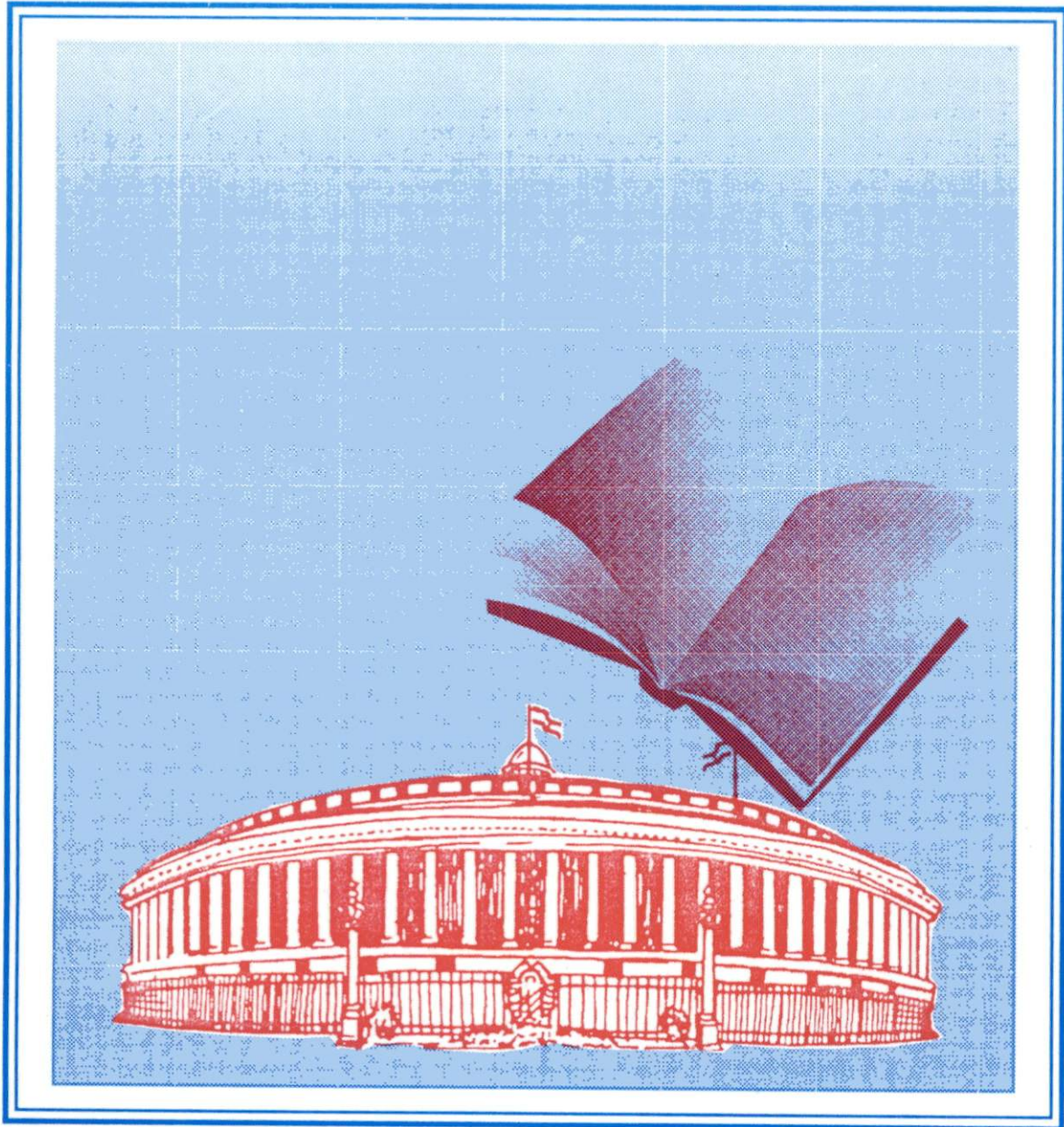




POLITICAL SCIENCE
MA [PREVIOUS]
Course III

2983



KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY
Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

Block - 6

ಉನ್ನತ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಇರುವ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಣವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಜಾತಂತ್ರೀಕರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀತಿ 1986

The Open University system has been initiated in order to augment opportunities for higher education and as instrument of democratizing education.

National Education Policy 1986

ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯವು ದೂರಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.ವಿದ್ಯಾಕಾಂಕ್ಷಿಗಳನ್ನು ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪಾದನೆಗಾಗಿ ಕಲಿಕಾ ಕೇಂದ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ಬದಲು, ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪತ್ತನ್ನು ವಿದ್ಯೆ ಕಲಿಯುವವರ ಬಳಿ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ವಾಹಕವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಾ. ಕುಳಂದೈಸ್ವಾಮಿ

"The Open University system makes use of Multimedia in distance education system. it is vehicle which transports knowledge to the place of learners rather than transport to the place of learning.

Dr. Kulanidai Swamy

ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ ಸಂದೇಶ

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಮಗುವು ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತಲೇ - ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ. ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಾ ನಾವು ಅದನ್ನು 'ಅಲ್ಪ ಮಾನವ'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಮತ್ತೆ ಅದನ್ನು 'ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವುದೇ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕು.

ಮನುಜ ಮತ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ, ಸರ್ವೋದಯ, ಸಮನ್ವಯ, ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಈ ಪಂಚಮಂತ್ರ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಾಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ, ನಮಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಬೇಕಾದುದು ಆ ಮತ ಈ ಮತ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಮನುಜ ಮತ. ಆ ಪಥ ಈ ಪಥ ಅಲ್ಲ; ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ. ಆ ಒಬ್ಬರ ಉದಯ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ; ಸರ್ವರ ಸರ್ವಸ್ವರದ ಉದಯ. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಸಿಡಿದು ಹೋಗುವುದಲ್ಲ; ಸಮನ್ವಯಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದು. ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಮತದ ಆಂತಿಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಭೌತಿಕ ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕ ಎಂಬ ಭಿನ್ನದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಎಲ್ಲವನ್ನು ಭಗವದ್ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಕಾಣುವ ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ.

ಕುವೆಂಪು

Gospel of Universal Man

Every Child, at birth, is the universal man. But, as it grows, we turn it into "a petty man". It should be the function of education to turn it again into the enlightened "universal man".

The Religion of Humanity, the Universal Path, the Welfare of All, Reconciliation, the Integral Vision- these *five mantras* should become View of the Future. In other words, what we want henceforth is not this religion or that religion, but the Religion of Humanity ; not this path or that path, but the Universal Path ; not the well-being of this individual or that individual, but the Welfare of All ; not turning away and breaking off from one another, but reconciling and uniting in concord and harmony ; and, above all, not the partial view of a narrow creed, not the dual outlook of the material and the spiritual, but the Integral Vision of seeing all things with the eye of the Divine.

Kuvempu



**Karnataka State
Open University**

**Political Science
Course III**

Block

6

Introduction

Unit 19

Chief Characteristics of Indian Party System : The Politics and Role of Major Political Parties. The Congress before and after split. C.P.I, C.P.M.I.,B.J.P. and J.D

1 to 22

Unit 20

The Politics and Role of Regional Parties in States and their impact on Indian Federal System - J.D., AIADMK, DMK, AGP, N.C.Akalidal and Telugu Desham

23 to 36

Unit 21

Politics of Defection - Causes and Remedies

37 to 46

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Block - 6

Block Introduction

Block VI has 3 units. Unit-19 discusses about the characteristics of Indian Party System, the role of major political parties like the congress, communist party of India, comunist party of Marxists, Bharatiya Janata Party and Janata Dal. It also discusses the politics of these parties. Unit-20 explains the role and politics of regional parties in states with reference to J.D, A.I.D.M.K, A.G.P, N.C. Akali Dal and Telugu Desam. It also deals with their impact on Indian Federal System. Unit-21, deals with politics of defection, causes and remedies of defection.

Block - VI

UNIT 19: CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN PARTY SYSTEM: THE POLITICS AND ROLE OF MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES. THE CONGRESS BEFORE AND AFTER SPLIT. C.P.I. C.P.M.I. B.J.P AND J.D.

- 19.0 Objectives
- 19.1 Introduction
 - 19.1.1 Indian Party System
 - 19.1.2 Peculiar Feature Party Dominion
 - 19.1.3 Classification of Indian Political Parties
 - 19.1.4 Salient Feature of Party System in India
- 19.2 Congress Party
 - 19.2.1 The rise of Congress (and its ideology)
 - 19.2.2 Conglomeration of various groups
 - 19.2.3 British Legacy and Congress Ideology
 - 19.2.4 Congress before split
 - 19.2.5 Role of elections
 - 19.2.6 The Congress during Nehru period
 - 19.2.7 Coalition Making
 - 19.2.8 The Congress during Indira Gandhi era
- 19.3 Bharatiya Janata Party
 - 19.3.1 Introduction
 - 19.3.2 Support base of B.J.P.
 - 19.3.3. Electoral Performance of the B.J.P
 - 19.3.4. Ideology and Programmes of B.J.P.
 - 19.3.5. B.J.P. & RSS. Relations
- 19.4 The Communist Party of India C.P.I.
 - 19.4.1 Introduction
 - 19.4.2 Support base of C.PI
 - 19.4.3 Party Organization
 - 19.4.4 Program and Ideology of CPI
- 19.5 CPI Marxist
 - 19.5.1 Introduction
 - 19.5.2 C.P.I. Versus C.P.I (M)
 - 19.5.3 Support Base
 - 19.5.4 Role of Communist in India
- 19.6 Let sum up
- 19.7 Key words
- 19.8 Suggested Readings
- 19.9. Answers to check your progress Exercises

19.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to,

- Understand the role of major political parties and party politics in India
- Know various political parties and their contributions

19.1 INTRODUCTION

Parliamentary democracy and political parties have very close relations in functioning of a democratic system. Baghot very aptly points that "Party government - is the very vital principle of representative government. Political parties in parliamentary system link the sovereign people to the legislatures and the executive. As a matter of fact, the working of any system of representative government to a large extent is determined by the nature of the political parties, which operate it. Political parties are most significant in a democratic system; as the parties play a role of informing and influencing the electorate.

A political party may be defined as a political association whose aim is to capture power and implement politics based on certain principles. They are the legitimate agents of interest articulation and aggression. They mobilize public opinion and create support for their policies and Programme. Parliamentary democracy is inconceivable without political parties. In India, leaders like Vinoba Bhave; Jai Prakash Naran and others propounded the idea of parliamentary democracy without political parties. But partyless democracy become a utopian concept.

19.1.1 Indian Party System

Political Parties and the party system in India are influenced by various factors. Indian society is a pluralistic society in which cultural diversity, social, ethnic, caste, community and religion have played a major role. India has a large number of political parties because of culture of population has dominated in the formation of political party rather than party based Programmes. In Indian politics parties are the lifelines. The major function of the political parties is interest aggression and interest articulation. The Indian constitution does not mention the political parties but much less recognizes them and endows them with functions. The political parties in are characterized by pluralism. The Indian National Congress founded in 1885 is a conglomeration various group. Indian National Congress provided shelter for various factions representing their diverse interests.

19.1.2 Peculiar feature: Single Party Dominion

The Party system in India cannot be compared with the two party system of Britain and U.S.A. At the same time it cannot be also compared with multiparty system in countries like Italy and France. In India

several parties have over shadowed all others by having dominated the political life ever since independence. The Congress emerged as a single largest political party soon after India achieved Independence.

In one party dominance there are three types.

1. The first is where, on principles, only one party is recognized. No other party is allowed to operate, as in communist countries like U.S.S.R Yugoslavia and East European States.
2. The Second type is where the party prevails by restricting opposition parties or absorbing them i.e. as in Bunna, Kenya, Ghana composite governments were formed but one of these dominate the rest.
3. The third type is the dominance of the party. This is a system under which one party continues to dominate the political life continuously for years or decades. Other parties are allowed full freedom to operate and propagate their views and also to contest the elections. But these parties remain weak or ill organized that only one party continues to rule for years together. Such is the case with the Congress Party in India until March 1977.

The Congress Party since 1947 always possessed an absolute majority in the Parliament, as it had a strong countrywide party organization, reaching to the remotest villages. It has inherited the legacy of leadership of the freedom movement, besides fortunate to secure the charismatic leadership of Jawahar Lal Nehru who was a national hero.

19.1.3 Classification of Indian Political Parties

In India political parties can be classified in four major categories:

1. All India Parties
2. Trans regional parties
3. Regional parties
4. Local parties

In 1953, Pandit Nehru commenting on the emerging situation in India stated, that parties as they exist in India to-day may be divided in four groups. There are certain political parties with economic ideology. There are various communal parties under different names, following narrow communal ideology, and there are a number of local parties and groups having only a provincial or even narrower appeal. Thus, according to Nehru, political parties in India can be classified into four major groups

1. Parties based on economic ideology
2. Communist Party
3. Communal Parties
4. Local Parties

Which can also be classified as follows:

1) All India Political Parties:

All India political parties have been officially defined as these national parties with broad - based national support and able to win at least six per cent of valid votes polled in any four or more states at the general elections to the Lok Sabha or to the Legislative Assembly and in addition win at least four seats in the Lok Sabha from any state or states.

The other criteria is that a political party wins at least two per cent seats in the Lok Sabha from at least three different States. There should be a minimum of 11 M.P.'s among 543 - directly elected representatives, thereby giving weightage to party presence in the Lok Sabha. Their parties present national platform and emphasize national issues in the parliamentary election.

2) Regional Parties

The second group is of regional parties. These parties clearly represent sub-regional interest based upon common language, culture - history of a region. These parties try to aggregate regional interests regardless of the caste and religious affiliations of their members. Their power base and voting strength are confined to particular geographic considerations. The following can be the best examples - of the regional parties: Assam Gana Parishad - (Assam) the National Conference (Jammu and Kashmir) Telegu Desam (Andhra Pradesh) D.M.K and AIDMK (Tamil Nadu).

3) Communal Parties

This group included those parties and organizations, which are exclusive in their membership enrollment. They accept membership of only those inhabitants of a particular religions or ethnic group. They seek to protect and promote the interest of that particular community alone, who generally mobilize their supporters by appealing to their particularists sentiments. The following parties like Muslim League (Kerala), Akali Dal (Punjab) are some of the parties.

4) Adhoc Parties

Adhoc parties usually consist of those organized around powerful persons or local and state issues. These parties do not survive for a longer period or merge into other parties. The Bangia Congress, the Kerala Congress the B.K.D of Charan Singh is some good examples of such ad hoc parties.

19.1.4 Salient Features of Party System in India.

1) One Party Dominance System.

The Congress Party emerged after the country had attained independence. Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan observes, "India's Party System has been unique. It had revolved around the Indian National Congress Party; hence it has been often described as a dominant one party system. There has been a plurality of parties, but did not make the Indian Party System a multi-party situation with the Congress, despite the rise and fall in its electoral support, remaining a dominant single party.

From 1947 to 1967 and from 1971-1977 as well as from 1980 to 1989, this system was at the center of Indian Politics, spanning three distinct stages in the, post - independence development.

The first phase (1947 - 1967) was the period of the Congress system; the second phase 1967 - 1977 was characterized by the decline and disintegration of the Congress system and consolidation of power by a small oligarchy, and the third phase from (1977 - 1989) witnessed the development of a new system, because of domination by Indira Gandhi, became to be known as Indira Congress or Congress I. Until its rout in 1967, 1977, 1989, and 1996 elections the Congress Party exercised a monopoly of power at the Center and with a few exceptions has been in control in most of the states.

Prof. Rajani Kothari - describes the Indian Party system as "One Party Dominance System" or the 'Congress System'. He asserts that the Congress Party; based upon a broad consensus, accommodated diverse interests and factions within its fold. Various factions competed with each other but usually comprised within without creating any breakdown of the system. The opposition parties worked outside the system and used the factional leaders of the Congress Party to influence its policy decisions. These parties acted as Pressure groups and constantly established informal alliances with the factional leaders of the ruling party. Congress party had established itself flexible party to accommodate both pressures within the Congress as well as from the opposition groups. Programmes, policies and even personnel of the opposition parties were absorbed by the Congress system thus strengthening the one party system in India. This system operated during Nehru's as well as Indira Gandhi's leadership of the Congress.

2) Multi - Party System

Disintegration of the consensus - based Congress system in 1967, the Indian parties has fit the category of a multi - party system "Since 1967 a multi-party system had emerged, both in the center and the state without becoming a formal multi - party system due to the continuance of effective dominant Congress party rule at the federal level till 1989 (except for two and half years in 1977-79). The Congress party itself is a coalition of diverse interests, factions, groups and individuals. It has rarely been able to

capture more than 50% votes, the remainder of which has been won by the opposition parties. At the state level the dominance of the Congress Party is frequently contested by the regional and local parties. In some states, as in Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal, the Congress has been virtually eliminated as a major political force.

3) Weak non-Congress Parties

A very important feature of the Indian Party system until the fourth general elections, was the absence of an effective opposition. The non-Congress opposition in India constituted of various, divided and antagonistic groups, which were fundamentally and ideologically opposed to each other. The main drawback of the non-Congress opposition in India was that it has been divided and weak. It is not one opposition, but many oppositions, consisting of many groups and independent individuals. These groups and individuals had different policies and Programmes.

The fourth general elections resulted in an increase in the strength of non Congress opposition parties. But since the number of these parties remained large and no party could hope to form a government at the Center or in most of the states, a new element of instability was introduced into Indian politics. In the years following the fourth general elections, we saw the rise and fall of coalition governments based on opportunistic alliances.

4) Reliance on personalities

Many political parties have built the essential organizational structure, but they rely on certain charismatic and powerful personalities, besides community and religious leaders. In our country it is a fact that highly personalized and centralized style of leadership at work. It is a well-known fact of how desperately the ADMK in Tamil Nadu dinged to M.G.Ramchandran and Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh to N. T.Rama Rao.

5) Lack of Ideology

Despite their emphasis on ideological aspects, most of the political party's major aim is to capture power, and for that reason they go to any extent besides sacrificing an ideology. In recent years even parties like C.P.I (M) and the B.J.P. have started addressing to current issues than to ideology, more to politics than to political doctrine. To day in India politics has become issue oriented rather than ideology oriented politics. The existence of the National Front Government (Center) is the best example of issues oriented politics. Since 1971, elections in India have been fought not on the basis of ideology of a political party, but on the basis of immediate concern to the electorate.

6) Growth of Regional Parties

In India established All India Political Parties have suffered in their strength and regional parties have grown in number and influence. Thus the political stands thus

Tamil Nadu	D.M.K followed AIDMK
Punjab	Akali Dal
Assam	AG.P.
J&K	National Conference
Maharashtra	Shiva Sena
Andhra Pradesh	Telgu Desam
Goa	Gomantak

At Present in India eleven states out of twenty eight states have powerful regional or state level political parties; who articulate, defend a regionally based ethnic or religion - cultural identity. Besides this, the operating model of party - system in the states is different from that operating at the All India level In fact every state in the Indian Union has its own party system.

Although electioneering and campaigning is an effort to capture maximum number of seats - which is said to be the main function of the party. very few political parties are able to make a respectable showing using only these legitimate methods. As a result political parties of all ideological persuasions frequently try to exploit political and social discontent to their advantage. All means even non-parliamentary means as civil disobedience, mass demonstrations, strikes, protest rallies to criticize, embarrass the party in power are used

7) Factionalism within the Parties

In India - almost all-political parties are factionalized. In non-communist parties the faction leaders tend to be community, caste or religious wise. The leaders who have skillfully built patro - client relationship among the members of different castes or communities. Such factional leaders view among themselves for political alliances with one another in order to keep their political rivals out of power. Most of these factional alliances are non- ideological, they also tend to shift a good deal, thus keeping the parties in a state of flux.

In communist parties, on the other hand, ideological consideration frequently lead to faction formation, although personality, caste, regional affiliations can also play a divisive role - despite the adherence of these parties to common ideology.

19.2 CONGRESS PARTY

19.2.1 The rise of Congress (and its ideology)

The Congress movement for independence was itself in the nature of an opposition, a protest movement against the regime. Its function was not limited to ousting the alien government from power and succeeding it; the movement also fulfilled the other functions of oppositions - criticism of policies; competition for popular support, ventilation of national - sectional grievances, non cooperation and non - violent protest within the frame work of accepted norms of a liberal democracy. Congress Party was more than mere opposition to several features of traditional Hindu society. Social reform was as much at the heart of its program as national independence, emphatically till the 1920's and then in a more complicated form during the Gandhian phase of the movement. Gandhi provided a powerful symbolism to his drive the national regeneration. He called the untouchables the 'Sons of God' , he made homespun Khadi prescribed clothing for everyone who claimed to be a nationalist; he implored educated urban youth to accept austere living and engage in village uplift and the eradication, without age-old social evils. Expression of dissent against certain traditional practices and concerted movements for their education, without repudiating the total framework of the Hindu - social ethic - indeed, preserving it by reinterpreting it - constituted an important part of the Congress program of mobilization and socialized its cadres in the conventions of constructive opposition.

19.2.2 Conglomeration of various groups

Further more, the Congress Party permitted within its fold several splinter groups with differing emphasis of ideology and strategy, and it tolerated defecting groups which set up other parties, either regionally or nationally. Other groups also arose outside its fold and contested its claims to represent the interests of this or that section of the people. Finally ideological groups with distinctive programs and constitutions of their own were allowed to continue within the Congress until the coming of Independence.

Notable among these were the Congress socialist party and the Congress Communist Party, both of which ultimately left the Congress and set themselves up a discrete political parties. The Congress party all along those to secure the co-operation of these groups and parties; in the case of Muslim League; it entered into a coalition in 1946, when the first national government constituted wholly of Indians was set-up in Delhi, a year before the British finally left the sub continent. Thus, the tradition of oppositional politics and of tolerance and accommodation of contesting groups were already a part of the Congress ethos before it came to power. This was quite apart from its general commitment to a secular, democratic constitutional and liberal political values.

19.2.3 British legacy & Congress ideology

It should also be noted that in India even under the British rule there had been steady expansion of electoral franchise several elections were held, and different parties prepared as a result, not the least being the Congress itself; which held the wins of power at the provincial level from 1937 to 1939. Congressmen as well as other distinguished men of affairs ran for election to the Central Assembly. These elections to local and provincial assemblies - and in a lesser to the Central Assembly - exposed a generation of Indian politicians to parliamentary procedures and decorum. Some of these men were to lend advice and impart dignity to the functioning of India's full-fledged parliamentary system after Independence.

The most important than all this, was the continuous ideological commitment to liberal democracy which India sustained for more than sixty years, with almost total consensus on all sides. It is only this commitment which has laid down the essential foundation of its political culture, in which opposition and dissent were as important ingredients as consensus and unanimity. It should also be emphasized that opposition as a strategic ingredient of India's political culture functioned in diffuse and varied ways - indeed, in ways too varied to allow for any effective opposition parties. It is this fact that shapes the more prominent features of post - Independence oppositional politics.

Congress before Split and After Split

19.2.4 Congress before split.

Independent India inherited two considerable frameworks of authority, one represented by the network of bureaucracy, the other by the organization of the Congress movement. The process crystallised through a party system. It was a party system with a difference, oriented toward building an authoritative of political affiliations throughout the nations and weaving these into the framework of organization inherited from a nationalist mass movement, rather than toward extending two or more parliamentary groups. The consequence of directing political mobilization through the movements organizational network, which now assured the role of the ruling party, while at the same time permitting dissenting elements to organize themselves into oppositional and factional pressures, was the rise of a pattern of dominance and dissent that determined the framework of subsequent changes in the party system.

19.2.5 Role of Elections

The system was crystallised through three general elections, which established the dominance of the Congress party and its command of vast resources and commitments as an integral feature of the developing political system. It was this system of one party dominance, providing a somewhat different

framework of competition from those of western democracies, which enabled the nation, the grapple with problems of integration and development. This type of party system led to political consolidation at various levels provided substantial cushioning through the mobilization of rural support, and for the first time in Indian history - enabled the government to reach out the villages.

Responding to this system there emerged a very large number of social and political organizations at all levels, pressing upon the government and the dominance party for participation, resources and recognition, as well as for specific policy changes and administrative changes. As the authority and legitimacy of the system spread, these demands and aspirations crystallized and found their place in the framework of one - party dominance, either as part of the factional network within the Congress party as a pressures from outside, exerted individually or through other political parties.

The Congress as the elaborate group reflected almost all shades of opinion and interest, there quickly developed a service of structural relationship between oppositional groups outside the party and within the party. Issues like regional and sectarian loyalties, and determination to make demands on the government were found to cut cross party identifications and make for more communication channels.

This role of the Congress in structuring the internal operation of the ruling party was peculiar feature of the Indian system for a long time. It enabled the Congress to remain in power because the party was periodically undergoing charge and alternation in parliamentary and governmental personnel. It also led to sense of efficacy among opposition parties, despite their thin chances of assuming governmental power for almost twenty - years.

At the same time, dissidence within the Congress continued and often found easy out lets because of the multi - party nature of the opposition outside the Congress. It was the availability of such dissidence that intimately crystallized the anti - Congress coalitions in various states after the fourth general elections held in February 1967.

Starting sometime before the death of Nehru in 1964, the competitive area within the Congress began expanding around both persons and issues, and after 1967 it began to spill over outside the Congress. The Congress was never a united party, nor could it be expected to be so because more significant political competition had to be waged within the Congress at different levels, with the opposition parties playing a catalytic role from outside. Nehru's contribution in the consolidation of the Congress party's authority was immense, but the manner in which he operated the system suffered from two disadvantages. Because of his dominant personality, the national party organization was not allowed to perform its strategic role in the system, with the result that the large number of conflicts that took place at both governmental and organizational levels in different states did not articulate into competing elites and policy groups.

19.2.6 The Congress - during Nehru period Kamraj plan - internal conflict

The second disadvantage came from the nature of the elite over which Nehru presided the functioning of the system rested much on personal relationship between the Prime Minister and various factional leaders in the states. This approach resulted in more informal forms, with the result that an understanding of the system was limited to just a few among the nation's decision-makers. Toward the end of Nehru's life, with his own grip weakening and with new powerful forces emerging from the state level - symbolized in a dramatic manner in the Kamaraj Plan. The Kamaraj Plan was an effort to establish the importance of organization (Congress), which was call for all the senior leaders to relinquish government positions and to attend to party building at the grass roots. After the death of Nehru. Congress bosses aggregated at the national level and a new conflict developed right at the center of the system, in form of Governmental versus organizational groups, the later taking on the form of a coalition of regional leaders. Two quick successions and the struggle over nominations of Congress candidates to the various legislatures in the fourth general elections in 1967 crystallized this conflict within the Congress, did contribute to a decline in its cohesion, and encouraged large numbers of Congressmen to defect from the party. This benefited the various non Congress parties, which were able successfully to challenge the dominance of the Congress in many states in 1967 and to form united fronts of these parties with a view to installing non - Congress coalition government in these states. The out come of the 1967 elections was a considerable domination of the Congress party's hold on governmental power, although it left undisturbed the policy priorities, the ideological balance, and the coalition style of politics initiated by the Congress itself. It is important to mention that post 1967 political developments found their major stimuli in the fragmentation and consolidation of the Congress itself, rather than in the emergence of any alternative to it, although alternatives did emerge in one or two states (Tamil Nadu and of course Kerala, were a communist government had provided an alternative to the Congress as early as 1957).

The emergence of limited fronts against the Congress in 1967 broke the monopoly of the Congress, essentially by a greater convergence between votes polled and seats won, thus reducing the traditional advantage of the Congress accruing from a simple majority, single - constituency electoral system. On the other hand, the fragmentation of the Congress extended to fragmentation of the party system as a whole. Thus, not only did there come into being more than one Congress party in many states there were also two (in some states three) communist parties and two (in some states three or four) socialist parties. There also emerged extremist and moderate wings of the Jana Sangh, ex - Congress and non - Congress groups with the Swatantra party, and several fronts among the depressed sections, the scheduled castes, and the tribals - not to speak of numerous splinter groups at the state level and the region of independents, who constituted the largest single non - Congress bloc.

The coalition pattern in the non - Congress states after 1967 consisted of a much more amorphous and heterogeneous assortment of groups and policy positions than had been the case in the factional

coalitions within the Congress before 1967. The result was that whereas the process of defections from the Congress party led to a toppling of Congress governments soon after 1967 elections, several united front governments were similarly toppled in only a few months. This led to a further fragmentation of party positions and a disenchantment with the simple posture of anti - Congressian as a basis for uniting the opposition. Parties like the Jana Sangh, which aspired to an all India status, or the Praja Socialist Party (P.S.P.) which was in principle opposed to being associated with extremist parties, were increasingly found to part company with other groups in the united front.

19.2.7 Coalition Making

Various parties in its attempts to break the hegemony of the Congress, the anti - Congress united fronts in 1967 sought to develop an all-inclusive or catch all, strategy of coalition making. The Congress had all along been a characteristic catch - all party, trying to encompass all the more relevant segments of political reality, including a great many oppositional segments. It was like Hindu society in miniature accommodative and agglomerative trying to accomplish little but absorb a great deal, given loss to specificity and differentiation and more to consensus. The Congress Party was a grand coalition with great historical antecedents and represented the Indian nation in all its variety.

The opposition parties, while they played their minority role in such a system also could see clearly that they could not succeed unless all the minorities together challenged the hegemony of the Congress Party - which any way; at no time enjoyed more than 45 percent of the votes in the country. The high priest of such a strategy was the late Ram Manohar Lohia, the socialist leader and founder of the S.S.P., He himself was a leader in the art of defecting from established parties, but he soon realized the folly of the enterprise and devoted himself to the mission of destroying the Congress monopoly of power b):” uniting all anti Congress forces in the country. Lohia was fairly successful in his mission; he polarized the country along Congress Versus anti - Congress lines and in the process took on whoever was prepared to oppose the Congress. The immediate goal of dislodging the Congress from its position of dominance was accomplished, but the results were hardly enduring, as Lohia himself was to admit very soon. In the 1971 elections to the Lok Sabha, another attempt was made to evolve a strong anti - Congress bloc, known as the grand alliance, made up of Jana Sangh, the Swantantra, the Organization Congress, and the S.S.P., but this too failed miserably.

19.2.9 The Congress - during Indira Gandhi era

During Indira Gandhi's era, after 1967 the Congress Party had begun to reform itself from the various (within and outside) developments. After 1967 the Congress allowed its dissidents to leave the party and in 1969 the Congress went through a major split, on the initiative of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, which sought to give it a more cohesive character. It laid more stress on developing a more disciplined party so

that it could return to perform its historic task of transforming Indian society and removing the poverty of the masses with greater dedication.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi by the 1967 elections had realized that the Indian voter had come of age and could not be manipulated by existing boss structures and vote - banks based on caste and communal loyalties; and the fact that the Congress leadership, in its preoccupation with factional quarrels, had failed to measure up to people's expectations. The lesson struck home and the Congress party began to respond to its defeat through an internal struggle for power that ended in a decisive win for the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, who had based her appeal on a forward - looking, progressive platform aimed at the much needed economic reforms. This led to a split in the Congress party in August, 1969, the majority faction going with Mrs. Gandhi and the minority faction – the Organization Congress, joining hands with opposition parties like the Jana Sangh, Swantantra and latter on the S.S.P. In December, 1970 Mrs. Gandhi, then heading a Government which no longer enjoyed an absolute majority, decided to dissolve the Lok Sabha and appealed to the people (general election to Lok Sabha March, 1971) for a mandate for the ruling party based on a left a center programme of economic reconstruction. The Congress Party in this election was returned to power with a overwhelming majority, securing two - thirds of the Lok Sabha seats. A year later in March, 1972, elections to 16 out of 20 states Assemblies were held, soon after the Bangia Desh- crisis and India's decisive victory in the war with Pakistan had led to a soaring popularity for Mrs. Gandhi and the Congress party. In the state Assembly elections, the Congress was returned to power in the states with sweeping majorities. These two elections marked a return of the Congress Party to a dominant position and to political stability throughout the country; besides reducing the opposition to their earlier position. The Congress party did establish itself as a more cohesive party at the center and on a new footing.

Unfortunately this 'new footing' had its own implications contributing to unsettle the features of old system based on a shared consensus between governing and opposition forces and led to a more hegemonic model of dominance. This was to produce a long period of instability in the system. Only two-year later after the 1971 - 1972 sweeps the Congress had to face the major challenge from the opposition ranks under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan.

To describe or interpret any system that is even today still undergoing changes in structure and orientation is both a difficult and doubtful exercise. This is because party system in India is likely to still undergo drastic changes which is likely to take quite some time or a few more general elections. However, certain broad features of the Government - Opposition can be summarized in brief as follows

1. It is system in which dominantly party is opposed by a large number of opposition parties - factional groupings that are dispersed throughout the country.
2. It is a system in which one set of coalitions is opposed by another set of coalition.
3. Oppositions in India have emerged out of a pluralistic social and regional base. Diverse kinds of oppositions are therefore national constellations.

19.3 THE BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY (B.J.P.)

19.3.1 Introduction/ The rise of B.J.P.

The Bharatiya Janata Party was launched as an independent political organization in February 1980; after a split of the Janata Party on the R.S.S. issue. Most of the erstwhile Jana Sangh members along with a few others, left the Janata Party - to form the B.J.P. In other words the B.J.P is nothing but a reincarnation of the Jan Sangh Party, the Party founded in 1951, by Shyama Prasad Mukherjee as a Hindu Nationalist Party. The object of Jana Sangh was rebuilding Bharat as a modern, democratic society in accordance with religious precepts. The Jana Sangh had adopted four fundamentals; one country, one nation, one culture and a rule of law that would determine its future course of action. Secularism, for the Jana Sangh, was simply a disguised policy of Muslim appeasement. The Sangh did not recognize the partition of India and supported the policy of non-involvement. It advocated for a United India - under a Unitary State, with Hindi as its national language. The Jan Sangh relied and was closely associated with the R.S.S. At times Nehru described the Jan Sangh Party as the - 'illegitimate child' of the R.S.S. Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan commenting on the B.J.P. points "the B.J.P. has points of continuity with the Jana Sangh, in its discipline and well knit organizational set up and in its linkage with the traditional Hindu socio-cultural organizations, the R.S.S. and the V.H.P." Most of the Jana Sangh's support came from the Hindu speaking states of north India, or remained essentially a party of the urban educated Hindu middle classes professionals, small businessmen, and white collar workers. The Jan Sangh's experience as a unit of the Janata Party, its administrative experience in national government and its close association with Jaya Prakash Narayan all seem to have brought a considerable transformation of its ideologies. From an ideology of Hindu chauvinism with emphasis on Bharatiya culture, Hindi language and militant anti-Pakistan foreign policy; it has moved to non-communal and pragmatic political and economic policies.

19.3.2 Support Base of the B.J.P

The support base of the B.J.P. does not differ much as that of the erstwhile Jana Sangh. It is a party of the urban educated Hindu middle classes professionals, businessmen and white collars. In Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Delhi, Rajasthan, B.J.P. remained a dominant party with leaders like Kalyan Singh, Gopinath Munde, Saheb Singh Verma and Bhairon Singh Shekhawat. Some of the most impressive performance was in Karnataka, D.P. and Gujarat in 1991 elections. In all these states the B.J.P. bagged 4 Lok Sabha seats for the first time Gujarat continues to show its spectacular results; because of which Gujarat is the only state in which it has crossed the 50 per cent mark for the first time.

The B.J.P. continues to play a role of major political party in UP. It has also emerged as force to reckon with in the north and west, besides making inroads in the east. In the West Bengal - the Marxist bastion, its share of popular votes has registered a significant rise.

Since 1998 - the B.J.P. has taken significant steps towards becoming a more broad based party. Besides getting half the votes of the upper castes, the key to the gains is the result of B.J.P. making inroads into the O.B.C. votes. More O.B.C.s have swung towards the B.J.P. in recent elections than any other community. This increase has come at the cost of both the Congress and U.F. The B.J.P. out of the 182 seats it won, 24 from the schedule caste constituencies, 14 from the schedule tribe reserve constituencies. The B.J.P. won the majority of its Scheduled Caste reserve seats in the Hindi heartland like 4 in Bihar, 5 in Madhya Pradesh and 11 in Uttar Pradesh. The B.J.P. has also increased its Muslim support base by 3 per cent.

19.3.3 Electoral Performance of the B.J.P.

Ever since 1967 the first major success of Jana Sangh - when it won 36 seats in the Lok Sabha, emerging as the first national alternative to the Congress, the party has made the Congress (I) as well as the communist nervous and they allied in one form or another to isolate it in Indian politics. In 1967, the party gave its full support to S.Y.D. Ministry in U.P. headed by Charan Singh. In 1977 with 98 of its men in Parliament under the Janata banner it received only three cabinet ministership. In 1980, the party backed Jagjivan Ram and in 1983 with their 18 members in the Karnataka legislature the B.J.P. supported R.K.Hegde; who was then in a minority. The B.J.P. also supported V.P.Singh in forming Jana Morcha.

In 1996 Lok Sabha elections the B.J.P. has emerged as a single largest party; getting 161 seats. With no party emerging a clear winner, the President invited A.B. Vajpayee of B.J.P. to form the government. The Vajpayee Ministry was a 13 day wonder in the corridors of power, as it was forced to resign on May 28 -1996, without venturing to prove its floor majority.

The 1998 - the 12th Lok Sabha elections - the B.J.P. with its allies did emerge as the largest vote getter in the country; and the B.J.P. success was more apparent. In 1999 elections had no major surprise a gain with 182 seats. It was the Vajpayee factor that gave the B.J.P. -led alliance its cutting edge. It is worth mentioning that the B.J.P. could win 182 seats in 1999, i.e. one more than the Lok Sabha Elections of 1998. The B.J.P. is able to spread its influence in Eastern, North Eastern and Southern States with the support of regional political formations like the T.D.P., D.M.K, B.J.D., J.D.(U), Trinmull Congress and others.

19.3.4 Ideology and Programmes of the B.J.P.

Having its roots in the Jan Sangh, the B.J.P. also declares to believe in Gandhian socialism; besides the Jay Prakash Narain's ideas on socialism. It stands for positive secularism and clean government. While laying emphasis on the 'Hindu idiom' in poll manifesto, the party stands for justice for all and appeasement of none. It has accepted the principle of reservation on caste basis, of course leaving apart

of creamy sections. Party promises 33 per cent reservation of seats in Parliament and State Legislatures for women. The Party firmly continues to believe in ideal of nationalism based on "Hindutva". The B.J.P. also lays stress on "Swadeshi" to encourage Indian industry and production as against multi nationals or foreign companies. The party also favors smaller and stronger states, desires to abolish Article 370, favors uniform civil code and propagates for the development of Human Rights. The party also desires to bring all the members of Parliament under the purview of the Lok Pal and all members of State Legislatures under the Lokayuktas.

19.3.5 B.J.P. - R.S.S. Relations

The Jan Sangh has close relations with the RS.S., as the RS.S. serves as the organizational base of the Party. The B.J.P. being its successor what is the type of relations it has with the RS.S.? The official stand of the B.J.P. and the R.S.S. is that these are the two separate organizations working in two different areas. They never interfere in each others work. But it also cannot be denied that majority of the B.J.P. workers have RS.S. background; and hence a large number of people think that the two organizations belong to the one and some family. Even the B.J.P. has reaffirmed its R.S.S. link. It sees this link as vital to its newly emphasized commitment to national unity since it believes that the RS.S.'s patriotism is unmatched. It is in fact, proud of its link with the RS.S.

The B.J.P.'s performance in Karnatak; Maharashtra and Gujrat and its existing solid base in the northern region - makes the B.J.P. the only party after the Congress (I). To day in the states taken together account for 304 of 542 seats in the Lok Sabha, the B.J.P. is either in power or is the main opposition party.

The B.J.P. like other parties, is now an openly fictionalized party, power struggle between leaders both at the National and State levels coming out in open. The extra ordinary swift expansion in as many as four states after the 1991 election generated bitter rivalries for the loaves of office among factional leaders. What has begun worrying the B.J.P. is the disenchantment of the different R.S.S. fronts with the Governments policies - after all the party depends on the cadre of the R.S.S. and its front organizations for campaigning during elections and the RS.S. form its core support base.

19.4 THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (C.P.I.)

19.4.1 Introduction

The Communist Party of India worked effectively as an illegal organization until 1942 when the British accepted its support for the Allied War effort. Hence the C.P.I. is usually dated from December, 26, 1926. Since 1947 there were a number of changes in the party tactics and the period was marked by various splits. The first split in 1964 coincided with the schism in international communism and the new

party CPI (M) again underwent a split in 1968. The first Maoist Communist Party was formed on April 22, 1969, which was Lenin's 100th birthday. It styled itself as Communist Party of India (Marxist - Leninist) and claimed Mao as its guide.

During its earlier phase - at the beginning of 1949 - the Party in desperation turned to terrorist sabotage and strikes. In 1948, P.C. Joshi was replaced as general secretary by B. T. Ranadive, with the advancement of more militant 'Left' line. Under the leadership of B. T. Ranadive the CP.I. embarked on a course of revolution - with strikes, sabotage and urban violence, following the Russian model. Ranadive emphasized the working class as the instrument of revolution and discounted the peasant uprisings in the Telengana region of Hyderabad. It was during this period - Nehru was criticised as a 'running dog of imperialism' and the Congress, in both its foreign policy and domestic policies. But with the new political leadership in USSR under Khrushchev - 'The Destalinization process, the Soviets decided to befriend the Nehru government. This change and shift in Soviets foreign policy forced C.P.I. to alter its course of action. The C.P.I. was officially advised to abandon its adventurist tactics employed. This policy shift was welcomed by those within the party - notably P.C. Joshi, S.A. Dange and Ajoy Ghosh, who favored participation in the forthcoming elections. In 1951, the revisionist line won out, with the selection of Ajoy Ghosh as General Secretary of Party. Ghosh, from a centrist position, led the party toward Constitutional Communism. The C.P.I. sanctioned Indian foreign policy and extended its full support to all 'progressive' policies and measures of the government. In 1958, the C.P.I. adopted the Amristar resolution and pledged to seek power and social change through parliamentary means. The dominant faction within the party supported Nehru's 'progressive' policies, especially his foreign policy. During the 1969 split in the Congress Party, and later during the national emergency, the C.P.I. consistently supported Indira Gandhi and her government. Only after 1977 defeat did it try to chart an independent course of action.

19.4.2 Support Base of C.P.I

Considering the electoral performance of the C.P.I., Prof. Rasheeduddin has very aptly pointed that *the* communists were the main opposition in the Lok Sabha with 16 members, in the second and third Lok Sabha with 27 and 29 members respectively. A turning point in the history of the C.P.I. came when in 1957 they won an absolute majority in the Kerala Assembly and formed the first communist government in India. The party retained the position as the largest opposition group in the fourth Lok Sabha after fourth general elections in 1967. Since the 1989 Lok Sabha elections in which they had won 12 seats, the decline of the C.P.I. has continued with every election and in 1998 elections they won only 9 seats.

As today the C.P.I. membership is concentrated in four states; Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and West Bengal. Three other states have significant enrolments: Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Punjab.

In the C.P.I., the workers and wage earners constituted 17 per cent of the party membership. As pointed in their 1982 report of the party agricultural workers constitute a sizeable section of party membership and in some states account for more than 50 per cent of the membership. The party bemoans the long standing indifference to the task of building Mao's organizations, particularly trade - unions, Kissan Sabhas and agricultural worker's associations.

19.4.3 Party Organization

It was up to 1958 the C.P.I. had been organized as a cadre party on the democratic centralist lines - spelt out in the Comintern's principles of Party Organization. This was applied in 1948 (Calcutta) and 1954 (Madurai) constitutions to the Indian context. Following the C.P.S.U. 20th Congress of 1956, the C.P.I. adopted a New Constitution at Anuissar in 1956, more suited to peaceful transition and to working within a system of representative democracy. Party units, formerly called as (CELIS), central committees and politburo became, under the mass democratic nomenclature - branches, State and National Councils and Central Executive Committee. The National Council was fixed at 101 members and Central Executive Committee at 25 while Congress was now held every two years.

At present - there is a 9 member Central Secretariat of whom one is General Secretary - which acts as the day to day executive of the 31 member Central Executive Committee, the whole elected by the 125 member National Council. In turn the National Council is elected by the Party Congress whose 1,000 plus delegates are elected by State Councils on the basis of one representative for 500 members and so on.

19.4.4 Programme and Ideology of C.P.I.

The C.P.I. has been committed to the parliamentary road to socialism. In its manifesto the C.P.I. reiterated its demands for weeding out of criminals and corrupt men and body politic, tilting the center - State relations in favor of the latter, ending indifference to the welfare of the working class, agricultural labor, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, implementing radical land reforms, reduction of foreign debt, handing over public sector units to private industrialists and arresting the steep rise in prices.

The C.P.I. favors - co-operation with all democratic and progressive forces including 'the center' and 'the left of the Congress Party. They hope to enlarge the party's parliamentary strength through electoral facts with the like minded parties like B.S.P., S.P., R.J.D. and Congress. To day, the C.P.I., which has had to play secondary role to the C.P.M since 1978, is very much in doldrums.

19.5 THE C.P.I. MARXIST

19.5.1 Introduction

In 1964 a split in the C.P.I. led to the formation of India's second Communist Party -to be known as C.P.I. (Marxist). In 1962 after the death of Ajoy Ghosh the balancer, the conflict within the C.P.I. deepened. The factional settlement - election of Dange to the Chairman's post, with Namboodripad, the centrist, as General Secretary - proved fragile. In the wake of the Chinese invasion of Indian territory, as the criticism of the C.P.I. mounted the national council resolved to condemn the Chinese action as 'aggression', and to call upon the people of India to unite in defense of the mother land'. In protest the leftist resigned from the party secretariat and even Namboodiripad submitted his resignation as general secretary of the party. At the national council meeting in 1964 the leftist attempted, without success, to oust party Chairman Dange. They came armed with a letter written by Dange in 1964, in which he had offered to co-operate with the British in exchange for his release from the jail. Denouncing the letter as forgery the council refused to consider the charges. The left and center, led by Namboodiripad and Joti Basu, staged a walk-out and appealed to the party to repudiate Dange and the reformist line. The split became final when all signatories to the appeals were suspended from the party. The left organized as C.P.I (Marxist) claimed to be the legitimate communist party of India.

19.5.3 C.P.I. - Versus - C.P.I. (M)

The C.P.I. is considered as right faction while the C.P.I. (M) as left faction of the communism in India. The C.P.M. was linked with China and the Marxists were viewed as pro-Peking while the C.P.I. was considered as pro - soviets. For the C.P.I. India's independence was a historic event and India was now on the path of independent development. For the C.P.M the transfer of power was only a settlement between Imperialist British and the Congress. The C.P.I.'s slogan was people's democracy. The C.P.I. emphasized national identity while C.P.M. saw the proletariat as the principle force of revolutionary change; while the C.P.I. (M) accorded an important place to the peasantry. The C.P.I. consistently supported Indira Gandhi and her government while the C.P.M. considered Indira Gandhi - and - Congress (I) politically untouchable. The C.P.M. staunchly opposed Indira Gandhi's emergency rule as well as her subversion of the federal system in India. The differences between C.P.I. and C.P.I. (M) in their policy perspectives are on a few important aspects of Indian politics, ie. in context of - nature of Indian State, democratic revolutions, strategy for achieving the goal of socialism etc. Ideology and Program of C.P.I. Marxist.

The C.P.I. (M) in due course of time modified its pro - Chinese stance and sought to direct the communist movement in India, in accordance with the political and historical realities existing in India. Leaders like Joti Basu and E.M.S. Namboodiripad saw to that - the party adopted an independent course for Indian communists; maintain distance from both the Soviet and the Chinese communist parties.

The C.P.M. favored a tactic- united front from below, of alliance with peasants and workers to defeat the Congress, which it regarded as a party of the bourgeoisie and landlord classes. Elections were to be used as a means to mobilize the masses; the constitution was to be used as an instrument of struggle'. The aim of the Marxist is to 'break the Constitution from within.

As such, the C.P.M. to day is characterized as a radical – Democratic Party. Its emphasis is on the preservation of democratic institutions. It strives to bring unity and integrity of India and favors the restructuring of Center – State relations.

19.5.4 Support Base

The C.P.M. draws support from middle and lower classes, besides the base are working class, agricultural labor, poor peasants and employees. The strength among the peasants is however confined to West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. The C.P.M. has made significant progress among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, notably in Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. The C.P.M. in West Bengal has developed a good base in the countryside. The main support of C.P.I (M) is most concentrated in West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra, Orisa and Punjab.

19.5.5 Role of Communist Parties in India

After Independence, the role of communist parties has been active in democratic electoral politics, also in waging struggle of the 'basic social classes'. In spite of this, they are marginal players in Indian politics. A few facts, which can be, mentioned which highlight the continuing decline of the communist are:

1. In 1999 - Lok Sabha elections - the C.P.I obtained 1.45 per cent of votes and CP.M. - 5.38 per cent of popular votes.
2. The C.P.I. and C.P.I (M) contested elections in 18 states but the results established that the communist presence is limited to a few states only.
3. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar the communist presence has declined: insignificantly. In both these states they have failed to make in roads.

Professor C.P.Bhambhri has aptly summed up his views on the role of communist parties as follows:

"Communists have been active: in the social and public life for more than 75 years. In spite of this fact they occupy a very marginal political space and are not: in a position to pose an effective challenge to the dominant political agenda of the 1990's."

19.6 LET US SUM UP

Religion and cast and other such social bases have been the cause of sharp rise :in political parties in the last decade of the 20th century. Political Parties have been fragmented due to casteism communalism and personality domination. Hence it could be said that political parties have exploited the sentiments of people for gaining votes. After 1989 elections, one most important change in our system was that the coalition politics gets maneuhum. This means that the government is formed with outside support both at national and state level which is creating instability in Indian Politics.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Note: a) Answer in the space give below.

b) Check your progress with those given at the end of the unit.

1. Discuss the Chief characteristics of Indian Party system?

2. Discuss Congress Party before the split.

3. Discuss the Congress position during Nehru period.

4. Wright an essay on the B.J.P.

5. Discuss the eventuation of C.P.I and its contributions.

19.7 KEY WORDS

Franchise	-	Right given by government
Conglomeration	-	to gather in group
Consolidation	-	combining
Mobilization	-	to make aware and active
Fragmentation	-	broken :into parts
Coalition	-	Union :into one body, alliance
Sabotage	-	deliberate destruction
Commintern's	-	Communist organization
Bourgeoise	-	Persons of the middle class

19.8 SUGGESTED READING

1. Government of India (Publication) The Constitution of India.
2. B.L.Fadia - Indian Government and Politics
3. Granville Austin - The Indian Constitution: Corner stone of a Nation.
4. Subhash Kashyap - Our Parliament
5. Basu D.D. - Introduction to the Constitution of India -19th Ed.2001.
6. Pylee M. V. - Constitutional Government in India (2000)
7. J.C.Johari - Indian Government and Politics.

19.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

1. Refer 19.1.
2. Refer 19.2.
3. Refer 19.2.7
4. Refer 19.3.1.full
5. Refer 19.4.full

UNIT 20 THE POLITICS AND ROLE OF REGIONAL PARTIES IN STATES AND THEIR IMPACT ON INDIAN FEDERAL SYSTEM - J.D., AIDMK, DMK, AGP, N.C. AKALI DAL AND TELUGU DESHAM.

STRUCTURE

- 20.0 Objectives
- 20.1. Introduction
 - 20.1.1 Regional Parties
 - 20.1.2 Regional Parties & Lok Sabha Elections
 - 20.1.3 Emergence of Regional Political Parties
- 20.2 Major Regional Parties in India
 - 20.2.1 The T elugu Desham
 - 20.2.2 N.T.R. & T.D.P.
 - 20.2.3 Election performance of T.D.P.”
- 20.3 The Janata Dal
 - 20.3.1 Support base of J.D
 - 20.3.2 Ideology & Programme of J.D
 - 20.3.3 Organization of J.D.
- 20.4 D.M.K.
 - 20.4.1 Ideology
 - 20.4.2 Election performance
- 20.5 A.I.A.D.M.K.
- 20.6 Akali Dal
- 20.7 Impact of Regional Parties on Indian Federal System
- 20.8 Let us sum up
- 20.9 Key words
- 20.10 Suggested reading
- 20.11 Answers to check your progress exercise

20.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you will be able to

- Understand the politics and role of regional parties in India
- Know the impact of regional parties of Indian Federal System

20.1 INTRODUCTION: THE POLITICS AND ROLE OF REGIONAL PARTIES

Right since Independence up till 1967, the Congress Party had dominated the Indian politics, because of which India was very often described as a 'one dominant party system. Stanley Kochnek in his study of the Congress Party, referred to some basic objections to the concept of one party dominance. He stated: "To Classify India as a dominant one party system during the first two decades of independence tells very little about the nature of the dominant party or about the Indian political system". India's experience with political parties has not been a happy one. Never the less parties have been and continue to be prominent features of Indian political life. Parties in India, imperfectly but discernibly, have played an important role in political aggregation, articulation, socialization and participation. Thus, they have been important components of the Indian political system.

Various typologies of political parties in India could be suggested, but basically they consist of the Congress Party and all the rest. Another possible division between national and regional, state or local. Norman D. Palmer points: "Most parties are really local or at most regional groupings, often hardly more than the followers of some leader. Such groupings spring up, put up their candidates in a general election, and disappear quickly, or merge with similar groups or move in and out of electoral arrangements, sometimes of a weird character. Rajni Kothari commenting on Indian Parties states, "one dimension of the system is articulated along the federal axis, between the Congress dominant Center and the multi party states with different parties and coalitions welding governmental power in different states; it is the dimension of non-aggregation. A second dimension is found at the state level where either the Congress is still the dominant party. or some other party is dominant.

20.1.1 Regional Parties

The most important of the state parties are the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K., Telegu Desham, Asom Gana Parishad, Akali DaL Samajwadi Party, Rashtriya Janata Dal (R.J.D.), Biju Janata Dal, Trinmul Congress, Tamil Manila Congress (T.M.C) and National Conference.

Each of these state parties, in their own localities, has a number of local parties or groupings have scored impressive victories. Notable among these were the Gantantra Parishad and Utkal Congress in

Orrisa, the D.M.K. in Chennai, the Jarkhand Party in Bihar, Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maha Gujrat Janta Parishad in Maharashtra and Gujrat sections of Mumbai state, Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, Bharatiya Kranti Dal in U.P., Akali Dal in Punjab, Anna D.M.K. in Tamil Nadu, National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, The Muslim League in Kerala and Samajwadi Party and in Uttar Pradesh. The Akali Dal in Punjab, the National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, the AIADMK and DMK in Tamil Nadu has become a powerful political force in their respective states. Barely six months after coming into existence, Telegu Desham stormed the Congress stronghold in Andhra Pradesh. The Assam Gana Parishad was formed in the fall of 1985, and was swept to power by the year end. In 1986, Laldenga signed an accord with the Union Government, abjured insurgency and led his Mizo National Front to power in alliance with the AIDMK in Tamil Nadu and it joined Farooq Abdullah's coalition government as a junior partner in Jammu and Kashmir. These are political parties of regional outlook.

20.1.2 Regional Parties and Lok Sabha Election

Regional political parties in state politics are a greater force and they have captured the governmental power from the hands of the all India political parties in states like Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Mizoram Sikkim, Nagaland, Goa, Orissa, Meghalaya, Manipur, and Jammu and Kashmir. In Indian politics they are gradually emerging as a powerful force.

In Indian politics in the 1977 and 1980 Lok Sabha elections, regional parties won 52 and 35 seats respectively. The Congress split in 1969, Mrs. Gandhi's government at the center had depended on the support of regional parties like D.M.K. In the Eighth Lok Sabha Telegu Desham - regional party, had the largest number of M.P.'s from opposition bench. After the verdict of the Ninth Lok Sabha elections, regional parties like D.M.K., and T.D.P., as a partner of National Front swept to power at the center. When the Gowda Ministry was sworn in on June 1st 1996, it was the culmination of the most turbulent and most tortuous process of political realignment the nation has ever witnessed.

The outcome of the 12th and 13th Lok Sabha elections (1998 and 1999) sheds various implications and brings home the truth that the path to power in Indian society lies in the creation of political, regional and social alliances. The B.J.P. with its allies (AIDMK or DMK: Samata BJD., Akali Trinmul, Shiv Sena, Lok Shakti, M.D.M.K., P.M.K., H. V.P.) has merged as the largest vote getter in the country. The B.J.P., led coalition embraces the entire gamut of Indian politics from Akali Dal to AIDMK or DMK and from Samata to Trinmul.

C.P.Bhambri has aptly described: The Lok Sabha elections of 1989, 1996, 1998 and 1999 - provided an opportunity to major regional parties to play an important role in main stream politics," besides paving the way for genuine federal government for India.

20.1.3 Emergence of Regional Political Parties

The rationale for the emergence of regional political parties is geo-political consideration. India is a country with a wide range of socio-cultural and ethnic diversities; besides historically India is also known as a 'Cradle of civilizations'. Regionalism can also be way to express political autonomy in a federal system by the formation of regional parties, and groups, in order to bargain with the center for a better regional development.

Experience has shown that almost all national parties had neglected to give adequate importance to their regional and state units. In the first two decades of independence, the Congress party remained in power in the center, and also in most of the states. In a way its continuous hegemony in the center, led to neglect of the sentiments of the States. The Congress Party treated its state units, not as autonomous limits, but as subordinate branches of the Central Congress Party. Besides the personality of India's first Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru and as President of the Congress Party had its own impact and implications in the working of center states relations. There were also many other extra constitutional factors like Planning Commission, uniformity in policy making which had resulted in what we call single party domination. This led to a simmering discontent not only within the ranks of the state units of the Congress, but also in their support base and among the people of the state. It also offended sensitivities of state leaders and rank and file. They complained that their 'pride' and 'dignity' was hurt. In this situation, it was too difficult for an alternative political format to emerge in the shape of regional parties.

In south India, where an early initiative for separate parties was taken, there was also a long suppressed feeling among the leaders and the people that North India, historically, had tried and often dominated the South. This in built animosity, between the North and South, was further accentuated by identifying the northern leadership as Aryan, Brahmanical and Kshatriya, trying to dominate the Dravidian, non-Brahmin low and middle caste groups with democratic ambition to play a free and equal role in new India.

20.2 MAJOR REGIONAL PARTIES IN INDIA

Some of the major regional political parties in India to-day can be said to be as follows; the J.D., A.I.D.M.K, D.M.K. A.G.P., N.C., Akali Dal and Telegu Desham.

20.2.1 The Telugu Desham

The Telegu Desham is comparatively new political phenomenon that in 1982 gained dominance in Andhra Pradesh, under the actor - turned political leader N.T.Rama Rao, who's charismatic personality worked wonders within a brief span of time. The party originated in reaction to Indira Gandhi's frequent

imposition of unpopular Congress Party Chief Ministers on the people of Andhra Pradesh. Most of these Chief Ministers did not last very long, and the faction - ridden Congress Party failed to deliver on its promises.

20.2.2 N.T.R. & T.D.P.

N. T.R. emphasized regionalism and themes of Telegu Nationalism. He criticised the Congress's corrupt political entitle and was against the repeated intervention from Delhi had destroyed the Telegu people's capacity for, and pride in self - government. The urban middle class specially got much attracted to-wards these facts, and N. T.R. also promised special new government programmes to help women and youth secure better education facilities and jobs. Reservations for backward classes, was another major plank of the N. T.R.'s campaigns. Plans to sell subsidized rice and to provide free lunch for all school children were announced. These were aimed at cutting into Congress's support base amongst the poor, especially the Scheduled Castes.

The political symbols and idiom that N.T.R used to transmit his message were as important as the substance of his campaign promises. Clad in his saffron robe - the traditional grab of India's holly men - and riding around in-a convertible transformed to look like a chariot, N.T.R. might have been a figure from Mahabharata, reincarnated to protect the dispossessed from worriedly evils. N. T.R. succeeded, in part; because, all his populist promise made not as an aspect of Socialism a Congress, but "through home grown imageries and idioms available in the backyard of the nation.

20.2.3 Election Performance of T.D.P.

Telegu Desham denounced the New Delhi domination of the state politics and in 1983 won an impressive majority in the state election, defeating the Congress Party. The Telegu Desham secured 198 seats while its ally the Sanjay Vichar Manch won 4 seats. Since its formation, the Telegu Desham has faced various challenges from the Congress Party. In both 1984 parliamentary elections and 1985 state elections, however it routed the Congress (I) at the polls. For the Lok Sabha it won 28 seats out of 49 seats and in March 1985 State elections it won 202 out of 287 seats. In fact in the Lok Sabha, it emerged as the single largest opposition party in 1984.

However, in November 1989 polls, the people of Andhra Pradesh gave a decisive vote against N.T.R.'s rule. N.T.R. and his Telegu Desham party were rejected by the electorate, not because of ideology or as a result of any wave but because of its performance and failure to implement the promises he had made to the electorate, the party secured only one of the 22 Lok Sabha seats, and won only 74 Assembly Seats. The Party in 1991 Lok Sabha elections polled 3.02 per cent votes to win 13 seats. In 1991 parliamentary elections the Telegu Desam had regained its lost ground, and in December 1994

N.T.R came to power with a massive mandate winning 220 out of 294 seats for his party, when N. T.R bowed out of the office of Chief Minister on August 31, 1995 - paving the way for his son in law Mr. Chandrababu Naidu had revolted against N.T.R in a 'family coup' and was duly sworn in on September 1995 as Chief Minister.

N. T.Rama Rao and his party are strong advocates of greater state autonomy. N.T.Ks social welfare policies like cheap price Saris, old age pension etc. have also been source of strength for the party. On the whole, T.D.P. is a personalized party. It was one man's affairs and he had centralized all powers in his hands. It was not the Telugu Desam, which was sustaining N. T.R, but it was the film star turned politician who literally carried the party on his back. To-day it lacks in grass roots and remains a sort of private fan club that is was then when N.T.R founded it.

20.3 THE JANATA DAL

The Janata Dal as a new political party emerged in October, 1988 with the merger of Janata Party, Lok Dal (B), Jana Morcha and the Congress (S). Like the Congress Party, the Janata Dal is an umbrella organization; it contained many anti Congress groups. It has tried to project itself as the national alternative and took the initiative in forming a broad all India coalition of opposition parties under the umbrella of the National Front. The strategy of Janata Dal did pay rich dividends at the eve of ninth Lok Sabha elections and the National Front came to power at the center with the Janata Dal as its principal component. The implication of this strategy is quite simple. Since the Janata Dal is party of the, National Front alliance, it follows that the J.D. will not try to confront or build up its independent political base in those states where N.F. partners are in power. It is clear that in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Assam - the Janata Dal will exist as surrogate of the Telugu Desam or Assam Gana Tantra Parishad or whatever regional party in its ally.

20.3.1 Support base of J.D.

Support base of the Janata Dal is essentially built up to meet the demands of the rural people. It therefore inherits the social base of the Lok Dal- which consists of agricultural class. Hence the J.D. represents rich peasants and big land owners and in caste terms of Rajputs and Jats. In the ninth Lok Sabha elections (1989) the Congress, despite being the single largest party was far short of obtaining a simple majority either by itself or with the help of its allies, it was in no position to form the Government. The Janata Dal and the National Front were able to a great extent to project them selves as a national alternative. A peculiar situation emerged in which the second largest party i.e. the Janata Dal, was invited to form the Government. The Janata Dal was assured by the B.J.P. and the Left Front that they would offer their support to it from outside and not join it in the government.

The Janata Dal, which gave two Prime Ministers to the country in 18 months (1996-97) won only 6 seats in the 1998 Lok Sabha elections. The Janata Dal is riven by splits and destructive rivalries, the party was almost wiped out in Karnatak, Orissa, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

20.3.2 Ideology and Programme of J.D.

The policies of the J.D. are neotraditionalist : opposition to large scale industrialization and the country side following Gandhian principles; and advocacy of decentralization of both the economy and political power. The Janata Dal is for secularism and social justice.

The J.D. promises to incorporate the 'Right to Work' as a fundamental right in the Constitution; there will be rural bias in planning decentralization of decision making and to curb corruption in all forms. The J.D. manifesto also promises to put down communal riots firmly, work for communal harmony and improve the lot of the minorities. Special courts would be set up to try cases of atrocities against the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Loans to small and marginal farmer's upto Rs. 10,000/- will be written off.

20.3.3 Organization of J. D.

The J.D. in fact, like a huge edifice without a foundation. It is because of the organizational absence, adhocism has prevailed. Instead of emerging into cohesive party, it has emerged as a conglomeration of groups headed by federal lords. The Janata Dal- which came to power in 1989 catalyzed the birth of the National Front and held power at the center for eleven months, broke up into several parts. Inspire of a long and tortuous history of fission in the Janata Dal formed in October 1988, the last word has not yet been said about this process. Five splinters of the erstwhile Dal- the Samata Party, the Janata Dal (United) the Lok Shakti, the Lok Dal of Mr. Om Prakash Chautala and Biju Janata Dal – are part of the National Democratic Alliance.

As far those groups which are not in the N.D.A., the R.J.D. led by Mr.Laloo Prasad Yadav rules Bihar, while the stronger Samajwadi Party of Mr.Mulayam Singh Yadav has come to power in Uttar Pradesh, and has four members in the Madhya Pradesh Assembly and has sizeable influence in Mumbai. These two former constituents of Janata Dal are mass based parties. Then there is Ajit Singh Yadav - led Lok Dal, the Samajwadi Janata Party with Mr. Chandra Shekhar as President has bunch of loyalists, while the small Janata Dal (Secular) led by Mr. H.D.Deve Gowada has a sizeable base in Karnataka, and is part of LD.F. coalition government in Kerala and in Government of Maharashtra. The J.D. (U) has some following in north Bihar and in Karnataka, while the Samata Party is limited to Bihar.

In September, 2000, the Election Commission froze the name and symbol of the Janata Dal, and the two faction - the Janata Dal (United) led by Mr. Sharad Yadav and Janata Dal (Secular) led by the former P.M. Mr. H.D. Deve Gowda as State parties. The J.D. (U) has been recognized as State Party in Bihar and Karnatak, the J.D. (S) was given the State Party status in Karnatak. This decision of the Election Commission was based on the poll performance of the two J.D. faction in the general elections to the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies in 1999 and 2000.

20.4 DMK

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam is the heir of the Dravidian Movement, with roots in the anti Brahmin conflict in Madras and Bombay in the early years of the century which latter resulted in a non-Brahmin in Southern India. After the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms - the Justice Party was organized in Madras to secure an uplift of the non Brahmin community and to oppose the nationalist movement, which would, in its view, replace the neutral administration of the British with a Brahmin oligarchy. Justice Party held power in Madras until 1934, when it was routed in a Congress victory. Weakened and tainted by its support of the British, the party found a new dynamism in the leadership of E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker, founder of the 'Self respect Movement, which aimed to purge South India of Brahmin tyranny and the religion by which the Dravidian people were held in submission. In the first of his anti Hindi campaigns, Naicker launched agitation against the Congress government, introduction of Hindi in Madras schools. He then announced that his goal was the creation of a Separate Dravidian State, Dravidasthan, and to that purpose the party was reorganized as a quasi military organization, the Dravida Kazhagam, or Dravidian Federation.

20.4.1 Ideology

In reaction to the elitist character of D.K.C.N. Annadurai, a young journalist and film writer, in 1949 led a breakaway to form Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam; the Dravida Progressive Federation. The *D.K.*, continuing as a reform movement, had never contested elections; the D.M.K combined the techniques of agitation with electoral activity. The party although still waving the banner of Dravidasthan, became increasingly oriented to pragmatic economic issues. During the Chinese invasion, the D.M.K, rallied to national cause, and on adoption of the anti-secessionist amendment for an independent to the Constitution in 1963, the party formally dropped its demand for an independent Tamilnadu. Although the D.M.K. has failed to gain outside Tamilnadu, the party has expanded its social base within the state, appealing to the non Brahmin and Brahmin alike. Awakenning Tamil Nationalist Sentiment, the D.M.K. demands greater state autonomy and an end to northern domination. Its platform emphasizes the ideals of a caste less and class less society. Its economic programme reflects a radical populism, calling for the creation of socialist economy, with nationalization of banks and transport, for example, and a vigorous policy of land reform and redistribution.

20.4.2 Election Performance

With each election the D.M.K had extended its base of strength from the urban centers deeper in rural areas. The D.M.K and its army of student volunteers responded to the issues of rising prices and the imposition of Hindi on an unwilling South with demonstrations and propaganda against the Congress Government, and a number of Tamil film stars added glamour to the rising party. (Entry of film personalities in politics first started in Tamil Nadu), because of C.N. Annadurai's association with film industry. In 1962, the D.M.K. emerged as the strongest opposition party ever to challenge the entrenched Congress in Tamilnadu, capturing 50 seats in the legislative assembly and 7 in the Lok Sabha. In 1967, through electoral arrangements with Sawantra and the left and right Communist parties, the D.M.K crushed the Congress in a landslide victory. The Congress suffered defeats throughout India, but the D.M.K was the only opposition party to secure an actual majority of seats and to form a ministry without coalition. The D.M.K. won 138 out of 232 seats in the assembly, reducing the Congress to only 49 seats. The D.M.K. also gained 25 seats in the Lok Sabha - becoming the fourth largest party at the center.

Annadurai (Anna) - the founder and leader of D.M.K. died in 1969. The leadership of the party and government was taken by M.Karunanidhi. Anna had already established a working relationship with the Congress ministry in New Delhi, and the D.M.K. extended support to Mrs. Gandhi in her struggle with the Syndicate.

20.5 A.I.A.D.M.K.

Factionalism in general proved to be the major reason for the birth of regional parties and specifically so in the case of A.I.A.D.M.K. The outcome of factional quarrels within the D.M.K led to the emergence of A.I.A.D.M.K. Within the D.M.K. factionalism was led by E. V.K Sampath in 1961, and later by V.R. Nedunchezain in 1969. But these two had not affected the party. In 1972 the factional problems between M. Karunanidhi and factional politics within the D.M.K. and M.G. Ramchandran as a monument of strength derived from the film world in the succession struggle of 1969, the latter rocked the organization to its very core. Karunanidhi found it very difficult to share public platforms with M.G. Ramchandran. Seemingly, there was a growing concern inside the D.M.K. over the popularity of M.G.R's position and his Mantrams at the grass roots level, which promoted the Charisma of M.G.R. This rift further resulted in various types of conflict between Karunanidhi and M.G. Ramchandran. The D.M.K. party suspended M.G.R. from all party posts and even from primary membership of the D.M.K. But when the people heard of this suspension they ran through the streets attacking D.M.K. flags and pictures of Karunanidhi. On October 15th 1972, M.G.R. announced his decision to form a new political party in deference to the wishes of his supporters of twenty thousand Rasigar Mantrams. On October 18, 1972, M.G.R. christened his party the Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam; and since then it began to function as a viable political party. AIADMK accepted 'Annaism' as its basic ideology which contains synthesis

of Tamil nationals_ self respect and social reforms; parliamentary path, mass participation, rationalist democracy, socialist mass communications. In the 6th general election of 1977 AIADMK due to Anna's influence the progressive front gave a deep swipe of the poll. By 1984 the Congress - AIADMK alliance bagged 37 of 39 seats. By 1989 the AIADMK lost its assembly election due to split between Jaylalita and Janaki faction. But again by 2001 Jaylalita was able to secure a landslide victory with 196 of 234 seats in the Assembly Elections. The party understands that the political relation is necessary for harmonious centre state relation there by accepting co-operative strategy for all federal relation and this strategy has kept the party successful even today.

20.6 AKALIDAL

Akali Dal is one of the oldest and most successful regional political organization in India. It can be described as both regional and communal, as it is confined to the Punjab and open only to members of the Sikh community, of which it claims to be the sole representative. It has been the spearhead of all political demands made on behalf of the Sikhs for the past 80 years. Since its formation in 1920's, it moved from a position as a religious reform organization concerned with the reform of Sikh shrines to a political party using both agitational and electoral tactics to its present position as a leading political party in the Punjab and an alternative governing party in that State. At the time of partition, the Akalis had sought an independent Sikhistan, but in the agitation of the 1950's for linguistic states, the Akali demand was translated to that of a Punjabi speaking state of Punjabi Suba.

The contemporary Akali Dal has its origins in the Akali movement of the early 1920's. During the Gurudwara reform movement, the Akali Dal came into being as an institutionalized political force in the Sikh Community under the leadership of Master Tara Singh. It moved immediately from religious reform to political action. In 1940's the Akali Dal made explicit its demand for a special political position for the Sikhs.

The strength and success of the Akali Dal have been based upon the quality of its leadership, upon its resources in Sikh religious institutions and in the Sikh community. From its early period up to the present, the Akali Dal has had a dual leadership and a dual set of tactics - agitational and parliamentary. Until recently, the agitational leadership has been dominant in the Akali Dal and has largely directed the course of Akali politics.

Akali Dals electoral strength has fluctuated between 20 per cent and 30 per cent of the popular vote. It has always been the second largest party in Punjab, next to the Congress. In 1952 elections to the Punjab Assembly the Akali Dal got 31 seats (out of 186). In 1957 under Pratap Singh Kairons leadership the Congress succeeded in forging an inter communal alliance between the Hindus and Sikhs, including the merger of the Akali Dal into the Congress in 1957 elections. In 1962 election it secured 19

seats, and in the Fourth General Elections of 1967 the Akali Dal maintained its position as the second largest party in the Assembly. The Sant Group secured 24 seats. As the Congress could not get absolute majority, the opposition parties came together and formed United Front. Gurnam Singh of the Akali Dal was elected as the common leader. Before the mid-term elections in 1969 -the two wings of the Akali Dal (Sant group and Master group) merged under the leadership of Sant Fateh Singh. The reunited party elected, 43 MLA./s, more members to the Assembly than did the Congress, and in a strange coalition with the Jana Sangh formed a government in Punjab. However, the break up of the Akali Dal Jana Sangh alliance contributed significantly to the significant loss of Akali Dal seats in the 1972 elections. In 1977 assembly elections, it won 58 of the 70 seats. A 16 member Akali Janta coalition ministry under the leadership of Prakash Singh Badal was sworn in on 23rd June, 1977. In 1980 Assembly elections the Akali Dal could win only 37 seats. After Rajiv - Longowal agreement (24th July, 1985) / elections to the Punjab Assembly were held on September 25 - 1985. The Akali (Longowal group) won 73 seats out of 117 and Surjeet Singh Bamala was sworn in as the Chief Minister. The violence and terrorism that played Punjab did not abate, there was break down of law and order because of which Presidents Rule was declared in may 1987. The Akali Dal boycotted the 1992 Punjab Assembly elections. The Shiron Akali Dal - B.J.P. combine won 93 seats in the 117 members of Punjab Assembly in the elections held on February 7th 1997. This was the first 'normal' election in the state since 1980.

The Akali Dal has never been able to win a majority by itself. Basically it is an exclusively Sikh Party. The Mazhabi Sikhs and Scheduled Castes, both Hindu and Sikh do not vote for it and it could never attract caste Hindu votes.

It is widely believed that the main base of Akali support is among the Jat Sikh peasantry; Hindus are naturally disinclined to vote Sikh - do not find the Akali Dal appealing because of its base among the Jat Sikhs, who are the rural over lords of the lower castes. Its cores lies in the rich as well as the middle class framers belonging to the Jat community.

Like the Congress Party, the Akali Dal too has been divided into factions often bitterly and openly opposed to each other. The Akali Dals programme and policies since independence have always moved around two principles; Sikh communalism and regionalism. As a communal party, it looks upon all problems of politics from a sectional angle. As a regional party, it necessarily seeks a larger degree of autonomy with the framework of Indian federation.

20.7 IMPACT OF REGIONAL PARTIES ON INDIAN FEDERAL SYSTEM

The nature of Federal system depends on party organization. In Indian the party system at the initial stage was of a single dominant party system nature, but since 1967 the pattern changed and by 1977 Regional parties evolved at various state level and Indian system was politically converted into a real federal system.

The changing dimension of Federalizing process in India thus can be understood in the dynamic context of political parties. We can divide Indian politics into four parts.

1. The dominance of Congress Party (1967 - 1970)
2. The coalition period of party politics (1967-1970)
3. The period of charismatic leadership (1971-1977) and (1980-89)
4. The period of Janata Party Rule (1977-1979)

The period of National Front & United Front Government (1989-91) and 1996-97) and The period of B.J.P. & its allies (1998 - onwards) Since 1989-99 onwards the concept of multiparty governments has been reinforced. In the last decade of 20th century, we see a trend of more power to states to run themselves which means that regional parties have moved to accelerate the federal agenda. This regional assertion has its impact on the federal framework. Which has had its impact on the federal polity. The INC & INC(O), Congress (I) have always stood for strong Centre. The Swatantra Party stood for re-distribution of power and states to be given larger responsibility. Bharatiya Jana Sangh also favored a strong centre with federal characteristics. Today the B.J.P. wants that Article 352/ 356 and 360 to be reviewed, to avoid misuse. The Communist Party also strongly advocates wide power and authority towards the states while the CPI (M) also favors widest autonomy to the states.

Today the regional parties which represent radicalism demand restructuring of entire framework of Centre - State relation favoring more and more autonomy to states. This group consists of the regional parties like Akali Dal, D.M.K., A.I.A.D.M.K., A.G.P. and Telugu Desam. With factionalism growing in the party system there is greater tendency towards a loose federal form. The contradiction in the Indian party system i.e. the ruling party at the centre whether it is Congress or B.J.P. or a Front always desires to maintain status quo and supports a strong centre; while regional parties which have been strongly evolving desire radical changes in the federal structure and support 'State Autonomy' or 'Strong States'.

In the Indian context this sort of development is going to have a strong impact on the integrity of India. Hence the states should realize that a demand for weak centre would lead to political suicide. In Indian dynamic setting, the states can grow strong only when the centre is strong.

Such kind of demand for state autonomy could be due to centre's domination towards the state and the central power over the states are being also misused due to the different party ruling at the centre and the states. Hence there is a need to allow healthy conventions to grow to serve as guidelines to the centre while dealing with states if we want to maintain integrity within the given federal set up.

20.8 LET US SUM UP

The growing presence and salience of regional parties in India is the most outstanding aspect of political development over the past few years. Their most important dimensions of this regional parties are

- a) The regional parties have posed a most powerful challenge to India's one party dominance.
- b) The regional parties have a strong impact on centre - state relation, where there is bound to be some re-distribution of powers for more state autonomy.
- c) Regional parties have made politics more competitive and popular participation in the political process more extensive at the grass root.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Note: a) Answer in the space give below.

b) Check your progress with those given at the end of the unit.

1. Discuss the nature of regional parties in India.

2. Explain the emergence of regional political parties.

3. Discuss the importance and role of

- a) J.D.
- b) A.I.A.D.M.K.
- c) D.M.K.
- d) Akali Dol
- e) Telagu Desan

4. Discuss the impact of regional parties on Indian Federal system.

20.9 KEY WORDS

Political aggregation	to accept the political demands
Articulation	to join / coordinate the demands
Socialization	to get accustomed to
Culmination	to end / terminate
Realignment	to get together again
Ideology	theory based on a set of ideas/principles.

20.10 SUGGESTED READING

1. Government of India (Publication) The Constitution of India.
2. B.L.Fadia - Indian Government and Politics
3. Granville Austin - The Indian Constitution: Corner stone of a Nation.
4. Subhash Kashyap - Our Parliament
5. Basu D.D. - Introduction to the Constitution of India - 19th Ed.2001.
6. Pylee M.V. - Constitutional Government in India (2000)
7. J.C.Johari - Indian Government and Politics.

20.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE

1. Refer 20.1 . and 20.1 .2.
2. Refer 20.2.3.
3. Refer
 - a) 20.3. Full
 - b) 20.5. full
 - c) 20.4. Full
 - d) 20.6. full
 - e) 20.2.2. full

UNIT 21 POLITICS OF DEFECTION - CAUSES AND REMEDIES

STRUCTURE

- 21.0 Objectives
- 21.1 Defection - Historical Perspective
- 21.2 Defection Politics in Indian states after 1967
 - 21.2.1 Defection Politics in Rajasthan
 - 21.2.2 Defections Politics in Haryana
 - 21.2.3 Defection Politics in Uttar Pradesh
 - 21.2.4 Defection Politics in Bihar
- 21.3 Causes and Remedies
 - 21.3.1 Remedies to Control Defection
- 21.4 Anti Defection Law : Fifty-second Amendment, 1985.
- 21.5 Let us sum up
- 21.6 Key words
- 21.7 Suggested Readings
- 21.8 Answers to check your progress Exercise

21.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to

- Understand the meaning and historical basis of defection
- Know how defections has stabilized or destabilized the party system in India, and
- Understand the Anti-Defection Act

21.1 DEFECTION - HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In a free democracy there is nothing unusual in defections. The history of defections is as old as the oldest parties. Most eminent public men and parliamentarians have involved in defecting from their parties and changing their political loyalties is not unknown in British parliamentary history. William Gladstone, the greatest British Statesman of the 19th Century, began his parliamentary career as a conservative member but during 1841-46 he crossed over to the liberal side and was made Vice-President of the Board of Trade. Winston Churchill began his parliamentary career as a conservative but he defected from the Conservative Party and crossed over to the liberal Party in 1904. In August 1931, the first Labor Prime Minister Ramsay Mac Donald, defected from his party when the majority of his own cabinet refused to go along with him in enforcing full economy cuts in unemployment benefits to save the country from a general economic crisis.

Defection has also been the salient features of Australian politics and legislators have not hesitated to shift their loyalties from Premier to an opposition leader and vice-versa. Federal governments have been toppled due to defections in 1916, 1929, 1931, and 1941. In New Zealand, the continuous Ministry, which had won a majority of the seats in 1881 elections, found itself in 1884 in a minority owing to floor crossing by a few back benches and had to seek a pre mature dissolution.

In India, there is nothing novel in political defection except their magnitude perhaps more - as India is the largest democracy in the world. In 1937 elections held under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Congress " was returned with absolute majority in the United Provinces. However Chief Minister G. B.Pant deemed it proper to induce some members of the Muslim League to cross the floor and join the Congress one of them, Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim was included in the Congress Ministry. In old Madras State after the first general elections, Congress was a minority. The Governor, however, invited Rajagopalachari to form the government, at least 16 members from the opposition parties crossed the floor to join the Congress and the Congress became the majority party. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai who had left the Congress to form a party - (K.M.P.P.) was persuaded by Nehru to counter defect to the Congress to become the Food Minister in the Union Cabinet. There are various incidences in India where defections have taken place, but it is since 1967 there has been the formation of numerous coalition governments of widely heterogeneous elements and the process of changing party affiliation has been a continuous process.

21.1.2 Defection Politics in Indian States After 1967

During a short period of nine months (March-December 1967) out of a total membership of 3,447 of State legislatures, 314 members, that is about 9 per cent changed their parties. The largest members of defections were from the Congress party; over one hundred and twenty five. Almost each month there was the fall of one state government due to the changing of party allegiance by members of Legislative Assemblies. During 1967 - 1973 about 16 state governments were toppled in quick successions with as many as over 2,700 cases of defection by legislators. Over 60 per cent legislators all over the country were involved in the game. Newer and newer combinations of group and parties came into being, in many cases (operation alliance' and (operation people' continued side by side. Haryana as the dubious distinction of leading the country in the tribe of ' AYA - RAM'S and GAYA RAM'S.

21.2 POLITICS OF DEFECTION AFTER THE FOURTH GENERAL ELECTIONS

21.2.1 Defection Politics in Rajasthan

Defections by legislators in the post-independent period have a longer history in Rajasthan rather than in any other state since independence. Congress governments after 1952, 1962 and 1967 elections were made possible through defection politics, through the readily availability of a few defectors, despite their narrow majorities, also lasted their full terms in office. Thus, in Rajasthan, defections instead of causing instability have contributed to greater legitimacy than anywhere else.

In December 1966, the factions led by Jat leader Kumbharam Arya and Rajput Maharaja of Jhalawar, Harish Chandra, walked out of Sukhadia Cabinet. Thus the total defection of 20 legislators, the Congress party in legislature was reduced to a minority and the opposition leaders demanded the resignation of the Congress government.

Despite having odds against it; the Congress party succeeded in securing 89 of the 184 seats in the fourth general elections. The Congress legislature party authorized Sukhadia to admit any other M.L.A desirous of crossing the floor to the Congress side, and to go ahead with the formations of a Congress Ministry in the State. The opposition leaders condemned Sukhadia's for 'House Trading. When the Presidents Rule was revoked, after 44 days, Sukhadia was sworn in a Chief Minister. The Congress hoped to soon achieve a convincing majority by securing more defections. By the end of 1969, Sukhadi's team became the largest in the country having a ministry as large as 37. This ever-increasing size of the Rajasthan Cabinet has established the interesting hypothesis "the more the defections, the wider the Cabinet". By 1969, the strength of the Congress legislature party in Rajasthan had risen to 110 in a house of 182 as a result of defections.

21.2.2 Defections Politics in Haryana

Haryana has a different pattern of defection politics. Haryana can also claim to be the first state where the Congress Ministry was toppled by large scale defection of dissident Congressmen; and because of which Haryana can also claim, to have defector Chief - Ministership.

It was in March 1967, after securing absolute majority by the Congress Bhagwat Dayal Sharma was sworn in as Chief Minister. A week later, his ministry was defeated in the Assembly when the nominee for Speakership lost 40 votes to 37. After this the defectors formed a new party called Haryana Congress, by entering an alliance with the opposition. Rao Birendra Singh, was invited to by the Governor to form the Government as the leader of Haryana Congress. In this case it has to be noted that all the members of the United Front were Congressmen but not defectors.

Later Devi Lal, a prominent Jat Leader who owed to topple the Rao Birendra Singhs government, tried to encourage defections from the United Front. In October 1967, four Jan Sangh members had defected to the Congress Party. It was during this period - one Hariyan legislator Gaya Lat defecting thrice within a fortnight set a new record in defection politics in Haryana. Actually, it was his name gave us the now well terms of Aya Ram and Gaya Ram' to describe the political turn outs.

The first twenty days in November 1967 the daily crossings and recrossings of floor by both the United Front and the Congress were constantly winning and losing fresh supporters. According to Governor, Haryana was witnessing a "see - saw government of defections and counter defections".

The Haryana Governor sent a report on 17th November 1967 to the President of India on the political situation in Haryana. The report pointed out that the Congress opposition was almost continuously making efforts to topple the Front Ministry in co-operation with Devi Lal who wanted to become the Chief Minister, and how Chief Minister Birendra Singh out maneuvered Devi Lal by expanding his Ministry. In the process during this period, Birendra Singh expanded his Ministry for as many as eight times. As a result everything was paralyzed and the government could not do much for the people, constantly involved in 'politics of survival.

In May 1968 mid-term elections were held in which the individual defectors were severely punished when many of them failed to get party tickets to contest the elections by the Congress and Jan Sangh. But of those defectors who did contest the elections as many as 32 per cent were successful at the polls, and the defectors group was only second to the Congress Party. The people appeared indifferent to acts of defection.

21.2.3 Defection Politics in Uttar Pradesh

Congress politics in Uttar Pradesh has always been faction ridden, because of which it failed to secure absolute majority in fourth general elections, and formed a government with the support of a few defectors to its rank. But Charan Singh and his faction toppled the government only after 18 days. C.B.Gupta, the Chief Minister resigned and Charan Singh became a new leader; but the constituent units of the coalition began to spilt. On 17th February 1968, Charan Singh had to resign and President's rule was imposed after eight days. None of the parties obtained an absolute majority in the mid - term elections held after a year in February 1969. The Bharatiya Kranti Dal (B.K.D.) all defectors party -led by Charan Singh emerged as the second largest party. The Congress formed a ministry with the help of Independents and Swatantra members, electing C.B.Gupta once again as Chief Minister. But the Congress split in 1969 resulted in fresh defections and counter defections: Charan Singh's Party (B.K.D.) gained the support of Congress (I) formed as coalition making Charan Singh again Chief Minister. But by September 1970, due to serious differences in the coalition partners the Charan Singh Ministry was dismissed and President's Rule was declared. After this another coalition emerged under T.N.Singh which also could not last long. The mid - term Lok Sabha Poll in (1971) resulted in a big victory of Congress, which contributed to mass defections in Uttar Pradesh State Legislature; from the S.V.D; because of this government was reduced to minority. Thus the main cause for the downfall of C.B.Gupta, Charan Singh and T.N.singh after the fourth general elections was defections and counter defections.

21.2.4 Defection Politics in Bihar

In Bihar after the general elections of 1967, various experiments took place, in coalition government and resulted in unstable existence. During the next four year, it had as many as eight governments with a life span of four days to ten months. Six of the eight governments were non - Congress and two were Congress led coalitions. As many as six of eight Chief Ministers were defectors.

The coalition government formed by M.P.Sinha functioned only for ten months, which was outvoted on 25th January 1968, because of defections. The new government led by B.P.Mandal, which consisted of defectors, fell after 47 days when 17 Congressmen led by B.N.Jha crossed the floor. The new coalition government was formed under the leadership of Bhola Paswan Shastri, who had also defected from the Congress, which also did not continue for long.

The Party complexion of the Bihar assembly after the poll did not change much and a Congress led coalition came to power on 26th February 1969. But on 20th June several members of the Shoshit Dal B.K.D. and Hul Jharkhand crossed the floor leading to the fall of government. On 16th February 1970 Daroga Prasad Rai formed a Congress (I) led coalition government which remained in power for 306 days and was voted out on 18th December. Then the S.S.P. Chairman, Karpuri Takur, formed a

new S.V.D. coalition on 22nd December 1970, which remained in power for 160 days, which had to resign because of defections. This pattern of defections was criticised as 'Bihar politicians - behaved like children clamoring for lalliope'. Nine-coalition ministries came one after another and all failed miserably. Most of them had among their ranks some professional defectors who would cross and recross the floor for price.

Defections in states like Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal and the fourth general elections do not have any different things to say, in Punjab the United Front of seven non-Congress parties and independents under the leadership of Akali Dal was which lasted upto November, and Gill ministry was formed. In Madhya Pradesh in 1967 elections the Congress won 167 seats in the House of 296. D.P.Mishra formed a Congress Ministry, which was again short lived, and politics of defection continued until G.N.Singh and his group returned to the Congress as a result of which the government under Shyama Charan Shukla was installed. In West Bengal the Congress failed to obtain absolute majority. A group of Congress defectors who formed the Bangla Congress secured 34 seats and other leader, Ajoy Mukherjee became the Chief Minister in a coalition government of a 14 party United Front. The Ajoy Mukherjee Ministry received a big blow when Dr.P.C.Ghosh and 16 M.L.A's led the United Front. Despite losing his majority, Ajoy Mukherjee refused to resign. The minority government formed by P.C.Ghosh could prove its majority, because of counter defections, which resulted in the dissolution of the Assembly on 20th February 1968.

In Bihar, Kamatak and Gujarat, the massive victory of the Congress (R) in the Lok Sabha poll in February 1971, politics in Bihar, Karnatak and Gujarat got much affected.

21.3 CAUSES AND REMEDIES

As said earlier defections are neither new to the British politics, nor to Indian politics. Perhaps it can say that is a part of the game in practice of democracy. Defections have become more or less a regular feature of state politics; and the foremost cause responsible for defection politics is allurements for high offices. Some legislators defect when they are offered some high job as a price for joining a new party and leaving their own. The most important cause is the big difference between a minister and that of an ordinary M.L.A., in regards with emoluments, status, and benefits attached to the office. The personality factor is also found to be a cause for defection. When individuals prominently dominate the political scene, their followers defect as soon as their leaders, due to personality clashes decide to leave the party. A political boss in India is another cause of defection. Some of the political leaders try to dominate their legislators. They are not prepared to patiently listen to their viewpoints. The result is that those within the party, who are not listened properly, decide to defect. In some cases ideological differences also become responsible for defection. Powerful lobbies and pressure groups also play a big role in defection politics. In certain cases big business or caste or religion might feel interested to lodge their

own people in authority. They start lobbying and put pressure on those who are near to them to defect from their party and to associate themselves with those, in whom they are interested, so that their group can come to power.

The major cause can also be said - the long rule of Congress Party, both at the center and in the States. Even when Congress was in its heyday, it did not hesitate in roping in many eminent leaders of various opposition parties and groups to defect and thereby swell its ranks. Men like I. Pralhasam, P.T.Pillai and Ashok Mehta of the S.S.P. defected to join the ruling party and thereby gained major rewards' in a way tempting many others to follow suit. Acharya Kripalani remarked: "From time to time, the Congress even when in majority tempted the legislators with the lure of office to leave their parties and join the Congress for no better reason than to swell its members.

Undoubtedly, in enlightened self interest appeared as the most potent incentive that enthused the legislators to commit the political sin of defection, re-defection and counter defection. The result was formation, deformation and reformation of governments in various states of Indian Union.

21.3.1 Remedies to Control Defection.

On August 11 - 1967, P. Venkatasubbaiah Congress M.P. moved a non-official resolution seeking to appoint a committee on defections. Accepting the resolution, the Government of India appointed a committee in the first week of February 1968. The committee consisted of leaders from various political parties, eminent advocates, jurists and other public men was set up by the Home Minister and was asked "to consider the problem of legislators changing their allegiance from one party to another and their frequent crossing of the floor in all its aspects and make recommendations in this regard. Y. B. Chavan was the Chairman of the Committee and other prominent members were P.Govinda Menon, Ram Subhag Singh, Madhu Lmlaya, S.N.Trivedi, N.G.Ranga, Bupesh Gupta, CK Daphary, M.C Setalvad, H.N.Kunzru, and J.P. Narayan. The Committee was known a 'Chavan Committee'. This committee suggested the following recommendations in its report.

1. Political defectors should be debarred from occupying any office, such as Minister, Speaker, Deputy Speaker or Chairman of any Statutory Corporation for a period of one year from the date of defection.
2. The size of a Ministry in a State should be ten per cent of the strength of the Assembly where there was a bicameral legislature and eleven per cent where there was unicameral legislature.
3. Defectors should be barred from becoming ministers up to one year from the date of defection unless they got re elected after resigning.
4. The Chief Minister should be made competent to seek dissolution of the House, even if reduced to minority, after his party is reduced to minority on account of political defections.

5. The electorate should be educated and made to realize the problems created by independent legislators, so that they do not return them.
6. No one who belonged to the Upper House should be elected either as Prime Minister or Chief Minister of a state. If necessary the Constitution should be amended accordingly.
7. Every elected legislator should bind himself in the party discipline and should not violate that
8. The political parties themselves should arrive at a code of conduct 'inter alia'; providing against defector being taken into the fold of another party.

The 'Chavan Committee' made a very good and bold attempt to define defection, but still it was by no means a perfect one. It did not cover Independent members of the legislative bodies, who have been made full to defect in the way they liked and thus contribute to create instability.

On 17th May 1973, the Home Ministry submitted the 'Constitution (thirty second Amendment Bill on Anti - Defection Bill to the Lok Sabha. The Bill was referred to the Select Committee. It ultimately lapsed following the dissolution of Lok Sabha in January 1977.

The Bill was criticized by the opposition on several grounds; the major grounds of which was in reference of a dispute about defection to the President or the Governor which was undesirable because that was likely to drag the Head of the State in politics; besides the Bill had not said anything about the legislators who had not been elected on the ticket of any political party, but as Independent candidates.

21.4 ANTI DEFECTION LAW: FIFTY - SECOND AMENDMENT, 1985

The major contribution of Rajiv Government is Anti Defection Act 1985; which is known a 52nd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1985; which has become effective since March 1, 1985. The major aim of the Act is designed to prevent the scourge of defection of members of Parliament and State Legislatures from one political party to another and destabilizing government in the process. Thus Act was widely welcomed when it was passed in 1985 because defection had created a mockery of democracy, but lately the need is being felt of modifying the legislation owing to the lacuna, which have been found in it. This Act was added a new Tenth Schedule to the Constitution. The underlying idea is that a Member of Parliament or a State Legislature seeks to quit the party on whose ticket he was elected then he will have to resign his seat and recontest. Thus will put an effective curb on the propensity of member to change parties with a view to get some political gain. Rajiv Gandhi outlined the main objects of the Anti defection bill in the following words:

“The voter elects us on a particular platform If we change our platform, then we are cheating the voter and we should go back to the voter and send us back on our new platform. That is roughly what this Bill does”.

Problems regarding the absence of a definition of 'defection' the thesis of 'once a party man always a party man' is established. It seriously impinges upon the liberty and independence of the elected representatives. Thus, it has been criticized on the ground that it allows back defections while declaring individual defection as illegal. On the other hand, the law has also been criticized on the ground that it makes serious inroads into the basic powers, Privileges and immunities of members in regard to freedom of speech, freedom of action, which includes freedom to vote also.

All this has brought about a distressing turmoil and instability in our party system. Most leaders today see nothing wrong in bringing about splits in other parties in their single-minded pursuit of power and pelf. P. V. Narasimha Rao started with a minority government in 1991. By the end of 1995, he had managed to secure a majority and become the darling of his party. Some of his loyalists lionized him as the "greatest ever". "Ends now increasingly justify the means, howsoever evil."

21.5 LET US SUM UP

To conclude, though the Anti Defection Act is a step in the right direction, one of its greatest drawbacks is that it does not cover defections as they took place in Haryana in 1980; Andhra Pradesh in 1984, in Jammu and Kashmir in 1984, in Nagaland, Meghalaya and Goa in 1990. What ought to have been done was not to impose a ban on free voting, but to prohibit all those who leave the party or vote against it on any ground whatever from holding any office of material benefit including ministership, and to derecognise parties, which admit defections, for a period of five years. This would curb lust for power.

As a measure, the following amendments to the Anti Defection Law may be useful to curb the erosion of integrity and morality in principled politics.

1. Restricting the size of the Cabinet, both at the Center and the States, by means of a suitable amendment to the Constitution.
2. Prohibiting a legislator who has defected for a period of at least one-year from becoming a minister or holding any other office of profit.
3. In the alternative, the adjudicatory power of deciding any question of disqualification on the ground of defection should be reposed in President / Governor acting on the opinion of the Election Commission and not in the Speaker.

These are the few measures which may stop, more and more leaders in misusing the anti defection law to stifle dissent by simply issuing three line whips on almost all matters coming up before the House. This misuse can easily be put to end by providing members the freedom to vote on all issues barring those involving confidence motions, survival of the government and the basic philosophy of a party.

Check your progress

Note: a) Answer in the space give below.

b) Check your progress with those given at the end of the unit.

1. Discuss defection politics in India after 1967.

2. Explain the causes and remedies of defection.

3. Briefly, write a note Anti Defection Law - 52nd amendment of 1985.

21.6 KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| 1. Defection | Desertion |
| 2. Alliance | Union between groups / political parties. |
| 3. Condemned | declared to be wrong |
| 4. Coalition | union between political parties. |
| 5. Lobbying | influencing legislators. |

21.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Government of India (Publication) The Constitution of India.
2. B.L.Fadia - Indian Government and Politics
3. Granville Austin - The Indian Constitution: Corner stone of a Nation.
4. Subhash Kashyap - Our Parliament
5. Basu D.D. - Introduction to the Constitution of India - 19th Ed.2001.
6. Pylee M.V. - Constitutional Government in India (2000)
7. J.C.Johari - Indian Government and Politics.

21.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

1. Refer 21.1, 21.1.2., 21.2.
2. Refer 21.3., 21.3.1.
3. Refer 21.4.

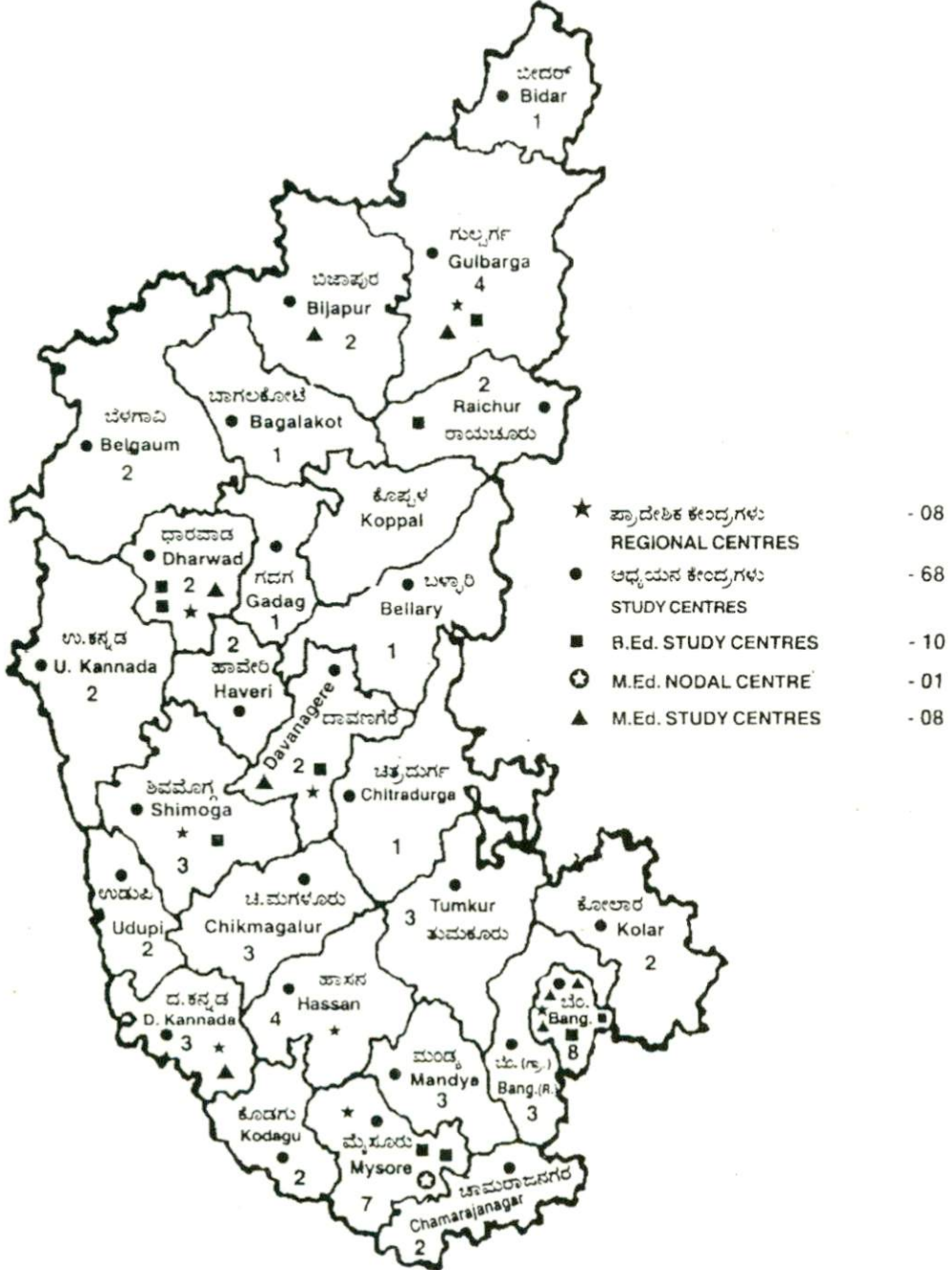
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Regional and Study Centres of Karnataka State Open University



(ಸಮೂಹಿಸಿರುವ ಅಂಕಿ - ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಟ್ಟು ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.)
(The Number indicate the total number of study Centres existing in that districts.)

