

LEGISLATIVE ELITE IN RAJASTHAN: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

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by

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CERTIFICATE

This dissertation entitled "Legislative Elite in Rajasthan: A Sociological Study" submitted by Ramesh Chand Swarankar for the Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other Degree of this or any other University. We recommend that this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of M.Phil. degree.



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Chapter I

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF ELITE

Chapter I

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF "ELITE"

The commonsensical idea of leadership specially in the political arena has been conceptualised by social scientists as 'elites', 'political elite', 'governing elite', 'power elite', 'governing class', 'ruling class', 'influentials', 'decision makers' etc. An elite is the most commonly used term we would attempt a brief overview of the various denotations and connotations attached to the term by some better known social scientists.

Early Ideas of Elite

Historically, the word elite has been used in various connotations. During the 16th century, the term elite was used simply to mean a choice. In the 17th century, the word elite was used to describe the excellence of a particular commodity. Later it was used to describe the superior social groups. In recent years the study of elites has come to occupy a prominent position in the research agenda of scholars in the social and behavioural fields.

What was precisely meant by the elite is very difficult to discern. It seems to have been used to mean many different things. For instance, Italian sociologist Pareto employed this term to designate a class which held a high status and commanded influence in the community. He says that the class of the people who have the high indices in their branches of activity is called

1 Narvick, Dwaine, ed., Political Decision Makers. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. P.21

elite. Pareto divides this class into two classes: a governing elite, comprising individuals who directly or indirectly play some considerable part in government, and a non-governing elite, comprising the rest. Hence, he assumes that there are two strata in a population: (1) A lower stratum the non-elite, and (2) A higher stratum, the elite. The elite is divided into two: (a) a governing elite, and (b) a non-governing elite. Pareto here concerns himself, with a simple opposition between those who have power, the governing elite, and those who have none, the masses.

Mosca defines the elite as an organized minority which holds domination over the unorganized majority. He says that in all societies two classes of people appear - a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class is always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings; whereas the second, the more numerous class is directed and controlled by the first in a manner that is now more or less legal, arbitrary and violent. Both Pareto and Mosca regard the elite as a group of people who directly exercise strong influence on the government.

Pareto devoted greater attention to the circulation of individuals between the elite and the non-elite. Mosca, unlike,

2 Pareto, Vilfred, The Mind and Society. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936. vol. III, pp. 1422-24.

3 Mosca, Gaetano, The Ruling Class. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1939, pp. 50-53.

Pareto says that in the process of circulation, members of the lower strata of society from where they climb further up the top of the social and political ladders. Thus he lays emphasis on the importance of the middle class, from which the ruling elite is ultimately recruited whereas, Pareto ignores the importance of middle class.

More Recent Usage in Social Sciences

American sociologist C. Wright Mills maintains that elite is composed of men who have the most of what there is to have, money, power, and prestige, who are able to realise their will even if others resist it. They are in the positions to make decisions having major consequences.⁴ Lasswell introduces the concept of influentials and explains that the influential are those who get most of what there is to get or those who get the most are elite, the rest are mass. He says distribution of power is never likely to be egalitarian in any absolute sense. He at times speaks of a trichotomized power structure in which the elite are those with most power in the group, the mid-elite,⁵ those with less power, the mass with least power. Lasswell assumes that elite is now synonymous with ruling class. Both rulers and ruling class are elite because by definition both get most of what there is to get, but rulers get evidently more than the rest

4 Mills, C. Wright, The Power Elite. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. 4-9.

5 Lasswell, Harold, and Kaplan, Abraham, Power and Society. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960, pp. 201-2.

of the ruling class from which they are recruited and which is their effective constituency. But by definition also, if rulers alone are elite, the pool of eligibles the strata from which rulers come cannot be elite, at least if the original definition is to hold. If it cannot hold, the elite concept would seem to be expandable in social and political analysis.

Bottomore uses Mosca's term, the political class, to refer to all those groups which exercise political power or influence, and are directly engaged in struggles for political leadership. He distinguishes within a political class a smaller group, the political elite which comprises those individuals who actually exercise political power in a society at a given time. The extent of political elite is members of the government and of the high administration, military leaders, and in some cases, politically influential families of an aristocracy or royal house and leaders of powerful economic enterprises. The political class, therefore, is composed of members of groups which may be engaged in varying degrees of co-operation, competition or conflict with each other.⁶ Similarly, Milton Singer conceives that the political elites are composed of individuals who exercise an inordinate amount of political power in society.⁷

Parry describes elites as small minorities who appear to play an exceptionally influential part in political and social

6 Bottomore, T. B., Elites and Society. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973, pp. 14-15.

7 Singer, Milton, The Emerging Elites: A Study of Political Leadership in Ceylon. Cambridge, 1964, p. 5.

affairs.⁸ Similarly, by elite Raymond Aron means "the minority which in each of the enumerated professions has succeeded best and occupied the high positions.⁹ In the views of Cohan elite are those with the most power in the group.¹⁰ In the same manner, Kornhauser explains that the term elite is used in respect of those positions in a social structure which are super-ordinate, such that the incumbents claim and are granted social superiority. The term is also used to refer to the functions attached to such positions, especially, the special responsibility to form and defend value-standards in a certain social sphere.¹¹

Nadel has defined the elite as a body of persons enjoying a position of pre-eminence over all others,¹² and to Mercier the elite represent a social category more or less enjoying prestige, status, and exerting influences over the whole or large sections of the population.¹³

Burnham's first assumption is drawn from the elitists that politics is always a matter of struggle between groups of

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- 8 Aron, Raymond, "Power and Status Relation", European Journal of Sociology, vol. 1, no. 2, 1960, pp. 230-81.
- 9 Cohan, A. S., The Irish Political Elite. London: Gill and Macmillan Limited, 1972.
- 10 Kornhauser, William, The Politics of Mass Society. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, p. 51.
- 11 Nadel, S. F., "The Concept of Social Elites", International Social Science Bulletin, vol. VIII, no. 3, 1953, p. 415.
- 12 Mercier, P., "Evolution of Senegalese Elites", International Social Science Bulletin, vol. VIII, no. 3, 1953, p. 441.

power and status, and a small group control the decision-making process of society. He says that social changes take place in the shift of composition of the elites. His main contention is that the capitalist system will decline and will be replaced by a society controlled economically and politically by managerial elite. Thus, the old elite is replaced by new one. He believes that classless society is impossible, and Russia is a proof that a new class of rulers arises necessarily.¹⁴

S. M. Miller studying the recruitment of elites in 14 countries found that "there is no historical evidence in favour of the social mobility from the manual strata of the population into the upper levels."¹⁵ Likewise, Wence after undertaking a comparative analysis of occupation composition of the cabinets and parliaments of 19 countries - including India, found that the number of parliament and cabinet ministers are not recruited from the lower middle or lower classes.¹⁶ Meisel¹⁷ comments that elite was originally a middle class notion.

'Elite' and Its Relationship with Power and Inequality ✓

Max Weber assumes that domination is the practical and

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- 14 Burnham, James, Managerial Revolution or What is Happening in the World Now. London, 1943.
- 15 Miller, S. M., "Comparative Social Mobility", Current Sociology, vol. IX, no. 1, 1960, p. 89.
- 16 Wence, R., "Electoral Participation and the Occupational Composition of Cabinets and Parliaments", American Journal of Sociology, vol. 75, no. 2, Sept. 1-39.
- 17 Meisel, J. H., The Myth of the Ruling Class: Gastano Mosca and the Elite. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968, p. 303.

empirical expression of power, and underlying all political domination is the fundamental relationship of command and obedience. This means that domination is exercised by a minority by imposing its views on the majority. He further enlarges that the state is the political structure or grouping which, successfully upholds a claim to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order.¹⁸ Andre Beteille also comments that Weber believes that class, status and power are closely interdependent,¹⁹ but none of them could be fully explained by the others.

By interviewing a number of people in the United States' southern city, Floyd Hunter found that the elite tended to be economic, political and social leaders. That they have power in one area was related to having power in another area also. He concluded that the structure of society as a pyramid with the leadership forming the top part.²⁰ Cole explains that the term elite was used to indicate the superiority and exclusiveness pertaining to personal relationships. He refers to the elites as "groups which emerge to positions of leadership and influence at every social level."²¹ Broadly, Catlin employs it as the

18 Weber, Max, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. New York: Free Press, 1966, p. 184.

19 Beteille, Andre, Inequality and Social Change. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 8.

20 Hunter, Floyd, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963.

21 Cole, G. D. H., Studies in Class Structure. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955, pp. 102-5.

control groups referring to members of cabinet, and party chiefs, senior civil servants, industrial bosses, senior executives, and the influential people, who can sway those who take decisions. Finally, Robert Michels argues that the elections, changes in cabinet, expansions in suffrage and things are only myths, the reality is that of the principle of minority rule.

The acceptance of inequality as the natural order is extended by the assumption that society operates by the distribution of rewards according to ability, and that differential rewards account for the existence of stratification. The kind of theory embodies the view that in societies, talent and hard work are appropriately rewarded, and the distribution of rewards is governed by an invisible hand. Thus, inequality serves a useful and essential function. This theory holds that there are competing bases of power in a society, through which individuals and organisations have the opportunity to enter into the decision-making process.

'Elite' Class and Marxism

Tawney elaborates that the elite theories argues that every society has a political elite which discharge the functions

22 Catlin, George B. Gordon, Systematic Politics. University of Toronto Press, 1962, p. 229.

23 Michels, Robert, Political Parties. United States: Free Press Macmillan Ltd., 1966.

of government and enjoys certain powers and privileges which distinguishes them from the rest of society. He says that there is little or no disagreement on the view that the disparity in the ownership of wealth^{is} one of the chief reasons of inequality in politics.²⁴ Marxist sociology also, stresses the importance of the ownership of the productive instruments as the prime factor in generating socio-political inequalities. It has been argued by Laski that the main index to the nature of any actual state is the system of economic class relations which characterise it, and the role of the state is to put coercive power at the disposal of the class which, in any given society, owns the instruments of production.²⁵

The core of the elitist doctrine is that there exists in a society, a minority of the population which takes the major decisions in the society. The concept of political elite refers to the process of political decision making, while the concept of ruling class refers to the nature of social system and the internal socio-political forces, however, though differing in their basic orientation, both the theories examine the same phenomena.

The elitist thinking is contrary to Marxian position. Elitists believe that the power structure of any society is

24 Tawney, R. H., Equality. London: Allen and Unwin, 1938, pp. 56-62.

25 Laski, H. J., Marx and Today. London: Fabian Society Allen and Unwin, 1943, pp. 16-17.

determined by the character and the abilities of its political leadership. It is political skill or lack of it, which determines who will rule and how power may change hands. Whereas, Marx believes that the political leader is the representative of the dominant economic class. He says that political elite can gain any independence of action by which there is a balance between classes. He further explains that the leadership formations come from the propertied class. Thus, he related leadership to property ownership.

✓ The elitists attack Marxian on two points. Firstly, they reject Marx's prediction of a future classless, egalitarian society, finding no justification for Marx's belief that the hierarchical structure of society is not inevitable. Secondly, they challenge the view that economics rather than politics is the determining force in history and the bond that holds societies together, thus, Marxian and elitism never meet quietly.

The Pluralist Countervailing View

The universal validity of the elite theory has been questioned by such writers as David Riesman, H. Stuart Hughes and James H. Meisel. Riesman claims that the great number of pressure and veto groups in a country like the United States invalidates the notion of an exclusive and stable ruling class.

26 Bottomore, T. B., Elites and Society. Middlesex: Penguin, 1964, pp. 24-31; and Parry, G., Political Elites. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969, p. 27.

27 Riesman, David et al, The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.

Robert Dahl also does not deny the existence of the elite but argue that the control of the society by the elite is not a permanent feature.
28

The elitist theories also oppose socialist doctrine in a more general way, by substituting for the notion of a class which rules by virtue of economic or military power, the notion of an elite which rules because of the superior qualities of its members.

Democratic Ideology and 'Elite' Rule

The slogan of socialism, secularism and democracy are common to all the parties, but in particular these aspects never appear in society. For instance, if we look at modern societies without illusions, we will see that, however, democratic their constitutions they in fact are ruled by an elite. The constitution may place sovereignty in the hands of the whole people in a democracy but it is an organized minority - the political elite who take the real decisions.

As a matter of fact we can say that government in Indian democracy is certainly of the people but it is surely not for the people or by the people. Bottomore also supports this statement that "if democracy is regarded as political system, it may be argued that government by the people is impossible in practice."
29

28 Dahl, Robert, Who Governs? New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.

29 Mottomore, T. S., op. cit., pp. 15-16.

Schumpeter says that the democratic method is the institutional arrangement for arriving at the political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide, by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote.³⁰ Similarly, Karl Mannheim assumes that "the actual shaping of policy is in the hands of elites, but this does not mean to say that the society is not democratic. It is sufficient for democracy that the individual citizens, though prevented from taking a direct part in government all the time, have at least the possibility of³¹ making their aspirations felt at certain intervals.

In this democratic age, which is marked by its ideals for equality and justice amongst all men on political, social and economic levels, the problem of socio-economic development of the backward people and regions has come to draw an increasing attention. Moreover, the motivations of the leaders and the techniques used by them to modernise our society have been dependent upon their attitudes, values, and perspectives. Here, it could be said that in India, the present government is for the ruling class by the minority rule.

Elite Studies in India

The elite studies in India have focussed on the size

30 Schumpeter, J. A., Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy. London: Allen and Unwin, 1961.

31 Mannheim, Karl, Essays on the Sociology of Culture. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.

of elites, the relation between the elites, their nature of recruitment, and the degrees of social mobility between elites and masses. Often, in those works the word elite implies no more than the man at the top. Those who occupy high position in the concerned political institution are taken for granted as the members of the elite.

Since our specific object of study is legislative elite, it would be helpful if draw upon the work that has already been done on the legislative elite in India.

Social Background of Parliamentarians

Among the earliest studies is of W. H. Morris Jones Parliament in India, where he has studied the sociological analysis of the background of the members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha as it stood in 1952.³² In the case of the Rajya Sabha the survey of background traits and political affiliations have been extended by Bhawani Singh up to 1962.³³ In 1953 Venkatarangaiya published study of the background characteristics of the candidates for the state and union legislatures during the 1952 general elections.³⁴ In 1962 S. P. Varma made a study of the social background of the members of Indian Parliament (1952-62)

32 Jones, W. H. Morris, Parliament in India. London: Longmans, 1957, pp. 115-28.

33 Singh, Bhawani, Council of States in India. Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1973, pp. 50-74.

34 Venkatarangaiya, The General Election in Bombay City. Bombay, 1953.

which was mainly based on Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha Who's Who.³⁵
 S. Suri's study of III Lok Sabha members is also useful.³⁶ Ratna
 Dutta's The Party representative in the Lok Sabha in the context
 of IV Lok Sabha,³⁷ and Satish K. Arora, "The social background
 of the V Lok Sabha provide meaningful insights into the structure
 of the legislative elite at the national level in India."³⁸ As if
 to complete the series, Nandni Upreti has recently delineated
 the socio-economic background of the members of provisional par-
 liament in her Ph.D. dissertation.³⁹

Legislators at State Level

We now turn for a while to have a view of the research work done pertaining to the state level. To begin with there are books on state politics. The few studies that have so far been made on this subject are mostly general in nature, limited in scope and are either based on secondary data or on select group interviews. They still throw significant light on the political

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- 35 Varma, S. P., Changing Pattern of Parliamentary Leadership in India (1962-62), an unpublished thesis submitted to the State University of Iowa, August 1965. Also see, Chopra, S. L. and Chauhan, D.S.W., "Emerging Pattern of Political Leadership in India", Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, vol. V, no. IV, 1970, pp. 119-27.
- 36 Eastern Economist, vol. V, no. XI, 18 January 1963.
- 37 Economic and Political Weekly, Annual Number, vol. IV, nos. 1-2, 1969, pp. 179-89.
- 38 Economic and Political Weekly, Special Number, vol. VIII, nos. 31-33, 1973, pp. 1433-40.
- 39 Upreti, Nandni, "The Provisional Parliament of India: A Case Study in the Development of Parliament Democracy", a Ph.D. dissertation submitted to Rajasthan University, 1971 (mimeographed).

processes at the state level, besides, recruitment, circulation, attitudes, values, behaviour and performance of the legislators. The more important work in this category are two edited books on state politics by Iqbal Narain et al⁴⁰ and Myron Weiner⁴¹ and multidimensional or unidimensional single state studies by Paul R. Brass,⁴² Marcus F. Franda,⁴³ J. H. Broomfield,⁴⁴ Shankar Ghos,⁴⁵ F. G. Bailey,⁴⁶ Baldev Raj Nayar,⁴⁷ Robert L. Hardgrave,⁴⁸ K. L. Kamal,⁴⁹ Richard Sission,⁵⁰ Shashi Lata Puri,⁵¹ and others. Secondly, there

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- 40 Narain Iqbal, et al, eds., State Politics in India. Meerut: Heenakshi Prakashan, 1967.
- 41 Weiner, Myron, ed., State Politics in India. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.
- 42 Brass, Paul R., Factional Politics in an Indian State: The Congress Party in U.P. Bombay: Oxford, 1963.
- 43 Franda, Marcus F., Political Development and Political Decay in Bengal. Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1971; and Radical Politics in West Bengal. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1971.
- 44 Broomfield, J. H., Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth Century Bengal. Bombay: Oxford, 1968.
- 45 Ghosh, Shankar, The Disinherited State: A Study of West Bengal, 1967-70. ~~Bombay~~: Orient Longmans, 1971. Bombay:
- 46 Bailey, F. G., Politics and Social Change: Orissa in 1959. Bombay: Oxford, 1963.
- 47 Nayar, Baldev Raj, Minority Politics in the Punjab. Princeton, 1966.
- 48 Hardgrave, Robert L., The Nadars of Tamilnadu: The Political Culture of a Community Change. Berkeley, 1969.
- 49 Kamal, K. L., "Main Political Parties in Rajasthan", Ph.D. thesis, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, 1968.
- 50 Sission, Richard, The Congress Party of Rajasthan. University of California Press, 1972.
- 51 Puri, Shashi Lata, Legislative Elite in an Indian State: A Case Study of Rajasthan. New Delhi: Abinav Publications, 1978.

are studies of state legislatures with some data on profiles
 of their members,⁵² full length studies of political leadership⁵³
 which also include legislative leadership, and direct studies⁵⁴
 of the legislators themselves. Among these we would like to
 note other important studies also like Saraswati Srivastava's

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- 52 In this category the more important studies are:
 (i) Dastur, Aloo J., and Mehta, Usha, Congress Rule
 in Bombay, 1952-1956. Bombay: Popular Book House,
 1968; (ii) Rout, Bishnu C., "A Study of a Legislative
 Assembly in India" (mimeographed Diploma thesis), Utkal
 University, 1967; (iii) Jha, Dayadhar, "State Legis-
 lature in India: Bihar - A Study in Political Repre-
 sentation" (mimeographed Ph.D. thesis), Magadh Uni-
 versity, 1971; (iv) Singh, Balbir, "The Working of the
 Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly, 1967-72",
 (mimeographed Ph.D. thesis), University of Jammu, 1973;
 and (v) Chandor, H. Jose, "The Legislative Process
 in Kerala, 1967-1969" (mimeographed Ph.D. thesis),
 Kerala University, 1973.
- 53 An important contribution in this field is that of
 Srivastava, Saraswati, "The Pattern of Political
 Leadership in Emergence Areas: A Case Study of Uttar
 Pradesh" (mimeographed Ph.D. thesis), Banaras Hindu
 University, 1969.
- 54 We have these full length studies in this category:
 (i) Aery, Raj Dani, "Women Legislators in Rajasthan,
 1952-65", A mimeographed M.A. thesis, Jaipur, Rajasthan
 University, 1963; (ii) Sission, Richard and Sharder,
 Lawrence L., Legislative Recruitment and Political
 Integration: Pattern of Political Linkage in an Indian
 State. California, Berkeley, 1972; and (iii) Jain,
 C. M., "The Rajasthan Legislative Assembly: Organisation
 and Working", mimeographed Ph.D. thesis, Rajasthan
 University, 1968.

Besides there are a number of articles like
 (a) Forrester, Duncan, "State Legislators in Madras",
Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies, March 1969,
 pp. 36-57; (b) Sission, Richard, "Legislative Consti-
 tuency Relationships: The Case of an Indian State," a

(footnote contd.)

thesis embodies an exhaustive and critical review of the recruitment, circulation, and behaviour pattern of state legislators and their role and interaction with the political system as part and parcel of a study of political leadership in U.P. The use of sociological concepts and structure and depth interviews have deepened the empirical context of her research work. Some of her important findings are: (i) Legislators are drawn from higher socio-economic groups in society as reckoned in terms of caste, occupation and education. (ii) They as political leaders mediate between the citizen and the government and sometimes between citizen and citizen also; (iii) Proficiency in the act of ruling is hardly a consideration in sponsoring the candidature of legislators (iv) there is a generation gap between legislators who had participated in the national movement and those who followed them. (v) The gap between the promises and performance of legislators weakens the legitimacy of the political system, etc.

(previous footnote contd.)

paper presented at the 66th annual meeting of American political science association, Los Angeles, 1970.
 (c) Mohapatra, Mahindra Kumar, "Political Socialisation of legislators in Orissa", Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, January-March 1971, pp. 116-27; (d) Mohapatra, Mohindra Kumar, "Orissa Legislators Profile and Perceptions of Legislators in an Indian State", The Indian Journal of Political Science, July-September 1973, vol. XXXIV, no. 3, pp. 299-321; and Mohapatra, M. K., "Legislators, Administrative Role Perception in an Indian State", The Indian Journal of Public Administration, vol. XVII, October-December 1971, pp. 367-97.

(2) Dayadhar Jha's study of the IV Bihar Legislative Assembly is of still greater relevance to us for its congruence with the theme of the present research work. He has examined the political, social and cultural environment of the legislators, their motivations and the situations that led them to political activity and the political apprenticeship that they underwent. The attitude of the members towards social and economic issues and the extent to which the legislators had internalised the rules of the game in the specific context of political defection has also been brought out. The finding of the study shows that the upper castes have major share of seats in the legislature. Educationally the house is dominated by matriculates and undergraduate members. Occupationally, the house has fair representation of cultivators, businessmen and lawyers. The number of professional politicians has registered a marked increase in this assembly. The legislator has had variegated political experiences of rural, urban and party politics before coming to the legislators.

(3) Finally, there is Richard Sission's and Lawrence L. Shradler's study of the III Legislative Assembly in Rajasthan. They have covered in this credit-worthy empirical work the socio-economic, educational and political background of the legislators,

55 Sission, Richard and Shradler, Lawrence L., Legislative Recruitment and Political Integration: Pattern of Political Linkage in an Indian State California: Berkeley, 1972.

the legislative elite-mass gap, the pattern of constituency linkages, the linkages within and between the parties, the factors within the ruling party (Congress) in Rajasthan against the overall perspective of recruitment and political integration.

Chapter II

RAJASTHAN : AN INTRODUCTION

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RAJASTHAN: AN INTRODUCTION

Rajasthan is a conglomerate entity that gradually came into existence as a result of merger of 22 states after India became independent on 15th August 1947. Territorially, Rajasthan is the second largest state in the Republic of India with a total area of 3,42,274 sq. km. The western frontier of the state is formed with West Pakistan through the sands of the Thar "The Great Indian desert", while the state of Punjab and Haryana bound it on the north and north east. The eastern boundary is formed first with Uttar Pradesh and then with Madhya Pradesh surrounding it in the southeast and in the south. Its south-western boundary is common with the state of Gujarat. It has a 750 mile long international border with Pakistan. It lies between latitudes $23^{\circ}3'$ N to $32^{\circ}12'$ N and longitudes $69^{\circ}30'$ E to $78^{\circ}17'$ E. In its size Rajasthan is bigger than the U.K., Italy, Austria and Hungary.

According to the 1971 census 26,766,806 persons including 12,281,423 women live in the state. The population is largely (82.37 per cent) rural which is distributed over 35,795 villages. The urban population which forms 17.63 per cent of the total population is distributed over 157 cities and towns. The density of population per sq. km. in Rajasthan as a whole is 76. It is

¹ All the figures cited above have been taken from Verma, V. S., Census of India, 1971. General Population Table, Series 1B, part II-A.

63 in rural areas, while 198 in urban areas. There are 911 females to a 1000 males in Rajasthan. The Hindus constitute the overwhelming majority of 75 per cent of the population in Rajasthan. The important minority communities include the Muslims 9 per cent, the Jains, 2.5 per cent, the Sikhs and the Christians 1 per cent. Members of the Scheduled Castes (15.82 per cent) and Scheduled Tribes (12.13 per cent) constitute nearly 28 per cent of the total Hindu population. They are concentrated mostly in the districts of Jaipur, Bharatpur, Alwar, Sawai Madhopur, Udaipur, Dungarpur and Banswara.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the bulk of the people in the state for 72.70 per cent of the male working population and 84.71 per cent of the female working population are engaged in this work. Higher proportions are observed in the rural areas of the state where 83.72 per cent of the males and 90.05 per cent of the females among their respective working population are engaged in agricultural activities. In the urban areas of the state male and female participation in the agricultural activities is 12.85 and 23.22 per cent respectively. It is thrilling to note that agriculture has been mostly primitive in the state.

Rajasthan has not made rapid strides in the field of industrial development, only 1,735 factories were registered in the state, out of them 27.09 per cent are located in the rural areas and 72.91 per cent in the urban areas. The famous Marwari business houses well known in the country, such as the Birlas, the Dalmias, the Poddais, the Singhanias, the Coenkas, and the

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Sahu-Jains belong to Rajasthan.² The characteristic backwardness in the social, political, and industrial spheres had a telling effect on education also. In 1914⁴ only 5.61 per cent of the total population was classified as literate in the state. The percentage of literacy rose to 8.95 in 1951, 15.21 in 1961, and 19.07 in 1971. Now, male literacy rate in the state is 28.74 per cent, while the female literacy rate is comparatively very poor 8.46 per cent. It is true that because of illiteracy and centuries of subordination to one class, the people of Rajasthan are backward both culturally and politically.³

The people of Rajasthan are claimed to speak a language known as "Rajasthani", which itself cannot claim a better status than being a dialect of Hindi. But in different parts of Rajasthan this dialect assumes different forms known as "Haroti" - spoken mainly in Kota and Bundi districts, "Dhundhari" - mainly spoken in Jaipur and Shekhawati area, "Marwari" - in Jodhpur and neighbouring districts of Barmer and Pali, and "Mewari" - spoken mainly in Udaipur and surrounding districts of Pungarpur, Banswara and Bhilwara. This diversity of regional dialects has been an important factor hampering inter-state mobility and socio-cultural integration in Rajasthan.

Land Tenure System

Political power in the Rajputana states was determined

2 Ibid.

3 Basic Statistics, Rajasthan 1966, p. 247.

by the amount and value of land controlled. The land tenure system in Rajputana was divided into three general types, namely, the Khalsa, the Jagir and the Zamindari lands. The lands under the direct control of the ruler of a princely state were called "Khalsa". The ruler's man directly used to manage the Khalsa lands. The state of Alwar, Bharatpur and Dholpur had Khalsa holdings. The Jagir lands were under the control of the sardars or jagirdars. The Jagirs were the estates of varying values and size. The Jagirdari system was mainly in Jodhpur, Bikaner and Shekhawati area of Jaipur state. Jagir was a second power-centre in the feudal set up. Its domination and legitimacy was restricted by the ultimate authority of Maharajas. ⁴ About 40 per cent of the lands were not entirely under the crown, but under the zamindar's charges. Therefore, this land was called Zamindari land. A person appointed to manage the tract under ruler's influence, was designated as landholder or Zamindar of his territory. The duty of a Zamindar was to collect revenue and retain only his recognized share of ⁵ of the total.

Historical Background ✓

The present name of the state Rajasthan is a modified derivative from its popularly known designations "Rajputana" or

4 Ohja, G. S., History of Rajputana, vol. V, pt. I. Ajmer, 1966, p. 37.

5 Sharma, K. L., The Changing Rural Stratification System. New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1974, pp. 29-32.

"Rajwara", both denoting "A bode of Rajputs". This mass of land has been associated with the activities and achievements of Rajputs. The Rajputs were a warrior group, who has played an important role in the Indian history from 8th century onwards especially in the north-western regions.⁶

Rajasthan's history has been characterized more by competition and conflict than by co-operation. The three states of Udaipur, Jodhpur and Jaipur had dominated the history of Rajputana. Udaipur had been able to maintain its political autonomy throughout the Mughal period, despite the persistent efforts of the Mughals to conquer it. Udaipur's resistance particularly its refusal to offer of inter-marriage with the Mughal Court is one of the proudest aspects of its historical legacy in Rajasthan today. However, the struggle with the dominant power of North India and later Maratha invaders from the south, reduced the state and the ruling house to a condition of destitution, and only the agreement reached with Great Britain saved the ruling house from annihilation.

Jodhpur's relationship with the dominant power of North India ranged from open defiance to an alliance with both the Mughals and British Government, depending upon the exigancies of military conditions. Of the three major states only Jaipur entered into a sustained and stable relationship with the dominant power in North India. The rulers of Jaipur served the Mughal rulers,

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Varma, S. P., Bhambhari, C. P. and Mathur, P. C., eds., A Report on the Third General Election in Rajasthan. Jaipur: University of Rajasthan, 1965.

and when the British succeeded the Mughals, Jaipur early negotiated a treaty with Great Britain. It is important to mention that 17 of the Rajputana states had been ruled by the Rajput castes.⁷

As we have mentioned earlier the present state of Rajasthan is an outcome of integration of 19 salute and 3 non-salute states, which opted to accede to the Indian Union after Independence. The process of integration of Rajputana states were completed in five stages. In the first stage of integration, four princely states - Bharatpur, Alwar, Karauli and Dholpur were formed into a Union. This Union of the state was designated as "Matsya Union".⁸

In the second stage of integration 9 smaller states, such as Banswara, Bundi, Dungarpur, Jhalawar, Kisangarh, Kota, Pratapgarh, Shahpura and Tonk were merged on the 25th March 1948, and came to be known as United Rajasthan.⁹ In the third stage Udaipur, which had not yet joined the United Rajasthan was taken into the Union and the Union was inaugurated on the 18th April 1948.¹⁰ In the fourth stage of integration 4 major states namely, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer also joined, which led to the formation of Greater Rajasthan, inaugurated on the 30th March 1949.¹¹

7 Weiner, Myron, State Politics in India. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.

8 Menon, V. P., The Story of the Integration of the Indian States. New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1956, p. 266.

9 Ibid., p. 237.

10 Ibid., p. 268.

11 Ibid., p. 270.

Finally in the fifth stage, Matsya Union and United Rajasthan were amalgamated which led to the emergence of Rajasthan on the 15th May 1949. Thus, on this date the process of integration was completed except for the state of Sirchi including Mount Abu, whose future remained undecided till 1956. The States' Reorganization Act further brought about territorial changes in the integrated Rajasthan. Under its provisions, on the 1st November 1956, Ajmer which was till 1956 a centrally administered area was merged with the Rajasthan.¹²

With the completion of the process of integration, the State of Rajasthan came into being in 1949, but it could not elect its Legislative Assembly till March 1952. These three years between 1949 and 1952, Rajasthan formed an interim government headed by successive chief ministers and one I.C.S. officer in between. The elections for the Assembly were held in February 1952, and thus on the 29th March 1952, the first Rajasthan Legislative Assembly (Vidhan Sabha) was constituted.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF LEGISLATORS

Here, we are throwing light on various social, economic and political aspects of legislators in Rajasthan. Every legislature is heterogeneous in its composition. They differ in their age-group, educational attainments, economic standard, caste status, family size, legislative experience, socialization pattern and so on.

Membership Pattern

The minimum age laid down for the membership of Vidhan Sabha is 25 years, but an analysis of the age-status of members of Assemblies evinces a great variation. The Table No. 1 reveals this fact.

Table 1The Age Status of the Members

Age Group	1952		1957		1962	
	No. of persons	%	No. of persons	%	No. of persons	%
25-35 years	61	38	44	25	39	22
36-45 years	53	33	69	39	83	47
46-60 years	38	24	41	23	45	26
60 and above	-	-	7	4	4	2
Not known	8	5	15	9	5	3
Total	160	100	176	100	176	100

Sources: The table is compiled from (i) Congress ke Tin Varsh, published by Congress Vidhan Sabha Party Office; (ii) Assembly file - Who's Who; (iii) Jain (C.M): State Legislature in India, New Delhi, 1972, p. 32.

An analysis of Table 1 shows that the percentage of members in the age-group of 25-35 has gradually decreased from 38 per cent to 22 per cent. The second age-group of 36-45, which was in lesser percentage at the time of the first Assembly increased from 33 per cent to 47 per cent in the third Assembly. This category of age also includes the chief minister, the speaker

and some of the ministers at the time of their assumption of office. The third age-group 43-60 also increased from 24 per cent to 26 per cent in I to III Assemblies. There was a decline of 1 per cent at the time of II Assembly. Lawrence L. Shrader also found that larger proportion of MLAs in I and II Assemblies were in age group of 25-45 years. He says that in both Assemblies there were a larger proportion of younger MLAs among non-¹³ Congress Party than Congress Party. Puri explains that in fourth Assembly the maximum number of MLAs (38 per cent) are in the age group of 46-55, and 35 per cent in the age group of 36-45. They together constitute 73 per cent of total members. The members in the younger group below 35 and above 55 years of age are the minimum 12 per cent and 15 per cent respectively, and they together form 27 per cent of the total members.¹⁴ In sixth Assembly too the larger proportion (56.6 per cent) of MLAs were in the age group of 36-45, and 21.4 per cent MLAs belonged to age group of 50 years and above. Remaining percentage of MLAs can be included in the age-group of 25-35 years.

C. M. Jain concludes that almost an identical trend may be observed in the age group between the members of the Rajasthan¹⁵ Assembly and that of the Lok Sabha till three successive terms.

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- 13 Shrader, Lawrence L., "Rajasthan", in Weiner, Myron, ed., State Politics in India. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968, p. 342.
- 14 Puri, Shashi Lata, Legislative Life in an Indian State: A Case Study of Rajasthan. New Delhi: Abhinav Prakashan, 1978, pp. 51-52.
- 15 Jain, C. M., State Legislatures in India: The Rajasthan Legislative Assembly: A Comparative Study. New Delhi, 1972.

Whereas, Furi finds in fourth Assembly that younger members dominate the Rajasthan Assembly as compared with the Lok Sabha. She further explains that recruitment of younger generation into politics reflects the synthesis of new and old generation, and assists in the peaceful transformation of society. ¹⁶ It might be true till certain extent, but mostly experienced legislators dominate upon the younger legislators.

Sex Composition

As the comparative overview in table No. 2 shows that the representation of women legislators in the State Assembly is almost negligible as compared with men legislators. Rajasthan is a comparatively backward state and as such the number of women candidates who came forward to contest election is very poor. Although the chances of their winning the seats have been improving over the last elections. In 1952, 4 women candidates contested election.

Table 2

Composition of Assembly by Sex

Legislative Assembly	Total No. of Seats	Men	Women	Percentage of Women to total number of seats
1952-57	160	158	2	1.25
1957-62	176	167	9	5.11
1962-67	176	168	8	4.54

Table contd...

1937-78	184	177	7	3.97
1972-77	184	173	11	5.98
1977-May 1980	200	192	8	4

Source: (1) Compiled from Assembly Records and (2) Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, Rajasthan Sandarbh Granth Tatha Vyakti Parichay, Rajasthan, Marudhara Publication, Nanak Chowk, Jodhpur, 1977, pp. 147-67.

but none could be elected to the state legislature. They returned to the Assembly in by-elections. In 1957, 22 women contested the election and 9 of them were elected to the Assembly. In 1962, 16 women candidates were in the field, and 8 of them were elected. In 1967 out of 19 women candidates⁶ were elected to the Assembly and 1 woman candidate was returned to the Assembly in a by-election, raising their total number to 7. In 1972, 11 women got elected. In 1977, 8 were elected, out of them 6 were Janata Party members and 2 Congress Party members. It is worth noting that frivolous contestants were much less among women than men. The reason for fewer women coming forward to contest election appears to be the prevailing socio-economic conditions on the one hand, and traditional and conservative outlook and general backwardness among the masses, on the other.

Educational Background

The pattern of educational background of the legislators in different Assemblies of Rajasthan can be understood by following explanation.

C. M. Jain finds that the percentage of members attained educational standard up to post-graduate level (including law graduates), has remained almost constant i.e. 27 to 28 per cent in the three legislatures, while the percentage of undergraduates has varied from 13 to 17 per cent. The percentage of matriculates or lower secondary passed members also remained static, i.e. 27 to 28 per cent in all the three legislatures. The literates who can only read and write were about 24 per cent in all the three Assemblies. Similarly, in the fourth Assembly as Puri observed that 74 per cent of MLAs had education up to matric and above, while only 25 per cent MLAs attended colleges. She finds that majority of non-matriculate members were from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and elected from reserved seats. Besides, she came to know that legislators are far better qualified than their fathers. This improvement can be taken as an index of social change. About fifth Assembly members Nagla collected information of 173 members out of 184 in the year 1974. He finds that 24.4 per cent MLAs were middle and below middle, 17.9 per cent were intermediate and below intermediate, 12.1 per cent graduates, 7.5 post-graduates and 35.8 per cent came from the legal practice.¹⁷

In a predominant illiterate society where more than 80 per cent of the population is illiterate, the above figures are quite impressive. It shows that legislators are far more

17 Nagla, B. K., "Factionalism, Social Structure and Political Parties: A Sociological Study of Udaipur District in Rajasthan", Ph.D. Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1978.

educated than the population they represent. The continuous improvement in the educational curve is also heartening.

Occupational Status

As far as occupation is concerned C. M. Jain's analysis of economic pursuits of legislators, brings out the fact that 28 per cent of the members are agriculturalists. This percentage has increased from 18 in the first Assembly to 28 in third Assembly, and became largest occupational group. The second group consists of lawyers (15 per cent), businessmen (13 per cent), journalists, teachers and ex-servicemen. They also constitute a meagre percentage. Third category/ⁱⁿ III Assembly are of social workers (18 per cent), having no defined occupation and may be called as professional politicians. The fourth category of the members were Jagirdars (8 per cent), who owns a large number of land patches and employs labourers for agriculture. This group represents the Swatantra Party, which constituted the chief opposition in third Assembly. Likewise, the Report on third General Election in Rajasthan shows that the largest number of MLAs are dependent on cultivation for earning their livelihood. The next important occupations are legal and medical professions in which 29 out of 176 MLAs were engaged. Next comes social service which is the primary occupation of as many as 25 MLAs. Social service as a profession means that the person does not hold a regular paid employment, but mainly dependent upon political and social work to earn a living. Besides, there were 14 MLAs Jagirdars, who were living upon the income received from

Jagir property or compensation.

In fifth Assembly Puri observed that agriculturists, businessmen, and service group dominate the house, while labour, trade union, and industrial proletariat is not represented at all. She explains that the larger number of agriculturists among the legislators are not farmers in the literal sense. They simply own land which is cultivated by other members of the joint family, and in some cases by the share-croppers. Thus, they have landed interest but not farmers. About income she says that majority (65 per cent) of legislators reported to belong to low income group (Rs.750/- monthly or below), and only 12 per cent members had income above Rs.2,000/- per month. The remaining members considered themselves belonging to the middle income group (Rs.751/- to Rs.2,000/-). Similarly, in fifth Assembly B. K. Nagla found that majority of legislators (59.6 per cent) comes from cultivation category. 24.3 per cent legislators show legal practice as their main occupation, while 7.5 per cent legislators business, 5.8 per cent social service, and 1.2 per cent politics, considered as their source of livelihood. In sixth Assembly too as data could be available about 150 members only demonstrate that majority of legislators (72) were farmers, 41 lawyers, 9 businessmen, 6 medical professionals, 3 journalists, and 19 were having other means of livelihood.

18 Verma, S. P., and Bhambhri, C. P., eds., Elections and Political Consciousness in India: A Study. Meerut: Meenakshi, 1967.

It is important to say that women legislators who returned to the Assembly, have come from different walks of life - like legal profession, from ex-jagirdars or ex-rulers' families, and from agriculturist families.

The correlation of occupation and membership of Rajasthan Assembly is similar to that of the Lok Sabha, as both the groups of agriculture and social workers have shown an increase. The only difference is that in the case of third Lok Sabha, the social workers were numerically (29 per cent) - The strongest group, while in the third Rajasthan Assembly this position was held by the agriculture group (28 per cent). Moreover, one may be tempted to observe that the intellectual (i.e., persons belonging to law, journalism, and teaching) representation has successively declined in both, but has been in a larger proportion in the Lok Sabha. Besides, Ratna Dutta found that both in IV Lok Sabha and Rajasthan Assembly, members with agrarian occupation were the largest group.

Now, we turn to compare the occupation of the MLAs with their fathers with a view to discern the pattern of occupational mobility which is related to process of social change and modernisation.

Shashi Lata concludes that there is a strong correlation between caste and traditionally prescribed occupation among the fathers, but it gets weaker as we move to the MLAs of IV Assembly.

19 Dutta, Ratna, "The Party Representative in Fourth Lok Sabha", Economic and Political Weekly, Annual Number, vol. 4, 1969, pp. 179-89.

As a matter of fact 35 per cent of Brahmins, 17 per cent of Jats, 17 per cent of Rajputs, 73 per cent of Vaishya, 3 per cent Scheduled Castes and 20 per cent legislators from other castes have adopted the modern occupation of law, while among the occupation of fathers, none had this as their profession. Although Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Muslim MLAs have continued, more or less, to follow the occupation of their fathers and have not shown any major shift to new occupation. However, Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste MLAs are in petty government jobs like that of school teachers, patwari, etc.²⁰ Thus occupational change is to be seen in new generation.

Caste Composition

Now, we will examine the interaction between society and polity as reflected in the caste composition of members in different terms of Rajasthan Assembly.

In the first Assembly Rajput members were in majority, but their number was reduced from 44 per cent to 19 per cent in the second Assembly, and was stabilised at 20 per cent in the third Assembly. Brahmins got 17 per cent seats in first Assembly, 15 per cent in second Assembly, and again 17 per cent in third Assembly. Mahajans increased their number from 9 per cent in first Assembly to 11 per cent in third Assembly. Jat caste also increased their strength from 11 per cent to 16 per cent in third Assembly. Thus, Rajput, Brahmin, Mahajan and Jat castes

20 Puri, Shashi Lata, op. cit., p. 43.

occupied about 64 per cent of the total seats, and they altogether represents about 30 per cent of the total population. The number of Scheduled Caste MLAs increased from 11 per cent to 16 per cent in second Assembly, and remained same in third Assembly. Scheduled tribe candidates also increased their number from 4 per cent to 13 per cent in second Assembly and same 13 per cent in third Assembly. Rest of the seats were distributed among other castes.

Next data available only about 173 members of fifth Assembly, interviewed by Nagla reveals that 56 legislators belong to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, 73 belong to the upper castes (Brahmin, Mahajan, Rajput, Kayasth), and 28 were Jats. Only 16 MLAs belong to rest of the numerous groups. He mentions that in fifth Assembly of Rajasthan Brahmins, Rajputs and Mahajans have more members than their respective numerical positions in the state. Besides, due to reserved constituencies Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes also have more members in the legislature than their numerical position.²¹

The change in the pattern of caste composition shows that democratic politics tended to become an instrument of social change. It is interesting to note that the traditional pre-independent political system of most of the princely states was dominated by the Rajput princely order. But, Rajput could win 44 per cent of total seats in first Assembly. However, in the second and third Assemblies, their number was almost halved

21 Nagla, B. K., op. cit., p. 83.

and their seats were shared by other traditionally non-ruling castes - particularly, by the Jats, who made more broad-based representation. The potential of a political order as a means of social transformation becomes all the more obvious as we find that the members of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, peasants, and other castes getting recruited as political elite. 22

Types of Family

The socio-economic profile of the legislators would be incomplete unless we have some idea about the type of family to which they belong. In the case of fourth assembly Puri found that 73 per cent of MLAs belong to traditional family while 27 per cent had nuclear or single family. Besides, 66 per cent of legislators were head of joint families and in 34 per cent cases father or uncle of legislator was the head of family. It reflects that the hold of traditional joint family is quite strong over the legislators in Rajasthan. Although, the traditional joint family system is disintegrating under the impact of twin forces of industrialization and urbanization, which are changing the socio-economic values of society. In a predominantly traditional agriculture economy, joint family is only workable unit where all members can put the labour to reap the maximum benefit from the land. However, with the rapid pace of industrialization and urbanization on the one hand, and the

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Sission, Richard and Shrader, Lawrence, L.,
Legislative Recruitment and Political Integration:
 Pattern of Political Linkage in an Indian State.
 Berkeley, California, 1972, p. 9.

mechanisation and modernisation of agriculture on the other, the joint family system started disintegrating.

Political Profile

Here, we will mention the political background of the legislators, which will give us the idea about the pattern of political maturity, experience, socialisation and understanding of the elected representatives.

Basically, the legislators fall into two categories on the basis of their political association and background. The first group consists of those legislators who belong to the generation of old guards. They were associated with the national and praja-mandal movements in regard to which they made sacrifices and suffered a lot. They could sway the masses during the early post-independence period on their past services to the cause of independence. Whereas, the second group includes those legislators who had been recruited after independence in Rajasthan politics. They could bring material benefits to the people or at least could promise to do so. However, they became popular with the voters and came in the forefront. Moreover, Panchayati Raj institutions, co-operative societies, banks, charitable trusts, educational societies can be cited as examples, which serve as a springboard for power for the second group of legislators.

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For details see, Narain, Iqbal, "Democratic Decentralisation and Rural Leadership in India: The Rajasthan Experiment", Asian Survey, vol. 4, no. 8, August 1964, pp. 1618-22.

Experience of Legislators

C. H. Jain observed that in the first Assembly 70 per cent of the members had no previous experience of membership to any Assembly or local body, while 30 per cent of the members had some experience of working in a local body or an Assembly in princely states. In the second Assembly the number of experienced members were 102 out of 176, 50 of whom had been the members of the first Assembly. The strength of the experienced members rose to 144 (82 per cent), and the number of non-experienced members came down to 32 (18 per cent), in third Assembly. It is thus obvious that the experienced members have increased in successive Assemblies, thereby gradually reducing the number of non-experienced members. As regards the fourth Assembly Puri came to know that 50 per cent of the members had joined politics before the formation of Rajasthan and 50 per cent thereafter.²⁴

It is important to say that most of the legislators had experience of serving local bodies and panchayati raj institutions. These legislators after establishing themselves in their respective areas through these institutions, could come to State Assembly. The election to municipal and panchayati raj bodies give them not only prominence and recognition but also help them in building up their influence in the area, in turn would enable them to be selected by political parties as prospective candidate for the Assembly. Thus, a positive relationship is seen between rural community power-structure and state

level legislative elite.

It is worth-mentioning that Legislative experience becomes a passport for continuous and repeated membership of a legislature, which at times, even handicaps the process of fresh recruitment and circulation of Legislative elite.

Besides experience, political parties are the most important ladder for going up in politics. Political parties are the principal agencies for election of political elites to various elected posts. The huge financial risk involved in elections is a strong prohibitive factor without any party's backing and support. These parties have their own factions and the supporters of each faction tries to get their nominee selected for the elected post. There is a lot of horse-trading before the final selection is made. Therefore, it becomes necessary that one has to have effective say in the party hierarchy and in its organisation. So, at the time of nomination to various elected posts he can get his candidature proposed and selected for the post. Furthermore, a successful politician should be capable of running and controlling the party machine, and should be in a position to maintain a balance between the conflicting interests within the party. Political parties educate their members and they learn the art of building support for themselves and their camp followers.

Socialization Pattern

The factors motivated the legislators to join politics differ from member to member. There are certain common factors

that have tended to socialize them into politics. The important of socializing agencies are primary group, close associates, neighbours, educational institutions, historical imperatives, societal compulsions (prevailing socio-economic conditions), administrative corruption and psychic factors like personal disposition.

The data collected by Shashi Lata Puri in fourth Assembly of Rajasthan reveals that 75 per cent members developed their interest in politics during adulthood, while 15 per cent of members were politicised in adolescence or in young age, 5 per cent MLAs referred family as a factor for entering into politics while 5 per cent MLAs considered friends, neighbours or educational institutions as a factor of politicisation. The MLAs who had got interested in politics during childhood were mostly influenced by political atmosphere, national movement, and societal compulsions. Family has played a greater role in regard to members who got socialized during adolescence. Political atmosphere also has an edge as a socialization agent in regard to those who got socialized during college or young age. Personal disposition also played a significant role to the legislators, who got college education. Besides, national and praja mandal movement has been a crucial socializing factor, by which legislators are being socialized in Rajasthan. ²⁵ Precisely, a caste-wise analysis of legislators shows that Brahmin, Vaish and other communities like - Jains, Muslims, and Sikhs, being better educated and more urban could become political activists easily.

Jats, who mostly represent the peasant community, organised Kisan Sabhas and some of them participated in prajamandal movements in the eastern portion of the state. After integration Jat MLAs became one of the important groups in the ruling party, and a formidable force in State politics. Its leader finally broke away from the Congress Party and formed a separate party known as Bhartiya Kranti Dal.²⁶ Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people were never given a chance to come up till political consciousness. It was aroused in them under the aegis of democratic politics after independence. Most of these members had little experience of political movements in the former princely states. They came into politics after the formation of Rajasthan. Quite a few of the Rajput MLAs did not participate in the movements and entered into politics after 1952, when a new political order was clearly established. Most of the Rajput MLAs are either sons of former Jagirdars or from old royal families. However, younger Rajput MLAs saw in the new political order an opportunity to participate in democratic politics and attain political status.

It will not be out of place to identify the major emerging trends in the end. First, secondary socializing agents seem to play a greater role than primary groups. Secondly, the number of MLAs, who had been inducted into politics under the spell of

26 Sisson, Richard, "Caste and Political Factions in Rajasthan", in Kothari, Rajni, ed., Caste in Indian Politics. Delhi: Orient Longmans Ltd., 1970, pp. 175-278.

the national movement is on the high side. Finally, the MLAs who had been recruited to politics in the post-independence period, have been influenced more by situational social context than the historical struggle for national independence.

Chapter III

**CASTE, CLASS AND REGION AS FACTORS IN
INTER-ELITE CONTEST**

Chapter III

CASTE, CLASS AND REGION AS FACTORS IN INTER-ELITE CONTEST

The present chapter deals with the caste, class and region as factors in inter-elite contest, along with the composition of political parties, voting behaviour and role of legislators in various successive terms of Rajasthan Assembly after Independence.

Political Consciousness

The establishment of political organizations like - Kisan Sabhas, Praja Mandals, Ram Rajya Parishad, Indian National Congress, etc. played a vital role in boosting up political consciousness in the people of Rajasthan.¹

The important point to be noted is that the Kisans of Rajasthan were suffering under the tyranny of the state authorities and Jagirdars. Then the rising of agrarian unrest helped in fanning the fire of political consciousness, which caused several movements against the Jagirdari system in Rajasthan. In 1927, the Kisans of Bijolian (Newar State) launched a peaceful movement under the leadership of Vijay Singh Pathak to oppose the unjust increase in land-revenue. In 1935-36, the Kisans of Sikar started movement against unjust system of land revenue. In 1940, the tenants of Shokhawati launched a no-rent campaign.

1 Jain, P. C., ed., Alila Jaipur (1948), p. 121.

Later it developed in the Shekhawati districts of Northern Jaipur state and in Bharatpur state. The Marwar Kisan Sabha of Jodhpur state and Kisans of Dudhara in Bikaner also launched a series of movements between 1945 and 1949 to abolish the Jagirdari system. Thus the Kisan movements created boldness and courage in the people to fight for their rights and helped a lot in the growth of political consciousness among the masses.

The Kisan Sabha emerged as an autonomous party in the First Legislative Assembly and Nathu Ram Mirdha (Leader of Kisan Sabha) was awarded the position of agriculture minister. He presided over the first major land reform measure to be enacted in the state. Several other leaders like Seth Jamna Lal Bajaj (long time treasurer of Indian National Congress, Sardar Har Lal Singh (Jat leader of Praja Mandal from 1920) took interest in peasant affairs and actively participated in agitations against the Jagirdars. The names of Choudhry Ishwar Singh, Kisan Singh, (both were elected to the First Legislative Assembly), Ladu Ram Joshi (Leader of Praja Mandal in Shekhawati) and Narottam Lal Joshi (an advocate and speaker of the Legislative Assembly) are important, who consistently worked to solve the problems of Jat ² peasantry.

Struggle for Civil Liberties

Although as a result of the repressive policies of the

2 Sission, Richard, The Congress Party in Rajasthan London, University of California Press, 1972.

princely rulers, movements for freedom could not gain sufficient momentum. Even then, the educated people in the different states of Rajputana inaugurated their protest against the princely atrocities by setting up Sewa Samitis, Hitkari Sabhas, Circulating Libraries, Night Schools, etc. They met rarely in small underground gatherings, discussed their problems secretly behind closed doors, and tried to educate the masses in an indirect manner. Arjun Lal Sothi, Vijay Singh Pathak, and Seth Jamna Lal Bajaj were the early pioneers of discontent in Rajasthan. Among other leaders, who got recognition for their fight against the feudal regime may be included, Hira Lal Shastri and Tika Ram Paliwal from Jaipur, Manikya Lal Varma and Mohan Lal Sukhadia from Udaipur, Dwarika Prasad Parohit and Mathura Das Mathur from Jodhpur, Kumbha Ram Arya from Bikaner, Gokul Bhai Bhatt from Sirohi, and Brij Sunder Sharma from Bundi.

Here, we are discussing the post-integration phase of Rajasthan politics which can be divided into two phases: first, the period of political and ministerial instability from 1949 to 1964; secondly, the period of government stability under Sukhadia and onwards.

The Period of Political Instability

With the inauguration of the United States of Rajasthan on 30th March 1949, the factional and regional character of the Rajasthan Pradesh Congress Committee came to surface. It may be said that prior to 1949, Rajasthan was not under a common administration, and this naturally encouraged the development

of politics along regional lines. Hence, after the geographical and political integration of the princely states, regional feelings continued to persist and different regions have been accepted as the exclusive preserve of particular leaders. All this got reflected when the first ministry in the integrated Rajasthan was installed. The unity and harmony of the Congress party were rudely shaken when the issue of election of the leader came for consideration. Due to the absence of an elected legislature, the Union Home Minister Sardar Patel summoned the big four of Rajasthan Congress - Jai Narain Vyas, Hira Lal Shastri, Manik Lal Varma, and Gokul Shai Bhatt, and managed to get Hira Lal Shastri elected as the leader. Patel favoured Shastri because he supported P. D. Tandon (Patel's candidate) for the presidency of the Indian National Congress.

Hira Lal Shastri went for the selection of his team and did not consult Vyas and Varma. This annoyed the two dissident leaders, who refused to have any truck with government. The nomination of the ministers in Shastri Cabinet were hailing from Jaipur, Jodhpur, Greater Rajasthan and Bikaner Pradesh Congress Committee. Shastri was charged by Congress Committee for taking into his cabinet most of the persons who were inexperienced,

3 Chief Minister of Jodhpur State.

4 Chief Minister of Jaipur State.

5 Chief Minister of Udaipur State.

6 President of the Rajasthan Pradesh Congress Committee.

7 Quoted in Amar Jyoti (Jaipur) (A Hindu Weekly), 5 June 1949.

semi-literate with no political record.⁸ Moreover, his cabinet was not broad based.⁹ The death of Sardar Patel in 1950 also gave a blow to the Shastri Government and he tendered resignation. After Shastri, Jai Narain Vyas headed the government in 1951, but Varma and Bhatt were not in the cabinet. Although Vyas enjoyed the confidence still some sections of the organisation remained alienated.

It is important to mention that the political adjustments started soon after the formation of the state. The important step in this direction was to appease the former rulers by offering them positions of honour. The former rulers of Udaipur and Jaipur were designated as Maharaj Pramukh and Rajpramukh respectively. The former rulers of Kota and Jodhpur were appointed as senior up-Rajpramukhs, and the former rulers of Bundi and Dungarpur were designated as junior up-Rajpramukhs. Besides, several younger persons from the ruling families were given positions in the foreign and other administrative services in the country. Thus, the Congress party succeeded in containing important former rulers of big states like Jaipur, Kota, Udaipur and Jodhpur, until the party contested the first general elections in 1952.

⁸ Senior Congressmen such as Jai Narain Vyas, Manikya Lal Varma, Tika Ram Paliwal and Kumbha Ram Arya were kept out of the Hira Lal Shastri's Cabinet.

⁹ There was no Jat representative in the Cabinet. The Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people also went unrepresented.

FIRST GENERAL ELECTION

On the eve of the first general elections the rulers of Rajasthan were unhappy because of the new order in which they lost former power, prestige, and glamour. Even those, who were appointed as Maharaj Pramukh, Rajpramukh, senior and junior Rajpramukhs were also not happy. These princes were strange to the new democratic set-up, and were facing the problem of adjustment. ¹⁰

The first general elections in 1952 provided the opportunity for the dethroned rulers to re-enter the corridors of power but the only prince to take up this challenge seriously was the late Maharaja Hanuwant Singh of Jodhpur. He provided a great force in Rajasthan politics. Among others who entered the election arena, were Maharaja Karni Singh of Bikaner, Maharawal Laxman Singh of Dungarpur, Maharaj Kumar Brijend-a Pal Singh of Karauli and Man Singh, younger brother of the ruler of Bundi. All of them contested as independent candidates in opposition to the Congress party, and won except the Maharawal of Dungarpur.

The Jagirdars united because they were to be contented with compensation which was to be given only for a short period. ¹¹ They got themselves organised under the Jodhpur ruler, who was the most significant political figure among the former rulers,

10 Kamal, K. L., "Politics of Declining Feudal Order", in Narain, Iqbal, ed., State Politics in India. Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1967, pp. 299-322.

11 Ibid., pp. 299-322.

and supported the newly formed Ram Rajya Parishad.¹² It may be stated that the Indian National Congress and the Ram Rajya Parishad were the two main parties which entered the political arena.

The percentage of polling into first general elections in 1952 was 31.3. The strength of this Assembly was 160, out of them 125 members were returned on party tickets and remaining 36 were Independent members.¹³

The strength of Congress party and the extent to which the feudal order proved formidable can be seen from the following table:

Table No. I
PARTY POSITION IN ASSEMBLY ELECTION
(1952)

Party	Candidates returned	Percentage of total seats	Percentage of votes polled
Congress	82	61	39.5
Ram Rajya Parishad	24	16	12.2
Jan Sangh	8	5	5.9
Socialist Party	2	1	4.7
Independent	35	22	27.5
Others	9	6	9.6

Source: Government of India, Election Commission, Report on the General Election in India, 1951-52, vol. II, Statistical, Delhi, 1955.

¹² Bhargava, Kusum, "Rajasthan Politics and Princely Rulers: An Analysis of Elected Processes", The Indian Journal of Political Science, vol. XXIII, no. 4, Oct-Dec 1972, pp. 413-30.

¹³ Kanungo, J. R., Know Your Rajasthan (Delhi: Jain Brothers, 1955, p. 216.

One factor in favour of the Congress party was that a number of Independents and all ex-Congressmen did not oppose the Congress as such, and this provided an opportunity to group leaders for pressures and manoeuvring.¹⁴ As a matter of fact the Chief Minister Jai Narain Vyas had been defeated at the polls by the Maharaja of Jodhpur, and mantle felt on Tika Ram Paliwal from Jaipur region, who was neither a very senior Congressman nor did he carry the image of freedom fighter. However, he was not accepted by a section of the party and again Jai Narain Vyas became the Chief Minister after winning a by-election of Assembly. Thus, the first Legislative Assembly of the State of Rajasthan was inaugurated on 29th March 1952.¹⁵ Vyas was never a strong Chief Minister and his colleagues in the Cabinet were busy in consolidating their own strength.¹⁶ Vyas was kept busy in dealing with landed aristocracy, who^{Here} opposed to the Congress.

Entry of Rajput Legislators

The entry into the Congress of the 22 Rajput MLAs in 1954 was a significant development in the politics of the State. This entry of Rajputs infuriated the Jats. The Jats, who had got entrenched in the organization and the ministry, suspected a

14 Quoted in The Hindustan Times, 22 March 1952.

15 Quoted in Report on the Administration of Rajasthan, Government Press, 1952, p. 5.

16 M. L. Varma, President of Pradesh Congress Committee, always prevailed upon Vyas for giving greater representation to the Udaipur Division. Later, Jat group leader Kumbha Ram Arya became quite influential.

challenge to their own position. Besides, opposition to the Rajputs entry into the Congress became intense when a leader Manik Lal Varma lent his support to them. Rajputs were taken as associate members and Bhairon Singh Khejarala, who led this entry was critical of the Congress attitude towards them. Thus, Jat showed antagonism to the Rajputs. While, the Rajputs whom Jai Narain Vyas chose to bring into the Congress were accusing him for not fully implementing the assurance. Now, Vyas was in difficult position, and he no longer enjoyed the full support of Jat leadership. Ultimately, a meeting of the Legislative party was summoned, and it was on 13th November 1954, Vyas lost the leadership of the party by 8 votes to his own young revenue minister, Mohan Lal Sukhadia. It was the Jat group which had voted against Vyas, while the Rajput MLAs solidly stood behind him.

The Period of Political Stability

Sukhadia's rise to chief ministership marked the end of an epoch which was characterized by the dominance of freedom fighters in Rajasthan. The Rajputs who were an integral part of the Vyas group were not included in the ministry, nor did they enjoy any position of responsibility in the organisation before the second general elections. It seems that the new Chief Minister was playing into the hands of the Jats;¹⁷ and the Rajput

17 When Sukhadia formed his first ministry, consisting of 12 ministers, he included 3 Jat ministers, and on executive committee 1/3 members were Jats.

MLAs who joined the Congress were in a embarrassing position. What further antagonized the Rajputs in the Congress was the criticism in the party circles for their past affiliation and loyalty to the Vyas group.

Mohan Lal Sukhadia proved to be quite shrewd and he handled the situation cleverly. He succeeded in getting the senior Congress leaders sent to the Congress and in winning the support of the Rajputs. This time, on the eve of second general elections party was more homogeneous than before. The senior princes of Rajasthan were hesitant to come out in opposition to the Congress.

SECOND GENERAL ELECTION

The percentage of polling in the second general elections was 41.2. Earlier, the strength for Assembly was 160 which rose to 176 in 1957, out of which 128 seats were general and 48 reserved for Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

The adjustments paid rich dividends to the Congress party as it succeeded in substantially improving its position in 1957 elections by winning as many as 119 seats. The Ram Rajya Parishad which emerged as the main organised opposition to the Congress in 1952, won only 17 seats against its record of 24 in 1952. The other opposition party was Jan Sangh which got 6 seats. There was a large number of Thakurs and Jagirdars, who contested as Independents and succeeded in winning 32 seats against their score of 35 in 1952.

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In 1952, the Independents mostly consisted of rebel Congressmen, whereas in 1957, Independents were feudals, who felt threatened by Congress rule.

The Congress performed well in Jodhpur, Kota and Udaipur divisions. The Congress party won 22 of the 33 Assembly seats in Jodhpur, as against its score of only 4 in the 1952, on account of two major factors: first, the sudden passing away of Maharaja Hanuwant Singh, former ruler of Jodhpur; secondly, the inclusion of large number of Rajput MLAs in Congress. Likewise, in Udaipur division the Congress party won 29 of the 35 Assembly seats and all the 4 Lok Sabha seats, because of Mohan Lal Sukhadin, who had taken over as Chief Minister, belonged to Udaipur district. Similarly, the position was favourable in Kota division where Congress got the support from the rulers of Kota and Jhalawar. This time even the ruler of Bundi also did not oppose, who had opposed the Congress in 1952. Consequently, the Congress party won 13 of the 15 seats against its score of 7 in 1952.

On the other hand, the former rulers posed a serious threat to the Congress party in two divisions namely, in Bikaner and Jaipur. It again forced the party leader to make further adjustments with the former rulers. Now, Harish Chandra, former ruler of Jhalawar was included in the cabinet. His entrance into the cabinet represented a portion of Rajput aristocracy into the Rajasthan Congress Party. Besides, the Congress Party also tried to win over some of the former rulers from among the opposition forces which were being organised under the leadership

¹⁹ Kamal, K. L., Party Politics in an Indian State: A Study of Main Political Parties in Rajasthan. Jaipur, 1967, pp. 73-77.

of Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur. As a result party gave Assembly tickets to Hukam Singh, former ruler of Jaisalmer, Brijendra Pal Singh from Karauli, Aminuddin - Nawab of Loharu, and Lok Sabha ticket to Maharaj Kumar Brijendra Singh from Kota to contest 1932 general elections. Besides, the party also made efforts to win over Karni Singh, former ruler of Bikaner, who had opposed the party as an Independent, but he could not be persuaded. ²⁰ The tactical line adopted by Sukhadia seemed to be neither opposition nor absorption of Rajputs and feudal elements as a whole, but to tackle them on the basis of regional division and not allowing them to unite either within the ruling party or in opposition.

Interesting enough, the Congress party had to face not only the external challenge but internal opposition also. As some of the prominent Jat leaders like Nathu Ram Mirdha and Poonam Chand Vishnoi were highly critical of the inclusion of Maharaja Harish Chand in the cabinet, and the distribution of party tickets to some other former rulers and Jagirdars. Besides, the party had to face opposition from another group led by Jai Narain Vyas. Thus, we see caste, class, regional and personality oriented factions enter into a complex relationship to produce the governing elite and intra-elite competition.

THIRD GENERAL ELECTION

The total number of votes polled in Third Assembly elections was 53,79,978, while it was 54,12,520 in the parliamentary

20 Quoted in The Hindustan Times, 11 December 1931.

elections. The state had 22 seats in the parliament and 173 seats in its Legislative Assembly.

The Congress party thus went to the third general elections with internal as well as external challenges. Internally, the Jat group was highly dissatisfied with the party leadership and externally it was challenged by the Swatantra party led by Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur. In this 1962 general elections the Congress won 88 of the 173 seats which were just enough for a clear majority to form the government. The Swatantra party which had appeared on the scene for the first time made a remarkable performance and won as many as 36 seats and 17.4 per cent votes. The Jan Sangh party also improved its position and won 15 seats with the voter support of 9.10 per cent.²¹

It is important to note that the main lieutenant of Mohan Lal Sukhadia - Shri Damodar Lal Vyas was defeated by former Maharaj Kumar Jai Singh of Jaipur. The other former rulers who won were Maharaj Kumar Prithvi Singh (Jaipur), Maharawal Laxman Singh (Dungarpur), and Maharaj Karni Singh (Bikaner). The Congress had a major setback in Jaipur division where Maharani Gayatri Devi won the Jaipur parliamentary seat with a big margin of 1,57,862 votes. In Jaipur division the main defeat to the party came in the districts of Jhunjhunu, Tonk, Sawai, Madhopur, and Jaipur. It did not fare well in Kota and Bikaner division also, where it secured 8 of the 15 seats and 6 of the 17 seats respectively.

²¹ Bhargava, Kusum, op. cit., pp. 413-30.

The 1962 elections results clearly reflects that in spite of all the efforts made by the Congress Party, the former rulers proved to be very powerful rival both as independents and as an organised group. The results could be attributed to regional asymmetry of power distribution and the failure of the Rajput feudal elements to present in all Rajasthan front. However, with all the opposition emanating from the former rulers, the Congress party did manage to keep the power balance in its favour in the state until 1967 elections. In order to counteract the Jat opposition on one hand, and the rival rulers on the other, Sukhadia adopted a strategy to include some of the former rulers and Jagirdars to strengthen his base. It is worthwhile to mention that feudal elements presented no challenge to the leadership of Sukhadia, whereas Jats with their peasant clan base and numerical strength could pose a serious threat.

FOURTH GENERAL ELECTION

As a result of these external and internal challenges, the Congress party won 89 of the 184 Assembly seats and 10 of the 23 Lok Sabha seats in Fourth Assembly elections, which were not even enough to form the government. The Swatantra Party improved its position both in the Assembly and Lok Sabha by winning 40 and 8 seats as against its score of 36 and 1 in 1962 respectively. The Jan Sangh also fared well by winning 22 Assembly and 3 Lok Sabha seats against its score of 16 and 1 in 1962 respectively. The major challenge to the Congress came from Jaipur and Kota divisions where it suffered a major setback. In Jaipur division the party won only 27 of the 74 seats, whereas

the Swatantra got one seat more than the Congress. Unlikewise, the Congress party had a comfortable position in the Udaipur and Bikaner divisions, and won 30 of the 36 seats and 11 of the 19 seats in the Udaipur and Bikaner divisions respectively.

The former rulers had put up their might to bring an end to the Congress rule in 1967 general elections. They not only mobilized their strength to fight against the Congress party, but also formed a joint alliances with the main opposition parties like Jan Sangh, Swatantra and Janata. Janata party was formed by Maharaja Harish Chand from Jhalawar and Kumbha Ram Arya, who had fallen out with the Congress mainly to oppose Sukhadia. Although, the former rulers did not fully succeed in their efforts, yet the Congress was placed in a difficult situation as did not command majority even to form the government. Once again the party had to make adjustments with the Jagirdars and Zamindars, and Aminuddin (Nawab of Loharu), Narain Singh Masuda (A Jagirdar), were included in the cabinet, and Khot Singh and Maadbeer Singh (both Zamindars) were offered deputy ministership.

FIFTH ASSEMBLY ELECTION

On the eve of the Fifth Assembly election in Rajasthan on March 1972, Congress party won 145 seats out of 184, and 14 out of 23 Lok Sabha seats. There was no doubt that party was well set for a clear majority.

The Congress party won all the 16 seats in fifth election, as against its score of only 2 in 1967 in Kota division, the stronghold of the Jana Sangh. The former ruling houses of

Udaipur and Jaipur too, did not succeed in doing much damage to the Congress party. In Jaipur division, the Congress party won as many as 49 seats whereas, Swatantra party won only 8, against its performance of 28 seats in 1967 elections. The failure of the Maharani Gayatri Devi was in fact the failure of Swatantra party, which may be attributed to two main reasons. Firstly, the image of the Swatantra party had been damaged owing to large scale defections in the party leadership. Secondly, the party did not have a mass base nor had the committed workers to organise the elections. Similarly, Maharana Bhagwat Singh, former ruler of Udaipur also did not succeed in organising opposition against Congress, and Congress party won 29 of the 33 seats, whereas the Swatantra and Jan Sangh parties got one seat each.

In this election of Rajasthan Assembly the Congress party had weeded out some of the established politicians and ministers, against whom there were charges of corruption. The Chief Minister Barkatullah Khan in his election speech at Jaipur said that it was essential to eliminate the people who were ^{Under} ~~having~~ the charges of corruption, to better the image of party. Hence, the voter favoured more 'new' as compared to old candidates.

Above all, the change in the ~~political~~ climate of the country after the victory of Bangladesh liberation and the triumph of Indira Gandhi personal leadership on the sub-continental level had created an extraordinary psychology (Hawa) in favour of the Congress party.

SIXTH ASSEMBLY ELECTION

On the eve of the Sixth Rajasthan Assembly elections on June 1977, the Janata party swept the poll both in the Lok Sabha

and in Vidhan Sabha. The Janata party was the *amalgamation* of the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Socialist and Bhartiya Kranti Dal parties.

The percentage of polling into sixth elections was 54.37. The Janata party won 150 seats, Congress 41, Communist party (India) 1, Communist Party (Marxist) 1, and Independents 6 out of 200 total seats. Thus, the Janata party was well set for a clear majority and, the leader of Janata party Shairon Singh Shekhawat was declared Chief Minister of Rajasthan. This hundred eighty degree turn in the voters choice from 1972 elections is attributable more to the all India "hawa" rather than local intra-elite alliances. The two hustings of 1972 and 1977 are indicative of the development in which Rajasthan ruling elite is fast losing its peculiarities of former princely feudal isolation to swimming and sinking with the all-India trends.

It is important to mention that proper understanding of the political processes in Rajasthan calls for a careful examination of the nature and style of political participation of the ex-rulers. These ex-rulers have proved to be a powerful political force individually as well as in group also. They had joined hands in organising opposition to the ruling Congress party. However, Mohan Lal Sukhadia, a Congress leader managed to keep the political balance in favour of his party and provided a stable government to the state.

Here, we turn to briefly recapitulate some of the changes in the political scene, in order to understand the outcome of

elections. Firstly, Mohan Lal Sukhadia who was in leadership for 17 years had resigned from his position resulting in the emergence of a new leadership under the then Chief Minister, BARKATULLAH KHAN. Secondly, Lakmi Kumari Chundawat an MLA and wife of a former Jagirdar took over as a Congress party's president from Nathu Ram Mirdha, an eminent Jat Congress leader. Thirdly, the grand alliance was formed by two major opposition parties - Jan Sangh and Swatantra in 1971, which was supported by former rulers and industrialists. But, the breaking in the grand alliances weakened the opposition parties which had to use their resources in fighting rather than opposing the Congress, which further strengthened the Congress party. Consequently, the change of leadership from strong and stable Baniya Chief Minister from Udaipur region to a weak minority man from Jodhpur gave hopes to many that they can fish in troubled water.

VOTING BEHAVIOUR

It is important to mention that in Indian politics traditional allegiances such as caste, kin and other forms of group solidarity gives way in voting. There is considerable evidence which supports the argument that these traditional relationships have weakened. Yet, there is evidence which points to the fact that in some places feudal and other traditional rulers still hold great sway over their former subjects. In

22 Chaturvedi, H. R., "Congress Sweeps in Rajasthan Assembly Elections: A Trend Analysis", Indian Journal of Political Science, vol. XXXIII, no. 3, July-Sept. 1972, pp. 351-2.

23 Pathy, Jaganath, "Social Stratification in an Orissa

the election studies, almost all the scholars have taken the dependent phenomenon of voting preferences, and have tried to explain it with the help of these variables - caste, class, faction, kinship, religion, ideology, party organizations, political issues, economic status, personality of the candidate, party loyalty, local power structure and money, where more than one variable is used.

This is however, not to deny that some of the studies throw light on extent and limits of community voting. The studies of Baroda east by Rajni Kothari and Tarun Sheth, Punjab by Baldev Raj Nayar, and Andhra Pradesh by Myron Weiner, Uttar Pradesh by Harold A. Gould, and Bombay by Henry Hart are worth

(previous footnote contd.)

- Village", Economic and Political Weekly, vol. X, no. 23, 23 June 1975, pp. 893-901; Gupta, Khandija A., "The General Elections of 1967 in a Small U.P. Town", Economic and Political Weekly, vol. VI, no. 30, 28 August 1971, pp. 1881-6; Chandidas (B), "The Fourth General Elections in Madhya Pradesh", Economic Political Weekly, vol. II, no. 33-35, August 1937, pp. 1503-14; Bhargava, Kusum, "Madhasthan Politics and Princely Rulers: An Analysis of Electoral Process", Indian Journal of Political Science, vol. XXXIII, no. 4, Oct-Dec. 1972, pp. 423-30.
- 24 Samjee, A. H., Voting Behaviour in an Indian Village, University of Baroda, 1959.
- 25 Kothari, Rajni & Sheth, Tarun, The Economic Weekly, 15 September 1962, pp. 1473-83.
- 26 Nayar, Baldev Raj, "Religion and Caste in Punjab: Sidhwan bet Constituency", The Economic Weekly, 4 August 1962, pp. 1267-76.
- 27 Weiner, Myron, "Village and Party Factionalism in Andhra, Ponnur Constituency", The Economic Weekly, 22 September 1962, pp. 1509-18.
- 28 Gould, Harold A., "Traditionalism and Modernism in U.P., Faizabad Constituency", The Economic Weekly, 18 August 1962, p. 1350.
- 29 Hart, Henry, "Urban Politics in Bombay: The Meaning of Community", The Economic Weekly, Special Number, June 1960, p. 985.

mentioning. Likewise, in Rajasthan also the influence of caste, class faction, kinship, religion, party organizations, money, personality of the candidate, etc., upon the voters work while exercising their adult franchise. But it cannot be said that the evidence from empirical studies are consistent; it changes according to time and regions.

role of MLAs

It is difficult to define the role of the MLAs. Yet, it could be said that being a superior group or reference group in society, an elite can be expected to perform educative, communicative and other functions. According to Lynton, role represents the dynamic aspect of a status. When an individual puts ^{into practise} the rights and duties which constitute the status, then he is performing his role.

In Rajasthan a number of important legislative measures were passed by the Legislative Assembly under the stewardship of the Congress party. Some of these were the Rajasthan Agricultural Rents Control Act 1952, the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs Act 1952, the Rajasthan Rent Rates Determination and Validation Act 1954, the Rajasthan Land Utilisation Act 1954, the Rajasthan Tenancy Act 1955, the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs (Sixth Amendment) Act, 1957, and the Rajasthan Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act 1959. Here, a particular reference may be made to the Rajasthan Tenancy Act, and the Rajasthan Panchayati Raj and Zila Parishads Act. The Rajasthan Tenancy Act was hailed as one of the most

progressive Tenancy Legislation in the whole of India. Whereas the Rajasthan Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act made Rajasthan a pioneering state in the country with regard to the implementation of the scheme of democratic decentralization.

It may be conceded that the ruling party did attempt to bring the socio-economic change in Rajasthan. But in spite of the fact, it professed a leftist orientation in its economic programme, and remained a centrist party. Princely states were integrated but the former princes were given privy purses and enormous amenities. Jagirdari system was abolished but the amount of compensation and other facilities continued to be enormous. The thirty acre ceiling on land was fixed but its implementation was postponed. Nationalisation of bus routes was done, but all the routes were not covered because of pressure emanating from a section of the upper class.

It may be seen paradoxically that the elite at lower level prefers a more sophisticated role expectations (in which they may be less involved), than the elite at higher levels. It may be recalled here that before the introduction of the three tier panchayati raj system, the peoples representatives were not directly responsible for local development, and yet, the upper level elite as MLAs, chairman of district boards, Sarpanch of Tehsil Panchayats influenced the implementation of developmental programmes through their association with advisory bodies at the block level. It is therefore, natural that the lower level elite gives primacy to local planning in their

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profile of role expectations from panchayati raj. As a matter of fact the panchayati raj institutions have served as a great agency for social change in Rajasthan. The report of the study team on panchayati raj indicates that the overall impact of panchayati raj institutions on the development programmes has been on the whole healthy achievements in agriculture and animal husbandry are on the increase. In the sphere of social amenities, a declining trend is discernible, and good progress has been made in education. Moreover, the general awakening that has come in the wake of panchayati raj is a significant achievement. 31

30 Harain, Iqbal, The rural Elite in an Indian State: Case Study of Rajasthan. New Delhi, 1976, p. 118.

31 Report on the Study of Panchayati Raj, Panchayat and Development Department, Rajasthan, 1964, p. 239.

Chapter IV

PARTY COMPETITION AND ELITE FORMATION

Chapter IV

PARTY COMPETITION AND ELITE FORMATION

In order to understand the elite in Rajasthan politics where the Congress party has been dominant, we are discussing here several other parties with reference to their leadership, social base and membership pattern. Further we are throwing light on factionalism in which personalism, regionalism and caste have been important factors in state politics. A discussion of the inter-relationship between political parties, caste of its leaders, ideology and implementation of the party programmes are also included.

A democratic political system must have a plurality of parties to give expression to the divergent opinions and interests which is the characteristic of a democratic society.¹ Likewise, the regional, religious, ethnic, linguistic social and cultural diversity of the Indian society has given rise to a multiplicity of interests articulated by a multiplicity of political parties. The Election Commission had recognized 14 all India and 52 state parties and 4 national parties,² 12 state parties and 36 other parties in First and Second general elections respectively.³ For third general election in 1962 the Commission recognized 9 all-India

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- 1 Heumann, S., ed., Modern Political Parties - Towards A Comparative Study of Political Parties. Chicago, 1953, p. 397.
 - 2 Report on First General Elections in India, 1951-52 vol. I (general), Election Commission India, New Delhi, 1952, p. 189.
 - 3 Report on the Second General Elections in India, vol. I (general), New Delhi, 1957, pp. 83-87.

parties, 7 state parties, 18 other parties who secured votes either in the Lok Sabha or the state assemblies constituencies or both and so on in further elections also. However, the political parties are social organizations which are based on ideological commitments, ethnic, religious, linguistic, regional expressions and economic classes. These parties are organized interests of different kinds seeking to acquire power to serve the purposes to which they are committed and the interests which they represent.

Historical Background of Congress Party: The Emergence of One-Party Dominance or Authoritarianism

We begin with the Congress party which has represented a historical consensus and enjoyed a continuous basis of support and trust. Since independence the Congress party has been the dominant political organization in Rajasthan. It presided over the integration of the Rajputana states into the new political community and has succeeded in abolishing Jagirdari system. Traditionally each state in pre-independence days in Rajputana was ruled by a Maharaja, whose position was the locus of ultimate political obligation for both commoner and lord and he was the repository of legitimate political authority. The counter elite also emerged in the form of Praja Mandals demanding responsible

4 Report on the Third General Elections in India, vol. II (Statistical). New Delhi, 1962, pp. 12-13.

5 Kothari, Rajni, "Congress System in India," Asian Survey, vol. IV, 12 December 1964, pp. 1-18.

governments in various states. The Praja Mandals were merged into the Rajputana Prantiya Sabha a year prior to Independence. It had functioned as a provincial unit within the All India States People's Congress. The All India States People's Congress was an auxiliary front of the Indian National Congress.

As far as leaders are concerned Jai Narain Vyas was⁶ the most widely respected leader of the Congress (formerly Praja Mandal) in Rajasthan. He had been active in political protest movements from the early 1920. He had gained wide respect with the Congress high command particularly with Jawahar Lal Nehru through his long service as a General Secretary of the All India States People's Congress. The other leaders were Pandit Hira Lal Shastri,⁷ founder of the Praja Mandal in Jaipur state, and Hanik Lal Varma who did political and social work in Udaipur state. Gokul Bhai Shastri was another one of the active leaders who launched the movements against the Jagirdari system in states.⁸ The second generation of leadership includes Mohan Lal Sukhadia, Damodar Lal Vyas, Mathura Das Mathur, Kumbha Ram Arya and others.⁹ The names of then chief ministers Mir Qasim Khan and Har Deo Joshi¹⁰ can be mentioned. Joshi enjoyed the support of majority in Rajasthan Assembly till June 1975, while Emergency was posed by Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi.

6 Second Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

7 First Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

8 Fourth Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

9 Fifth Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

10 Sixth Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

From the very beginning the Rajasthan Pradesh Congress was a loose conglomeration of different interests, groups and factions. No widely accepted leader could emerge easily in this party. The first Chief Minister Heera Lal Shastri proved neither a good leader nor an able politician. Tika Ram Paliwal need not to be discussed. He was a Chief Minister only as a stop-gap arrangement. Only when Mohan Lal Sukhadia became the chief minister Congress could give a stable administration to the state. He implemented panchayati raj and land reforms and succeeded as a leader of the dominant faction, but not of the whole party. He did much for Udaipur division and the city but lacked a larger perspective.¹¹ However, he has been more successful compared with his predecessors and his successors, Barkatullah Khan and Har Deo Joshi. Now, after two years of Janata regime under the leadership of Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, for the first time a Scheduled Caste Chief Minister Jagannath Pehadia has come into power under the banner of Congress (I) party. First of all, he was elected as a Member of Parliament in seventh Lok Sabha election on January 1980 from Bayana Constituency of Bharatpur district, and nominated for state finance minister by Mrs Gandhi, Prime Minister of India. Later, he became chief minister of Rajasthan by enjoying support of majority in Seventh Assembly.

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Kamal, K. L., Spot light on Rajasthan Politics. Traditional Challenge in an Indian State. Jaipur: Prakash Publishers, 1967, p. 83.

The Leaders as Initiators of Change

These leaders who were the members of Rajasthan Assembly, identified with the national movements and aspirations of the Indian National Congress, and brought the change in state politics. Discussing on an all-India plane, Kothari concludes that elites are creative actors in the process of integration and diversification, initiators of the change in all spheres of life, catalyst and mobilizers of a new vitality at various levels.¹² The studies of Lambert,¹³ Singer,¹⁴ Brass,¹⁵ and Richard¹⁶ also reveal the same.

Rajasthan has been in the tradition of one party dominant state. The dominant position of Congress left little scope for the growth of other parties.¹⁷ However, the political parties such as the Swatantra and Jan Sangh have somewhat prospered; they had liberal ideology and status quo learnings. This is due to the feudal heritage of the state, and the involvement of the ex-ruling

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- 12 Kothari, Rajni, Politics in India. New Delhi: Orient Longman Ltd., 1972, p. 6.
- 13 Lambert, Richard, Workers, Factories and Social Change in India. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- 14 Singer, Milton, When a Great Tradition Modernizes. Yale Yale Press, 1973.
- 15 Brass, Paul N., Factional Politics in an Indian State: The Congress Party in U.P. Berkeley: California University Press, 1965.
- 16 Richard, Sission, The Congress Party in Rajasthan. Oxford University Press, 1972.
- 17 Parties like the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Ram Rajya Parishad, Praja Socialist and Communist.

families in the game of power - politics within the Congress party and outside of it. That is why the Swatantra party once became the main opposition party in Rajasthan Assembly.

Swatantra: The Political Expression of Feudal Frustration

The one single individual who lent glamour and prestige, and carried the Swatantra party to the common man and made it familiar with the star of the party was Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur. She claimed that she had no aptitude for politics. What compelled her to take this hazardous task was "the dictate of her conscience." According to her claim she could not tolerate the plight of the common man under the Congress regime. She charged Sukhadia's administration of corruption, nepotism, favouritism and felt that such a misrule was unprecedented in the recorded history of Rajputana. Under these circumstances she is reported to have decided to enter politics and organised the Swatantra party in the state. An interesting plank that during the election days Maharani Gayatri Devi used to offer puja (worship) in many temples which had powerful impact on the masses.

A section of the All India leadership of the Swatantra party glorified the past traditions and socio-religious philosophy of the Hindus. This stance and the general rightest socio-economic programme of the party made it a rallying point for both Hindu traditionalists and pro-west elements. Further the chairman of the Party Maharval Laxman Singh of Dungarpur had lost in the Assembly contest to the Congress candidate twice in the first two

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general elections and won in the third Assembly polls. Again he won the Assembly seat under the banner of Janata party in which the Swatantra party had dissolved itself to merge in a wider formation in 1977 after two years period of emergency. However the major credit for the success of Swatantra party must go to Maharani Gayatri Devi. She was imprisoned during the 1975-77 emergency charged under CONFESCA.

The Swatantra party had appealed to the masses that if we want our children to breathe the air of freedom and hold their heads high. There is no worthier cause to which we can dedicate ourselves than that of rallying a grand coalition of peasants, artisans, professionals, businessmen and intellectuals against incipient totalitarianism.

The Congress party had charged against the Swatantra that it was a show of the princes and jagirdars. Although it remained a fact that the princes and the jagirdars were predominant in the key positions of the party and essentially constituted the Swatantra elite. But it was illogical to maintain that a prince in the Congress was progressive and in the Swatantra he became a reactionary. There were as many princes and jagirdars in the Congress as in the Swatantra party, rather more. But the leadership of the Congress unlike the Swatantra in Rajasthan was not in the hands of princes and jagirdars.

Jan Sangh: Cultural Reaction or Vested Interests?

In order to understand the Jan Sangh party we have to

make a reference of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, a militant Hindu organization whose aim is cultural revival of the Hindus. The thinking of R.S.S. (Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh) leaders is that Bhartiya Rashtra is Hindu Rashtra. Historically, this is a Hindu Rashtra which has been existing here from very ancient time. They say that the freedom of the land of Bharat is the freedom of Hindu Rashtra. Likewise, prosperity of Bharat means establishment of the Hindus Rashtra in the world as a respectable entity.

Thus Jan Sangh agrees fully with the RSS ideology that the main problem in India is the conflict of cultures. They assume that there is only one culture in India and this is Hindu culture. They further say if we want national unity, let us have a glimpse into the Bhartiya culture which is the Hindu culture. The old talk of Hindu-Muslim unity must be abandoned. It was the view expressed by a former President of Bhartiya Jan Sangh Shree Deen Dayal Upadhyaya.

The R.S.S. cadre entered en masse into the Jan Sangh in most of the northern states including Rajasthan. At the all India level Jan Sangh was led by Dr S. P. Mookerjee, a former Hindu Sabha leader. Thus Myron Weiner came to these definite conclusions including that the R.S.S. people were holding key positions in the Jan Sangh party.

20 Golewkar, M. S., We or Our Nationhood defined.
P.N. Indurkar, Bharat Publications, 1939, p. 21.

21 Weiner, Myron, State Politics in India. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968, p. 194.

The All-Indian Jan Sangh leaders are those who have been prominent R.S.J. workers like Bachraj Vyas, Balraj Madhok, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Din Dayal Upadhyaya, Sunder Singh Bhandari, Jagan Nath Rao, Yagya Dutta Sharma and others. Whereas on state level name of Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, Satish Chandra Agrawal, Guman Mal Lodha, J. P. Mathur, Krishna Kant Goyal, Bharwar Lal Sharma (the education minister in Janata regime), and others can be mentioned.

They played an effective role in the politics of Rajasthan. The prominent Jan Sangh leader Bhairon Singh Shekhawat has been the chief minister of Rajasthan for 3 years. It was the period when all the political parties like - Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Bhartiya Lok Dal and others had compromised and functioned as Janata party which was the main opposition of Congress (I) in sixth general elections. The membership of Jan Sangh in Rajasthan included ex-jagirdars, refugees, ex-members of Hindu Maha Sabha and Hindu organisations like the Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharma Sabha. The priestly community also had attracted towards this organisation because of the public trust act under which the government had taken over temples and temple property. Besides many leading jagirdars also took keen interest in the formation of Jan Sangh by merging political ambitions of Mahatriya Swyam Sevak Sangh in it. The acceptance of Maharana Pratap as saviour of Hinduism by R.S.J. people caught the imagination of the Rajput rulers, who were also the leaders of the Hindu society in Rajasthan. It is seen that the Jan Sangh leaders and members represent almost all the

sections of the society except the peasantry and muslims. The Rajasthan Jan Sangh retained its all-India Hindu communalist colouration because of its cadre base being entirely drawn from K.S.J., absorbing support and leadership from other Hindu communal organizations like - Anu Rajya Parishad, Hindu Maha Sabha, etc. support to temple trustees and sucking in Sindhi refugees as support base. The participation of K.S.S. cadre on a mass scale programme against Muslim in Alwar and Bharatpur state with princely leadership in partition days, would have stamped the local Jan Sangh with unmistakable Hindu communalism. But the Kshatriya Mahasabha past the exigencies of opposing the Congress in the company of or rather under the leadership of Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur ruling family, mitigated this pronounced an age of communalism. Jaipur rulers have a traditional image of standing for Hindu-Muslim unity. At the time of partition while Muslim peasants were being massacred to the last man in Alwar and Bharatpur, Jaipur state was kept from of communal holocaust. The Maharani enjoyed an unimpeachable reputation among the Muslim subject. The Jan Sangh in Rajasthan takes on a caste clan character than cultural communal within the all-India character.

Kamal concludes that the new leadership of Jan Sangh is more modern having received western education and developing faith in the parliamentary institutions. Such leadership is more inclined to understand the problems of modern world and of India in international context.

Bhartiya Kranti Dal: Peasant base or casteism

A passing reference may be made on Bhartiya Kranti Dal which was dominated by Kumbha Nam Arya, a former Congress minister in Sukhadia ministry. He had claimed leverage among the Jats of Bharatpur, Alwar, Sikar, Jhunjhunu, Nagore, parts of Jaipur and Jodhpur districts and considerable influence in Ganganagar district also. Now the leaders of Bhartiya Kranti Dal are supporting another political organization "Lok Dal" which is led by former Jat prime minister Charan Singh.

Left: A non-starter

As far as Communist Party of India (CPI) and Socialist Party are concerned they were in no position to make a mark. It was only the communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], which had a little influence among industrial labour and kisans of Sikar and Jhunjhunu districts. Till now the leftist parties have got no remarkable place in the politics of Rajasthan; except when the CPI contested the election in alliance with the Congress or the socialists, made on the band wagon of the Janata tide. The left parties have had only symbolic representation in the state Legislative Assembly. They have a weak support among the working class as well as the peasantry, save some isolated pockets. They are more visible among the students and intellectuals but do not as yet provide any challenge to Congress or its alternative legislative elite (various groups of Janata).

Political conflict, caste and class overlap

The integration of the Rajputana states to create

the state of Rajasthan constituted the formation of a new political community in which conflict, suspicion and intrigue has been the basic characteristics.

The changes in political leadership described within the context of two basic conflicts. One centred around the controversy between the Rajput Jagirdari class and the Congress party. The other was centred within the Congress party and focussed on the emergence of new leadership group in terms of both generation and caste. The first has tended to be an open conflict legitimized by the new political system and latter a less open conflict which although legitimized by the de facto political system but did not conform to the articulated principles and values of the Congress party. The Congress party's decision to resume all jagirs initiated open conflict with the jagirdari class in Rajasthan. The challenge to the Congress had come mainly from the Rajputs who considered the state their homeland. They had ruled this region for ages, both politically and socially. In the new political set up Rajputs lost their prestige and power which they had enjoyed for centuries. It was a change which Rajputs had not accepted willingly, and they suffered under a sense of frustration and humiliation. They were very keen to regain whatever they could for their lost glory. It was only the basic issue of conflict between jagirdari class and Congress party. However in 1959 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru settled the controversy by concluding that the the jagirs having an income below Rs.5000/- per annum should be resumed. Thus we see an illustration of fight weaken-co-opt

tactics.

Intra-Congress Factionalism

As we have mentioned earlier factionalism within the Congress party is the second major locus of conflict which has been a constant feature of the party's history in Rajasthan. Since the formation of Rajasthan the Congress party at the state level has been divided into two loose dominant factional coalitions, each of which has directed its energies towards obtaining majority support in the Congress Legislative party in order to dominate the ministry in the state. This tendency of "bifactionalism" has also been evident in local party organizations and in those public institutions which were subject to popular elections and control. Somehow or the other factional coalitions have changed their membership but no one had enjoyed a stable majority by any faction.

These two dominant factional coalitions have been composed of four important factional coalitions which were active at the state level in Congress politics.

Earlier the most dominant factional coalition in Rajasthan was headed by the late Jai Narain Vyas who was the venerable leader of the Marwar Lok Parishad. He had been active in the political protest movements in the state from the early 1920. The core of this faction was recruited by the Lok Parishad workers from former Jodhpur state. Further, this group was

23 Sindler, Allen P., "Bi-factional Rivalry as an Alternative to Two party Competition", American Political Science Review, 49, Sept 1955, pp. 641-62.

almost recruited from urban areas and from Brahmin and Mahajan castes.

The second faction in the Congress party was the grouping of Rajputs. The Rajputs joined the Congress party in 1954 when 22 Rajput MLAs were accepted into the Congress Legislative Party. There was a small number of Rajputs in eastern part of state who had joined Congress party immediately after Independence. However, majority of the Rajput leaders were associated either with Jai Narain Vyas or with Mohan Lal Sukhadia's coalitions than any others.

A third dominant state level faction has been led by the then Chief Minister Mohan Lal Sukhadia and the venerable political leader Manik Lal Varma from Udaipur. This faction had not enjoyed the political affection and permanent support of non-Udaipuri groups that Jai Narain Vyas received from the non-Jodhpuri group. Basically the membership of this faction had been recruited from Udaipur division only.

In 1954 Mohan Lal Sukhadia took over the stewardship of the Congress party from Jai Narain Vyas by defeating him in the leadership contest by cleverly manipulating Rajput-Jat differences. He contained the conflict between the Jat leaders and Rajput leaders within the party and also faced the intra-party opposition thrown by giant leaders like Heera Lal Shastri, Jai Narain Vyas, Tika Ram Paliwal and others.

The most significant change in the base of caste representation in the Sukhadia's faction was the absorption of members of Jat community. He had also attracted the support of a large

number of important Rajput leaders without alienating the Jat support. After the decline of Vyas faction Rajput leaders started to become more closely allied with Sukhadia because of personal benefit and competition with the Jat factions at local level party organizations and public institutions in the state. Moreover, the entry of 22 jagirdar MLAs in 1954 into Congress party made several leaders immediately associated with Sukhadia's group. Thus Sukhadia coalition attracted Rajput support not only in Udaipur division but in Jodhpur and Shekhawati also. He has been the chief minister of Rajasthan for 17 years who always contested from the Udaipur constituency.

The fourth dominant state level faction had been led by the Jat leaders of the Kisan movements which arose prior to independence. The prominent leader of the group was Choudhry Kumbha Ram Arya who had enjoyed the charismatic appeal among the Jats. This faction had been represented by peasant castes like Jats, Vishnois, and Jat-Sikhs, who constituted over 60 per cent of its membership. Moreover the membership almost recruited from the desert regions of the state. Furthermore, in the regime of Janata party majority of Jat MLAs did not go well with the Rajput chief minister Bhairon Singh Shekhawat. Their leaders Kumbha Ram Arya and Daulat Ram Saran (a member of Parliament) commented that Janata party's government is dominated by the vestiges of feudalism and twice-born castes. Thus a sense of psychological fear had been created among the Jats and other communities.

It is a well known fact that the Janata party was comprised of several ex-parties including Swatantra party, Jan Sangh, Shartiya Lok Dal and others. It had factions with each unit in the party, the factional coalition within the party and inter-party factional sympathisers. The Jat faction of Janata party is to have the support of Jat leadership of the Congress party and this faction revolted against Shekhawat.

As a matter of fact the analytical concept of faction is now found to be much more relevant in the politics of India. Village politics for instance has been explained largely in terms of factions. ²⁴ The concept has, however, not so far been applied empirically in the analysis of politics at the higher levels, though the existence of factions at all levels has been noticed and conceptualised. Similarly at state level in Rajasthan Kumbha Ram Arya, Nathu Ram Mircha, Mithura Das Mathur, Damodar Lal Vyas, Raj Bahadur, Har Deo Joshi, Mohan Lal Sukhadia, Gayatri Devi, Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, Satish Chandra Agrawal, Ram Kisan, Kedar Nand Agrawal, Gaffar Ali, and others were the leaders of their respective factions. Even the earlier leaders namely Jai Narain Vyas, Heera Lal Shastri, Adityendra, Tika Ram Paliwal, Manik Lal Varma, Har Lal Singh, etc. were leading their respective factions. Thus factionalism is a process of interest configuration which implies a set of interests in a section of leadership.

24 See Beals, Allan, McCormack and Mitchcock, in Park and Tinker, Leadership and Political Institution in India Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1960.

Caste and Politics: Who Manipulates Whom

Regionalism and personalism has continued to be another characteristic of factionalism along with caste in Rajasthan politics.

The role of caste in India is one of the important aspects which has received the greater attention of scholars. In Rajasthan too, caste has been used as primordial resource by the power elite for extracting benefits. Researchers are now re-²⁵jecting earlier view that caste manipulates politics, and coming to the conclusion that it is the latter which uses the former²⁶ and even changes it in the process. It has been pointed out that individuals competing for power in open polity, manipulates caste loyalties but not tied down with them. Further they look for new sources of support and create groups and loyalties on new and varied bases.²⁷ It is worth noting that at the local level in Rajasthan caste is an effective instrument of support during the elections but at the state level it is the alliances between the leaders of different castes. However, the backing of caste does not apply particularly to the leaders like Manik Lal Varma, Mohan Lal Sukhadia, Jai Narain Vyas, Heera Lal Shastri, Tika Ram Paliwal, Mathura Das Mathur, Damodar Lal Vyas, Hari

25 Srinivas, M. N., Caste in Modern India and Other Essays. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962, pp. 23-41.

26 Rudolph, Lloyd I. & Rudolph, Susanne Hoeber, "The political role of India's Caste Association", Pacific Affairs, vol. XXIII, no. 1, March 1960, pp. 5-22.

27 Bhatt, Anil, "Caste and Politics in Akola", The Economic Weekly, 24 August 1963, p. 146.

Prasad Gupta, Ram Kishore Vyas and some others. Whereas, it was very much pertinent in case of Kumbha Ram Arya, Har Lal Singh, Ram Nivas Mirdha, Nathu Ram Mirdha, Maharani Gayatri Devi Bhairon Singh Shakhawat, Sobha Ram, Dhikha Bhai, Sampat Ram, and several others. They were dominant leaders among their respective castes that is concentrated in particular regions of the state. The leaders who had diffused support could survive in politics because of their high social status, high education and pre-independence nationalist and political activities. The several leaders who did not have a strong primordial support could not survive in politics for a longer period. Thus we see that Brahmins, Mahajans, Rajputs, and Jats have shared maximum power in the government and other political arenas in the state. They enjoyed power and had more representation in the state legislature not because of they were numerically more preponderant than other caste groups, but basically because of their political background and resource ability. We, therefore, find the continuity of dominance of the twice born castes in Rajasthan politics since pre-independence days.

Furthermore, a close relationship between political party, caste of its leaders, ideology and implementation of the party programmes can be seen in the politics of state. The interest configuration of the leaders of a given party or of a different political parties depends upon the congruence of these factors.

Likewise the Congress party before independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi advocated the upliftment of the

untouchables and supported it. Similarly the Praja Mandals took an anti-feudal attitude against the princely aristocracies and advocated agrarian radicalism. Then the Jats being a major peasant community were in the forefront of Praja Mandals and Kisan Sabhas, and mobilized the people against the Jagirdars and Zamindars. The Kshtriya Mahasabha took an anti-Congress and anti-Praja Mandal stand and supported the ideology of the Jan Sangh, Hindu Maha Sabha and Ram Rajya Parishad. It is important to note that these parties were dominated by the leadership of Brahmin, Rajput and Mahajan combination.

Thus from the point of ideology and interest configuration, factionalism has been used as a catalyst for satisfying the aspirations of the leaders. However, the factional politics is very complex phenomenon in Rajasthan.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

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We have analysed the concept of 'elite' in present dissertation as it has been used by different social scientists and concluded that there is no commonly agreed criteria for defining 'elite'. In fact, with the passage of time the concept assumed a more diversity of definition than conceptual clarity, as handled by academicians and the non-academicians alike. The only common point that comes out is distinction from the non-elite by virtue of higher status, position of some desirable qualities in a qualitative and quantitative dominance. Its usage has varied from grace and gift of godly qualities to mere influence making it identical with the common-sense concept of leadership. An analysis of social science literature has left us no wiser except that the term is loosely used, gaining in popular fancy and is open to fraudulent flexibility, that partly explains its widespread use. This shows that social science in general and sociology in particular is not free from what Sorokin called its "Fads and Foibles."

Our survey of the elite studies in India has indicated a likewise identification of the concept with the top strata, the more influential individuals in specific spheres or inter-linked groups of individuals constituting the top in their respective fields. We have only cursorily looked into the studies of parliamentarians at the national level to see how far these studies are helpful for identifying, describing or explaining the recruitment, growth and development, structure and functioning

at the state level specially Rajasthan which was the focus of our study.

We find reason to agree with the conclusion that the socio-economic make up of the legislators is analogous with the higher echelons of the society that they represent. This is true on all the three variables caste, occupation and education. They function as the mediators between the electorate and the government and the various sections of the population. It is this function which helps their recruitment continuance and development rather than the qualities required in an efficient ruler. It was also found that a clear distinction could be made between earlier legislators drawn from those who had experience of participation in National Movements against the British and for the democratic extension of the franchise and the post-independence generation of legislators who are mainly functioning under the Constitution brought into being by others. Psychological techniques, articulation of narrow support bases, conversion of political advantages into social prestige, economic privileges and vice-versa have helped the new legislative elite to continue with a growing gap between promises and performances. The elite-mass gap, patterns of constituency linkages, collision of interests and primordial groupings both within and cross parties and consequent factionalism has been found to be the hallmark of the working of the elite.

Our tracing of the trajectory of the development of Rajasthan as a state through its ups and downs; competition,

conflict and co-operation, with changes in governing elite at the earlier level has helped us to see the growth of legislative elite in Rajasthan in its proper context.

We found that the legislators in Rajasthan have been heterogeneous in its composition. They differ in their age-group, educational attainments, economic standards, family size, legislative experience, socialization pattern and so on. Comparing the successive legislative assemblies we found a steady increases in the average age of the legislators and a growing proportion drawn from the higher age-groups. The number of women legislators have been just nominal in relation to their proportion in the electorate. We have concluded that fewer women come forward to contest election and still fewer succeed because of the traditional conservative societal approach which recognizes the power function as mainly the prerogative of the male and so also the legislative function continuous to be recognized as a masculine pressure. The situation is both a cause and effect of a traditional division of labour between man and woman. That the education and specially of higher level is an asset for the legislator in his making and functioning was a factual discovery. Its sociological importance gets underlined by the fact that there is a very large section of illiterate electorates specially among the socially underprivileged section. A growing dominance of professions like lawyers, journalists, teachers and ex-servicemen shows that independent professions can be carried on along with the profession of a legislator and they help each other. The changes

in the land ownership after Independence was found to be a contributive factor to decrease the importance of landed aristocracy. Returning "social service" as a profession by legislators is only indicative of a euphemism for growing professionalism of politics among the legislators as a whole-time job. In the saintly idiom of traditional India they conceal their real profession from the eyes of the religion oriented electorate.

We have noted that the various researchers have come to the common conclusion that there is a growing numerical preponderance of peasant castes in the make-up of the successive Legislative Assemblies. Probably the concept of dominant caste in the context of socio-economic changes in post-Independence India is the explanation for it. The Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates do not get elected from the general constituencies; this shows the failure of egalitarian professions to translate themselves into practice. Our analysis indicates the twin danger of the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and other backward castes people remaining in their low positions therefore, deserving perpetual reservation, and at the same time the new middle class specially from the dominant caste seeing this as an infringement of egalitarian principles of equality and polity.

The findings of the family type are not conclusive but like all other upper strata groups family and kinship extended ties, seem to have helped the legislators to achieve a position of influence and dominance.

We have found that early political socialization of successful contestants for a seat in the Assembly and position of leadership in the Assembly has been through the institutional mechanism of local self-government training and participation in pre-independence political movement respectively. The top political leadership was drawn from the national movement socialization but the mass of new legislators growing in number in every new Assembly had their first innings in Panchayati Raj or Municipal politics. A family culture of politics has been found to be a common helpful feature. Presently some middle rung legislators were also found to have their first training in small or big kisans, regional or other sectional agitations.

We have found that caste, class and region have played an important role in inter-elite contest and recruitment along with the well-known formal institutions like political parties, electoral laws and working of the constitution.

The study of the history of emergence and integration of Rajasthan as a state showed us the importance of regional sentiments attached to the former princely state boundaries, merging into regional, cultural and linguistic boundaries. A large majority of the state was ruled by Rajput dynasties except Bharatpur among the bigger princely states. Thus from very beginning feudal class and Rajput caste got overlapping identities. Similarly, we have noted that the peasant proprietor and share cropper got overlapping identification with Jat-Vishnoi and other middle castes. Thus, the interplay of caste

and class was found to be a complicated phenomenon not to be tackled by a simplified sociology of caste dominance and resilience as exemplified by M. N. Srinivas, Milton Singer and others or by dogmatic Marxists and some western sociologists; who see a simple replacement of caste by class with the growth of democracy and industrialisation. The latter view is seen in the writings of Kingsley Davis, Edmund Leach, F. G. Bailey and partly even in A. N. Desai.

Only such leadership, like Mohan Lal Sukhadia, could provide political stability as could see the political economy and legislative work as a complex of caste, class and regional factors. We have traced his political dominance of the state and legislative assembly, through the faction he built and consolidated by a flexible tactic. It consisted of not allowing the former rulers and Rajput leaders to either unite inside the Congress Party or to get consolidated in the opposition. Similarly his regional base being Udaipur he kept the legislators from this region united with at least a benevolent neutrality of the Udaipur Maharana and other small princes from the region, while playing legislators from other regions of Marwar, Western and Central Rajasthan against each other and joining with the Udaipur faction intermittently; the tactics explain Sukhadia dominance. The same tactics were applied by Sardar Patel to get the former rulers agree to a merger in Rajasthan one after the other. Our analysis does not claim that Sukhadia's tactics of legislative manipulation based

on caste, class and regional divisions and groupings were the only answer possible to the politico-economic questions raised in post-integration Rajasthan or even the best course available to the legislative elite. Our conclusion is that given the path of development of slow co-optation and squeezing out of traditional structures like caste, feudal vested interests and regional separatism that India as a whole had taken to, a manipulative politics taking these major variables into cross combination was an effective answer. What would have happened if feudalism were to be removed lock, stock and barrel is a moot question but the available literature of empirical studies does not provide any guidance in this respect.

We have seen the elections to the Legislative Assembly, in fifth and sixth general elections, as indicators of what was called a wave or "Hawa" - first in favour of Indira Gandhi and then in reaction to her Emergency in favour of Janata Party. We advance a weak hypothesis that the explanation for the "Hawa" lay in wider issues of structural transformation - like Nationalisation of Banks, abolition of privy purses and other feudal privileges undoing of the dangers to India's integrity partially from artificial creation of Pakistan in 1947, the issue of civil liberties and freedom of expression and association that is human emancipation, and they indicate possible breaks from the deadlocked development in the country. We havenot discussed any studies to substantiate this hypothesis as the issue lies clearly outside our present academic interests that is 'legislative elite in Rajasthan'.

A study of parties, party competition and factionalism within and across parties has shown its importance in the study of legislative elite. In fact, it is a continuation of the arguments and conclusion discussed above.

On the basis of an analysis of available studies on political parties in Rajasthan, we found that Congress party with its changing composition, colouration, factional dominance, caste, class and regional alliances continued to be at the centre of the legislative elite formation. Its origin from the anti-feudal praja mandals and anti-British national movement, social base in the emerging new middle class and related professions and its being part of the ruling elite at the Centre helped it to constitute itself into one party dominance in the state also. Again and again the powerful challenges that it had to meet from the former rulers and traditional structures and culture grouped in Ram Rajya Parishad, Swatantra party or Jan Sangh could be overcome even without a clear cut majority in the elected Legislative Assembly because of the above social -

Background of party and the linkages with the Centre's rulers. The astute and shrewd leadership of Sukhadia was a contributive factor and a tribute to the sociological proposition that concrete individuals make the social reality possible and truth is never purely abstract and general. Probably C. Wright Mills emphasizing in "Sociological Imagination" the trisection of biology (personality), history and social structure is a proper explanation.

The Swatantra party was found to be an important

challenger and competitor. Its success and failure both we found to be associated with the capacities and incapacities of its leader Ex-Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur. Swatantra Party was a mix of socio-religious Hindu philosophy and tradition, political expression of frustrated feudal lords due to abolition of princely states, jagirdar, etc., a continuation of ideological attachment of the peoples to the former princes and at the same time laissez faire policy of free capitalism. Its efforts to combine with Jan Sangh and other political parties met with partial success. Our analysis helped us to conclude that Congress party charged Swatantra of being a show of princes and jagirdars, but accepted any number of former princes or jagirdars as progressive if they joined the Congress party. It looks illogical but the leadership and the programme of the party made the charge stick in the case of Swatantra.

The other important competitors for the dominance of legislative elite was constituted of Jan Sangh. The party has been seen by all the analysts as composed of Hastriya Swayam Sevak (H.S.S.) cadre and some important leaders, sympathetic towards its ideology. Its historical association with some prince and later, ideological alliance with the Swatantra party coupled with a continued opposition to economic reforms, specially land legislation, made its appeal comparatively narrow. We have found that its membership in Rajasthan included ex-jagirdars, Sindhi refugees, princely class, former Hindu Sabha and Sam Rajya Parishad supporters, but there was no section of society in Rajasthan except peasantry and

Muslims which did not contribute its support. We have found some researchers concluding that new leadership of Jan Sangh is more modern having western education and is developing faith in Parliamentary democracy. The counter view that it was a conservative Hindus status quoist party was equally strongly supported.

We found the left political parties like CPI, CPI (M), and Socialist party as non-starters, except in small pockets of industrial labour and kisan agitations. They seem to have a vocal support among the intellectuals. As compared to them on a peasant class basis, though camouflaged in caste terms, the changing face of Bhartiya Kranti Dal was found to be viable. Kumbha Nam Arya was the moving force of the party and peasant proprietors as a class and jats and Vishnois as caste provide a stable social base. We have concluded that the integration of Rajasthan state to create the present state of Rajasthan constituted the formation of a new political community in which conflict, suspicion and intrigue have played quite an important part. The changes in the Legislative leadership were described within the context of two basic conflicts. One centred around the conflict between Rajput jagirdari class and the Congress party. The other was centred within the Congress party and focussed on the emergence of new leadership group in terms of generational-conflict, caste-conflict, regional-conflict as well as the reflection of the first conflict within the ruling party. The first conflict resulted in the

so called party political competition and the second in the factions within the Congress party which some theorists have characterised as factional opposition within one-party dominance.

We have tried to discern the inter-play of caste and politics. No definite conclusion could be drawn as to who manipulates whom. A close relationship between political party, caste of its leader, ideology and implementation of party programmes could be seen in the politics of the state. The interest configuration of the leaders of a given party or of different political parties depends upon the congruence of these factors. Factionalism was found to have been used as a catalyst for satisfying aspirations of the leaders. Caste and regional loyalties were used more as mobilization techniques for maintenance or bringing into being a position of dominance for individual leaders or political parties, and also foiling similar efforts by rivals. Yet it is not a simple case of politics making use of primordial loyalties. In fact, these loyalties could be maintained over a length of time only in case some benefits were demonstrably shown to have accrued to the supporters.

Our brief survey of the literature on legislative elite in Rajasthan compels the conclusion that the concept of legislative elite is nebulous and has not proved specially helpful in identifying and comprehending the phenomenon of legislation, personalities involved in the process and the socio-economic make-up of the structure and function of

legislative activity in the state. There is no single theory of elite which could be applied or has been applied for the study of Rajasthan Legislative elite. What we have is a rich feast of concepts, postulates, theorems and other propositions drawn from incompatible theories on an eclectic basis. No wonder that all the studies offer very little theoretical explanation. The empirical information even though sporadic and having many gaps has been pinned together to give a working profile of the Rajasthan legislators and their leadership.

An appropriate sociological study could call for a deeper empirical delving into the socio-structural reality of Rajasthan society, culture and economy. This should also involve seeing legislation as autonomous activity within the political processes and activities in the state. We leave this for future researchers with greater resources of time, money and theoretical equipment, with the hope that the present survey of literature might serve as the launching pad.

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