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Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course

Lecture - 8

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The office of Governor instead of being the linchpin turned out to be Damocles sword. Comment (10)

> ***'The Governor whether acting with or without the advice of the Council of Ministers, plays a pivotal role in our constitutional system and in its working. He is the Linchpin of the constitutional apparatus of the State' - Chapter IV of the Sarkaria Commission.***

- According to **Article-153**, there shall be a Governor for each state, who is the head of the state and the executive power of the state is vested in him (**Article – 154**). He is appointed by the president of India and holds the office during the pleasure of the president (**Article - 155**).
- These constitutional provisions points to the fact that the office of Governor was intended to be a linchpin, ie, a vital communication channel between the centre and states, but the multiplication of political parties and emergence of new regional parties post independence, increased politicization of role of Governor leading to souring of Union-State relations.

Governor as a Linchpin

- As per Sarkaria Commission, Governor acts as a linchpin between union and states due to several reasons.
    - All executive action of the State Government is expressed to be taken in his name. He chooses and appoints the Chief Minister commanding majority support in the Assembly. without his assent, no Bill can become law.
    - Without his assent, no Bill can become law and his prior authorization no Money Bill can be introduced in the State legislature.
    - It is he who orders dissolution of Legislative Assembly. Furthermore, the Governor can send a report to the President regarding breakdown of constitutional working in state leading to state emergency.

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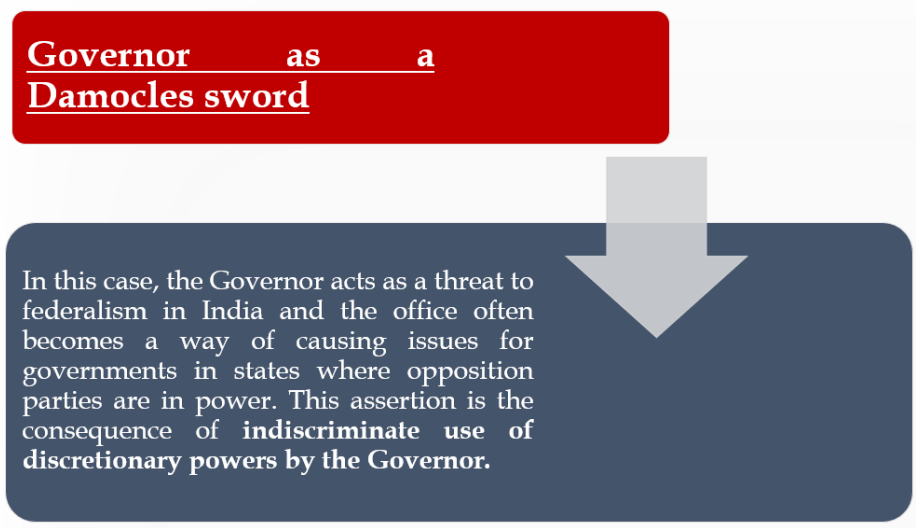
- According to **Paul Brass**, ss Indian constitution was born in the atmosphere of fear and trepidation due to partition and secessionist tendencies, a 'Long arm' of Union was required. **Punchhi Commission** also observed that the importance of Governor increased due to communal violence and internal security challenges in post independent India.

- As the 'linchpin' of the constitutional apparatus, Governors indeed have a duty to defend the Constitution and encourage or caution the elected regime. This view was reiterated by Supreme Court in judgments like **Shamsher Singh case, Hargobind Pant case, and Nebam Rebia case**.



- Under **Article-163**, the Governor possesses sole discretion in several matters.

- ***First***, in choosing Chief Minister where no single party or group command absolute majority. Arbitrary use of this power started in early post independence phase like in Tamil Nadu in 1952. Recently in 2019, Maharashtra Governor administered oath in secrecy at early morning when no single party got majority.

- ***Second,*** in testing majority that Governor often favours the Union government's party like Bihar (June 1968).

- ***Third,*** in dismissal of Chief Minister. There has been no uniformity in regard to the criteria adopted for dismissal of a Chief Minister. Some CM's were given extraordinary time to prove their majority, but some were asked to resign out rightly.

- ***Fourth,*** in recommending President's Rule. In a number of situations of political instability in the States, the Governors recommended President's rule under Article 356 without exhausting all possible steps under the Constitution to induct or maintain a stable government like in ***Uttarakhand and Arunachal Pradesh*** recently.

- ***Fifth***, in reserving Bills for President's Consideration. Governors have generally gone by the advice of their Council of Ministers in reserving State Bills passed by the Legislature for the consideration of the President. There have been, however, some instances when Governors reserved State Bills in the exercise of their discretion, creating a controversy in some cases.

- Last but not the least the role of ***Lt. Governors in UTs*** with state assemblies has led to a number of issues- Puducherry during Kiran Bedi's tenure. More recently the tug of war between Delhi's assembly and Lt. Governor and the NCT Delhi Amendment 2021 which came as a shove to elected government in the UT.

Way Forward:

Dr. Ambedkar said during the constituent assembly debate "There's no function which Governor is required to discharge either in his discretion or in his individual judgment. According to the principles of the new Constitution he is required to follow the advice of his Ministry in all matters".

The ***Sarkaria Commission*** underlined the need to appoint an apolitical, eminent personality as Governor and to ensure completion of 5 year term. The ***Punchhi commission*** further added to this by recommending removal by the process of impeachment by the State Legislature.

Rajeev Dhawan asserted that Consultation with the state government may not be enough. All designated governors should be summoned before the Rajya Sabha for confirmation. Each governor will be thoroughly interrogated, investigated and judged on suitability. Such a procedure should be inserted by amendment.

Compare the Nehruvian and Gandhian models of development. [15]

- As per ***Laveesh Bhandari***, Gandhi was an independent thinker trying to evolve a radically different political economic logic, but one that was rooted in the society and economy of the country. Nehru was a persuasive leader who stood for modernity unlike any other during his time.

Points of comparison	Nehru model	Gandhi model
Mode of planning	**Centralized Planning Economy and indicative planning –** **According to H Venkatasubbiah,** Nehru's amalgam of scientific-humanist temper which characterized Nehru's economic philosophy A welfare state of a socialist pattern was Pt. Nehru's ideal. He pursued **democratic planning** which means the utilization of all our available resources and in particular, the maximum quantity of labour willingly gives and rightly directed so as to promote the good of the community and the individual. This led to starting of **Five Year Plans and Planning Commission**	**Decentralised planning** ❑ Gandhi was **moral anarchist** and did not favour centralised planning. ❑ Gandhi considered villages to be like **oceanic circle" of self-ruling** communities-village republics-***'communaucratic' social economy.*** ❑ Gandhiji wanted each village to have an annually elected Panchayat to manage the affairs of the village. Each village following the oceanic circle theory would be autonomous yet interdependent.

Points of comparison	Nehru model	Gandhi model
Mode of development According to **Brij Kishore Sharma,** industrial development stood the main bone of contention between the two stalwarts.	In his book **'The Discovery of India '** Nehru justified modernized heavy industries. Though there was a controversy within the Congress on big industry versus cottage industries, he was inclined towards big industries. According to Pt. Nehru, it would lead to **higher standards and progressive equality at the same time.** Nehru wanted this through Mixed economy.	Gandhiji wrote this in his book **Hind Swaraj** which reflects the Gandhian model of development. On the lines of **Rousseau,** Gandhiji critcised the west for its **'utilitarian' and 'materialism'**. Gandhian model of development focuses on '**Minimization of wants'** or as **Schumacher** would say, **"Small is Beautiful"**. It also led to Gandhi being considered as **'Philosopher of Alternate Development'** by **Sachs and Dube.**

Points of compariso	Nehru model	Gandhi model
Capital v/s labour based economy	*Arvind Panagriya* highlights that Nehru placed heavy industry consisting of products such as steel and machines at the beginning of the process. *M. Visvesvaraya* created a national plan in 1934 that aimed to double national income in a decade, led by a massive increase in industrial investment.	Gandhiji focused on **labour-intensive approach**. Instead of mass production, Gandhiji favoured production by masses. Machines should not lead to displacement of Humans. Production should be for need and not greed. According to him, excess mechanization lead to search for new markets due to increased supply which would eventually lead to **Imperialism and Fascism**. It would degrade human being to the status of animal. It would also be harmful for **environment**. He also emphasized on the **Doctrine of Trusteeship**, which held that Capitalists should not consider themselves as the owner of property, rather a Trustee.

Points of comparison	Nehruvian model	Gandhian model
Role of the State:	Inspired by Fabianism, Nehruvian model emphasised on using the state as an entrepreneur as well as providing capital to private industry through special development banks in the absence of deep financial markets. As *Sunil Khilnani* argues, the incorporation of economists and scientists in Planning Commission was meant to make civil servants toe their vision. The State also played an important role through land reforms- land ceiling, abolition of zamindari etc.	Gandhi advocated production by the masses. He preferred the decentralization of small units of production rather than overwhelming presence of State. Gandhiji did not advocate dispossession of surplus wealth but instead talked of Trusteeship- The doctrine of trusteeship is based on the idea that everything is from God, and belongs to God. Therefore, it is for God's people as a whole, and not for a particular individual. Thus, if an individual possesses more than his proportionate share, he becomes a trustee of that surplus amount for God's people.

Points of comparison	Nehruvian model	Gandhian model
Focus areas:	Nehru's focus on large scale industrialisation meant that even though development was meant to go beyond urban areas to the internal regions as well, their spill over effect was rather limited. **S. Paul** argues the First Five Year Plan focused on huge public outlay for agriculture and the primary sector especially in infrastructure like dams and canals which ensured success of Green Revolution in the future. Importantly, Nehruvian model banked on creation of world class institutions like the IITs, AIIMS etc.	Gandhi ji's model of development rather than a rural to urban approach or top-down model hoped to build sustainable and self-sufficient village economies. Gandhi's model rather than hard core economics was based on practical sense with the realisation that India's major population resided in villages and was dependent on the primary sector. Gandhi was convinced that the salvation of the Indian economy depends on "Rural development"- agricultural development, which is the integration of both, the farm and nonfarm activities of the village economy

Points of comparison	Nehruvian model	Gandhian model
Issue of sustainable development :	***Debashree De*** argues that Nehru pursued a policy of rapid industrialisation and national development, largely equated with economic growth and surplus- 'dams are the temples of modern India and claimed that big dams would address India's hunger and poverty.' ***Peter Sutoris*** in his book, '***Vision of Development***' argues that Nehru's governments sought to impose a Western-style industrial future on India, which proved especially disastrous for rural as well as tribal populations.	Gandhian model was based on the theory of 'balanced growth' including ecological balance. Gandhi ji stressed on the need for making a deliberate choice of technology, and for restraints on the level of production, in order to maintain a proper balance between man and his environment. According to ***V.K. Bawa,*** Gandhi's espousal of ecologically sustainable and employment-oriented development is all the more significant today as the world talks of sustainable development goals.

Similarities

- Despite a number of differences in their models of development, there were certain commonalities between Gandhi and Nehru's visions:
- **Humanism:** Both Gandhi and Nehru were humanists who saw the development and progress of man as the end goal. While their paths may have varied, the purpose of development for both remained the welfare and development of the common Indian citizen.
- **Social Justice:** Another commonality for both the Gandhian and Nehruvian models was the emphasis on social justice. Despite varying economic models, they both emphasised on reduction of inequalities, eradication of poverty as well as ensure holistic development of all.

Conclusion

- As per ***Salil Misra***, Gandhi-Nehru relationship follow classical Hegelian pattern in which a thesis encountered an anti-thesis and the two culminated into the synthesis.
- Despite the economic reforms of 1991, India still follows the principles of both Gandhi and Nehru seen in the forms of Public-Private Partnerships, State support to the weaker sections of society, strengthening the local governments, promotion of MSMEs and village industries etc. A good mix of both Gandhian and Nehruvian socialist ideals has ensured the development of fruits to reach all citizens.

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