CHAPTER-I: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction:

Strong and sustainable democracy is dependent to a great extent on well-functioning political parties. Weak parties jeopardize democratic political system. It may be said that no democratic political system can exist without political parties. They are crucial actors in bringing together diverse interests, recruiting and presenting candidates, and developing competing policy proposals that provide people with a choice. In a democracy, there is no substitute for open competition between political parties in elections. They are expected to play an active and responsible role in the process of democratization. They are also supposed to lead, represent and educate their constituencies which tend to expect rapid dividends from democracy as well as impeccable behaviour on the part of leaders.

1.2. Definitions of Political Party:

The concept of political party may be operationalised on the lines of enlightening views given by many eminent political philosophers and writers as stated hereunder:

In the words of Edmund Burke, "Political party is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavour the national interest on some principles in which they all agreed".¹

Gilchrist defines a political party as "an organized group of citizens who prefer to share the same political views and who by acting as a political unit, try to control the government."²

According to W. Munro, “Political party means a group of people thinking alike on public questions. It expresses more an ideal than the realities of political life”.

According to Max Weber, “Political parties are specialized associations whose purpose is to secure power within a corporate group, for their leaders in order to attain ideal or material advantages. They may spring up within trade unions, corporations, universities, parliaments or the state itself and in the latter case they are political parties.”

According to the Election Commission of India ‘Political party’ is an association or body of individual citizens of India registered with the Commission as a Political party under section 29A of the Representation of the People Act, 1951. According to it Political parties may either be recognized political parties or unrecognised political parties. A recognized Political party again may be a National party or a State party.

1.3. Origin of Political Parties:

According to the New Illustrated Encyclopedia, Political Parties are as old as organised political systems. For example, many of the ancient Greek city-states had organized competitive parties. Political parties have been organized for various reasons: to support a particular political figure, to advance a particular policy or a general ideological stand, to aid politically certain groups or sections of society, or merely to combine for short-term political advantage. Political parties have also been organised in various ways; in some, control is exercised by a small central elite, either elected or self-

---

5 Political Parties and Election Symbols, Election commission of India, 2009, p.3.
perpetuating, while in others, power is decentralized, with candidate picking and decision making spread among local party units.\(^7\)

Joseph La Palombara and Myron Weiner contends that the political party emerges whenever the activities of a political system reach a certain degree of complexity, or whenever the notion of political power comes to include the idea that the mass public must participate or be controlled. “The emergence of the political party clearly implies that the masses must be taken into account by the political elite, either out of a commitment to ideological notion that the masses have a right to participate in the determination of public policy or the selection of leadership, or out of the realization that even a rightly dictatorial elite must find the organizational means of assuring stable conformance and control.”\(^8\) Joseph La Palombara and Myron Weiner suggested three types of theories of political party’s origins:

i. the institutional theories focusing on the relationship between early parliaments and the emergence of parties,

ii. historical situation theories that focus on the historical crisis or task which systems have encountered at the moment in time when parties developed, and

iii. developmental theories that relate parties to the broader process of modernisation.

There are some political scientists who contend that the origin of political parties center upon the characteristics of the human personality, while others feel that the determinants of a party are to be found in the social


The first theory is the suggestion that human nature harbours a characteristic tendency toward combativeness. This rationalization is akin to the force theory of the origin of the state, stipulating that fighting and quarreling form part of the original nature of man. Thus in more civilized times men "gang up", or choose sides, i.e., create parties, in an attempt to give organized expression to this competitive instinct. The second theory ascribes the motive for forming parties to man's temperament. Some men are said to cling to the past and resist innovation, while others boldly assume risks as an inevitable consequence of meeting the challenge of a changing social order. Those who share the same attitudes join together in a programme for political action. A refinement of this theory suggests that man changes his attitude toward government as he progresses through life. In boyhood he is a radical, in youth a liberal, in middle age a conservative, and in old age a reactionary. Each stage of development forms the basis for a party program. Another speculation regarding party origins places the emphasis upon the personality of dynamic political leader. He is said to inspire unthinking obedience in his followers, who form a political party to support his struggle for power.

There is undoubtedly an element of truth in these observations, but they are inadequate explanations of the beginning of parties. Rivalry is only one of the many motivations of behaviour, age is an uncertain index to political attitudes, and the charismatic traits of a political leader are mortal.

According to Joseph Schlesinger, "the term political parties emerged in the Nineteenth Century with the development of representative institutions

---

10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
and the expansion of suffrage in Europe and the United States.\textsuperscript{12} The modern
democratic party as it is known today is the result of at least two important
political developments: the limitation of the authority of the absolute
monarchy, and the extension of the suffrage to virtually all the adult
population.\textsuperscript{13} As long as the king enjoyed a monopoly of power and the mass
of citizens could not vote, party activity was not only fruitless but treasonable.
Thus it is not surprising to find the historic roots of the party both in the
struggle of the legislature to limit the king’s prerogative and in the
development of groups within the expanded electorate taking sides in battle
or demanding recognition of their interests.

However, Duverger emphasises on a particular origin of parties and
suggests that party grows out of political assemblies as their members felt the
need of a group to act in concert. Duverger also observed that parties
originate from two distinct aspects of the electoral process viz, parliamentary
and extra parliamentary.\textsuperscript{14}

1.4. Early Political Parties

1.4.a. Early Political Parties in Europe

Emergence of political party in Europe may be traced back as early as
the 6\textsuperscript{th} Century B.C. In 511 B.C., there were two political parties viz. the
Oligarchoi or Land-Owners and the Democrats or Merchants in the ancient
Greece.\textsuperscript{15} Much later, the Whigs and the Tories of England emerged in the 17\textsuperscript{th}

\textsuperscript{12} A. Joseph Schlesinger, Political parties, in David L. Sills (Ed). International Encyclopedia of Social
\textsuperscript{13} Rodee, Anderson and Christol, Introduction to Political science, pp. 486-487
\textsuperscript{14} Maurice Duverger, Political Parties, Their Organisation Activity in Modern State, New York: John
\textsuperscript{15} http://wiki.answers.com-Oldest Political party of America, Accessed on 08-07-10
Century.\textsuperscript{16} In 1678 both the Whig Party\textsuperscript{17} and the Tory party\textsuperscript{18} were founded. Prior to the mid-19\textsuperscript{th} Century, politics in United Kingdom was dominated by the Whigs and the Tories. These were not political parties in the modern sense but somewhat loose alliance of interests and individuals. The Whigs were associated with the newly emerging moneyed industrial classes, and the Tories were associated with the landed gentry, the Church of England and the Church of Scotland.\textsuperscript{19}

By the mid-19\textsuperscript{th} Century the Whigs had evolved into the Liberal Party, and the Tories had evolved into the Conservative Party. These two parties dominated the political scene until 1920s, when the Liberal Party declined in popularity and suffered a long stream of resignations. The Liberal Party was replaced by the Labour Party as the main left-wing party, who represented an alliance between the trade unions and various socialist societies. Since then the Conservative and the Labour Party have dominated British politics, and have altered in government continuously till now. However, recently, the Liberals have been merged with the Social Democrats because of similar views and became the Liberal Democrats, which is one of the important political parties of U.K.\textsuperscript{20}

1.4.b. Early Political Parties In America

The emergence of political parties in America had its root when the advisers of the First President of America, George Washington, divided into two quarreled groups.\textsuperscript{21} The President was not a member of any political party

\textsuperscript{16} ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} http://www.ask.com/bar-whig (British political party), Accessed on 23-07-10
\textsuperscript{18} http://conservativehistory.blogspot.com-Conservative Party (UK), Accessed on 08-07-10
\textsuperscript{19} http://en.wikipedia.org-List of Political parties of United Kingdom, Accessed on 08-07-10
\textsuperscript{20} ibid.
\textsuperscript{21} http://wiki.answers.com-Oldest Political party of America, Accessed on 08-07-10
at the time of election or throughout his tenure as President. Alexander Hamilton and Adams led one group, and Jefferson and James Madison led the other group. The group led by Alexander Hamilton and Adams was called the Federalists (supporters of the Constitution). But it was not an organised political party. Against to it, the other opponent group led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison formed an organised political party called the Democratic-Republic Party in 1792. It was the first organised political party in America. Later, the Democratic-Republic Party was split and the modern Democratic Party led by Andrew Jackson was formed in 1824, and in 1828, the Whig Party (of America), led by Henry Clay was formed. The Democratic Party survives as one of the major parties in America till now, however the Whig Party collapsed in the 1850s.

The Republican Party was founded in 1854 by anti-slavery expansion activists and modernizers. The Republican Party is one of the major contemporary political parties of America. It is often referred to as the Grand Old party or Gallant Old party (GOP). The Republican Party rose to prominence with the election of Abraham Lincoln, the First Republican President. The Party adopted the economic policies of the Whig Party, such as national banks, railroads, high tariffs, homesteads, etc.

1.4.c. Early Political Parties in Asia

So far as the emergence of political parties in Asia is concerned, Japan had a political party as early as 1874. It was called Aikoku Koto (Public Party of

---

22 ibid.
23 ibid.
25 http://wiki.answers.com-Oldest Political party of America, Accessed on 08-07-10
27 Ibid.
28http://wiki.answers.com-Oldest Political party of America, Accessed on 08-07-10
Patriots). 29 This was followed by Shakai Minshuto (Social Democratic Party of Japan), 1906; Nihon Kyosanto (Japan Communist party), 1922; 30 Social Democratic Party (called in English the Japan Socialist Party until February 1991 and then the Social Democratic Party of Japan until January 1996), November, 1945; 31 Minshuto (Democratic Party of Japan), 1947; Liberal Democratic Party, November, 1955; 32 the Democratic Socialist Party, January 1960; 33 New Komeito (New Clean Government party), 1964; 34 Komeito, November 1964; the Japan New Party, May 1992; New Party Sakigake (Harbinger), June 1993; the Japan Renewal Party (Shinseito), June 1993; the Democratic Party of Japan (Minshuto), 28 September 1996; the Taiyo Party, 26 December 1996, 35 etc.

Regarding China, the first political party which emerged in China was the Kuomintang/Guomindang (KMT) of China (the Chinese Nationalist Party or Chinese National People's Party). It was established on 24 November 1894. It was founded by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, a proponent of Chinese Nationalism, who also founded Revive China Society in Honolulu, Hawaii in 1894. 36 The next political party which emerged in China was the Communist Party of China (Chinese Communist Party) founded in May 1921. 37 It is the world's largest

political party.\textsuperscript{38} The party claimed that nearly 78 million members are there at the end of 2009 which constitutes about 5.6\% of the total population of mainland China.\textsuperscript{39}

Besides, there were some political parties which were founded during the 1940s. They were the China Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the China Association for the Promotion of Democracy, the Chinese Peasants and Workers Party, the China Zhi Gong Party, the Jiu San Society and the Taiwan Democratic Self Government League.

1.5. Types of Political Parties:

Structurally, Political party can be classified into two categories, (1) the Cadre-based party and (2) the Mass party.

1.5.a. Cadre-based Party:

Cadre-based party normally organizes a relatively small number of party adherents. Its membership is confined to active elite. Cadre-based parties promoting the interests of the landed classes and established church (conservative) or of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie (liberal) developed in 19\textsuperscript{th} Century England from earlier cliques and factions. The Cadre-based parties of this century reflected a fundamental conflict between two classes: the aristocracy on the one hand and the bourgeoisie on the other. The former, composed of landowners, depended upon rural estates on which a generally unlettered peasantry was held back by a traditionalist clergy. The bourgeoisie, made up of industrialists, merchants, tradesmen,

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
bankers, financiers, and professional people, depended upon the lower classes of clerks and industrial workers in the cities.

1.5.b. Mass-based party:

Mass-based parties arose in Europe with the organization of Socialist parties in several countries. These differed from Cadre-based parties in their efforts to enroll as many individual members as possible, in their financing by numerous small contributions, and the election of party leaders by the membership. Mass-based parties unite hundreds of followers, sometimes millions. But the number of members is not the only criterion of a mass-based party. The essential factor is that such a party attempts to base itself on an appeal to the masses. It attempts to organize not only those who are influential or well known or those who represent special interest groups but rather any citizen who is willing to join the party. If such a party succeeds in gathering only a few adherents, then it is mass based only in potential. It remains, nevertheless, different from the Cadre-based type parties.

Political parties can also be classified on the basis of geographical area of their influence and political support base. They are:

1.5.c. National Political Party:

According to the Election Commission of India, a political party shall be eligible to be recognized as national party, if, and only if, any of the following conditions is fulfilled: 40

i. The candidates set up by the party, in any four or more states, at the last general election to the House of the People, or to the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned, have secured not less than six

---

40 Political Parties and Election Symbols, Election Commission of India, 2009, p.3.
percent of the total valid votes polled in each of those States at that
general election; and in addition, it has returned at least four members
to the House of the People at the aforesaid last general election from
any State or States; or

ii. At the last general election to the House of the People, the party has
won at least two percent of the total number of seats in the House of
the People, any fraction exceeding half being counted as one; and the
party’s candidates have been elected to that House from not less than
three States; or

iii. The party is recognized as State party in at least four States.

According to the Election Commission of India, in the year 2009, there
were seven national political parties in India.\textsuperscript{41} They are i) Bahujan Samaj
Party, ii) Bharatiya Janata Party, iii) Communist Party of India, iv) Communist
Party of India (Marxist), v) Indian National Congress, vi) Nationalist Congress
Party, and vii) Rashtriya Janata Dal.

1.5.d. State Political Party:

According to Election Commission of India, a political party shall be
eligible for recognition as a state party in a state, if, and only if, any of the
following conditions is fulfilled:\textsuperscript{42}

i. At the last general election to the legislative assembly of the state, the
candidates set up by the party have secured not less than six percent of
the total valid votes polled in the state; and, in addition, the party has
returned at least two members to the legislative assembly of that state
at such general election; or

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid, p.16.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid, p.3.
ii. At the last general election to the House of the People from that state, the candidates set up by the party have secured not less than six percent of the total valid votes polled in the state; and in addition, the party has returned at least one member to the House of the People from that state at such general election;

iii. At the last general election to the legislative assembly of the state, the party has won at least three percent of the total number of seats in the legislative assembly, (any fraction exceeding half being counted as one), or at least three seats in the Assembly, whichever is more; or

iv. At the last general election to the House of the People from the state, the party has returned at least one member to the House of the People for every 25 members or any fraction thereof allotted to that state.

According to the Election Commission of India, in 2009 there are 48 registered and recognized state political parties\textsuperscript{43} and 1035 registered but unrecognized political parties in India.\textsuperscript{44}

1.6. Emergence of Political Parties (National) in India:

The decades following the Sepoy Mutiny were a period of growing political awareness, manifestation of Indian public opinion, and emergence of Indian leadership at national and provincial levels. Ominous economic uncertainties created by British colonial rule and the limited opportunities that awaited the ever-expanding number of western-educated graduates began to dominate the rhetoric of leaders who had begun to think of themselves as a “nation,” despite fissure

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, p.17.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, p.23.
along the lines of region, religion, language, caste.\textsuperscript{45} The period also
witnessed the western-educated Indians creating many social and
political associations, though most of them were provincial in
character. These political associations aimed at spreading political
education among the masses and to initiate political work in the
country. They were based on new political ideas, new intellectual
perception of reality, new social, political and economic objectives, and
new techniques of political organisation.\textsuperscript{46}

It may be noted here that the Ilbert Bill agitation of 1883 was a
landmark in the history of the growth of political consciousness among
the Indians in the sense that it strengthened the forces that were
speeding up in the birth of the Indian National Congress.\textsuperscript{47} It provided
the ground for national awakening and strengthened the desire of the
Indians to organize an all-India political organisation. Thus, the Indian
National Congress – the oldest national political party was born in
1885.

But even before the birth of the Indian National Congress, some
political organisations were already there in various parts of the
country which aimed at promoting the 'national interest'. In 1837, the
Zamindari Association of Bengal was founded. Later it changed its name
to Landholders' Society. It was the first organisation formed for
political purpose and it taught the Indians to assert their claims by
giving expression to their opinions.\textsuperscript{48} Another political organisation was
the Bengal British Indian Society, founded in April 1843. The main

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{45}] Girish Malhotra, Indian Government and Politics, New Delhi, Murari Lal & Sons, 2006, p.65.
\item[\textsuperscript{47}] Surendra Nath Banerjee, A Nation in Making, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1925, p. 86.
\item[\textsuperscript{48}] B.L. Fadia, op. cit., p. 26.
\end{itemize}
objective of this society was to collect and disseminate information relating to the conditions of the people, about the laws, institutions and resources of the country, and to advance the interests of all classes of the Indian subjects. In August 1852, Dadabhai Naoroji and his colleagues formed the Bombay Presidency Association. The aims of the association were to ascertain the desires of the people and to suggest to the authority measures to advance public welfare. A similar organisation, calling itself the Madras Native Association, came into existence by 1853. It petitioned the Government, bringing to its notice, the grievances and wants of the people inhabiting in the Presidency. In 1870, M.G. Ranade and his associates organized the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. The Sabha carried on active political education in the country for the next thirty years.

However, the first political organisation to adopt an all-India outlook was the British Indian Association, formed in October 1851. It desired improvements in local administration and the system of government. It wanted to acquaint the British with the sentiments among the Indians with regard to its past and future administration.

In 1875 Surendranath Bannerjee founded the Indian Association. He defined the aim of the association as the creation of a strong body of public opinion in the country; the unification of the Indian people on the basis of common political interests and aspirations; and the

---

51 Ibid.
52 V.P. Verma, Modern Indian Political Thought, Agra, Laksh Narain Agarwal, 1990, p. 135.
inclusion of the masses in the great public movement of the day. The association protested against the age limit for the Indian Civil Services, and launched a massive agitation against the repressive policies of the government.

The Indian Association summoned the 'First National Conference' in Calcutta in December 1883. As a matter of fact, the Calcutta Conference anticipated the Indian National Congress by two years, and in a large measure, anticipated the 'great national assembly'. The second session of the National Conference was held in Calcutta in 1885. It discussed most of the then urgent problems of India and sent a telegram to the Conference of the Indian National Congress to be held in Bombay in the same year expressing their sympathy with the approaching Congress Session.

Indeed, Bengal took the lead in establishing political associations in India. But other provinces did not lag behind. Such 'provincial' and 'national' political activities had prepared the ground for the creation of an all-India political organisation which would embrace the whole country by bringing into one body several provincial associations and politically conscious individuals living in different parts of the country. Conditions were, by then, ripe for the establishment of a popular 'national assembly' to give expression to national demands and aspirations. The country was thus prepared, by the last quarter of the

54 Surendranath Banerjea, op. cit., pp. 42-44.
56 Birendra Prasad, op. cit., p. 9.
nineteenth century, both in men as well as material for the formation of a popular national organisation.\textsuperscript{57}

1.6.a. Indian National Congress:

The Indian National Congress (INC) was founded in 28 December 1885 at Bombay with 72 Indian delegates, under the leadership of Allan Octavian Hume, a retired I.C.S. Womesh Chandra Bannerjee was its first President. At its inception the congress had no well-defined ideology and commanded few of the resources essential to a political organisation. The real purpose of the British in establishing this organisation was to continue ruling India with the help of liberal and pro-British Indians. Even though it was established as a pro-British Indian organisation, the Indian National Congress became the main voice of India's freedom struggle. Out of the 70 million Indians who participated in freedom struggle, 15 millions were from the Indian National Congress.\textsuperscript{58} It organised active political propaganda throughout the country and awakened the people to a deep sense of political unity and concerted activity for achieving a common goal. It was clearly for the first time that leaders from all parts of the country had come together on the same platform.\textsuperscript{59}

Regarding the objective of the 'early' Congress, it is clear that the Congress was not founded with the object of winning political freedom. The early leaders of the Congress merely wanted to liberalise the British rule and to demand certain political and administrative

\textsuperscript{57} D.C. Gupta, India Nationalism and Constitutional Development, Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1983, p.31.

\textsuperscript{58} Girish Malhotra, Indian Government and Politics, New Delhi, Murari Lal & Sons, 2006, p.90.

reforms.\textsuperscript{60} It also aimed at educating the people towards a genuine parliamentary frame of mind. Indeed, in its initial years the Congress was an association which aimed at political and administrative concessions and was a body loyal to the British Raj, though it fought for the liberation of the nation in its later phases.\textsuperscript{61} As a matter of fact, the idea of national freedom was rather premature at the time of its inception.

The Indian National Congress came into existence without any sense of popular excitement and enthusiasm that generally accompany a political revolution. In its first session, only 72 delegates participated in its deliberations. However, as the years rolled, the number of its membership increased by leaps and bounds. By 1886, its membership rose up to 406; and by 1887, the number increased to 600; by 1888, its membership reached 1248; and in less than two decades, the Congress began to draw the attention of the general masses.\textsuperscript{62} The Congress attracted the attention of all sections of the population irrespective of region and religion, castes or communities, rural or urban etc., and truly represented the national interest.

Within a short span of time, the Indian National Congress became a cosmopolitan organisation. This fact is substantiated by the nature of its membership and the aims it pursued. All the leading personalities of the time, with the exception of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, joined it. Leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerjee, Aurobindo Ghose, Lala Lajpat Rai, Anand Mohan Bose, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Madan Mohan Malvia, Subramania Iyer, Pherozeshah Mehta, P. Anand Charlu, Hakim

\textsuperscript{60} Birendra Prasad, op. cit., p.12.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{62} D.C. Gupta, op. cit., p. 32.
Ajmal Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali, Saukat Ali, Mohammad Ali, Maulana Husain Ahmed, Dr. Khan Sahib, Abdul Gafar Khan, Abdul Kalam, Sir Dineshaw Wacha, Tyabji, Telang and a host of glittering personalities of the time joined the Congress and actively participated in its working. These leaders worked under the banner of the Congress and fostered its lofty ideals. After India’s independence, the British passed the administration of India to the leaders of the Indian National Congress and the party ruled uninterrupted until 1977, and has remained a major political force till now.

1.6.b. Swatantra Party:

The Swatantra Party (swatantra meaning 'free' or 'independent' in Sanskrit) was a political party in India founded by Chakravarti Rajagopalachari and N. G. Ranga in August 1959. It was associated in the public mind with wealthy industrialists and former Maharajas. The party was formed to provide a right-wing opposition to the ruling Congress party. It opposed the Nehruvian socialist outlook of the Congress Party by advocating free enterprise, opposing the so-called licence-permit Raj, and ending India's economic system by courting Western investment.

Electoral performance of Swatantra Party: Swatantra party was not in a bad position in the first general elections after its formation. In the third Lok Sabha Elections 1962, it received 6.8% of the total votes and 18 seats. The party emerged as the main opposition in four states: Bihar, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Orissa. It became a significant force in some regions of India and became the single largest opposition party in the mid-1960s in Parliament with 8.7% of the

---

63 Ibid.
65 http://www.cambridge.org – The swatantra party and Indian Conservatism, Accessed on 14-07-10
total votes. It got 44 seats in the Fourth Lok Sabha 1967. However in the Fifth Lok Sabha Elections 1971, it secured only 8 seats with 3% of the votes. After Rajagopalachari’s death in 1972, the Swatantra Party declined rapidly. In 1974, the party was merged to Bharatiya Kranti Dal led by Charan Singh which was a coalition of left-wing, right-wing and Hindu opponents of Congress party’s rule.\textsuperscript{67}

1.6.c. Janata Party:

Another party, which was formed to challenge the Congress Party, was Janata Party. The Janata Party was the first political party in India to establish a non-Congress government at the Centre when it won the 1977 elections. Janata party was established just before the 1977 general elections. The person responsible for the formation of Janata party was Jayaprakash Narayan.

The following are some of the important objectives of Janata Party:

i. To restore the fundamental freedoms that have been suspended during the emergency imposed by Mrs. Gandhi;

ii. To repeal Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA), release all political detenus, and review all other unjust laws;

iii. To enact laws to ensure that no political or social organisation is banned without independent judicial enquiry;

iv. To seek to rescind the 42\textsuperscript{nd} Amendment;

v. To amend Article 352 of the Constitution to prevent abuse in the interest of an individual or group;

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid.
vi. To move to amend article 356 to ensure that the power to impose President’s Rule in the States is not misused to benefit the ruling party at the Centre or any favored faction within it;

vii. To introduce electoral reforms after a careful consideration of suggestions made by various committees, including the Tarkunde Committee and, in particular consider proposals for recall of errant legislators and for reducing election costs as well as the voting age from 21 to 18;

viii. To repeal the amendment to the Representation of the People Act, 1951 which redefines corrupt practices and replaces electoral offences by certain individuals beyond the scrutiny of the courts;

ix. To re-establish the rule of law;

x. To restore the authority of the judiciary and safeguard the independence and integrity of the Bar;

xi. To ensure that all individuals, including those who hold high office, are equal before law;

xii. To secure the right to peaceful and non-violent protest;

xiii. To abolish censorship and end all harassment to newspapers, journals, publishers, and printing presses;

xiv. To safeguard the freedom of the press by repealing the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Act and restore the immunity that the press previously enjoyed in reporting legislative proceedings;

xv. To ensure that All India Radio, Doordarshan, and the Films Division are converted into genuinely autonomous bodies that are politically objective and free from governmental interference;
xvi. To ensure that news agencies are completely independent of the government and are not given the right to monopoly;

xvii. To delete property rights from the list of Fundamental Rights and, instead, affirm the right to work;

xviii. To ensure that government employees are not victimized, are freed of political pressure, not compelled to execute illegal orders and unlawful actions, and to restore their right to access to courts.68

On the eve of the Lok Sabha Elections of 1977, under the Prime Ministership of Indira Gandhi, there was a great sign of corruption and dictatorship of the Congress government. There was a general feeling that liberal democracy was coming to an end. Emergency was declared during 1975-1977. During this period many of Mrs. Gandhi’s political rivals were arrested and put behind the bars. Censorship was enforced on Indian press. The justice system was restricted and turned into a ‘puppet show’ of the government.69 The people also suffered a lot from this emergency rule. It is in response to this situation that Janata Party came into existence. It was not a mere alliance of parties but a new national party to which the Congress (O), the Bharatiya Lok Dal, the Jana Sangh, the Socialist Party, Independent congressmen and many others stood firmly committed. Thus the Janata Party won the 1977 Lok Sabha Elections and Morarjee Desai became the Prime Minister of India. But this party did not survive for long. In 1980, a new election took place in which the Indian National Congress again won the elections. Later on the Janata Party was split up into many parties. Among this one important party was Jan Sangh, which later on was

renamed as Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Janata party continued to survive, but failed to represent many seats. Later the party merged to Janata Dal in 1989 Lok Sabha Elections, and formed a coalition government called National Front.

1.6.d. Janata Dal (JD):

The Janata Dal was also formed with an objective to overthrow the Congress from its position of power. In 1984, there were allegations of corruption against the Rajiv Gandhi led Congress government. The Finance Minister of his government was Vishwanath Pratap Singh. VP Singh found out that a Swedish company, Bofors, was bribing some senior members of the Congress.\(^7^0\) Singh tried to investigate this affair. Gandhi moved him from the office and made him Defence Minister, but VP Singh resigned from the government and started a new party called Janata Dal. It was formed by three political parties, viz., Janata Party, Lok Dal and some members of Indian National Congress. In the 1989 Lok Sabha Elections this party came second after INC but it managed to establish a coalition government with other parties. This coalition was called National Front. It lasted only two years.

1.6.e. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP):

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was founded in December 1980 under the leadership of Atal Behari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani.\(^7^1\) The Party claims to be a champion of socio-religious cultural values of the country's Hindu majority, conservative social policies and strong national defense. It finds its primary base of support in urban and semi-urban middle class, business and merchant classes and religious and social conservatives. Its

\(^7^0\) Ibid, p.89.
\(^7^1\) Ibid. p.97.
constituency is strengthened by the broad umbrella of Hindu Nationalist organisations, informally known as the Sangh Parivar (Family of “Sangh” organisations), where the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh plays a leading role.

The BJP tried to roll back the centralizing tendencies formerly endorsed by the Congress Party which dominated Central government for four decades. The ideological rallying cry of BJP is Hindutva, literally meaning “Hinduness,” or cultural Hindu Nationalism.\textsuperscript{72}

The following are some of the important objectives of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP):

i. Support and strengthen state governments and not destabilize and topple them;

ii. Give the states a fairer share of central revenue and increase the financial powers of the states;

iii. Constitute an Inter-State Council under Article 263 to settle all inter-state and state-Centre disputes;

iv. Appoint State Governors in consultation with State Governments;

v. Limit the number of Ministers to 10 percent of legislators;

vi. Guarantee to all minorities, linguistic and religious, peace and security; all full opportunities for progress and development;

vii. Delete the temporary Article 370 of the Constitution and scrap the 59\textsuperscript{th} Amendment of the Constitution;

viii. Appoint a commission to examine the various personal laws in vogue in the country - Hindu Law, Muslim Law, Christian Law, Parsi Law, Civil Law, etc, and identify the fair and equitable

\textsuperscript{72}http://en.wikipedia.org, Hindutva, access on 08-07-2010.
ingredients in these laws and prepare a draft with a view to evolve a consensus for a uniform civil code;

ix. Appoint of a Commission to examine the Constitution of India for making it an effective instrument for containing centrifugal tendencies;

x. Grant state-hood to the Union Territory of Delhi, create separate states of Uttaranchal in U.P. and Vananchal in Bihar, give the status of Union Territory to Ladakh; and

xi. Maintain a National Register of Citizens.73

In the 1984 Lok Sabha Elections BJP won only two seats. However in the 1989 Lok Sabha Elections, BJP won 88 seats and supported the Janata Dal led National Front government from outside. Then in 1991 Lok Sabha Elections, BJP became the premier opposition party and the Congress government was a coalition one. In 1996, the BJP became the second single-largest political party in the Lok Sabha and formed a coalition government under the Prime Ministership of Atal Behari Vajpayee. But it lasted only 13 days.74 Then in the 1998 Lok Sabha Elections the BJP became the single largest majority and formed the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) with allied political parties. But the coalition ruptured in May 1999 and fresh elections were again called. On 13 October 1999, the BJP-led NDA won 303 seats.75 This time the NDA government lasted for its full five years. However in 2004 elections the BJP and the NDA got defeated, and since then, it is there in the Parliament as the leading opposition party.

73 S.P. Sharma, pp.275-276.
74 Girish Malhotra, Indian Government and Politics, p.97.
75 Ibid.
1.6.f. Communist Party of India:

The Communist Party of India (CPI) was founded on 26 December 1925. But the Communist Party of India (Marxist), which split-off from the CPI, claims that the party was founded in USSR in 1920. During the 1920s and the beginning of 1930s the party was badly organized. There were several communist groups working with limited national coordination. The British colonial authorities had banned all communist activities which made the task of building a united party very difficult. Only in 1935 was the party ready to be accepted as the Indian section of the Communist Third International. The following are some of the important objectives of the CPI:

i. To defend the national unity and integrity, maintain communal harmony and safeguard secular democratic set-up against misuse of religious places for disruptive and communal activities;

ii. Restructuring Centre-state relations to expand the powers of the states and provide them with adequate financial resources; limiting the use of Article 356 of the Constitution to exceptional situations; the fate of every State government to be decided on the floor of the house; curbs on monopoly houses and transnational giants; nationalization of sugar, textile, jute and vanaspati industries and foreign trade;

iii. Protection and encouragement of small-scale industry; support and encouragement for cottage industry and artisans;

iv. State takeover of wholesale trade in foodgrains; strengthening and widening the public distribution system covering all essential commodities; absorbing small traders and shopkeepers in the system;

---

77 S.P. Sharma, pp.323-327.
v. Planned and independent development of national economy, ensuring
dominant position of the public sector, mobilization of resources for
planning by taxing the rich, including the rural rich;

vi. Crash program for economic and cultural development in Jammu and
Kashmir and north-eastern states and other backward regions;

vii. The right to employment to be included in the Fundamental Rights in
the Constitution; employment programmes for rural workers and
educated youth; employment allowance for the jobless;

viii. Scrapping the elitist Navodaya schools system, radical re-organization
of the education system to make it vocation-oriented;

ix. Introduction of the system of proportional representation in elections;
effective reforms in the electoral system to eliminate money and
muscle power;

x. Reform of the judicial system; justice to make easily available to the
common people and inexpensive;

xi. Strengthening the parliamentary democratic system; restoration of
democratic traditions and convention.

In 1957, the CPI emerged as the largest opposition party. In the same
year, the party won the state elections in Kerala. This was the first time that
an opposition party won control over an Indian state. In 1962, there was a
serious crack within the party. One reason was the Sino-Indian war, where the
Soviet faction of the Indian communists backed the position of the Indian
government, while other faction of the party claimed that it was a conflict
between a socialist and a capitalist state, and thus took a pro-Chinese
position. Thus, in 1964 the party was split into two - the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

During the period 1970-77, the CPI was allied with Congress. After the fall of the regime of Indira Gandhi, the CPI re-oriented itself towards cooperation with CPI (M).

1.7. Emergence of Regional Political Parties in India:

India has a long and well-established tradition of regional political parties. Many regional parties emerged before as well as after her independence and they have played a significant role both in state and national politics. Many of them have been successful not only in state assembly elections but also in Lok Sabha elections as well. Some of the important regional political parties which have emerged in India before and after her independence are being discussed as follows:

1.7.a. Akali Dal:

The Akali Dal (Eternal Party) was formed on 24 January, 1921. Akali Dal considers itself a religio-political party and the principal representative of Sikhs. Sardar Sarmukh Singh Chubbal was the first President of a unified proper Akali Dal, but it was under Master Tara Singh that Akali Dal became a force to be reckoned with. The party launched the Punjabi Suba movement to create a Sikh majority state in the undivided East Punjab under the leadership of Sant Fateh Singh. Until the reorganization of states in 1966, which created two separate states of Punjab and Haryana and a Union Territory of Chandigarh, the Akali Dal raised the issue of a ‘Punjabi-speaking’ state. During the 1960s, the Akali Dal played an important role in the struggle for the

---

creation of Punjab as a separate state with a Sikh majority. It also asked for integration of Punjabi-speaking area of neighbouring states with Punjab, granting of recognition to Punjabi language the status of second language in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Delhi, and the autonomy of states. Akali Dal came to power in Punjab, but many times the party's governments were dismissed by the Indian National Congress ruling at the federal level. The Dal's chief opponent on the political front is the Indian National Congress. Its political ally in the state and at the Centre is the Bharatiya Janata Party. Since Punjab is about 65% Sikh, the Sriromani Akali Dal (SAD) needs the support of as many Hindus as the BJP can get to form lasting ministries, and the BJP needs the SAD to bring as many Parliamentary seats from Punjab as it can to form government at the Centre.

Akali Dal's history is full of divisions and factionalism. Each faction claims to be the real Akali Dal. In 2003, the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal), headed by Parkash Singh Badal, was the largest faction and the one recognized as having the name SAD (Badal) by the Election Commission of India. Other active factions at that time included Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal led by Jathedar Gurcharan Singh Tohra, Shiromani Akali Dal (Panthik) led by Maharaja Capt. Amarinder Singh (which later merged with Congress), Shiromani Akali Dal (Democratic) led by Sardar Kuldip Singh Wadala, Shiromani Akali Dal (Longowal), Shiromani Akali Dal (1920) and Haryana State Akali Dal, a former part of Badal's Akali Dal but separated from it because of him daring to challenge Sikh authority and depose a Jathedar of Akal Takht, one of the main authorities of Sikhism. In the fall of 2003, the Badal and Tohra factions reunited. As of August 2008, there were six groups claiming to be the real Akali Dal. They were Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal), Shiromani Akali Dal
(Simranjit Singh Mann), Shiromani Akali Dal Delhi, Haryana State Akali Dal, Shiromani Akali Dal (UK) and Shiromani Akali Dal Amritsar (Panch Pardhani). The basic philosophy of Akali Dal is to give political voice to Sikh issues (Panthic cause) and it believes that religion and politics should go hand in hand. During the February 2007 Punjab state elections, the Shiromani Akali Dal led by Parkash Singh Badal won 48 of the 117 seats, becoming the largest party in the Punjab State Assembly. The alliance of the Shiromani Akali Dal led by Parkash Singh Badal and Bharatiya Janata Party took over the state government from the Indian National Congress, with Prakash Singh Badal as chief minister.

Objectives: The main objective of the Akali Dal is giving more powers to the states by the Centre. It also wanted that financial resources of the country should be so distributed that the states become less dependent on the centre. The party also wanted that the Centre should interfere with the affairs of the states in the least possible extent.  


---

turnout dropped to 21.6 percent, and the Congress (I) won twelve of Punjab’s thirteen seats in Parliament and a majority of seats in the legislative assembly.

1.7.b. Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK):

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), a state political party of Tamil Nadu was formally formed in 1949. But its origin may be traced back to the non-Brahman movement in the Madras Presidency before independence. The Brahmins were dominating the Congress Party in Madras. They were also dominating government offices and politics in the presidency. A non-Brahman movement, ideologically anti-Brahman or anti-Aryan in the beginning and an anti-Hindi or anti-north domination in the later years, was spearheaded by a group of forward caste, the Vellalas in the first two decades of 19th century. It led to the formation of the Justice Party in 1916. Much later the Justice party with another party named Self-Respect League led by E.V. Ramaswami Naiker united in 1944 to make a strong and widely-based political party under the name and style of Dravida Kazhagam.

E.V.R. Naiker was the leader of the party and other prominent members of the party were W.P. Soundara Pandian, V.V. Ramasamy, C.N. Annadurai and M. Karunanidhi. Later, a difference arose between E.V.R. Naiker and C.N. Annadurai. Annadurai wanted ‘democratization of leadership within the party’, whereas Naiker did not believe in it. Thus Annadurai reacted against the elitist character of the Dravida Kazhagam. The factionalism in the party led to a party split when the splinter group under Annadurai

---

81 Ibid, pp.76-77.
82 Rajalakshmi. V. “Regional Political Parties in Tamil Nadu”, a paper presented at the 42nd annual all India political science Conference Hyderabad, May 15-18-1983.p.4
formally formed the 'Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam' in 1949. The DMK itself was soon subjected to internal conflicts. A leadership tension emerged between M.G. Ramachandran and M. Karunanidhi. As a result, M. Karunanidhi dismissed M.G. Ramachandran even from the primary membership of the party. The MGR-faction, after coming out of the party, formed the 'Anna-DMK' which was later came to be known as the "All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam", based on the ideology followed by C.N. Annadurai in 1972.

**Objectives:** The main objectives of the party are giving equal treatment and respect to all kinds of races; eradication of untouchability; stopping all the luxurious and wasteful festivals; utilising the income coming from Hindu religious institutions for the promotion of education, social-welfare, upliftment of the poor, etc.; and equal property rights to women.

**Electoral Performance of the DMK:** The following tables throw light on the electoral performance of the DMK:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table: 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Electoral Performance of the DMK in Madras State</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{84}\) The Frontline, January 28, 1994.
### Table: 2

**Electoral Performance of the DMK in Tamil Nadu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>General Election</th>
<th>Votes Polled</th>
<th>Seats Won</th>
<th>Alliance(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>5th Assembly</td>
<td>7,654,935</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>INC(I)/CPI/AIFB/PSP/IUML</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>5th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>5,622,758</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>INC(I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>6th Assembly</td>
<td>4,258,771</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>6th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>3,323,320</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>JP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>7th Assembly</td>
<td>4,164,389</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>INC(I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>7th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>4,236,537</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>INC(I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>8th Assembly</td>
<td>6,362,770</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>CPI/CPM]/JP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>8th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>5,597,507</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>CPI/CPM]/JP/TNC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>9th Assembly</td>
<td>8,001,222</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>9th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>7,038,849</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>CPI/CPM]/JD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>10th Assembly</td>
<td>5,535,668</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>TMK/CPI/CPM]/JD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>10th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>5,601,597</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>NF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>11th Assembly</td>
<td>11,423,380</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>TMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>11th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>6,967,679</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>UF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>12th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>5,140,266</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>UF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>13th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>6,298,832</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>NDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>12th Assembly</td>
<td>8,669,864</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>NDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>14th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>7,064,393</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>DPA/UPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>13th Assembly</td>
<td>8,728,716</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>DPA/UPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>15th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>7,625,397</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>UPA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table: 3

Electoral Performance of the DMK in Pondicherry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>General Election</th>
<th>Votes Pollled</th>
<th>Seats Won</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>3rd Assembly</td>
<td>47,823</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>4th Assembly</td>
<td>30,441</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>5th Assembly</td>
<td>68,030</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>8th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>97,672</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>6th Assembly</td>
<td>87,754</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>9th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>157,250</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>7th Assembly</td>
<td>101,127</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>8th Assembly</td>
<td>96,607</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>10th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>140,313</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>9th Assembly</td>
<td>105,392</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>11th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>183,702</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>12th Lok Sabha</td>
<td>168,122</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>10th Assembly</td>
<td>83,679</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>11th Assembly</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam started contesting elections in 1957. In the same year it won 15 seats. But in 1962, the number of seats won by DMK increased to 50. In 1967 State Legislative Assembly Elections, the party entered into an electoral alliance named ‘United Front’ with the Swatantra, the Muslim league, the Forward Bloc, Communist, the Praja Socialists and the
Tamil Arasu Kazhagam. The election result brought a landslide victory to the United Front, particularly the DMK. The DMK alone captured 138 seats.

In the 1971 State Assembly Elections also, DMK led an alliance comprising the Congress (R), the PSP, the Muslim League, the Forward Block, the CPI, the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam and the “We Tamils’. This time also the party secured 184 seats out of 234, an increase of 46 seats than the 138 seats it won in 1967. However, after 1971 elections the DMK could not win the state power till 1989. In the state assembly election it won 48 seats only out of 234 seats. A mid-term poll was held in 1980 because of premature dissolution of the state assembly. In this election also, the DMK got 38 seats only. Later in the 1984 State Assembly Elections also the DMK won 33 seats.

However, in the 1989 State Assembly Elections, the DMK captured 151 seats. Yet, the DMK won 2 seats only in the 1991 Assembly Elections. This was again followed by the party winning 173 seats in 1996. In 2004 parliamentary elections, DMK formed an alliance with Congress and Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK) and had a grand victory with the alliance winning 40 seats. This enabled the DMK to garner 7 ministerial posts at the Centre.

Two years later i.e. in 2006 the same alliance won the state assembly elections and DMK formed the government in the state with Mr. M Karunanidhi becoming the Chief Minister of the State for the fifth time.

1.7.c. Telugu Desam Party (TDP):

Telugu Desam Party (Party for Telugu Land and People) or TDP is a regional political party in India’s Andhra Pradesh state. It was founded by

---

86 Ibid.
former Telugu film star N.T. Rama Rao (NTR) on 29 March 1982 as an alternative to the ruling Congress Party in the state. It was after three decades of Congress rule that a state party came up in Andhra Pradesh and captured power in the state after 1983 elections.

There were some factors which were responsible for the successful emergence of Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh. They were as follows:

i. Factionalism and repeated change of ministries of the Congress party in the state created a strong sense of discontent among the people in general and the followers of the party in particular.\textsuperscript{87}

ii. The Muslim supporters no longer wanted to remain themselves as "blind followers" of the Congress party.\textsuperscript{88}

iii. In Andhra Pradesh there were rivalries between Reddis and Kammans, the two main peasant communities in the state. From the time the state was formed, Reddis always had the political sway. Kammans tried to come to power through the Communist party initially, and later through other parties, but without success. So, they were thirsting for power for a long time. Since the chances for a Kamma to become the Chief Minister were bleak as long as the Congress ruled the state, the Kammans backed the TDP to see their man, NTR as the Chief Minister. Besides there was an alliance between the Kammans and the numerically large backward peasant castes which also contributed to the victory of TDP.\textsuperscript{89}

iv. The decay of the Congress party and the issue of self-respect of the Telugus have also contributed to the success of the TDP.

\textsuperscript{87} Kh. Gourachandra Singh, p.55
\textsuperscript{88} India Today, October 15, 1982, p.60
Centralization of power during Mrs. Gandhi’s rule had not only undermined the autonomy of the state, both party and governmental matters, but also wounded the self-respect of the Telugus.  

v. In the middle of the 20th century, a class of neo-rich and regional bourgeoisie had emerged in the state, which grew economically strong by accumulating agrarian surplus, and then using it to invest in industry, cinema, hotel and liquor business, etc. The interest of these classes came into conflict with the policies of the Congress at the Centre, which catered to the needs of the big bourgeoisie or national bourgeoisie. This interpretation seeks to put forward the tensions in the Centre-state relations. Hence, they supported the TDP and contributed to the success of party.  

vi. Pradeep Chibber (1999), on the other hand, argues that the formation of Telugu Desam Party is due to the mobilization of new social groups onto the political arena, but more due to the desertion of certain groups from the Congress Party, which had hitherto supported it. In addition to the objective situation prevailing at that time, charismatic appeal of NTR was another crucial factor in the TDP’s success in 1983. People reposed great faith in him as someone who could deliver the state from the Congress misrule.

**Objectives:** The main objectives of the TDP were protection of Telegu culture, language and tradition, and “regional autonomy”. N.T. Rama Rao, the leader of the party, made many promises like a “corruption-free government, integration of the Telugu speaking people, etc.” He also

---

92 Ibid.
93 Ibid, p.287.
promised to establish "Ram Rajya in the state. As a part of his economic programme, N.T. Rama Rao promised distribution of rice at Rs. 2/- per kilo and providing of free mid-day meals to the children reading in primary schools."\(^{94}\) On swearing-in-ceremony day, N.T. Rama Rao circulated a "ten-point commandment" to his cabinet colleagues.\(^{95}\) It mentioned that his colleagues must keep a close touch with the people, they must not interfere with transfer matters of officials, and they must co-operate and make strong measures for removing corruption, work for securing a smooth administration and for the uplift of poor and backward people.\(^{96}\)

**Electoral Performance of Telugu Desam Party:** The TDP was voted into power in a record nine months after its establishment on 29 March 1982. N.T. Rama Rao became the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh (AP) by winning 203 seats out of 294. The following tables show the electoral performance of the TDP and other parties in the Vidhan Sabha and Lok Sabha Elections in Andhra Pradesh since 1983:

---

\(^{95}\) *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, January 30-February 5, 1983, p.9.
\(^{96}\) Kh. Gourachandra Singh, p.56.
Table 4  
Seats won/contested and percentage of votes polled by the Telugu Desam Party and other parties in the Vidhan Sabha Elections in Andhra Pradesh since 1983\(^7\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TDP</strong></td>
<td>198/289</td>
<td>202/250</td>
<td>74/242</td>
<td>216/251</td>
<td>180/269</td>
<td>47/267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BJP</strong></td>
<td>3/80</td>
<td>8/10</td>
<td>5/12</td>
<td>3/280</td>
<td>12/24</td>
<td>2/27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Congress</strong></td>
<td>60/294</td>
<td>50/292</td>
<td>181/287</td>
<td>26/294</td>
<td>91/293</td>
<td>185/234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Left Parties</strong></td>
<td>9/76</td>
<td>22/27</td>
<td>13/34</td>
<td>34/37</td>
<td>2/93</td>
<td>15/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independents</strong></td>
<td>22/904</td>
<td>9/1374</td>
<td>15/945</td>
<td>12/1953</td>
<td>5/762</td>
<td>11/870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^7\) Statistical Report on General Election, 1983 to the Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh.
Table: 5

Seats Won/Contested and Percentage of Votes Polled by the TDP and Other Parties in the Lok Sabha Elections in Andhra Pradesh since 1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TDP</td>
<td>30/34</td>
<td>2/33</td>
<td>13/35</td>
<td>16/35</td>
<td>12/35</td>
<td>29/34</td>
<td>5/33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>0/2</td>
<td>1/41</td>
<td>0/39</td>
<td>4/38</td>
<td>7/8</td>
<td>0/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>6/42</td>
<td>39/42</td>
<td>25/42</td>
<td>22/42</td>
<td>22/42</td>
<td>5/42</td>
<td>29/34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left Parties</td>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>0/4</td>
<td>2/4</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>2/6</td>
<td>0/13</td>
<td>2/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Parties</td>
<td>2/2</td>
<td>1/45</td>
<td>1/84</td>
<td>1/114</td>
<td>2/62</td>
<td>1/86</td>
<td>6/87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>1/214</td>
<td>0/139</td>
<td>0/403</td>
<td>0/1226</td>
<td>0/207</td>
<td>0/102</td>
<td>0/114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the 1984 Lok Sabha elections TDP won 30 (out of 42) Lok Sabha seats. It was the second largest party and this made TDP the largest opposition party in the Lok Sabha elections. The TDP was voted to power in the State of Andhra Pradesh in 1983. During his first term, Rama Rao introduced many populist measures like selling a kilogram of rice for Rs.2.

---

*Statistical Report on General Election, 1984 to the Thirteenth Lok Sabha Volume I.*
In the same year, one of the ministers in his cabinet, Nadendla Bhaskara Rao removed NTR from his Chief Ministership with the help of then Governor Thakur Ram Lal, while NTR was on a foreign trip. Opposition to the removal was widespread, and after one month NTR proved his majority and he was re-elected as Chief Minister. Following this incident, NTR dissolved the assembly and went for fresh elections in 1985 where he won a landslide majority of 205 seats out of 294.

In 1989, NTR lost in assembly elections, but the National Front led by him won in the national elections and V.P. Singh became the Prime Minister. In this period Rama Rao played a significant role in national politics by pledging support to the then Prime Ministers V.P. Singh and Chandra Shekhar (who formed coalition governments in the absence of absolute majority for their respective parties).

TDP returned to power in 1994 by winning 219 Assembly seats out of 294 seats. Rama Rao was elected to be Chief Minister for the second time, but his cabinet and family suffered from what many political observers termed as "unconstitutional interference in affairs" by his second wife. In 1995, Nara Chandrababu Naidu, finance minister and the third son-in-law of NTR (married to NTR's daughter Bhuvaneswari by NTR's first wife Bhasava Tharakam) brought down Rama Rao's government by gathering a majority of the MLAs in September 1995. The overwhelming consensus against this group led the Election Commission to recognize the Chandrababu Naidu faction under the party's original name. Rama Rao vowed to go to the people, seeking a fresh mandate after this humiliation. However, within a year, he died, on January 18 1996. On 9 October 2008, TDP announced a major shift in its policy towards Telangana. The politburo of TDP, after long rounds of discussion, decided that
it would favour a separate state for Telangana. Previously, TDP strongly opposed the separate state as it stood for a unified Andhra Pradesh.

1.8. Role of Regional Political Parties in India:

Overall, regional political parties have come to play a very significant role in both state and national politics. The year 1967 was a landmark year in the journey of coming of age of regional parties in Indian politics. That was the year when the Congress failed to win majority of seats in a number of state assembly elections which gave an opportunity to the non-Congress parties to come to power in the states. In fact, a number of non-Congress ministries were formed in the states following the assembly elections that year. Since then, their importance in state and national politics has grown from strength to strength. Particularly, since 1989, they have become an indispensable component of ministry formation at the Centre due to the failure of any party to win a clear majority in all the Lok Sabha elections since then.

1.9. Statement of the problem of the present research work:

Strong and sustainable democracy is dependent on well-functioning political parties. Weak parties jeopardize democratic political system. They are crucial actors in bringing together diverse interests, recruiting and presenting candidates, and developing competing policy proposals that provide people with a choice. In a democracy, there is no substitute for open competition between political parties in elections. They are expected to play an active and responsible role in the process of democratization and also in terms of addressing themselves to the socio-political issues which emerge inside the society so that the interest of the people and the society are better protected and promoted. They are also supposed to lead, represent and educate their
constituencies which tend to expect rapid dividends from democracy as well as impeccable behavior on the part of leaders. However, in actual practice, political parties often find themselves in a crisis, unpopular and increasingly distrusted, suffering declines in membership and often failing to attract or mobilize new intellectual or organizational energy. The political context and the legal environment in which they function as well as their system of internal organization, management and operation require attention and are often in need for reforms. It is in the context of these considerations that the proposed research work is going to be carried out. It starts with a historical study of the socio-economic and political background from which political development and political parties emerge inside the state in general and that of Federal Party of Manipur (FPM) in particular. Then it will proceed to examine the party in the context of research questions the proposed work intends to address.

1.10. Objectives:

Some of the important objectives of the study are as follows:

- to trace the origin of regional parties in Manipur and contribute in the documentation of the history of regional political parties inside the state;

- to throw lights on the socio-political backdrop against which regional parties emerged with the Federal Party of Manipur being taken up as the case study;

- to examine the basic philosophy of the party which was supposed to be ‘a regional party with a difference’, and examine the various policies and programs it adopted in order to realize it;
• to assess the success or failure of the party in the electoral politics of Manipur, and examine the factors contributing to it;

• to examine the social and geographical support bases of the party;

• to assess the role of the party in state politics in terms of the role it played in the formation of coalition ministries, and in terms of the socio-political issues it addressed with a view to promoting the interests of the state and the people living in it;

• to examine the circumstances which led to the complete disappearance of the party by the time the 2007 Assembly Elections came after having steadily climbed the success chart in the electoral politics of state since 1995 Assembly Elections onwards;

• to contribute in developing and strengthening political parties in such a manner so that they could perform as effective actors of democratization and good governance, trusted by voters, representative and responsive to public needs and concerns.

1.11. Research Questions:

The present work has been carried out not with any specific hypothesis but with a view to finding answers to the following questions:

i. What is the nature and dynamics of the evolution and functioning of regional parties in Manipur?

ii. What was the socio-political and historical background from which regional parties in Manipur emerged?
iii. What was the specific social, economic and political environment within which the Federal Party of Manipur emerged?

iv. What were the basic ideological premises and goals of the party, and what were the policies and programs which the party adopted with a view to realizing its goals and how they made the Federal Party of Manipur 'a party with a difference'?

v. What were the factors responsible for the success and failure of the party in the electoral politics of the state?

vi. What were the socio-political issues which the party addressed with a view to protecting and promoting the interests of the state and people living inside it?

vii. What role did the party play in state politics, mainly in terms of the formation of coalition ministries and in addressing socio-political issues concerning the state and its people?

viii. What were the factors responsible for the complete disappearance of the party on the eve of the 2007 State Assembly Elections after enjoying ever increasing success in the electoral politics of the state during the three assembly elections prior to that;

ix. What are the problems and prospects of regional parties in the present state of politics in Manipur?
1.12. Methodology:

The proposed research work shall be a historical, descriptive as well as an analytical one. Apart from extensive exploration and examination of the party documents, newspaper reports and Legislative Assembly proceedings of the states, etc., questionnaires and interviews shall be used to collect information necessary for dealing with the different aspects of the proposed study.

1.13. Review of Literature:

In his celebrated work ‘Political Parties: Their Organization and activity in the Modern State’ Maurice Duverger (1964) tries to provide a general theory of party and party system. The main emphasis of the book is to theorize the party and party system. Some of the significant features of the work have been its examination about the origin of party; co-relation between party and democracy; different types of party organization, membership and leadership; party systems; party alliances; etc.

Roy C. Macridis’ (1967, Ed.) ‘Political Parties: Contemporary Trends and Ideas’ discussed the emergence of political party in different stages. It also analyses the different functions and typology of the political parties; the place of parties in the study of politics; the relation of parties to public opinion and political representation; significance of comparative politics, party systems and the representation of social groups; party systems and the bases of social cleavage; consensus and cleavage in British political ideology; political parties in western democratic system; political ideas in the twentieth century; etc.

Joseph La Palombara and Meiron Weiner’s (1966) ‘Political Parties and Political Development’ analyses the origin and development of political parties, party system and their transformation, crisis of political development, and parties and governmental performance.
Giovanni Sartori’s (1976) ‘Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis’ examine how different types of party systems perform very differently throughout the world. Part one of the book mainly examines how and why parties came into existence; what they are for; etc. Part two of the book deals mainly with party systems with an attempt to sort them out on the basis of their mechanical tendencies or predispositions and explanatory and predictive power.

Horst Hartmann’s (1971) ‘Political parties in India’ is a scientific political analysis of the working constitution in India. It is a protest against the fallacy that constitutional government in India is necessarily weak. The book also discusses three important things relating to political parties in India: i) how they have developed and build up their organization; ii) how they portray themselves in the context of Indian politics; and iii) how they operate in the elections at the Centre and the state levels. It also examines the working of political institutions in relation to the social and economic problems.

B.B.Misra’s (1976) ‘The Indian Political Parties An Historical Analysis of Political Behavior up to 1947’ discussed the framework within which the formation and development of parties took place in India. It deals with the institutional and social background of that development. It also attempts an analysis of parties and their political behavior both outside and inside the legislatures at the centre and in the provinces. The book also discusses regimentation and rule of party such as CPI, Congress Socialist Party, revival of Swaraj Party, etc.

Peter Ronald deSouza & E. Sridharan’s (2006, Eds.) ‘India’s Political Parties’ critically analyses the evolution of political parties in India. It also discusses individual parties, parties in the context of nationalism and
communalism, parties and state funding of election, party nominations, women’s representation and defections. The edited volume also introduces the idea of a ‘partyless’ democracy in India. It also examines the evolution of the party system in India at both the national and regional levels; the character of parties in terms of their ideology, social base and organizational forms; the issue of parties and political representation with special regard to women; the policy options available for elections; the significance of defections for a representative democracy; etc.

Dr. G. Gopa Kumar’s (1986) ‘Regional Political Parties and State Politics’ discusses the different stages of evolution of politics in Kerala. It also deals with the strength of Muslim League in the state, percentage of votes polled by Muslim League and other parties, and proliferation of parties in the state politics.

S.P. Sharma’s (1996) ‘Party Politics in India (volume-II)’ provides a wide view of the various political parties in the country and their manifestoes. Another interesting feature of the work is the way it discusses the ‘How’ and ‘Who’ in the Indian democratic system. It also deals with other important issues like that of a viable national consensus, code of conduct for political parties and many other issues relating to political parties and election scene in India.

Ng. Kumarjit Singh’s (1986) ‘Emergence of Regional Parties Volume-I North East’ India attempts to give ideas on the problems of the North-East India with special emphasis on the state of Manipur. It also examines the issues relating to the growth of regional political parties in India and its implications.


Kh. Gourachandra Singh's (2006) 'Political Development in Manipur (1984-2002)' highlights the political development in Manipur from 1984 to 2002. It examines the political conditions of Manipur under the British rule and after Independence; movement for responsible government; political status of Manipur from 1949 to 1972; and statehood movement. The thesis also deals with political parties particularly the regional political parties in the state; electoral politics from 1984 to 2002 in Manipur; voting behavior; formation of government; role of national and regional political parties in ministry formation; etc.

A. Basanta Sharma's (2003) 'Emergence and Working of the Manipur People's Party (MPP) and the Kuki National Assembly (KNA) in Manipur: A Comparative Study' gives a comparative study of political ideology and principles of the two well-known state political parties of Manipur i.e. the Manipur People's Party (MPP) and the Kuki National Assembly (KNA).
A. Shyamkishor Singh’s (2009) ‘Party System in Manipur (1985-2002)’ deals with the nature and dynamics of the party system in Manipur during the period from 1985 to 2002. It also discusses the evolution of political parties, party system and party politics in Manipur up to 1985; nature of relationship among various parties forming coalition ministries; nature of relationship that the opposition parties share among themselves as parties in opposition; and the relation between the ruling and the opposition parties in all its comprehensiveness.

L. Muhindro Singh’s (2011) ‘Regional Political Parties and State Politics in Manipur (1984-2002)’ discussed the nature and dynamics of the regional parties of the state. It also analyzes the growth of regional parties inside the state; regional parties and their support bases during the period from 1984 to 2002; electoral coalition and formation of ministries in Manipur; and the activities of the regional parties of the state with respect to some of the more important issues that the state has faced during period from 1984 to 2002.

Overall, the existing literature about the regional parties in Manipur is very much limited. Apart from briefly dealing with their emergence as a part of electoral politics-related studies, there is hardly any book exclusively written on any political party inside the state – national or regional. It is humbly hoped that the present work will contribute to the enrichment of the understanding of Manipur state politics but also to enriching the literature available about the political parties inside the state in general and that of the Federal party of Manipur in particular.