties in 1990 Assembly election in Maharashtra

Region	Cong(I)	BJP	Shiv Sena	Other	Total
Bombay	9	9	15	1	34
Konkan	9	5	11	5	30
West Maharashtra	54	2	4	15	75

Marathwada	23	5	11	7	46
North Maharashtra	22	9	2	5	38
Vidarbha	24	12	9	20	65
Total	141	42	52	53	288

*Source - Prabodhan Prakashan Mala. 5th Book in Marathi Elections of state assembly in 1990 by - Prof. Shivajirao Shankarao Jadhav.

The chart shows that in the Marathwada region Shiv Sena BJP alliance got 16 out of 46 assembly seats. out of which Shiv Sena won 11.

Lok Sabha results 1989 showes that Congress (S) has lost it's vote bank to Shiv Sena. Mergence of Congress (S) into Congress(I), it can be analysis, according to figure, Congress (I) won 28 MP seats, in that proportion, it would have get 168 Assembly seats. But it got only 141 seats, that means it lost 27 seats.

In general election 1989 Congress had polled 45% of popular votes. Whereas in 1990 Assembly election it got merely 39.17% of votes, that means loss of 6% of votes. Where as Shiv Sena polled 4.43 percent in Lok Sabha elections and it improved up to 16.27% in 1990 Assembly elections, that means it increased 11.84 percent compared to 1989 Lok Sabha poll.

If we look at 1985 Assembly results, it showed that Congress (I) polled 44.86 percent of votes and it main oppoinent Congress(S)got 16.73 percent of votes. But instead of mergence in Congress (S) into Congress (I), it got only 39.17 percent of votes in 1990 Assembly elections. That mean people voted against Congress (I) and Congress(S) earlier vote bank shifted to Shiv Sena.

Party wise seats Contested, Seats Won and votes polled in percentage,in 1985 State Assembly Elections.

Table No. 8

Party	Seats contested	Seats won	% of votes
Congress (I)	288	162	44.86
Congress (S)	126	54	16.73
Janta Party	61	20	7.66
B.J.P.	67	16	7.07
C.P.I	30	2	0.83
C.P.M	17	2	0.81

Source - Probodhan Prakashan Mala - 5th Book in Marathi Election of state assemblies in 1990 Prof. Shivajirao Shankarrao Jadhav.

One more important phenomenon has been found that the upper caste, middle class masses & the other backward castes & some groups from Maratha caste voted

for BJP-SS alliance and because of that only the alliance could achieve such success.

The phenomenon found particularly in Marathwada is that "communal reaction: caused by Nizami's Razakar provided a fertile ground for the growth of communal forces like Shiv Sena when they appeared on the scene in recent years. The BJP had not been able to grow beyond the Brahmins and so could not pose challenge to the congress (-I) But the Sena mobilised the members of the backward clases (OBC), other than the members of the Scheduled Castes. The Brahmin - OBC - combination a product of BJP - SS unity had emerged as an effective force[7].

The other thing is that, the rebels in the Shiv Sena have raised their heads and formed a parallel Shiv Sena on the pattern of parallel Congress(I) there. Both the parties got splitted and neutralized each other. But the first rank leader Chagan Bhujbal claimed that " as there is direct link between common Hindu man and Sena leaders from Aurangabad would not make bad impact on Sena's success"[8].

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7. Election Archives New Delhi - 1990 " Shiv Lal, Non Congressism in Reform 1989 - 90", Poll and Politics Vol-I

8. Ibid...,

The thing that also affected the Sena's performance is the lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18 years. As the Shiv Sena had support by youths, it helped S.S. in the election. All these hapened as Shiv Sena could get the young unemployed people with the strong ideology of Hindutva.[9]

It must also be kept in mind that the Indian voter tended to vote differently at state-elections and national elections ; for instance at Pune, at the heart of the CM's constituency , where Bal Thackeray staged a massive Shiv Sena rally, even the saffran flag carriers said that, they would vote for the congress(I) at the national level. This was because the Sena which was strong on rhetoric, had no economic programme and had yet to shed the image of being populated by "goondas"[10].

The thing adversely affected the performance of Shiv Sena, when Bal Thackeray abused journalists calling them earth worms and owls[11].

Shiv Sena During 1990 - 91 & Election performance in mid - term Lok Sabha election - 1991.

(i). Antimandal Stand taken by Bal Thackeray:-

When the National Front govt declared that

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9. Shiv Lal, Opp., cit.,
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.

they were going to implement the Mandal commission report, Bal Thackeray took a stand against it. In the parts of Vidarbha & Marathwada, this act angered some the Shivsainiks. The party growth in these areas has revolved around the OBC support base and out of 52 MLAs of Shiv Sena in assembly, 32 belongs to OBCs. Therefore later on Thackeray took the stand that "he had never opposed the mandal report outright", but he wanted reservation to be on an economic basis and not on a caste basis. But it is important to note that Chagan Bhujbal supported Mandal Commission..

(ii) After this very important evidence occured in the life of Shiv Sena. The elections of Shiv Sena MLA's were nullified on the grounds of indulging in corrupt electoral practices. The judge held that the Sena leaders violated provision of sub - section 123 (3), (3) A (4) of the Representation of Poeple Act-1951. He further observed that they had violated the provisions of the same act in appealing to voters in the name of 'Hindutva'.

(iii) There after, in Aurangabad, some Shiv Sainiks disrupted a speech being made by noted Marathi film actor, Nilu Phule on the occasion of installing a statue of the great social reformer Jotiba Phule. The actor made remarks on Ram Janmabhoomi issue. Sena

activists gheroad the stage, snatched the mike and stopped the function . The Mali community, which has supported the Sena in the past, took this as a great insult since Phule belonged to this community.

iv) Leadership Crisis :- It is signifciant that the leadership crisis has been emerged in Shiv Sena. Its most prominent leader, the city mayor of Bombay Chhagan Bhujbal and leader of opposition Manohar Joshi lashed out at each other. On the issue of leadership of opposition. Chhagan Bhujbal without whose dynamism and crowd - pulling ability, it is unlikely that the Shiv Sena would have been able to expand in rural Maharashtra, espcially among the OBCs. He expected that his efforts would be rewarded with the position of leader of the opposition after the last assembly elections. In a party that has been ruled with an iron hand by Bal Thackeray such a public display of political sparring was almost unheated of. In the end it required all of Thackeray's persuasive skills to settle the confrontation. But it is said that " The Joshi, Bhujabal battle is bound to continue , this was only the first round".

v)Performance of Shiv Sena in 1991 Lok Sabha bye- Elections :

The party fared so poorly in Maharashtra particularly in Bombay where the party has strong

roots. True the party has an electoral alliance with B.J.P. has managed to retain its 1989 tally of four seats It is also true that in terms of % of votes polled inthe state, the Shiv Sena managed nine percent (), up five% from last time. But taking into account the vote polled by all parties, the Shiv Sena comes fourth polling two per cent less than the Janta Dal's 11 per cent.

Although the party has a considerable organisational network through out Mahrashtra it is largely perceived to be a city based party dominated by its leader, Bal Thakceray .

In February, 1991 the party generated considerable goodwill by distributing Dhara edible oil, which was then in scarce supply and the setting up of fair price shops.

But the thing that went wrong is that, Bal Thackeray defence of Nathuram Godse was certainly ill timed, preceding Rajiv Gandhi's asasination by only a few days. The sympathy wave that followed coupled with the disgust at Thackeray, proved to be Sena's nemesis [12].

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12. Sunday - 30 June - 6 July 1991, An Anand Bazar Publication, Focus - p 65.

CHAPTER - 5

CONCLUSION

It is evident from the discussion that the Congress party played a crucial role in Shiv Sena's progress and growth . Maharashtra government and Congress leaders like S.P. Patil, former CM's V.P. Naik, Vasant Dada Patil and several other top leaders of Congress patronised Sena.

The Shiv Sena - "a child of the Bombay big bourgeoisie and the Congress rulers of Maharashtra"[1], demonstrated its un mistakeable potentiality as an organisation of potential bossism that attained notoriety and a status which brought it closer to the seat of power both political and economic.

The invisible hand of the big business became evident which the S.S. leader Thackeray adulated the multi - Billionaires like Tatas and Birlas as 'bread givers'.

A daily paper of the Marathi language sympathetically patronised the agitation of Bal Thackeray and accorded wide coverage to his utterances and exhortation :"Yes, I am a dictators. Why should we

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1. Sardesai S.G. Facist Menace and Democratic unity (New Delhi) People's Publishing House (1970) p. 51.

have so many dicators ? It is Hitler that is needed in India today."[2] In his view only dictatorship "could save India"[3].

Maharashtra witnessed the domination of the Congress party . The major elites in the party were the dominant Maratha caste. Y.B. Chavan formulated heirarchy of formal structures. These arenas of participation including local governments, cooperatives societies, educational institutions and party organisation, have been in existence since the early sixties.

This heirarchical formal structure alienated middle and lower middle classes and other backward castes.

By the end of seventies and early 80's the poor section of the upper caste and other backward castes broke away from the Congress and established their own identity in political sphere.

Education brought awarness among the lower and middle class youths in Maharashtra. The growing

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2. Nava Kal, August 19, 1966.

3. Economic and Political weekly (Bombay) Oct. 21, 1967.

unemployment, ban on new employment, and drought, concentration of resources with rural elites upset them.

The emergence of militant Hindutva ideology attracted these masses and filled up the vacuum which was created by Congress politics of keeping them away from participation.

The Hindu feeling among the middle and lower middle class are quite strong. It became the major strength of the Shiv Sena in the last five years and particularly in the last two elections.

The Shiv Sena gave them an identity and fulfilled their quest for leadership. The OBC and other classes got their own party , where they never felt discriminated on caste basis. Sena talked about Hindu unity. But in the caste system & class hegemony are the obstacles in way of Hindu unity

They propagated the integrationist intepretation of Hindutva to come over the class consciousness as well as the caste consciousnes in the Hindu society.

But the ideology of Hinduism is being used by three forces in the society, i.e. the upper

caste Brahmins, middle caste rich land lords as well as with other Backward castes (OBC's). They try to manipulate it (Hinduism) for their interest , can not be judged today at this stage of development of the political scenario in the region.

There is strong struggle between these three groups. Then it is quite possible that there are some groups which are against this unity-nationalist of approach and their effort of their own identity. There fore the Hindustan took a militant stand against the groups having seperate identity. Then they took anti - Dalits as well as anti-Muslim stands.

In Maharashtra the militant stand taken by Shiv Sena succeeded to a large extent. It is significant to see that Shiv Sena adopted fascist ideology, which brought it close to state power.

The failure of congress party to keep OBCs and lower classes with it, merger of Congress (S) of Sharad Pawar into Congress (I) created a vaccum which is filled up, and its anti Muslim stand, all combined together helped the Shiv Sena. There are other factors helpe for Shiv Sena. There are factionalism in the Congress, socio - cultural history of the Marathwada region and Shiv Sena bold stand on Hindutva.

It is necessary to Shiv Sena's Hindu Unity. as Sena Chief pointed out that, he never believed in caste system all Hindus are equal, what ever caste they belong to . The question arises why Shiv Sena leaders purified Hutatma smarak when dalits touches it. Is there no caste feeling or feeling of untouchability? Through out our exercise it became clear that Shiv Sena used Hindutra ideology for its poltical ambition and not for the welfare or preservation of any great Hindu principle . For instance, Shiv Sena promoting enemity between communities by appealing to vote on religious basis, by using provocative speeches and slogans.

The Bombay High court has already given its judgement, disqualifying two sena MLAs Subhas Desai from Goregaon Assembly constituency and Dr. Ramesh Prabhu from Bombay.

The fact that the court should choose to single out such propaganda practise for attention would suggest that despite the growing influence of the proponents of Hindutva, the Indian Judical system is unwilling to accept a sectarian and divisive interpretation of Indian nationalism.

Mr. Thackeray still declared that what ever be the verdict of the court, he would go undeterred in

propogation of the "Hindutva". Furtherhesaid", If propagating Hindutva in a crime, I will keep committing it till I die" [4].

It is a serious question that should be debated. what will be the Shiv Sena's future after Thackeray. Recently there was leadership crisis between OBC's leader Mr. Chagan Bhujbal and Manohar Joshi It did not come on surface due to the iron hand of Bal Thackeray.

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4. Times of India April 10, 1991.

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