

**DECLINE OF THE CONGRESS PARTY AND RISE OF
OPPOSITION PARTIES: A STUDY OF
ALIGARH DISTRICT IN UP**

*Dissertation Submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in
Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Award of the Degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

DEORAJ SINGH

Centre for Political Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067

1998



CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation DECLINE OF THE CONGRESS PARTY AND RISE OF OPPOSITION PARTIES: A STUDY OF ALIGARH DISTRICT IN UP submitted by MR. DEORAJ SINGH in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the Degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY has not been previously submitted in any other University.

This is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Dr. Sudha Pai
(Supervisor)

Prof. Kiran Saxena
(Chairperson)

CHAIRPERSON
CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES,
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES-II,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY,
NEW DELHI-110067.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First and far most, I gratefully acknowledge the active and scholarly guidance of Dr Sudha Pai. She gave me encouragement and inspiration to produce a good work.

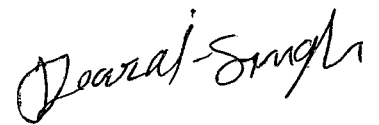
I am thankful to my grand parents, parents, brother Mr. Hemraj Singh for the support they extended from time to time.

I am indebted to my friend Mr. Amar Pratap Singh, for discussion on Aligarh political parties which has been very helpful, and I thank my friends Mohit, M. V. S.V. Prasad and Kailash K.K. for the help they extended to me in various ways while the research was being carried out.

I am thankful to the Secretary of Election Commission of India, Mr. Babu Ram, for helping me to collect electoral data.

I am grateful to the former MP, Shri Ghanshyam Singh, the Aligarh district BSP president, Shri R.S. Kashyap, the present Aligarh MP, Smt. Sheela Gautam, the former UP State Minister, Shri Shivraj Singh and the former MP, Usha Rani Tomor for having spared their valuable time with me to share their practical knowledge of politics.

New Delhi



DEORAJ SINGH

CONTENTS

	Page No.
INTRODUCTION	1 - 13
Chapter - I THE CONGRESS PARTY IN UP A BACKGROUND	14 - 33
Chapter - II DECLINE OF CONGRESS AND EMERGE OF OPPOSITION PARTIES IN ALIGARH DISTRICT	34 - 54
Chapter - III EMERGENCE OF OPPOSITION PARTIES: A CASE STUDY OF KHAIR CONSTITUENCY IN ALIGARH	55 - 66
CONCLUSIONS	67 - 69
APPENDIX	70 - 80
BIBLIOGRAPHY	81 - 84

INTRODUCTION

The term “political party” emerged in the nineteenth century with the development of representative institutions and the expressions whose goal was to capture the public office in electoral competition within one or more than one parties.¹ “Political parties are the life blood of democratic politics. A study of political parties has relevance not only to the academic world but also to the practitioners of politics; Indian political parties have a chequered career .²

The phenomenon of political parties is a relatively recent development on the stage of world political history. The rise of industrial capitalism which signaled the demise of the old feudal order, heralded the advent of the modern political party system.

As new industrial, commercial, technical, service and labour interests emerged on the political scene, new groups and parties arose to articulate their demands and champion their causes. With the universalisation of the franchise , politics has become more participative and representative than it had ever been before. “Political parties have arisen in response to certain needs felt by modern society and as long as

these needs continue to be felt, political parties will be relevant and necessary.”³

On the contrary, partyless democracy, expressed in the grassroots, sharing of power by people on the basis of consensus and the spirit of cooperation, may be a laudable goal to strive for, and in India, some of the boldest spirit like Mahatma Gandhi and Jayaprakash Narayan have advocated such a political system.⁴

In the modern setup political parties have an important role in the society because these parties teach the voters and prepare the ground for a democratic government in the state. About the importance of the political parties Lord Bryce says that “Parties are inevitable, No free Country has been without them. They bring order out of chaos of multitude of voters, if parties cause some evils; they avert and mitigate others.”⁵

Political parties channelise and institutionalise the power drives of the people. Some recent studies on Indian politics have sought to explore the relationship between changes in political parties and patterns of mobilisation of different political parties.⁶

Review of Literature

* (Paul Brass, Caste, Faction and Party in Indian Politics, Vol.II, Election Studies, Delhi: Chankya Publications, 1985.

In this collection Paul Brass provided an analysis of peasant politics in UP in the wake of the Green Revolution. He analysed rural politics through the framework of caste and class coalitions. His assumption was that UP society operates primarily on caste lines and that class mobilisation can succeed only in case of caste and class correspondence. He argues that class appeals, based on social and economic inequalities have a limited impact due to the imperfect correspondence between caste and class in UP.

* (Zoya Hasan, Dominance and Mobilisation: Rural Politics in Western Uttar Pradesh, 1930-1980) , (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1988).

The author examined changes in agrarian relations and their impact on socio-political process in Aligarh district in Western UP, during the years 1930 to 1980. Her work referred to the strategies and mobilisation efforts of major political parties in Aligarh district. The author traced the origins of the dominance of the Congress in a historical perspective. Then

she discussed the various factors that are responsible for the decline of the Congress. She also discussed the impact of the Green Revolution and related issue of the massive mobilisation of rich peasants.

* Zoya Hasan, Quest for Power: Oppositional Movements and Post-Congress Politics in Uttar Pradesh Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

In this work, the author traced the origins of the gradual decline of the Congress and the rise of opposition parties in UP. According to her, the congress pursued an anti-communist agenda initially. Later on, the Congress was unable to deal with the consequences of the social and economic status quo viz. Growing poverty and increasing disparities. This resulted in the successive erosion from the Congress of the new rich farmers led by Charan Singh, erstwhile socialists, and finally, the Harijans too. By resorting to majoritarian strategies and symbols for maintaining the rapidly diminishing political legitimacy, the Congress lost the support of Muslims. The author argues that the attempts are being made by the opposition parties to fill the vacuum created by the decline of the Congress.

This study concentrates on party position in Aligarh district, seeks to understand the motion of historical patterns and political strategies of major political parties under varying socio-political conditions. An attempt is also made to delineate at shifts in the mobilization pattern over time and

to assess the extent to which these were related to change in the political party position in the Aligarh district. There is an indepth analysis of the emergence and dominance of different class, caste and community drawn from the ranks of upper, middle and backward castes, how the demand and grievances of certain groups were translated into support for political parties, and how the diverse and contradictory interests of different strata of class, caste, communities and groups affected their responses to the policies advocated by the political parties.

Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study is to investigate into the causes of the decline of the Congress party and the rise of opposition parties. The Congress party was in a very strong position in the earlier decades, after independence. Gradually the position of the Congress Party declined and opposition parties started gaining strength. The primary objective of this study is to esquire into the factors that were responsible for this state of affairs. For the purpose of this investigation, Aligarh district in the state of Uttar Pradesh has been selected. The Aligarh district consists of two Parliamentary constituencies and ten constituencies Legislative Assembly. The period of the study is from 1980 to 1996.

Hypothesis

The study began with the following three hypotheses.

First, the decline of the Congress is due to internal factional rivalries within the party.

Second, the caste factor represented by the parties like SP and BSP played an important role in the decline of the Congress.

Third, the religious factor represented by the BJP further reduced the support base of the Congress.

Methodology

The study follows descriptive and analytical methods. The study is based on primary as well as secondary sources. The census reports and the Election Commission's reports were the primary data sources. The study also relied upon interviews, which were conducted with many prominent political leaders including the former and present MPs and MLAs.

Profile of the Aligarh District

Aligarh has special importance in Indian politics not only the post independence era but also during the national movement to freedom.

During pre independence period Aligarh Muslim University played a very crucial role in colonial politics. The name of Aligarh District has been borrowed from its headquarters Aligarh city. Aligarh District is the North West District of U.P. of Agra Division it is extended from 27°28' to 28°10' in north latitude and 77°29' to 78°36' in Eastern longitude.”⁷ The Boundary of Aligarh is adjoining with Bulundshere in North, Mathura in West and South, Eath is East. North west boundary of Aligarh has the river Yamuna, which se berate it from Haryana State, similarly river Ganga separates Aligarh from district Badaun on north eastern side. The area of Aligarh District is 5019 sq. km.⁸ it constitutes 1.29 percent of the total area of Uttar Pradesh, Aligarh district from the point of view of area occupies 27th place in Uttar Pradesh. The population density in Aligarh district is 657 person per sq. km.⁹

The number of towns in Aligarh district is twenty. There are six Tehsils viz. Khoir, Kail, Iglas, Hatharas, Atrauli and Sikandra Rao. Every Tehsil is divided into three development blocks except, Tehsil Iglas which has two blocks. So far as the area and population Tehsil wise are concerned, Tehsil Khair in having as area of 1040.2 sq km, and its population is 362009, its headquarters is town Khair. Total area of Tehsil Koil is 915.2 sq km. And the population of 365807 persons and its headquarters is Aligarh. Total area of Tehsil Iglas is 552 sq. km and its

population is 219145 its headquarters in Iglas town. 752.4 sq. km. Area falls in Hathras Tehsil with population 340938 persons. Atrauli is having its headquarters in Atrauli town with 890.1 sq. km area and 396217 its population Tehsil Sikandra Rao which is situated at South Eastern border is having a area 871.1 sq. km. and population of 2986685 and its headquarters in Sikandra Rao Town.¹⁰

Aligarh district consist of 1749 revenue villages out of which 1704 are habitated and 45 with out any habitation. There are 20 towns in Aligarh district out of which one is in first category, one in second (range) two of third range, three of fourth range ten of fifth range and three of sixth range.

Aligarh is situated at the doab of Ganga and Yamunna, the rainfall in Aligarh district is 594.1 mm. Out of which 87% Rainfall is during the period, from June to September through the South West Mansoon.¹¹ Aligarh District in very rich so far as the standard crops are concerned. All the three types of the crops Rabi, Kharif, and Jaiad are found in Aligarh district. 53.8% of the total agriculture is being occupied by the Rabi Crops, 40% by the Kharif crops. Wheat is the major crop in Aligarh district, which is being sown on 33% of the area.¹²

Aligarh has many small scale, and cottage industries. This has made the middle class of the district affluent and politically conscious. Political consciousness of middle class and faith in some persons or party among lower class and caste, has always been a deciding factor during voting in this area.

The present study tries to understand the decline of congress party in Aligarh and the subsequent rise of other parties between 1980 to 1996. Historicity of this area tells that political vacuum was never felt, and at the decline of congress, its space was filled by other parties such as Samajwadi Party (SP), Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), Janta Dal (JD), and Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP).

There are two parliamentary constituencies in Aligarh district Aligarh and Hathras. Aligarh is a 'general seat' while Hathras is 'reserved seat for SC'. So far as the assembly seats are concerned, there are ten assembly constituencies, Hathras, Sasni, Gangiri, Sikandra Rao, Atrauli, Aligarh city. Koil Iglas, Khair and Baruali. Out of these, two are reserved for S.C, koil and Sasni.

We also want to clarify the historical position of political parties in Aligarh district and what were the major issues responsible for the decline of Congress Party in the district. How other parties came into existence and

what are the basis of their rise, and how these parties gain benefit over Congress Party ? We shall try to find answers to these questions.

The Aligarh Parliamentary constituency, since its creation in 1952 has been the 'fortunes fluctuating' as no political party has been able to establish here its continuous hold. The congress has won the parliamentary seat four times in 1952, 1957, 1962 and 1984, and the BJP thrice when its present candidate Mrs. Sheela Gautam was elected in 1991 and 1996 and the recent election in 1998. She defeated in 1998 the SP nominee Captain Bladev Singh, who was the Janta Dal Candidate in the 1991 elections.

Mr. Budh Priya Maurya, who recently resigned from the congress, had won the seat in 1962 as a Republic Party of India Candidate. Mr. S.K. Sashtri, an independent, won it in 1967. During the anti-Emergency period of 1977, the seat went to the Janata Party and its candidate was Mr. N.S. Chauhan. The Congress bounced back in 1980, after a gap of 23 years while riding a pro-Indra Gandhi wave and party candidate, Mrs. Indira Kumari, won the seat. It was retained by another congress candidate, Mrs. Usha Rai, in 1984 as a result of the sympathy wave created by Indira Gandhi's assassination.

Keeping a tradition of giving a fair chance to every political party, the voters of the constituency sent Mr. Satya Pal Malik (Janata Dal) to the

Lok Sabha in 1989. Since then the saffron flag has been high in the area, which interestingly has a sizable number of Muslim voters. The anger against the BJP nominee, the caste combinations and the declining fortune of the BSP, has made the SP a strong contender to wrest this seat from the BJP.

The Aligarh Lok Sabha seat has 12.52 Lakh voters. These include over 2.25 lakh Muslims and an equal number of Jats, nearly two lakh Brahmins, 1.90 Lakh Thakurs and 1.50 lakh Scheduled caste and backward class voters in addition to other communities.¹³

In the case of assembly elections, the voting pattern depends upon caste and community equations which change frequently. Some times, a wave in favour or against a party changes the 'equation', for example at the time of Indira's assassination, Mandir-Musjid issue, caste wave in favour of congress and BJP, and so on. So we see that there has never been a hegemony of single party in Aligarh Constituency in both the parliamentary and assembly elections.

Yet at the same time, the congress began to decline from 1980, although it won elections in 1980 and 1984. Aligarh was not exception. Panchayati election in Aligarh Constituency shows that congress has lost

its support at the grassroots level. There are number of factors responsible for the change in the party position.

Chapterisation

This study is divided into three chapters. The introduction introduces the topic under discussion and also lays down the objectives and the methodology of the study. It contains the profile of Aligarh District. The first chapter, deals with the background of the Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh with special reference to Aligarh District. It focuses on the organisation, Leadership and base of the party. The second chapter attempts to understand the decline of the Congress Party and the rise oppositional parties in Uttar Pradesh. Although a study of this process in Aligarh District. This has been done through an analysis of the Lok Sabha and assembly election results from 1980-96 to 1996.

The chapter is a case study of Khair constituency where the decline of the Congress Party has been seen most clearly. The conclusion summering the finding of the study.

Notes

1. International Encyclopedia of Social Science - vol.11:429.
2. V.M. Sirsikar and L. Femandies: Indian Political Parties Meenakshi Publication, Meerut, 1984: vi.
3. J.J. Rousseau: Social Contact. Tr. Henry Johar, 1909:187
4. Bimala Prasad (ed.) Socialism Sarvodya and Democracy, Selected Works of Jayaprakash Narayan: 1964:218.
5. R.C. Aggrawal: Principal of Political Science: Including Modern Concept: 1989:422.
6. Paul R. Brass. Caste Faction and Party in Indian Politics. Chankaya Publication, Delhi, vol.2 1985:15.
7. Census of India Uttar Pradesh, Aligarh District, Series No.22, 1981:2.
8. Ibid. 1.
9. Census of India. Uttar Pradesh, Population 1991:5.
10. Census of India: Series 1 Pt 1 vol.2 1991: 397-399.
11. Dr. S.P. Singh. Planning Geography of Aligarh District. Yojana Prakashan Etha, 1995.
12. Census of India, Uttar Pradesh, Aligarh District Series No.22, 1981.
13. Times of India 7 Feb. 1998.

Chapter - I

THE CONGRESS PARTY IN UP: A BACKGROUND

The Indian constitution best one citizens upon the to elect their government to manage the affairs of the state. In a vast country like India citizens cannot express their opinions individually to attract the state's attention. Political parties act as vehicle to present the citizens' opinions in totality through its representatives at different levels. Finer states clearly the role of parties in bridging the gap between the citizens and the state, saying "that bridge distance, since the territorial area of nations and electorate districts is so wide that the electors must be brought into communication with each other. Party is the organising intermediary.¹ Thus parties integrate the plurality of society and strike to create a consensus in a democratic way.

The history of Indian party system starts from the Indian National Congress that emerged in Bombay on December 28th 1885. It was started with 72 delegates from all over the country, when Mr. W.C. Bannerjee got elected the first president of first Indian political party.

Congress party is the source of almost all others political parties in India. Although Swaraj party was the first one that came out of it but most

significant departure from congress party is considered to be the founding of socialist congress party in May 1934 at Patna. Even the rank and fill of this party were the supporter of original congress party, though the leaders were divided on the methods being adopted by Mr. Gandhi in the freedom struggle it was only after the struggle. with Britishers came to an end that the other political groups organised themselves outside the congress.

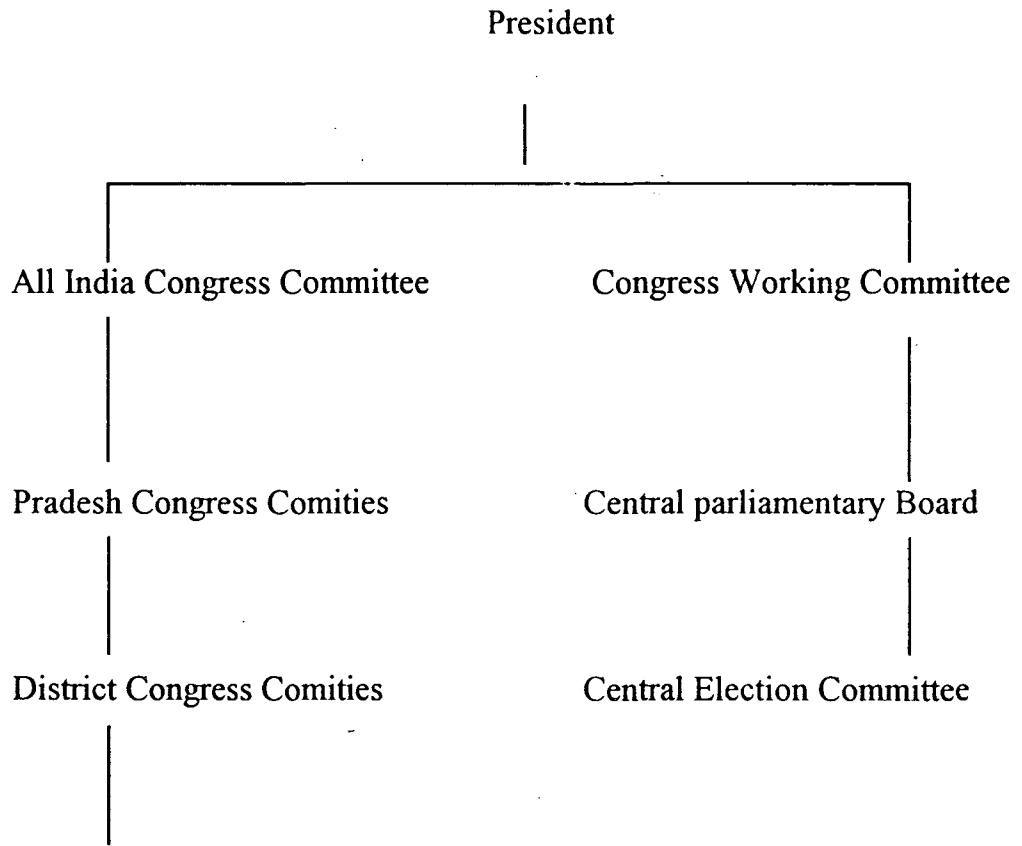
Organisation of Congress Party

When Gandhi entered the freedom struggle during Britishrule the Congress lacked unity and he has spend to his energy in securing the unity of the party. His intention was that after independence, congress should work as Lok Sevak Sangh and the original congress should be dissolved and the parliamentary field should be left to the new and clearly politically oriented organisations². However desire of Gandhi could not be realised congress as a political party with well-knit organisational network that still remains at large.

The scheme of Congress organisation shows that block committee is the smallest unit of the organisation. The highest body of the party is All India Committee in the hierarchy. There are also control outfits knows as

party's Working committee, Central Parliamentary Board and Central Election Committee.

ORGANISATION OF CONGRESS PARTY



Block Congress Comities

Membership - the Congress is structured on three types of membership. One becomes member of the party in his/her individual capacity. Second membership of the Youth wing of the congress know as

Indian Youth Congress (INC) and third the trade union, Indian Trade Union Congress (NTUC) also has individual membership. Membership of INTUC and Youth Congress forms the membership of congress party as well.

Programmes

The main programmes of the party have been changing with the course of time. The Congress realises that it can maintain its aggregate character only if the programmes remains diffuse in character.³

The following are the major programmes

1) Socialist outlook. From the freedom struggle onwards the socialist compassion of the congress has remained in principle. The idea has now developed into democratic socialism.

2) Planned Economy

The economic policy of the congress has been favouring mixed economy. The of the party has to its side radical socialists, big landowners, industrialists, labours etc. In order to keep together its supporters in the party, the congress leadership had to be careful in its approach to economic policies.

Leadership

The heterogeneity of interests and opinions which has been there in the congress from the very beginning become more apparent in the post-apparent independence period. The internal and external problems broadened the Intra-party contradictions and during his later years even Nehru could not control them. So these contradictions got accentuated with time.

After Nehru's death for a very brief period of time Lal Bahadur Shastri took over as Prime Minister but within 2 years his death brought in Indira Gandhi who had no control over the party. Although she won the election in 1967 but the party lost many states and again in 1977 the centre also slipped from her hand. But she maintained her leadership intact and after her death Rajiv Gandhi took over in 1984.

The Congress found itself in a different socio-economic environment after independence as a political party; congress focused its attention on national reconstruction and mobilization of various sections of society.

According to M. Weiner a successful party organisation operating in an open competitive environment must be able to "recruit and train its personnel, thereby perpetrating itself as an organisation; win support

(goodwill money, votes) from the population and substantial post thereof; and to maintain internal cohesion concession. ⁴

In the post-independence period congress has been reduced to a fragmented party. After independence, the congress as the dominant. Party within the India political system had to begin the task of nation-building political organisation is important in the process of national development Hantigation speaks of the need for a modernising process to develop the capacity to assimilate into the system the social forces which result from modernization”⁵ The party at this stage had no time to reorganise its own internal structure it had to try and accommodate, satisfy with it variety of groups and interests in the name of national integration. It remained stable because it always attempted to adopt and not change dramatically.”

In order to widen its base the party inducted social groups. To these new congressmen, the pre-independence phase of the congress did not have much emotive reliance. Hence, it represented a ‘Masco political system” a sort of a general arrangement, holding together micro sub-systems factions, forums, lobbies, coterries etc. This vast infrastructure based on the considerations of caste interest, and personality cult, reflecting in politics the dimensions society, has been maintained by the new elite which finds it of distinct advantage.

Our study is concerned with Aligarh District which is one of the important constituencies in western U.P. A brief overview of congress party in UP is first required.

Congress party got its vary foundation by the active participation of ancestors of Nehru. It worked like the stepping stone because Congress Party was struggling for freedom. Peoples were having beliefs in it. The peoples feel proud in calling themselves as Congress men. By the active participation of Motilal Mr. Nehru, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Purshottam Das Tandon, Acharya Kriplani, Acharya Narandra Dev, Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam etc., Congress Party could spread its tentacles at the grassroots level and into remote areas of the Uttar Pradesh.

The role of Tulukdar's and Zamindar was very important in the politics of U.P. Even today 74% of our population deals dwell in villages. Talukdars and Zamindar received the revenue from villagers and handed it over to governemnt. Therefore their role in politics was implied.

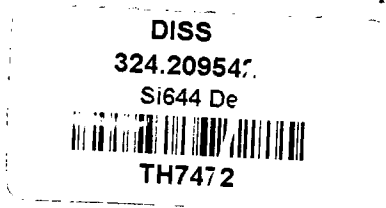
In the immediate post-independence period the Congress coalition in U.P. remained broad. It encompassed former Zamindars and Talukdars; the locally dominant elite proprietary castes of Brahmins, Rajputs, and Bhumihars, sections of the middle status cultivating castes with self sufficient holdings and the bulk of the lower backward, scheduled castes,

and Muslim minority vote. On the occasions when the Congress could draw support from most of these sectors of the electorate, it polled a majority of the votes and secured most of the seats.⁶

Such a broad coalition, is however, difficult to sustain. The politicians from the old elite landed castes, particularly the two most important, Brahmin and Rajput, tends to fall-out over the ministries, party nominations, and control of district institutions.

Muslim deserved from time to time when they felt threatened by the Congress's action or inaction to Control Hindu-Muslim riots and police Victimization of Muslims or to protect the Urdu language or the status of the Aligarh Muslim University. Scheduled Castes have defected on the matter of forced sterilizations during the Emergency. At its narrowest, however, leaving aside the 1977 election, the congress coalition remained intact until the mid 1980's it was broadest in U.P, with its "Committed" votes of most Brahmins, Scheduled Castes, lower backwards, Muslims, and fragments of other categories comprising a minimum note of one-third of the electorate.⁷

The principal source of opposition to this Congress I coalition has come from peasant castes of backward caste status. This opposition has persisted form 1950s to the present. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru initial efforts to



reorganise the U.P. Congress on progressive lines were resisted by the state leadership. Consequently the leadership remained with the conservatives. For example from the outset the ruling party restricted the access of lower castes to higher positions in government and successive Congress regimes were dominated by upper Caste-Classes. Upper Caste domination provided the framework of political bounding in a fragmented society.⁸

The first decade of post-independence Congress politics was dominated in UP by Mr. G.B. Pant, Mr. Sampurnanand and Mr. C. P. Gupta. The approach of these congressmen towards politics and governance was status quoist. G Mr. .B. Pant, the Chief Minister (1946-54), turned the congress into a moderate, middle of the road party. His strength lay in the fact that he was acceptable to both the centre and the state congress because he avoided political extremes and accepted Nehru's leadership without necessarily accepting his policies.⁹

The organisation of the Congress party in Uttar Pradesh Congress developed as a state unit of the Central, Congress Party with little autonomy from the national leadership. In the history of Congress, it is one of the internal conflict among its leadership, at the central and state levels. The Centre Mr. Nehru and Mr. Patel were in the trial at centre, and in U.P.

Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam, Mr. C.B. Gupta, Mr. Purshottam Das Tandon and Mr. Charan Singh were in Conflict.

Uttar Pradesh is symbolise as the home of secularism and communalism'. "Hindu Communalism in Uttar Pradesh was born in Banaras and Muslim Communalism in Aligarh, the secular tradition in U.P. Politics origins in Allahabad." This work was prominently done by Mr. Madan Mohan Malviya, Sir Syyed Ahmad Khan, Mr. Jawarharlal Nehru etc. The first two places are still the centre of communal politics.

The Congress established one party dominance which was demonstrated in impressive majority seats won by the it in the first three elections. With its hegemony in the political area, Congress managed to accommodate the discontent of social groups initially, which however became manifest after 1967.

New trends and tendencies emerged in north India in the post-Nehru period both with regard to government policy and the Congress-system. The 1967 election inaugurated major changes in the fortunes of the Congress. Articulate sections of public opinion in towns and cities turned against the ruling party and sections of peasantry also showed signs of resistance to the congress.

The Congress system broke down and several unstable coalitions were formed.¹⁰ The struggle for power between the congress and the opposition at the all-India level increasingly moved to centre-stage in North India, especially in the state of UP.

After the national split of the Congress in 1969, Mrs. Gandhi began a nation wide attempt to rebuild the popular strength of the congress. Although Mrs. Gandhi's efforts to win back the support of Muslims and the Scheduled castes in U.P., were quite successful they did not compensate for the more significant loss of the middle status landed castes, most of them whom were now being mobilized across the state by the party of Charan Singh. As a result, the Congress legislative assembly vote share continued to decline in 1974 and 1977.

In 1980, the congress adopted a new, strategy of drawing back into its fold the former Zamindars and Talakdars, the new capitalist farmers, and landed castes of elite states.¹¹

The leadership of the congress party in Aligarh, as in other districts, is based upon the elite proprietary castes in the rural areas of the district. Internal conflict in the congress can be seen in local politics concerning Aligarh district.

In 1941, two prominent congressmen from Aligarh District were sitting in Agra jail talking to Acharaya Narendra Dev, the famous socialist leader, Thakur Malkhan Singh slapped on the face of Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam. If the history of factional conflict in the Aligarh Congress is any indication, neither of the two men ever forgot the insults exchanged in the Agra Jail. Factional Conflict in the Aligarh Congress since independence has been open, bitter, and violent. Thakur Malkhan Singh, in 1962, charged Gautam with the responsibility for the murder of six people of the former's faction in the period between 1953 and 1960.

The people of Aligarh actively participated in the national movement for independence. They saw themselves as the nationalists and freedom fighters. We can see their contribution in non-cooperation movement and Khilafat movement. Further movements in the direction of national independence, peoples of the Aligarh confirmed their participation.¹²

The Non-Cooperation movement in Aligarh district was essentially urban based, with little effort on the part of the political elite to induce support in the rural areas. The Civil Disobedient movement, in striking contrast embraced large section of the rural population of the district.¹³

Prominent leaders of the Aligarh district were Thakur Toder Singh, Thakur Malkhan Singh, Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam, Mr. Teekam Sing, Mr. J.P. Jagyosu, Mr. Jagdomika Prasad, Mr. TAK Serbani, and Mr. A.M. Khwaza, who took active participation in district politics and also in the national movement.

In the early 1930s the Congress succeeded in extending its base of support in the district. Membership was encouraged, the district Committee was reactivated, and, more importantly, large section of the rural population rallied round the congress banner.

The sudden burst of nationalist activity during the civil disobedience movement in particular, afforded, local leaders the opportunity to play a larger role in the provincial and national arena and this brought the district into the fore front of national politics.¹⁴

The District Congress Committee bifurcated district politics into urban and rural. Rural politics was dominated by Mr. Todor Singh and Mr. Thakur Malkahan Singh. At the time of Khilafat movement, they went to jail. Both of them belonged to the tenant middle farmers, class. Most of Mr. Malkhan Singh's non political activities were in the field of education.

Mr. Thakur Tador Singh & Mr. Mol Khan Singh were moderates in politics, and allied with Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai and later with Mr. C.B.

Gupta, Mr. Kidwai was personal secretary of Nehru family. Both the sings had roots in the rural areas. Important leaders in urban area were Mr. Jwala Prasad, J.P. Jagyasu, Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam and Mr. C.B. Gupta and A.M. Khwaza. From 1930 to 1947, Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam was counted as one of the prominent leaders of Uttar Pradesh. In his student life, Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam had participated in the non cooperation movement and also worked in Hordoi, Mainpuri, and Shahjahanpur Districts.

In his later phase Mr. Gautam joined people Society under the presidentship of Mr. Purshottam Das Tandon. Tandon brought him to Allahabad to participate in state-level politics. Tandon was close to Nehru because they were educated in the same institute.

In 1934, during the slow national movement, Congress socialist party was founded and Mr. Mohan Lal was an active member of this party. After Mr. Narendra Dev and Mr. Seth Damodar Mr. Swarup, Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam was the most important leader of the congress socialist party from 1937 to 1947. But his grip over rural area was not good.

The leadership of the Congress party in Aligarh District as in other district was based upon the elite factional politics is continue with next paragraph.¹⁵

Mr. Malkhan Singh's wide-ranging political and nonpolitical activities and his seniority in the Nationalist movement established him as one of the most prominent Congressmen of the district. Later on he was elected as the president of the Aligarh District Congress Committee. Mr. Malkhan Singh had been a member of the Congress Socialist Party and was one of the thirteen MLAs who resigned their seats in the Uttar Pradesh Assembly in 1948 to contest elections against the congress. Mr. Malkhan Singh was the only prominent Congressman of the district to resign from the Congress at this time; his most important followers in Aligarh remained in the congress and in the control of the DCC. Mr. C.B. requested Mr. Malkhan Singh to rejoin the congress, the Congress, Gupta at this time was looking for allies everywhere, since he was himself engaged in battle with Mohan Lal Gautam for Control of the state party organization.

On February 16, 1955, Mr. Malkhan Singh announced in Lucknow that he had rejoined the congress because the congress had now declared that its goal is a "socialist pattern of society".

Mr. Malkhan Singh was elected President of the Aligarh DCC. Unanimously. Two of Mr. Gautam's men in the district were appointed by Mr. Malkhan Singh to the executive Committee of twenty members, but Mr. Gautam himself was excluded. Although Mr. Gautam was one of the most powerful ministers in the state government at the time, he was not

able to secure the single ticket for a member of his group in his home district.

Two other important leaders were Mr. A.M. Khwaja and Mr. Nawab Singh Chauhan. They were urban-based, though their political activities extended to rural areas. Muslim representation in the district congress were always poor; by the mid-1960s, it was quite negligible.¹⁶

In the case of Aligarh for instance, Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam was the only minister recruited from the district. It was only in 1961 that Mr. Malkhan Singh was brought into the Gupta Government as deputy minister. In consequence there was often a feeling of resentment against Lucknow's neglect of Aligarh.¹⁷

Malkhan Singh and Nawab Singh Chauhan were promoting 'Thakarbad' (Thakurism) and spreading casteism, Thakur Malkhan Singh planted the seeds of casteism, while Nawab Singh Chauhan sowed the seeds of Thakur domination.

In 1962, most of the prominent leader left the congress like Mr. Saudan Singh and Mr. Nawab Singh Chauhan. In this election Congress could not win even a single parliamentary seat. In the assembly election congress could win only three out of the ten seats. The congress began to lose its support base in Aligarh district.

In 1967, although Congress gained the majority in U.P, assembly it could not form the Government. Mr. Charan Singh left the Congress and formed the Jan Congress and later the BKD. This time congress could win only reserved constituency of Hathras in parliament and three seats of assembly election.

By 1969, Choudhry Charan Singh's B.K.D. captured the assembly seats in Aligarh District. Mr. R.P. Deshmukh, Nawab Singh Mr. Chouhan and others, who were powerful leaders of the Congress joined the B.K.D. therefore congress could win only two assembly seats. In the election of 1974, Congress gained benefit it got 5 seats n the district by the slogan "Garabi Hatao".

In 1977, there was clean sweep by Janta Party Coalition in the assembly election. All the ten seats of Aligarh Constituency were grabbed by the Janta Party. The H.N. Bahuguna who was formerly in Congress was elected as the Chief Minister of U.P. But this coalition could not sustain for long due to ideological conflict.

In 1980, the Congress sought to revive its lost ground under the leadership of Ms. Indra Gandhi. Indra Congress gave the slogan of 'stability'. Most of the leader who had left the such as Mr. Anwer Khan began to rejoin the Congress (I).

Congress (I) won 6 assembly seats in Aligarh district. Thus, with the change in Central and State Government, district position were also affected. Till 1957 congress position was intact in the Aligarh district. After ward changes started Mr. Nawab Sing Chauhan, Mr. Shyodan Singh, Mr. R.P. Desh Mukh, Mr. Nek Ram Sharma who were having strong hold in Aligarh district left the Congress and joined the other parties. Till 1980, this situation continue; Newly formed parties like the B.K.D., LKD and to on took keen interest the people and the local leaders. The people of Aligarh district were pronounced influenced by towards Mr. H.N. Bahuguna and Mr. Choudhary Charan Singh. Majority of Aligarh Population in which Jat, OBC, Muslim and middle peasants were main; were attracted towards these leaders. Single party dominance or hegemony of Congress could not revive itself as strongly as in the earlier period. A little bit improvement in Congress (I) was felt after 1980 in Aligarh district but Congress Party could not return to its former position.

Notes

- 1) Herman Finer, "The Theory And practice of Modern Government" London, 1961:280.
- 2) M.V. Ramana Rao "Development of Congress Constitution", Congress Publication, 70.
- 3) Herst Hartmann, "Political Parties in India" Meenakshi Prakashan Meerut 1971: 66.
- 4) Myron Weiner, "Party Building in a New Nation - The Indian National Congress, Chicago 1978.
- 5) Samuel P. Huntington, The Political Modernisation of Traditional Monarchies (Memeograph) Created in Myron Weiner Party Building in a New Nation Chicago: University of California Press 1967:3.
- 6) Paul R. Brass, Caste, Faction and Party. In Indian Politics Chankya Publication Delhi, vol.2, 1984: 15.
- 7) Ibid, 16.
- 8) Zoya Hasan: Quest For Power Oppositional Movements and Past-Congress Politics in Uttar Pradesh Publication. Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998:20.
- 9) Ibid: 21.
- 10) Iybal Narayan: State Politics in India. Meenkashi Publication Meerut, 1971:
- 11) Zoya Hasan: Quest For Power: Oppositional Movement and Past-Congress Politics in Uttar Pradesh, Publication Oxford University, Delhi, 1998:27.
- 12) Zoya Hasan: 'Dominance and Mobilartion-Rural Politics in Western Uttar Pradesh 1938-1980, Sage Pub. 1989: 80.
- 13) Ibid: 80.
- 14) Ibid: 80.

- 15) Paul R. Brass; Factional Politics in an Indian State: Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh. Oxford University Press Bombay 1966:80.
- 16) Zaya Hasan', Dominance and Mobilisation: Rural Politic in Western Uttar Pradesh (1932-1980), Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1989: 101.
- 17) Ibid:103.

Chapter - 2

DECLINE OF THE CONGRESS AND THE EMERGENCE OF OPPOSITION PARTIES IN ALIGARH DISTRICT

Over the last two decades political processes in UP have been characterized by two significant trends: the emergence of new social groups as important actors on the political scene; and the tension between these groups, the state and the dominant Castes - classes Controlling political power. The Contradictions between classes and castes and growing intra-elite Conflicts have gathered momentum during this period and have triggered off political opposition to the hegemony of upper castes and their control of the state.

This chapter aims to provide an overview of political change from 1980 to present in Aligarh district. It examines a broad range of political, social and economic developments in order to unravel the tensions generated by inter and intra-group conflicts and their impact on the configuration and reconfiguration of the political terrain.

By the early 1970s, the congress was faced with a serious challenge from the rich peasants. Drawn from the backward and middle castes, the rich peasants were the chief beneficiaries of Government investment in agriculture, particularly during the two decades of the green revolution.

The political parties competed with each other in promoting their interests and defending their claims.

Thus , the economic factors, especially the changes brought about by the green revolution played an important role in the UP politics.

However, by the late 1980s, caste and religious factors emerged as the dominant vehicles for political mobilisation. The origin of these phenomena lies in the much earlier period. The Congress pursued an anti-communist agenda right from the beginning. This naturally led the congress to open the doors to the socialists and Lohiaite theory of caste war in the place of class war to counter the communist. Casteism was one of the central issues in district politics. Both the congress and the BKD exploited caste feelings, especially among Jats, Brahmans and Thakurs.¹

The rise of SP and BSP completed the process of consolidation of caste identities and caste emerged as the most determining factor in the UP politics.

The Congress gradually lost its support base as the new rich peasants led by Mr. Charan Singh, erstwhile socialists and finally, the Harijans too had left its fold because of discontent over its policies. The loss of its earlier support base led the Congress to play the religious card. The Congress while professing secularism on the one hand, used

majoritarian strategies and symbols for reviving their rapidly diminishing political legitimacy.² The activation of the Ayodhya dispute by the Congress provided a strong platform for the BJP to emerge as the most dominant party in the UP politics.

Thus, the religious factor emerged on the UP political scene and the Congress lost politically to the BJP. Further with the demolition of the Babri mosque, the Congress lost even the support of Muslims.

Three major parties: SP, BSP and BJP since the late 1980's are attempting to fill the vacuum created by the decline of the Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh. Their ideology and support base are distinct. They are attempting to gain worthiest ever the State in the Post Congress Phase.

The argument, though concerned with wider-political processes, centre around the Congress and its strategy of domination and accommodation, and its increasing inability to set the political agenda which gave rise to the crucial political changes of the 1990s. The unmistakable turning point came in 1989, following this series of major events that saving the pendulum to the right-of -centre and then gave rise to a new political coalition that weakened congress influence and the power of upper classes-castes in UP. The focus in on the Constitution for political power and the discontent and disquiet of groups and classes challenging

Congress domination. Focusing on Congress does not mean that politics in UP may be reduced to the Congress experience, but for four decades it was 'the point of reference' and directly influenced many of the changes in India's intellectual, social and political life.³

For more than three decades after Independence, UP was the centerpiece of the Congress system. It was the State where fortunes of the Congress were made or marred. It was the home of the leading of the nationalist movement. The most influential leaders of the Congress and opposition in the post-colonial period were drawn from UP. Among them are Jawaharlal Nehru, G.B. Pant, Sampurnanand, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Ms. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Kamalapati Tripath, Charan Singh, Mr. V.P. Singh, Mr. Mulayam Singh, Mr. Yadava and Mr. Kalyan Singh. Yet nowhere is the decline and degeneration of the Congress more apparent than in UP where the party has there reduced to a marginal player in state politics, it has suffered a sharp drop in popularity in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha leading to its near disappearance from this state. In 1996, the Congress crashed to its worst ever defeat in UP. The votes polled by the Congress dropped to an all-time low of 8 percent. The depletion of the Congress in UP has ushered in a new era in Indian politics wherein political competition can no longer be defined with reference to the Congress.

The position of Congress in Aligarh District was almost same as in overall, U.P. In the election of 1980, Congress bounced back with assembly six seats out of ten in Aligarh district. Four seats were grabbed by Janta Party which was the coalition of JNP (SR) and JNP (SC). There seats. In the election of 1997, Janta Party coalition government proved utter failure and in the election of 1980 Congress, governed with the slogan of 'stability'. Both the parliamentary seats in Aligarh district went in favour of the Janata Party. The effect of the Central and State politics on the district results are obvious. Most of the leaders of Aligarh district who had left the Congress in the 1977 election, rejoined it. Mr. Pyrelal the MLA from Kheir constituency joined the Congress in 1980. This time most of the party workers of other parties supported Congress (I) ⁴

✓ In the assembly election of 1980 the rest of the opposition parties like JNP (SR) JNP (SC) of Choudhary Charan Singh lost their hold on the constituencies of Gangiri, Hathras, Aligarh city and Iglas. 1980 hence can not be assigned as a pre decline for Congress (I) in Aligarh district and U.P. as well. There was an overall improvement of Congress (I) position in U.P.

As Ch. Mahendra Singh pointed out, in the election of 1980, he could not get seat from Khair constituency when he was in Janata Party. Then tried to get a seat from Congress (I) but that was given to one of his

close personal friends Shiv Raj Singh. He helped him in the election and ultimately, Mr. Shiv Raj Singh won the seat from Khair constituency.⁵

Caste factor always played a major role in deciding the victory of a Particular Part member. Whenever Thakur and Brahmins were allied or cooperated with each other, the person who got the support of these two castes won the election and whenever they were separate, they lost the election.⁶

✓ In the Assembly election of 1985, Congress (I) won four out of ten seat in Aligarh District state others went to LKD (4) and BJP (2). The BJP which emerged in 1980 from the Jan Sangh contested its very first election. In 1984 parliamentary elections the Congress (I) won both the seats of Aligarh district. In this situation beside the local factor, Ms. Indira Gandhi's assassination created the sympathy wave which finally turned the mind of the voters.

Bhartiya Janata Party is Utter Pradesh elsewhere organised at the of Seventh Lok Sabha election, when Bhartiya Nana Sangh which was the main post of Jan Party separated from it. The leader of BJS renamed their party as BJP. RSS in the basis of BJP and so BJP followed the principles and ideology of RSS. In the assembly election of 1980, BJP could not make felt its presence in Aligarh district. However in the election of 1984 BJP

secured two assembly seats in Aligarh Mr. Kalyan Singh and Mr. Kishan Lal Dilar who won the election from Atroli and Koil were heady well known leaders of the BJP.

In the 1984 parliamentary elections following Indira Gandhi's assassination Ms. Usha Rani Tomar says that in "the parliamentary election of 1984, internal conflicts of Congress (I) were dissolved and she gained unanimous support from Brahmin, Thakur, Jats and Muslims." She says beside the sympathy wave of the assassination my opposition candidate from L.K.D., Mr. B.P. Maurya could not gain support from any caste except his own. She with a massive victory over her apparent and was the one among five who secured the maximum number of votes in India.⁷

In Aligarh general constituency all the five regions are dominated by different castes and communities Khair & Iglas are Jat dominated, Atrauli Baruali are dominated by Thakurs and Lodha and Aligarh city is a mixture of all of them. A number of factors were persponsible for the sharp decline of Congress party in Aligarh after 1980. The party was already weak as seen in its performance in 1967. Decline of the organizational machinery, caste decisions, and internal factionalism due to which ticket 2 were not given to capable candidates and emergency of communal politics after 1989 which benefited the BJP are the major factors.⁸

The assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in October 1984 helped the Congress to gain a high percentage of votes and seats on the basis of 'sympathy wave'. The functional rivalries in the opposition parties also helped the congress in receiving a favorable response from the public.

✓ In the 1980 Assembly election in Aligarh district the percentage of vote cast for the Congress was 37.37%, and in 1985 it was 35.53%. But in the Parliamentary election. It was 39.35% in 1980 and 49.4% in 1984.

Inspite of this, 1980 was the beginning of the decline of the Congress which had began in 1967. In the Assembly Election of 1989 there was a further decline in the share the voting percentage of the Congress in Aligarh District. Out of 10 seats Congress could win only 3 seats the rest went to Janta Dal 5 and BJP. Both the Lok Sabha seats from Aligarh Constituency were won by the Janta Dal. There was the sharp decline in the percentage of votes of the of Congress. It was 29.49% which was quite low in compare to 1980 and 1984.

(Please refer to the Appendix 1A and 1B for vote percentage of in the ten Assembly Constituencies of Aligarh District during the elections from 1980 to 1996).

Between 1985 and 1995 the BSP gave equal importance to all the three strategies socio-cultural, agitational and electoral leading to steady

growth as a movement and party seen in increase in its seats in the assembly over the 1989, 1991 and 1993 elections from 13 to 66. It was a militant phase of vertical mobilisation of the poor and underprivileged, ideologisation of caste as a tool to break the existing system, criticism of both Gandhi and mainstream parties as manuvadi, dalit politicisation by highlighting the failures of Congress regimes, opposition to Hindutva, caste-based atrocities, etc., Many agitation's were launched such as the struggle for social transformation on August 15, 1988 for self-respect, annihilation of caste, untouchability, etc. During this phase two competing mobilisational strategies of caste and communalism dominated the political scene. While the BJP attempted to arrest Hindu caste cleavages arising from the Mandal reservation policy, the BSP moved closer to the SP representing the back wards both in order to 'contain' communalism and establish a 'Bahujan Samaj' of the SCs, BCs, and Muslims.⁹

The corrupt image of government of the centre in which Bofors issue was a major factors in the deteriorating the Congress position and its effect in Aligarh district was also felt. Mr. V.P. Singh who was in congress with a clear image, left the Congress and formed the Janta Dal. With his strong foundation in UP his image had upon an impact the people of Aligarh district as well Mr. V.P. Singh opened the issue of Bofors

embezzlement and cost heavy change upon Rajiv Gandhi for the Congress felt at the lowest ebb for the first time in Indian History.

The Year 1989 presented another opportunity for the non-Congress Parties to rule of the centre. The Bofers stigma had strict to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress failed to secure an absolute majority in the parliamentary elections. Five seats out of ten Assembly won by Janta Dal in Aligarh district. Two seats of Lok Sabha also went in the favour of Janta Dal. Corrupt image of Congress (I) Bofors issue, clean image of Mr. V.P. Singh, molded the public support in favour for Janta Dal. Recommendation of Mandal Commission by Mr. V.P. Singh, and anti-Mandis-stand of Janta Dal won the favour of the OBC's and Muslim Community in Aligarh district.

Muslims and other Backward Castes did not cast their vote in favour of Congress (I) and preferred the Congress was losing its vote bank. Muslims and OBC were inclined towards the Janta Dal and newly emerging parties like BJP, BSP, SP etc. the Mandal Commission report for OBC, and debt relaxation for peasants (They were exempted from all the debts immature politician Rajiv Gandhi were unable to identify his issue of Bofors and political Planks titled the SC, ST and peasants in favour of the Janta Dal.

After the death of Ch. Charan Singh in 1987 the Lok Dal fragmented between supporter of his son Mr. Ajit Singh, and supporter of Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav. Mr. V.P. Singh emerged as the leader of the principal political formation in U.P, the Janta Dal, into which all the principal Left/agrarian parties and leaders merged, involving that party to win massive and broad based support across most of the cast and communal spectrum, including the bulk of Lok Dal's previous support base. By 1991, however, the Janta Dal had split with the departure of Mr. Malayam Singh Yadav.

Communal factor went in favour of BJP. Most of the opposition Parties gave more weightage on caste factors & community factor. Frequently occurring communal violence paved the way for the BJP victory and other parties like Janata Dal & BSP upsurge. Ghan Shyam Singh who was the member of Congress vehemently opposed Usha Rani Tomar who was contesting the elections from Aligarh general seat so internal conflicts coupled with the weak position of Congress at the Central and State level weakened the Congress Party position in Aligarh district.¹⁰

J In the assembly election of 1991, Congress did not win even a single seat from Aligarh District. 6 seats were won by BJP and 4 by Janta Dal. Both the parliamentary seats also went in favour of BJP in Aligarh district.

A sharp decline of Congress can be seen here. Mandir-Musjid issue was the main cause of BJP victory in this election. Upper and middle classes in which the business classes were prominent, began to vote to the BJP.

Ms. Shiela Gautam who won the seat from Aligarh constituency on a BJP ticket the parliamentary election of 1991 said that Congress (I) did not give her a ticket to contest the election.” She was the daughter of Pt. Mohan Lal Gautam who was eminent Congress leader from Aligarh district.” “His strong position in Aligarh district paved the way for my victory. BJP was searching for such a candidate election and the election due to her father’s strong foundation in Aligarh.¹¹

Similarly Ms.Usha Rani Tomor says that there not persuable distribution of ticket in the assembly election of 1991 was the main cause of my defeat. She worked hard for the people of Iglas constituency but she received the ticket from Khair constituency on the recommendation of Mr. Ghan Shyam Singh. I did not work for this constituency and peoples of this area were not familiar with me. Internal conflict of the Congress lobby which was functioning in the direction of N.D. Tiwari proved hazardous for my defeat.¹²

Mr. Kalyan Singh distributed or recommended tickets to only those people who were having a strong hold in their constituency. Choudhary

Mahendra Singh who was formerly in Lok Dal, contested election on the ticket of BJP due to his personal relation with Kalyan Singh and won the seat.¹³

In 1991 the entire state of UP turned saffron. By increasing its vote percentage from 7.6 to 32.8 percent the BJP captured 51 Lok Sabha seats and emerged as the biggest party in the state. The Congress tally was reduced to only 5 seats with 18.2 percent votes. In Aligarh district the percentage of vote was quite low 11.63% compared to the election of 1989 (29.49%). The BJP got absolute majority in the state assembly also. But in December 1992 the Central Government dismissed the BJP Government holding them responsible for the demolition of the disputed structure of Ayodhya.¹⁴

✓ In the Assembly polls of 1993, all non-BJP parties united to defeat the BJP, but despite this unity BJP remained the single largest party winning 176 seats with 33.36 per cent votes. The SP-BSP alliance had won only 168 seats but it formed the Government which was headed by Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav which lasted for one and half year.

Successive unsuitability to control Ministry of V.P. Singh and Chandra Shekhar again focused the attention of general mass of the India towards Congress. The congress again came in the power in 1991 with a

slogan of stability. The assassination of Rajiv Gandhi also created a sympathy wave leading to the victory of Congress (I).

The impact of the State in the centre Ministry was also felt in the assembly election of 1993 and the Congress (I) won only one seat in Aligarh District out of ten. Its percentage of votes however increased by 16.02% in comparison 1991 (11.63%) 6 seats were won by BJP and 2 by SP and one by Janta Dal. Rajendra (Todawals) who contested on the ticket of won in Iglas. The caste factor was responsible for his victory, the Jats supported him SP-BSP coalition in the assembly election proved harmful or Congress. On the other hand Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav also started cashing on castist (Yadavas) and communalist (Dalit Muslim) feeling to outplay Mr. V.P. Singh. In this game of casteism he succeeded to some extent.¹⁵

In the assembly election of 1991, Janta Dal could won only four seats out of ten. Janta Dal position was down in Aligarh district and both the two seats of Lok Sabha were captured by the BJP. The main causes of down position of Janta Dal in 1991 were split in Janta Dal (Chandra Shekhar formed JD (S), BSP emerges as had party for Dalits and also spell upon Muslims and favouring them, BJP Mandir-Musjid issue was in vogue etc.

In the assembly election of 1993 Janta Dal could win only one seat from Kher out of ten in Aligarh district. This time the main factors of the horse defeat of Janta Dal was separation of Mr. Mulayam Singh (SP).

✓ In the 1993 poll, the two parties had independently snatched away the Congress's traditional votes, 21% of the upper castes which 10% Brahmins, 7% Thakurs, 4% Baniyas and Kayasthas largely supported the BJP. But now the Congress (I) was anticipating the return of a chunk of the vote banks-by defeat. Though its State leadership remains moribund, the party is confident it will gain from the Upper-Caste back lash against the BJP. The Dalits (22%), Muslims (17%) and Yadav (12%) supporters SP & BSP coalition while other OBC's (26%) supported the BJP in big way as Kalyan Singh was the OBC's leader. The Congress (I), led by Jitendra Prasad in Uttar Pradesh, was hoping to grab the BJP's upper caste votes, especially if Tiwari returns to the fold.¹⁶

✓ In the assembly election of 1993 the Congress position in Aligarh district was so low that Congress was at fourth place in five constituency is and at the fifth place at two places where independent candidates were leading over Congress. Muslims who were permanent vote bank of Congress lost their faith in the Congress due to demolition of Babri mosque the Congress was accused by Muslims who cast their vote in favour of the SP and Janta Dal.

In the assembly election of 1996, Janta Dal could not win even a single seat from Aligarh district. Janta Dal completely lost its ground and its support.

✓ In the assembly election of 1996, Congress again won one seat in Aligarh district, 7 seats went in favour of BJP and one in BSP and SP. Both the parliamentary seats went in favour of BJP. In this election the Congress and BSP formed a coalition before the election. The Congress supported BSP on 5 seats and BSP supported the Congress on 5 seats. Although the Congress and BSP won one seat each their percentage of votes increased. In Aligarh district the Congress percentage of vote was 33.59 which was quite high in compare to 1991 election (16.2%). The percentage of vote of BSP also increased to 32.58% due to Congress support. For example, Dalvir Singh Congress won the seat from Baroli. He was defeated in the 1993 election when the election on a Janta Dal that the Congress (I) & BSP alliance helped him win the seat.

For decades, the principal line of political and economic competition in the state was between the upper castes and the middle status or backward castes, with the scheduled castes largely powers in this predominant struggle and the Muslims largely on the side lines. The old upper caste-backward caste divide has remained and, in fact, has intensified; it is reflected in the bitterness of the competition between the BJP and its upper

caste votes, on the one hand, and the SP and its Yadav and other backward caste votes, on the other hand. However, the scheduled caste are no longer powers and the Muslims no longer on the sidelines.¹⁷

Nevertheless, the issue and feelings around in 1991 remained of central importance in 1996 despite the absence of dramatic symbols to represent them. Inter caste hostility between elite and backward castes which has for decades provided the principal line of change in UP elections, continued to be important. However, by 1996, the scales in this conflict had finally become weighted in favour of the backward and lower castes, who had decisively overcome the dominance of upper caste in Government and had begun to displace them in provincial administration.¹⁸

The Congress was again at the lowest point in Aligarh district. Ms. Sheela Gautam (BJP) made her second time victory and Mr. Kishan Lal Dilar (BJP) from Hathras constituency won the election although BSP remained in the second position for both the seats. The formed caste equations and community feeling again proved to be deciding factors. Mr. N.D. Tiwari who was in Congress formed the Congress and contested the election independently. His impact was noted on Aligarh constituency. Tiwari's party could win only 2 seats of parliament in U.P.

Mr. S.N. Chaturvedi contested the election from Aligarh constituency (General) in 1996 election. In spite of his strong business background and splashily spend of money, he could not win the election and remained at third position with 12.35% of vote. BSP was not supporting the Congress the parliamentary election as it did during the Assembly election, proved a great loss for Congress (I) in Aligarh constituency.

In the parliamentary election of 1998, Ms. Sheela Gautam (BJP) from Aligarh made her hatrick and Mr. Kishan Lal diler again won from Hathras. SP remained in the second position in Aligarh while BSP was at the second position in Hathras. BJP secured 46.88% of vote while SP at second position got 25.76% of vote and the BSP got 16.96% which was previously 28.40% in 1996 of vote in Aligarh constituency.

In the parliamentary election of 1998. Aligarh constituency Mrs. Gautam's problem was SP nominee captain Bal Dev Singh, who joined the party last year after quitting the BJP. Although there was discontent among the local Muslim's community on the SP fielding a non-Muslim candidate, the was posing a serious challenge to the BJP candidate's lid to achieve hat hot-risk. Among others in the fray were Mr. Chandra Paul (BSP), Mr. Rajbir Sharma (Congress), Mrs. Sharmishta Singh (Kisan Kamgar Party) and Mr. Alangir (Muslim league).

Though there were 19 candidates in the fray, the main contest was between the BJP, SP and the BSP. The Congress was still struggling to find its feet and having fielded an unknown candidate, Mr. Rajbir Sharma working out strategies of these parties were based on caste combinations, Dalit, SC & ST started to incline towards BJP.¹⁹

The Aligarh constituency since its creation in 1952 has seen the fortunes fluctuating as no political party has been able to establish its continuous hold. The Congress has won this seat four times 1952, 1957, 1962 and 1984 and the BJP thrice 1991, 1996 and 1998. The caste combinations and the declining fortune of the BSP, has made the SP a strong contender.

Notes

1. Zoya Hasan, Dominance and Mobilization: Rural Politics in Western Uttar Pradesh, Sage Publ., New Delhi: 1988-133.
2. Zoya Hasan, Quest for Power: Oppositional Movement and Post Congress Politics in Uttar Pradesh. Publ. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998: 163.
3. Ibid: 16.
4. Interview Pyarlal Ex. MLA INC, Date 12.12.1997.
5. Interview Ch. Mahendra Singh, Ex. MLA, BJP, Dated 10.12.1997
6. Interview Shiv Raj Singh Ex. MLA, INC, State Minister, Dated 11.12.1997
7. Interview Usha Rani Tomar Ex. MP. INC (I) Dated 15.12.1997
8. Interview Ghanshyam Singh Ex, MP. INC, (RS) Dated 22.06.98.
9. Sudha Pai, Dalit Assertion in UP, Implication for Politics, Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 32, September 13, 1997: p.2313.
10. Interview Shiv Raj Singh, Ex. MLA, INC (I), State Minister, Dated 11.12.1997.
11. Interview, Sheela Gautam Present MP, BJP, Dated 17.12.1997.
12. Interview, Usha Rani Tomar, Ex. MP INC (I) Dated 15.12.1997.
13. Interview, Ch. Mahendra Singh, Ex. MLA, BJP Dated 12.12.1997.
14. J.C. Aggrawal and N.K. Choudhary Election in India 1952-1996 1996: 172.

15. Ibid.

16. India Today, Nov. 15, 1995.

17. Paul R. Brass, General Election 1996 in Uttar Pradesh Division
Struggles Influence out come Economic and Political Weekly vol.32,
September 20, 1997: 2403.

18. Ibid: 2403.

19. The Times of India.

Chapter - III

EMERGENCE OF OPPOSITION PARTIES: CASE STUDY OF KHAIR CONSTITUENCY IN ALIGARH DISTRICT

Khair constituency has been selected because the decline of the Congress is clearly visible here. After 1980 the Congress has not performed well electorally. The opposition parties have been able to cut into its votes percentage.

Khair Tahsil is situated at North-West region of Aligarh district, U.P. between 27° and 28° Northern latitude and 77°29' and 78°1' Eastern longitude. Bulandashar district and Haryana state are situated in Western of Khair Tahsil. Mathura district and Iglas Tahsil are lie in the southern boundary of Khair; while on the Eastern boundary Koil Tahsil is situated. Area of Khair Tahsil is 1040.2 sq. km and its population in 4,48,412 in which Schedule Castes are 10,9050; Schedule Tribe population is very low only.¹

Khair Tahsil is divided in to three blocks, Tappal, Chandosh and Khair. Area of Tappal block is 378.sq. km with the population 15,56,46; is which schedule caste are 38,367. Area of Chandos is 321. Sq. km with the population 14,8406, in which scheduled caste members are 36,8405. Area

of Khair block is 339.0 sq. km in which population is 14,4360 Schedule Caste population in Khair block are 33,8308.²

Khair is a traditional strong hold of cooperative communities. The three major propriety castes of Thakurs, Jats and Brahmans maintained their primacy even after Zamindar abolition, majority of Bhumidars were drawn from these castes³

Many leaders from Khair Constituency played major role in UP Assembly and in Central Parliament. Most important of them were Th. Malkhan Singh, Mr. Mohal Lal Goutam, Mr. B.P. Maurya etc. After 1952 Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam won the election from Khair - a Brahmin) now only Jat candidates have been elected in the Assembly elections.

But in Khair constituency, there was no single political which cold party has been dominate for a long time. Ups and down in the percentage of votes were quite frequent. For example in the Assembly election of 1969, Choudhry Charan Singh organised meetings & contact programmes at five or six places in Khair constituency, and peasants voted in favour of B.K.D. But in the election of 1974, important leaders of Congress (I) like Ms. Indra Gandhi, and Mr. H.N. Bahuguna did the same and the Khair assembly seat went in the favour of Congress (I).⁴

Another important leader who contributed a lot in the politics of Khair Constituency was Choudary Mahendra Singh, who is still recognised as the most powerful man in Khair. He did a lot for the peoples of the welfare of Khair. In 1956, he worked for liberating the border area of Bulandsahar and Aligarh from the robbers and dacoits, when he finalised the meeting the sector in the presence of major police officers. So the people of this region regard him as the protector of their interests. He has also contributed a great deal in establishing many educational institutions in Khair, Palseda inter college, Khair inter college, in Jattari Patel inter College, Tappal inter-College, Khair Rashtriya Vidhyalaya etc. In 1962, Ch. Mahendra Singh defeated Congress Candidate.

In 1969, Ch. Mahendra Singh contested the election on the ticket of B.K.D as Ch. Charan Singh invited him to contest the election from Khair. Ch. Charan Singh, himself campaigned for him in Khair. Choudhary Mahendra Singh was the rich Jamindar and his words would cast a spell upon the local peoples.

In the assembly election of 1974, Mr. B.P. Maurya a scheduled caste candidate supported the Congress candidate Pyrelal. Mr. Indra Gandhi and Mr. Bahuguna also campaign for him in Khair with the main slogan "Garubi Hatoo". With the believe that faith in the Congress was returning among local peoples.⁵

In 1977, Mr. Bahuguna left the Congress and with Mr. Pyralal and they joined Janta Party. Pyralal again won the seat of Khair constituency, this time again.

In the assembly election of 1980, Mr. Shiv Raj Singh contested the election on the ticket of Congress (I). Ch. Mahendra Singh supported him. This was the last victory of Congress (I) in Khair Constituency.

“Choudhary Mahendra Singh I was not given ticket from Lok Dal of Ch. Charan Singh in the assembly election of 1980. This ticket was attributed to a candidate, who was led by bad person with an image of a rogue. Mr. Choudhary Mahendra Singh said in an interview I tried to gain ticket from Congress but it was given to one of my nearest Mr. Shiv Raj Singh. I supported him and he won from Khair constituency.⁶ Another reason of the victory of Mr. Shiv Raj Singh in 1980 election was support of Mr. Ghan Shyam Singh. Khair is a Jat dominant area and Thakurs and Brahmans seldom supports them. But in this election due to support from Mr. Ghan Shyam Singh, Thakur votes were also casted in the favour of Mr. Shiv Raj Singh. While in 1985 assembly election, Mr. Ghan Shyam Singh supported an independent candidate and Mr. Shiv Raj Singh had lost the election.⁷

This was the last time Congress (I) won from Khair Constituency with the percentage of vote 41.62%. In the forthcoming elections Congress was further on the path of decline.

(Please refer to be Appendix II For vote percentage of the candidates in Khair Assembly constituencies 1980 to 1996).

In the assembly elections of 1985, Mr. Jagveer Singh who had lost in the election of 1980, on the ticket of Lok Dal, won this election Mr. Jagvir Singh said Mr. Shiva Raj Singh, who was elected from Khair in 1980, could not solve the grievances of general message of Khair. His egoism was at the top and was not ready to listen the common peoples. In the election of 1985, peoples of Khair did not caste their vote in support of him and Jagveer Singh was elected.”⁸

“Another reason of the victory of Jagvir Singh was his close association with Ch. Charan Singh as he was from Jat Community, most of the population of Khair in which Jats are major part supported me. Ch. Mahendra Singh neutral attitude also went in my favour.”⁹ The Percentage of votes caste in favour of the Lok Dal in 1985 elections was 45.65%, while the Congress (I) was at the second position with 30.37% of vote, in which Brahmins and Scheduled castes were main voters. Sympathy were

in favour of Congress Party Indra Gandhi assassination also could not increase the percentage of vote upto the winning stage for Congress.

In the assembly election of 1989, again Mr. Jagveer Singh (JD) won the seat from Khair, The Janata Dal was the main faction of the Lok Dal. Choudhary Ajit Singh s/o son of Ch. Charan Singh decided to be he in the Janta Dal. He was another Jat leader in this region of Khair who worked to further maintain the dominance of the Jats. Janata Dal got 52.65. Percentage of vote from Khair while Congress was again at the second position with 35.11 of vote. Congress gave the ticket to the same candidate (Shiv Raj Singh) who thus lost two successive elections.¹⁰

Choudhary Mahendra Singh was still interested in contesting the election on the ticket of Congress (I), but he was not given ticket Janta Dal brought policies for peasants (to except from debt) and clean image of Mr. V.P. Singh further contributed to increase the percentage of votes in Khair constituency.

Mr. Jagvir Singh said says that the agenda of Janta Dal secured the confidence of the scheduled castes and Muslims and thus their votes were went in his favour. Mandal Commission was main factor in that. The corrupt image of Rajiv Gandhi Govt. and Bofors issue deteriorate the position of Congress (I) in Khair Constituency.¹¹

In the assembly election of 1991, Choudhary Mahendra Singh got ticket from B.J.P. He was the already having strong ground in Khair constituency and so he won the election and secured 40.01% of vote. Mr. Jagvir Singh (JD) who was elected in previous election come at second position with 33.65% of vote. Congress (I) had now shifted to the third position, Usha Rani Tomar (Congress I) could secured only 12.15% of vote which was quite low in comparison to previous election. So, the fall of the vote percentage continued for Congress (I) in this election also. BSP, was at IIIrd position in the election of 1989 (7.39%) was now the at IV position with 6.93% of vote. A considerable number of schedule caste vote was major part in its total percentage of vote.

“Ch. Mahendra Singh’s relation with Kalyan Singh was from 1962. So, he gave the ticket to Mohandra Singh to contest the election of 1991 from Khair constituency. Choudhary Mahendra Singh as the Jat candidate could snatch a large number of Jat votes also. BJP’s propaganda of Mandir in Ayodhya also contrubuted in his victory as 80 to 90 per cent of Brahmin votes went in favour of Choudhary Mahendra Singh and thus Mr. Jagvir Singh of Janata Dal shifted to Second position. Most of the Muslims and the Schedule Castes votes were divided in between Congress and BSP.¹²

“Unwise distribution of tickets by Congress proved to be folly for Congress. Mr. Usha Rani Tomar, a women candidate wanted to contest

election from Iglas constituency because she worked has for that region, instead she was given ticket from Khair constituency where her recognition was poor as she had not workes for this area. So, she could not win the election and came of third position."¹³

In the Aassembly election of 1993, Mr. Jagvir Singh from Janta Dal again won the seat from Khair constituency and secured 23.78% of votes, although his vote percentage was low in comparison to pervious election (33.64%) Choudhary Mahendra Singh did not contest the election this time. BSP shift from IVth to IInd position with 19.67% of vote. Khair constituency has remarkable number of schedule caste voteers, which contributed to BSP's steep.

At the third position was of vote. BJP, which had, who won the last election. In the absence of Ch. Mahendra Singh it shifted to the fourth position with 18.44% of vote. Congress was one step down to the fifth position with 17.38% of vote. Another cause of rise of BSP was coalition of SP and BSP. Muslim and Dalit vote went in favour of BSP while Congress could grasp only traditional voters coming from sub-caste and a section of scheduled caste voters like Dhabi, Khatik and Balmiki etc. and also Brahmins.

Mr. Javir Singh said that the BJP could not kept its promise and was discarded by the people of the Khair. BJP could not fulfill the aspirations and needs of the people of Khair. Choudhary Mahendra Singh did not contest this election. So most of the Jats vote came in Mr. Jagvir Singh's favour. Choudhary Mahendra Singh remained adamant with his promise, that he will come in the Khair constituency only after five years. He remained stick to his promise. So the BJP, shifted to IVth position while BSP role to the position of second major party.”¹⁴

Ch. Charan Mahendra Singh wanted to support another candidate from BJP but an independent candidate came in to fray. Mr. Mahendra Singh supported Satya Pal Singh, independent candidate with consideration that he will gain BJP's support later on. But Mr. Mahendra Singh's presumptions proved wrong and BJP was ultimately at last position. ¹⁵

In the assembly election of 1996, BJP's saffron flag was again hoisted in Khair constituency. Dr. Gyanwati (BJP) Ch. Charan Singh won this election with 46.59% of vote. Mr. Jagvir Singh contest from Congress (I) ticket and remained at second position with 28.08% of votes. BSP supported Congress in this election. However third position garbed by SJP.

Major force behind the victory of Ms. Gyan Wati was her recognition as the daughter of Choudhary Charan Singh whose impact is

still felt in Khair. "Jagvir Singh joined the Congress (I), because Ajit Singh also joined the Congress and under the constraint of Ajit Singh he joined the Congress."¹⁶

Mr. Pyare Lal commented that in the election of 1996, Congress gave ticket to the candidate who did not believe in the principles of Congress. The vote bank of Congress did not cast its vote in favour and of Congress (I) and it lost the election."¹⁷

Jagvir Singh says that he joined the "Congress because of Ajit Singh and his strong hold on Khair constituency. Peoples were still having believe in him. But this position changed when he joined the congress and peoples believe in him became very low. Gyan Wati (BJP) was nearest to me but as she was the daughter of Ch. Charan Singh so Jat votes were also casted in her favour. Ms. Mayawati's hold and influence on the scheduled castes also mitigated and they also casted their votes in favour of BJP. These were the reasons, why I lost the election of 1996."¹⁸

Thus we see that Khair constituency is a Jat dominated area and in the assembly election of 1952 till now only Jat candidates were elected. But, there was never the domination of a single party. Change in the party positions

remained frequent in this constituency. In place of party, the the personal image of the candidates in their constituency always played a decisive role. Those candidates who subjugates their ego and works for this constituency and solved the grievances of the common people were always given upper hand in the election. There are number of caste like SC, Thakurs, Brahmins Jats and caste equations also completely change the election results. Congress position is worse in this constituency. Most of the Congress leaders have lost their faith in Congress' future because of internal rivalry and conflicts. Ms. Usha Rani Tomar says that she has lost the Charm of Congress, she could not work with Congress workers but she would return if a member from Nehru family comes, to the forefront because she is emotionally attached with them as her husband lost his life during the election campaign for Indra Gandhi. Congress position has deteriorate with the rise of opposition parties like BJP, BSP and SP who has grabbed most of the Congress vote bank now.

Notes

1. Census of India, Series No.1, Pt. 1 vol.2, 1991: 397.
2. Ibid: 397.
3. Zaya Hasan: Dominance and Mobilisation Rural Politics Western Uttar Pradesh, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1989: 47.
4. Interview with Payra Lal Ex. MLA INC- 12.12.97.
5. Interview Ch. Mahendra Singh Ex. MLA, BJP 10.12.97.
6. Ibid.
7. Interview, Shiv Raj Singh INC(I) Ex. State Minister MLA, 11.12.97
8. Interview Jagvir Singh Ex MLA JD, 09.12.97.
9. Ibid.
10. Statical Report on Assembly Election of Uttar Pradesh 1989:90.
11. Jagvir Singh Ex. MLA, JD, 09.12.97.
12. Ibid.
13. Interview, Usha Rani, Ex MP, Congress (I), 15.12.97.
14. Interview, Jagvir Singh, Ex. MLA, JD, 09.12.97
15. Interview, Ch. Mahandra Singh, Ex. MLA, BJP 10.12.97.
16. Interview Jagvir Singh, Ex. MLA, JD, 09.12.97.
17. Interview, Payre Lal, Ex., MLA, INC, 12.12.97
18. Interview, Jagvir Singh, Ex., MLA, JD, 09.12.97.

CONCLUSION

The present study deals with the decline of the Congress Party and the rise of opposition in the Aligarh district in Uttar Pradesh. The study analysed the political situation in the Aligarh district with the help of electoral data. Some studies were conducted on the Aligarh district politics prior to 1980. Our study deals with the post 1980 period. Earlier studies concentrated on the effects of the Green Revolution. The present study concentrates on the factionalism within the Congress along caste and religious lines.

✓ The study was primarily based on the field survey. Most of the primary data was collected by interviewing the important political leaders of the Aligarh district.

The first chapter provides a detailed account of the Congress in the Aligarh district. In the second chapter, we discussed the factors that were responsible for the decline of the Congress in the Aligarh district. The third chapter focused on the electoral politics in the Khair Assembly constituency in the Aligarh district.

The study observed that the factionalism in the Congress Party was primarily responsible for the decline of the Congress in the initial stages. But

by the late 1980s, the caste and religious factions contributed to the gradual erosion of the party support base.

Many sections of the society including the rich peasants and the Harijans were dissatisfied with the policies of the Congress. At this time, the caste and religious issues were used for the political mobilisation.

In the 1989 elections, the Mandal issues became prominent and this factor was responsible for the victory of Janata Dal. In the 1991 elections, the Mandir Masjid dispute emerged as the crucial issue and helped the BJP to gain victory. Thus, caste and religions emerged as the determining factors in the electoral politics of UP.

The importance of caste is visible in the emergence of the SP and BSP as major political forces. In the study, it was found that before the emergence of the BSP, the SC,s who constitute 24% of the voters of Aligarh district, voted for the Congress.

But, with the emergence of the BSP, the entire Jatav community (who belong to the SCs) shifted from the Congress and moved to the BSP. After the demolition of the Babri Masjid, the Congress lost the support of the Muslims. Now Muslims generally vote for the SP.

The decline of the Congress created a political vacuum in UP politics. The BJP, the SP and the BSP have been competing to fill that vacuum. The SP and the BSP have used caste to mobilise their voters. The consolidation of caste and religious identities completely eroded the support base of the Congress. Now, the caste and religious factors pushed other factors into the background. The major political parties in the UP, namely, the BJP, the SP and the BSP openly supported religions and caste issues. This has led to the permanent division of the voters along religious and casteist lines in the UP.

Thus a high level of political instability marks the UP political scene due to constant shifting of alliances.

However in the Aligarh district, it appears from the study that a somewhat stable pattern has gradually emerged. From the 1991 elections onwards, the BJP has been gradually enlarging its support base which was reflected in its support base which was reflected in its rising percentage of votes and seats. On the other hand, the support base of the Congress and the BSP has been shrinking.

Thus, the decline of the Congress Party was both a cause and an effect of rise of the opposition along religious and casteist lines in the UP politics.

Appendix 1A (I)

Winners in the Assembly Constituencies of the Aligarh District

1980			
Name of the Constituency	Name of Candidate	Party	Vote %
Hathras	Suraj Bhan	JNP (SR)	32.95
Sasni (SC)	Dr. Dharm Pal	INC (I)	45.69
Sikandra Rao	Pushpa Chauhan	INC (I)	31.32
Gangini	Babu Singh	JNP (SC)	43.76
Atrauli	Anwar Khan	INC (I)	37.74
Aligarh City	Khqaja Halim	JNP (SC)	36.37
Koil (SC)	Puran Chand	INC (I)	32.65
Iglas	Rajendra Singh	JNP (SC)	47.76
Barauli	Surendra Singh	INC (I)	43.31
Khair	Shiv Raj Singn	INC (I)	41.62

Source: Statistical Report of Election Commission of India: On the General Election of Uttar Pradesh, Legislative Assemblies, (Nirvachan Sadhan), New Delhi, vol.II, 1979-80.

Appendix - 1A (II)

Winners in the Assembly Constituencies of the Aligarh District

1985			
Name of the Constituency	Name of Candidate	Party	Vote %
Hathras	Narain Hari Sharan	INC	38.16
Sasni (SC)	Bengali Singh	LKD	52.47
Sikandra Rao	Suresh Pratap Singh	LKD	38.01
Gangini	Tilak Singh	INC	39.94
Atrauli	Kalyan Singh	BJP	55.97
Aligarh City	Baldev Singh	INC	39.49
Koil (SC)	Kishan Lal Diler	BJP	42.55
Iglas	Rajendra Singh	LKD	54.06
Barauli	Surendra Singh	INC	46.00
Khairi	Jagvir Singh	LKD	45.65

Source: Statistical Report of Election Commission of India: On the General Election of Uttar Pradesh, Legislative Assemblies, (Nirvachan Sadhan), New Delhi, vol. III 1984-85.

Appendix 1A (III)

Winners in the Assembly Constituencies of the Aligarh District

1989			
Name of the Constituency	Name of Candidate	Party	Vote %
Hathras	Ram Saran Singh	JD	51.90
Sasni (SC)	Ramesh Karan	JD	50.41
Sikandra Rao	Suresh Pratap Singh	JD	39.16
Gangini	Babu Singh	JD	35.47
Atrauli	Kalyan Singh	BJP	46.34
Aligarh City	K.K. Navman	BJP	46.39
Koil (SC)	R.P. Deshmukh	INC	39.45
Iglas	Vijendra Singh	INC	43.88
Barauli	Surendra Singh	INC	32.46
Khair	Jagvir Singh	JD	52.65

Source: Statistical Report of Election Commission of India: On the General Election of Uttar Pradesh, Legislative Assemblies, (Nirvachan Sadhan), New Delhi, 1989-90.

Appendix - 1A (IV)

Winners in the Assembly Constituencies of the Aligarh District

1991			
Name of the Constituency	Name of Candidate	Party	Vote %
Hathras	Ram Saran Singh	JD	42.25
Sasni (SC)	Hari Sankar Mohare	BJP	44.92
Sikandra Rao	Suresh Pratap Gandhi	JD	29.32
Gangini	Ram Singh	BJP	33.15
Atrauli	Kalyan Singh	BJP	54.78
Aligarh City	K.K. Navman	BJP	47.30
Koil (SC)	Kishan Lal Diler	BJP	56.54
Iglas	Gayanwati	JD	32.07
Barauli	Dalvir Singh	JD	46.14
Khairi	Ch. Mahendar Singh	BJP	40.04

Source: Statistical Report of Election Commission of India: On the General Election of Uttar Pradesh, Legislative Assemblies, (Nirvachan Sadhan), New Delhi, 1991.

Appendix - 1A (V)

Winner Candidates in Aligarh Assembly Constituencies

1993			
Name of the Constituency	Name of Candidate	Party	Vote %
Hathras	Rajvir Singh	BJP	25.47
Sasni (SC)	Hari Shanka Mahore	BJP	45.40
Sikandra Rao	Amar Singh	SP	36.62
Gangini	Veresh Singh	SP	38.83
Atrauli	Kalyan Singh	BJP	54.97
Aligarh City	K.K. Navman	BJP	40.84
Koil (SC)	Kishan Lal Diler	BJP	58.97
Iglas	Vijendra (Toda Wale)	INC	38.18
Barauli	Munesh Gaur	BJP	33.13
Khair	Jagvir Singh	JD	23.78

Source: Statistical Report of Election Commission of India: On the General Election of Uttar Pradesh, Legislative Assemblies, (Nirvachan Sadhan), New Delhi, 1993-94.

Appendix - 1A (VI)

Winners in the Assembly Constituencies of the Aligarh District

1996			
Name of the Constituency	Name of Candidate	Party	Vote %
Hathras	Ramvir Upadhya	BSP	53.86
Sasni (SC)	Hari Shankar Mahore	BJP	39.63
Sikandra Rao	Yesh Pal Singh	BJP	33.57
Gangini	Ram Singh	BJP	34.31
Atrauli	Kalyan Singh	BJP	58.17
Aligarh City	Abdul Khaliq	SP	53.10
Koil (SC)	Ram Sakhi	BJP	52.29
Iglas	Malkhan Singh	BJP	45.64
Barauli	Dalver Singh	INC	41.03
Khairi	Gayawati	BJP	46.59

Source: Statistical Report of Election Commission of India: On the General Election of Uttar Pradesh, Legislative Assemblies, (Nirvachan Sadhan), New Delhi, 1996.

Appendix 1B (I)

Vote Percentage of Congress Party in Aligarh District, from 1980-1996

Constituencies	1980	1985	1989	1991	1993	1996
Hathars	27.86	38.16	26.05	10.32	4.19	-
Sasni (SC)	45.69	28.48	-	11.68	12.94	-
Sikandra Rao	31.32	16.66	10.79	3.14	17.94	-
Gangiri	39.79	39.94	22.03	1.64	15.05	29.36
Atrauli	37.74	37.04	44.88	29.21	40.97	33.84
Aligarh	28.19	39.49	10.84	6.20	7.12	-
Koil (SC)	32.65	40.24	39.45	9.53	5.83	-
Iglas	45.62	39.01	43.88	15.86	38.18	35.67
Barauli	43.31	46.00	32.46	16.58	13.63	41.03
Khair	41.62	30.37	35.11	12.15	17.38	28.08

Source: Statistical Report of Election Commission of India: On the General Elections of Uttar Pradesh, Legislative Assemblies, 1980-1996 (Nirvachan Sadhan), New Delhi.

Appendix 1B (II)

Vote Percentage of BJP in Aligarh District, from 1980-1996

Constituencies	1980	1985	1989	1991	1993	1996
Hathars	4.16	-	-	34.16	25.47	30.78
Sasni (SC)	3.10	-	-	44.92	45.40	39.63
Sikandra Rao	16.42	-	-	24.46	20.21	33.57
Gangiri	10.10	-	-	33.15	34.85	34.31
Atrauli	34.70	55.97	46.43	54.74	54.55	58.17
Aligarh	30.05	17.22	46.39	47.30	40.84	35.54
Koil (SC)	25.04	42.55	38.06	56.54	58.97	52.29
Iglas	-	-	-	29.23	27.81	45.64
Barauli	6.59	-	-	27.01	33.12	39.53
Khair	6.31	-	-	40.04	18.44	46.59

Source: Statistical Report of Election Commission of India: On the General Elections of Uttar Pradesh, Legislative Assemblies, 1980-1996 (Nirvachan Sadhan), New Delhi.

Appendix 1B (III)

Vote Percentage of Janta Dal (JD) in Aligarh District, from 1980-1996

Constituencies	1980	1985	1989	1991	1993	1996
Hathars	-	-	51.90	42.25	18.86	-
Sasni (SC)	-	-	50.90	21.85	14.92	24.49
Sikandra Rao	-	-	39.16	29.32	19.73	-
Gangiri	-	-	35.47	13.67	7.35	-
Atrauli	-	-	-	5.13	-	-
Aligarh	-	-	38.22	42.43	10.79	-
Koil (SC)	-	-	17.17	24.62	16.22	-
Iglas	-	-	43.8	32.07	14.79	-
Barauli	-	-	22.67	46.14	25.26	-
Khair	-	-	52.65	33.64	23.78	-

Source: Statistical Report of Election Commission of India: On the General Elections of Uttar Pradesh, Legislative Assemblies, 1980-1996 (Nirvachan Sadhan), New Delhi.

Appendix 1B (IV)

Vote Percentage of BSP in Aligarh District, from 1980-1996

Constituencies	1980	1985	1989	1991	1993	1996
Hathars	-	-	12.12	9.74	24.83	53.86
Sasni (SC)	-	-	11.78	13.49	23.31	34.70
Sikandra Rao	-	-	19.47	13.73	-	30.10
Gangiri	-	-	5.98	2.07	-	-
Atrauli	-	-	3.29	1.32	-	-
Aligarh	-	-	1.95	0.65	39.43	12.45
Koil (SC)	-	-	-	5.89	16.70	31.82
Iglas	-	-	5.27	11.20	1.42	-
Barauli	-	-	13.65	4.56	24.72	-
Khair	-	-	7.34	6.93	19.67	-

Source: Statistical Report of Election Commission of India: On the General Elections of Uttar Pradesh, Legislative Assemblies, 1980-1996 (Nirvachan Sadhan), New Delhi.

Appendix 1B (V)

Vote Percentage of SP in Aligarh District, from 1980-1996

Constituencies	1980	1985	1989	1991	1993	1996
Hathars	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sasni (SC)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sikandra Rao	-	-	-	-	36.62	10.48
Gangiri	-	-	-	-	38.83	33.80
Atrauli	-	-	-	-	1.34	-
Aligarh	-	-	-	-	-	53.10
Koil (SC)	-	-	-	-	-	14.06
Iglas	-	-	-	-	15.10	-
Barauli	-	-	-	-	-	-
Khair	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Statistical Report of Election Commission of India: On the General Elections of Uttar Pradesh, Legislative Assemblies, 1980-1996 (Nirvachan Sadhan), New Delhi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Government Reports

Census of India, Uttar Pradesh, Aligarh District, Series No. 22, 1981.

Census of India. pt.1 vol.2, Series No.1 1991.

Census of India. Uttar Pradesh Population, 1991.

Statistical Reports of Election Commission of India on Uttar Pradesh Assemble Elections vol. II, (Nirvachan Sadan), New Delhi, 1979-1980.

Statistical Report of Election Commission of India of India on Uttar Pradesh Assembly Elections vol.III, (Nirvachan Sadan), New Delhi 1984-85.

Statistical Report of Election Commission of India on Uttar Pradesh Assembly Elections vol.II, (Nirvachan Sadan), New Delhi, 1989-90.

Statistical Report of Election Commission on Uttar Pradesh Assembly Elections, Nirvachan Sadan, New Delhi, 1991.

Statistical Report of Election Commission of India on the Uttar Pradesh Assembly bye Elections. Nirvachan Sadan, New Delhi, 1993.

Statistical Report of Election Commission of India on General Election, Uttar Pradesh Assemblies, New Delhi, Nirvachan Sadan, 1996.

Books

Brass R. Paul, Fctional Politics in An Indian State: The Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1966.

Brass R. Paul, Caste, Faction and Party, in Indian Politics Chankya Publication Delhi, 1985.

Hasan Zoya, Dominance and Mobilisation: Rural Politics in Western Uttar Pradesh, Sage Publ. New Delhi, 1988.

Hasan Zoya, Quest For Power: Oppositional Movement and Post: Congress Politics in Uttar Pradesh, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.

Myron Winer & John Osgood Field: Electoral Politics in Indian States Party System and Cleavages vol.IV, Manohar Book Service, 1975.

Kothari Rajni, Party System and Election Studies, Allied Publ. 1967.

Chaudhary K.C., Congress in Free India, Neelaj Publ. 55A, Arjun Nagar, New Delhi, 1980.

Aggrawal, JC and Choudhary N.K., Election in India 1952-1996 Constituency Profiles, Results and Analysis Focusing Poll, Shipra Publ., Delhi, 1996.

Sinsikar, V.M. & Fernandes L. Indian Political Parties Meenakshi Publications, Meerut, 1984.

Pai Sudha, Uttar Pradesh Agrarian Change and Electoral Politics, Shipra Publ. Delhi, 1993.

Articles

Delip , Awasthe, The Battle Far Uttar Pradesh, India Today Nov. 15, 1995.

Mishra , Amaresh, Towards on U. P. Left Alliance, Economic and Political Weekly Dec. 30, vol.30, 1995.

Mishra , Amaresh, Uttar Pradesh Transfer of Power, Perambulations and Combinations, Economic and Political Weekly vol.32, Sept, 20, 1997.

Mishra , Armaresh, Uttar Pradesh, Opportunity for the Left, Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 30, Nov.18, 1995.

Mishra, Amaresh, Uttar Pradesh Ups Moves Under Cover of BSP Government. Economic and Political Weekly vol.30, July 8, 1995.

Pai, Sudha, Dalit Assertion in UP. Implication for Politics, Economic and Political Weekly, vol.32, Sept. 13, 1997.

Paul , Brass R., General Elections, 1996, Uttar Pradesh, Divisive Struggles Influences Outcome, Economic and Political Weekly, vol.32, Sept. 20, 1997.

Satik , Bagh Emergence of Coalition Politics Third Concept, Sept, 1997.

News Papers

The Times of India.

Ratriya Sahara

Hindustan Times

Amar Ujala,

Dainik Jagran