THE EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL PARTIES IN INDIAN POLITICS, 1952-1996 : A STUDY IN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

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Submitted by

PUSPITA DAS

Political Geography Division
Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament,
School of International Studies,
Jawaharlal Nehru University,
New Delhi-110067

1998

School of International Studies,
Centre of International Politics
Organisation and Disarmament
Political Geography Division

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **"The Emergence of Regional Parties in Indian Politics, 1952-1996: A Study in Political Geography"** submitted by **Ms. Puspita Das,** in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of this university has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other university. This is her original work.

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

Dr. Kanti Prasad Bajpai
Chairperson

Dr. S.S. Deora
Supervisor

Chairperson
Centre for International Politics,
Organization and Disarmament
School of International Studies,
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067

To
My Didi and Kuti

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PREFACE

The contemporary Indian political scene is dominated by the regional parties which are playing a decisive role in shaping the present and future politics of the Indian republic. The regional parties are the inevitable consequence of the multi-racial, multi-religious and multi lingual society like India. These deep rooted cleavages in the Indian society inspires a sense of regionalism which provides a fertile ground for the development of the regional parties. The regional parties take the causes and grievances of a particular community or region and try to articulate them in order to gain further mass support.

In the initial years of India's independence, the regional parties were either non-existent or they were comparatively weak. With the growing political awareness among the Indian masses, there arose a series of conflicts and agitations primarily on the ground of economic regionalism. The regional parties exploited these situations and grew in strength. With the breakdown of the "dominant party" system in India, the regional parties posed a tough challenge to the national parties. The failure of the national parties to secure adequate seats in the Lok Sabha to form governments at the centre forced them to seek help from the regional parties. With gaining of strength, the regional

parties filled the vacuum created by the national parties and ushered in an era of "coalition politics". The "coalition politics" had an immense impact on the centre-state relations. The regional parties claimoured for devolution of power and stressed for "cooperative federalism". The regional parties by emphasizing on amicable solution to the problems also strengthen the unity and integrity of the country.

The proposed research is an effort towards understanding the dynamics of the regional parties and its consequences on the national integration. The proposed research is divided into five chapters.

The *first chapter* i.e. the Introduction tries to assess the causes of the emergence of the regional parties in the present Indian political scene. It also provides a brief historical background of the elections held during pre-independence India.

The *second chapter* deals with the regionalisation of India according to the regional parties. It categories the regional parties according to their ideologies and areas of operation. It is observed that the regional parties though having more or less common origin tend to manifest diverse ideologies over the period of time. For example, the Asom Gana Parishad, Shiv Sena, Telugu Desam Party etc. are parties formed on the basis of nativist or "sons of the soil"

movement. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha and various parties in the north east are all examples of parties based on tribal movements. Likewise Akali Dal has religious ideologies. There are also caste based parties like the Bahujan Samaj Party, the Samata Party, DMK, AIADMK etc. This chapter also focuses on the performances of the regional parties in the successive general elections from 1952 to 1996.

The *third chapter* assesses the significance of the regional parties in terms of the functioning of the federal polity in the Indian politico-constitutional setup. Parties and the nature of the party system are one of the important political forces which shape the nature of the federal polity and the centre-state relations. The rise of the regional parties has led to a loosening of the tight constitutional mould in which federalism was cast. However, this has not been seen a continuous or smooth process, but viewed over number of distinct phases with the balance of power tilting back and forth, between the centre and the states. There has in fact been a development of a "Federal political culture" which is not antagonistic to a strong centre.

The *fourth chapter* provides an insight into the interaction between the centre and the regional parties and tussle between the centripetal and centrifugal forces. On one hand, the regional parties

are disengaged from national politics and priorities and primarily focus on regional and local issues. This may severely hamper the unity and integrity of the country. On the other hand, these regional parties provide an outlet for the regional and local grievances and participate in the elections under the constitutional framework of the country, thereby working together with the centre in finding amicable solutions of the problems which are plaguing the country. This leads to increased cooperation between the centre and periphery strengthening the centripetal forces.

The *fifth chapter* concludes the discussions of the preceding chapters.

The present study is based on primary and secondary sources. It analyses and interprets the available literature and data. Maps and diagrams are included for pictorial representation of the data.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Indian constitution vests sovereignty in the "People of India" and it is exercised through their elected representatives to the Parliament and the State Assemblies.[1] The democratic structure of the constitution is maintained by holding periodical elections to the Parliament and State Assemblies. The first general election in independent India was held in 1952. Since then elections had been held at regular intervals of time and the year 1996 marked the eleventh round of Lok Sabha elections.

India did have some electoral experience prior to 1947 especially in two elections, in the decade prior to independence in 1937 and 1945-46 which profoundly affected the political destinies of the people of the entire Sub-Continent and helped to determine the bases of political power in the two states that emerged at the end of the British rule.[2] However, the elections held in British India was a restricted franchise merely whetted the country's desire for full and universal adult suffrage. Restrictions were imposed on the right of

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[1] Aggarwal, J.C. and Choudhury, N.R., "Elections in India, 1952-56, constitutency profile, results and analysing focussing on Poll 1996", (Delhi : Shilpa Publications : 1996) p.1.

[2] Dikshit, (Dr.) S.K., "Electoral Geography of India", (Varanasi : Viswa Vidyalaya Prakashan : 1992) p.23.

INDIA : POLITICAL MAP

PAKISTAN

JAMMU AND KASHMIR
SRINAGAR

HIMACHAL PRADESH
SHIMLA

PUNJAB
CHANDIGARH

HARYANA

DELHI

CHINA

TIBET

NEPAL

150 75 0 150 300
KMS

BHUTAN

ARUNACHAL PRADESH
ITANAGAR

UTTAR PRADESH

LUCKNOW

RAJASTHAN
JAIPUR

PATNA

BIHAR

DISPUR ASSAM

NAGALAND
KOHIMA

SHILLONG
MEGHALAYA

IMPHAL
MANIPUR

BANGLA-DESH

GANDHINAGAR

GUJARAT

BHOPAL

MADHYA PRADESH

WEST BENGAL

CALCUTTA

AGARTALA
TRIPURA

AIZAWL
MIZORAM

DIU

DAMAN
SILVASSA
DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI

MAHARASHTRA

BOMBAY

ARABIAN SEA

ORISSA
BHUBANESHWARE

HYDERABAD

ANDHRA PRADESH

YANAM
(PONDICHERRY)

PANAJI
GOA

KARNATAKA

BANGALORE

MADRAS

BAY OF BENGAL

ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS

PORT BLAIR

MAHE
(PONDICHERRY)

LAKSHADWEEP

KAVARATTI

KERALA

TAMIL NADU

PONDICHERRY

KARAIKAL
(PONDICHERRY)

THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

SRI LANKA

INDIAN OCEAN

MAP _ 1

1 (a)

franchise on the ground of qualifications based on properties, payments of taxes, etc.[3]

With the country gaining Independence, Indian political scene was characterized and influenced by one dominant party i.e. the "Congress Party", for a considerable time. The Congress Party had played a very important role in India's independence struggle and it represented a kind of historical consensus and enjoyed a continuous support base.

However the successive eleven rounds of elections witnessed a gradual transformation of the Indian political scenario from one party dominance to a multi-party coalition politics. The gradual decline of the national parties and the emergence, persistence and the growing salience of the regional parties is one the most important political developments since independence.

Prior to the fourth general elections of 1967, Congress was the dominant party securing 70 to 80 percent of the seats, in the Parliament as well as the State Assemblies, but over the years it seems to have failed to live up to the expectations of the Indian masses. The party was not insulated from dissents and factionalism which led to its organisational breakdown. Many prominent leaders

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[3] Brass, Paul R., "Caste, faction and party in Indian politices, Vol.I, Election Studies", (Delhi : Chanakya Publications : 1985) p.11.

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left the party and formed their own parties or joined other parties. The repercussions were felt in the 1967 elections when it suffered severe reverses. It lost to other non-Congress and regional parties in 8 out of the 16 states which went to the polls, as a result of which, it had to form government both at centre and state level with the help of other regional parties like the Dravid Munnetra Kazhagham (DMK) of Tamil Nadu.

The 1967 general elections was a turning point in the political history of India. It witnessed the emergence and consolidation of regional forces. The DMK and Akali Dal came to power in their respective states of Tamil Nadu and Punjab. The 1967 elections also ushered in an era of coalition polities in India. These processes were further strengthened in the subsequent elections when other regional parties like Telugu Desam, Asom Gana Parishad, National Conference, etc. came to power in their respective states of Andhra Pradesh, Assam and Jammu and Kashmir. At the national level, these regional parties played a very decisive role in the formation of central government. They were united under the banner of "United Front" or "National Front" with a sole objective of keeping the dominant national party (i.e. the Indian National Congress) at bay. They tried to form coalition governments at the centre in 1978-79, 1989-90 and in 1996-1997. But till date their efforts to sustain themselves in power

met with little success. Because the heterogeneous parties adhered to diammetrically opposite principles, as a result of which, it was very difficult to arrive at a consensus. Nevertheless, their rapid emergence, persistence and power sharing partnership in some states and centre after 1967 elections have added to the legitimacy of the regional parties.

"Regional parties are those which generally and exclusively operate in a limited geographical area within a state or which represent the interests of a particular linguistic, religious, ethnic or cultural group whose population may be concentrated in a small area as small as a single assembly constituency or as large as entire state or region. In respect to their narrowly defined interests, regional parties stand in sharp contrast to the broad ranging concerns of national parties."[4]

The influence and sustainance of the regional parties are basically derived from a concentrated support from a particular geographical area. Since they project local or regional grievances the regional parties enjoy a more or less stable support from the mass which thereby proves beneficial for their sustainance. It is all the

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[4] Banerjee, (Dr.) Kishlay, "Regional political parties in India", (Delhi : B.R. Publishing Corporation : 1984) p.3.

more beneficial when these regional parties come to power in the state in coalition which other parties.

The phenomenal rise of the regional parties in the post-independence India is the consequence of complex interrelated factors like regional consciousness along with different permutation and combinations of social, economic and political factors. India is perceived to be a "country consisting of regions".[5] Language and ethnicity provide the bases for regional identity and regional cohesion. So, the first manifestation of regional identity was in the form of demand for linguistic reorganisation of the states. This demand was amply highlighted by the regional parties and by garnering support from the regional and local masses they came to power.

However, when the states were reorganised among the linguistic line as per the Linguistic State Reorganisation Act of 1956, many smaller sub cultural groups in the states started harping the tune of cultural discrimination. They asserted the topic of ethnicity and tribal identity. As a result of which many politically - motivated groups sprang up especially in the North-East protecting against the

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[5] Khan, Rasheeduddhin, "Political and socio-cultural determinants of Indian Federalism" in K.R. Bombwall (Ed.), 'National Power and State Autonomy', (Meerut : Asian Publishing House : 1978) p.122.

Assam State Language Act of 1960. They demanded the formation of tribal states. Another aspect through which ethnicity was manifested was the articulation of the local grievances against "the outsiders" which they perceived were exploiting the local resources thereby depriving them of economic development.

Moreover, the regional parties are almost an inevitable political development as a consequence of the inauguration of the constitution endorsing a federal polity as the federal organisation demands the recognition of regional, local and territorial identity. More political awareness leads to the emergence of regional parties promoting and articulating local or regional issues. The establishment of such parties marks the 'transition from the traditional class politics to democratic mass politics.'[6]

The secularisation of caste also catalysed the rise of regional parties based on primordial lies. The crystallisation of electoral process as a result of universal adult franchise, spread of literacy, land reforms and Panchayati Raj led to a tussle between the elite upper caste and the numerically preponderant middle and lower castes which redefined the superior subordinate caste relationships. The economic development of the middle caste led to the gaining of

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[6] Sadasivan, S.N., "Party and Democracy in India", (New Delhi : Tata Mcgrow New Publishing Co. : 1977) p.116.

political strength who now successfully challenged the upper caste. On the other hand the lower peasantry and lower caste got dissatisfied with the new emergent middle castes who defied the prevalent system of patronage through the vulgar display of wealth and political strength. They felt that they are the deprived lot. They started uniting under those regional and local parties who were airing the local grievances of lower caste and peasantry.[7]

Apart from these, the notion of uneven economic development of many regions led to the formation of many regional parties. The regional parties which are deeply rooted in regional issues and grievances projected the regional imbalance and protested against it. They demanded separate state status to the economically underdeveloped regions and also demanded more resources for the development of these regions. Some regional parties also protested against the perceived economic exploitation of their local resources by the "outsiders" thereby demanding the ouster of the "outsiders".

Moreover, at the national level, the decline of the congress party, its organisational breakdown leading to its failure to assimilate diverse small groups resulted in the creation of a political vacuum. This situation immensely helped the other non-Congress parties

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[7] Kothari, Rajni, "Politics and the people; in search of a Humane India, Vol.I", (Delhi : Ajanta Publications : 1989) pp.105-108.

especially the regional parties as they represented platforms for voicing regional and local issues and could absorb particular groups, a movement hitherto a part of Congress. Now, these regional parties growing in political strength rushed to fill the political vacuum at national level by ushering in an era of coalition governments.

Last but not the least, the over centralisation of politics by the dominant parties didnot allow the smaller regional parties to voice their concerns. They had to conform to the national leaderships. And a feeling of Pan-Indianism which was imposed upon them during the movement of freedom struggle and thereafter, led to discontentment among the regional masses and created fertile ground for the regional parties to emerge and strike back. Moreover, the coercive tactics of the central government/leadership to topple the democratically elected government at the state level further accentuated the feeling of deprivation and frustration among the regional parties.

Several studies have been conducted on national parties but there is a dearth of material on the regional parties. This may be attributed to the fact that regional parties have come to fore in recent years only. Earlier they existed but didnot exert any importance. That's why studies have been carried on only for some important regional parties which came to power viz. the Dravida Munnetra

Kazhagham (DMK) of Tamil Nadu and Akali Dal of Punjab. However, an assessment of the available literatures do highlight the fact that there exist diverse views on the causes and consequences of the emergence of the regional parties in India.

Robert Hardgrave (1983), while agreeing that roots of regionalism lay in India's cultural and linguistic diversity, primarily sees this phenomenon as a response of regional parties to the ideological spectrum for greater autonomy for the states due to the increasing centralisation of power in both government and Congress party under Indira Gandhi. It is the politicisation of the identities of the individual like language and religion as the sources in the emergence of regionalism apart from other factors, as the author notes "projected in geographical terms it (Regionalism) is at the State level both an ethnic and economic phenomenon. It is an expression of heightened political consciousness, expanding participation and increasing competition for scarce resources. Competition by the states for central assistance, central financial allocation and plan investments, and for the individual, it involves access to education and jobs. Economic grievances expressed in charges of unfairness, discrimination on centre neglect may be fused with cultural anxiety

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over language status and ethnic balance. It is this fusion that gives regionalism its potency."[8]

Sukhwal (1989), submits that the emergence of the regional parties are a consequence of the failure of the Congress party. He holds the view that the regional parties will exert positive influence in the national developmental efforts and international issues.[9]

Bombwall (1985), in his work highlights the fact that the regional parties is the outcome of regionalism which denotes a "territorially based identity consciousness rooted in the shared language and culture of people living on a more less compact territory."[10] He notes that the regional parties have made politics more competitive and popular participation especially at the grass root votes. He views that the regional parties will have a tremendous impact on the centre-state relationship.

Rajni Kothari (1989), submits that India is a plural society and he emphasises that the emergence of the regional parties is because of public discontentment with one party dominance i.e. the Congress

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[8] Hardgrave, Robert L., "The North-East Punjab and the remobilisation of Indian politics", Asian Survey, Vol.XXIII, No.11, Nov.'83, p.1171.

[9] Sukhwal, B.L., "Modern Political Geography of India", (New Delhi : Sterling Publishers : 1985).

[10] Bombwall, K.R., "Regional political parties in India", in S.A. Bhatnagar, et al (ed.) "Regional Parites in India", (New Delhi : ESS ESS Publications : 1985) p.2.

party. He stresses that there are other factors like social-conflicts, ethnic identity, secularisation of caste, etc. which helped in consolidation of the regional parties in various parts of this country. He, however, holds a negative view regarding these regional parties which according to him are threat to the national integration and cautions the electorate against them.[11]

S.N. Misra (1997), stresses that the regional party which is the product of regionalism is the natural result of fast political development and modernisation. He writes, "Regionalism in India is a complex amalgam of economic, geographical, historico-cultural, politico - administrative and psyche factor."[12] He while taking up the relation between regionalism and nationalism notes that it is only in its extreme and negative form, it assumes secessionist posture and becomes a threat to national integration.

Iqubal Narain (1984), acknowledge positive contribution of regional identity, as it embodies a quest for self-fulfillment on the part of the people of an area, and this urge of regional identity is not necessarily antithetical to the urge for a national identity as both these identities can be reconciled, provided the 'politico-bureaucratic

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[11] Kothari, Rajni, Op. cit.

[12] Mishra, S.N. "Politics of Regionalism in India with Spl. Refernce to Punjab", (New Delhi : Deep and Deep Publications : 1997) p.16.

and educational elite'[13] as he terms it, possesses the necessary will to reconcile. He further notes that regionalism reflects, in negative sense, a psyche of relative deprivation on the part of a people of an area which may be real or nurtured deliberately by the powers that can be in a milieu characterised by politics of scarcity in India.

Pradeep Kumar (1984), asserts the prevalence of fear psyche among the religious minority which gives rise to communal regionalism.[14] He notes that the demand of Akalis for separate state in the 60's and the claimour of more autonomy and power to the state in the 70's is the desire of the religious minorities to preserve their identity and further their interest in their community.

Akhtar Mazeed (1984), views that the regional parties are the outcome of the uneven economic development in a multi-ethnic society like India. Many ethnic groups harboured the fear of being left out in the race to development, tend to air their grievances and draw

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[13] Narain, Iqbal, "Regionalism; a conceptual analysis in the Indian context", in Akhtar Mazeed (ed.) "Development tension in India", (New Delhi : Cosmo Publications : 1984) p.22.

[14] Kumar Pradeep, "Communal dimensions of regionalism in Indian Federation; a study of trends in Akali politics", in Akhter Mazeed (ed) "Development tensions in India", (New Delhi : Cosmo Publications : 1984) p.25.

the attention of the central government towards them through the regional parties.[15]

Amalendu Guha (1982), says that the dual nature of Indian nationalism which was anti-colonial operated at two levels - at the all India level, the anti colonial struggle united the people belonging to diverse communities transcending the barrier of caste, language, religion etc. simultaneously it also awakened the nascent linguistic nationality which sowed the seeds for the rise of the regional parties.[16]

Sudhir Chander (1982), also agrees with the fact that the regional consciousness was slowly emerging along the national consciousness during the process of national movement, which was later exploited by the parties with regional perspectives.[17]

Prakash Karat (1984), stresses the fact that during the freedom struggle the national and regional consciousness were merged towards by prominent Congress leaders like Gandhi and Nehru. But, after independence, the Congress leadership were reluctant to

[15] Mazeed, Akhtar (ed), "Developmental Tensions in India", (New Delhi : Comos Publications : 1984).

[16] Guha, Amalendeu, "The Indian National Question", Economic and Political Weekly, July 1982, p.4.

[17] Chander, Sudhir, "Regional conciousness in 19th Century India : A preliminary note", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.XVII, August 7, 1982, pp.1275-83.

concede the demands of the regional parties for separate identities and tried to suppress them. As a result, the regional parties consolidated their positions in their respective regions and pose a challenge to the central leadership.[18]

R.N. Mishra (1984), holds the view that India had cultural identity and different geographical regions have developed distinct cultural identities. The realisation of this fact led to the process of regionalism. He says that the growth of regionalism or sub-nationalism, however, donot pose a threat to national integration.[19]

Sudha Pai (1990), is of the view that regional parties are here to stay and they will lead to the decentralisation of power and strengthen the Indian federal set up.[20]

Shaheen Akhtar (1997), believes that the emergence of regional parties is a consequence of long drawn process and that they have an important note to play in the future Indian polities.[21]

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[18] Karat, Prakash, "Problems of National Unity, Historical and Econmic roots of Regionalism", Social Scientist, Vol.12(9), Sept.'84, p.55.

[19] Mishra, R.N., "Regionalism and State Politics in India", (New Delhi : Ashish Publications : 1984).

[20] Pai, Sudha, "Regional Parties and the emerging pattern of politics in India", Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol.51(3), July-Sept.'90, pp.393-415.

[21] Akhtar, Shaheen, "Lok Sabha Elections, 1996", Regional Studies, Vol.XV, No.(2), Spring 1997, pp.3-68.

Perveen Farhat (1997), says that the regional parties are parochial in nature and in near future the national parties have to seek the support of these parties for the formation of the central or state government there by giving in to the parochial interest.[22]

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[22] Farhat, Parveen, "Ascendency of Regional forces in Indian politics", <u>Regional Studies</u>, Vol.XV, no.1, Winter 1996-97, pp.142-169.

CHAPTER II

PERFORMANCE OF REGIONAL PARTIES
IN GENERAL ELECTIONS

India is a vast country characterised by a great diversity in her physical features. Nevertheless, there is a broad homogeneity in their physical characteristics such as relief, geomorphological history, drainage, climate, vegetation, and soil which helps in the identification of region. Broadly, India is divided in three macro physiographic divisions viz.

1. **The Himalayan Region**

2. **The North Indian Plain**

3. **The Plateau**[1]

The above mentioned regions are inhabited by people belonging to different racial stocks. Their socio-economic, cultural and political milieu is the manifestation of the interaction and interrelationship with their physical environment. Consequently, each region has its own life-style, problems and aspirations. These problems and aspirations are highlighted manifested, and articulated by people belonging to different political parties who identify

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[1] Raza, Moonis, *et al*, "India, General Geography", (New Delhi : NCERT : 1990) p.8.

INDIA
PHYSIOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

150 75 0   150   300

KMS

BAY OF BENGAL

ARABIAN
SEA
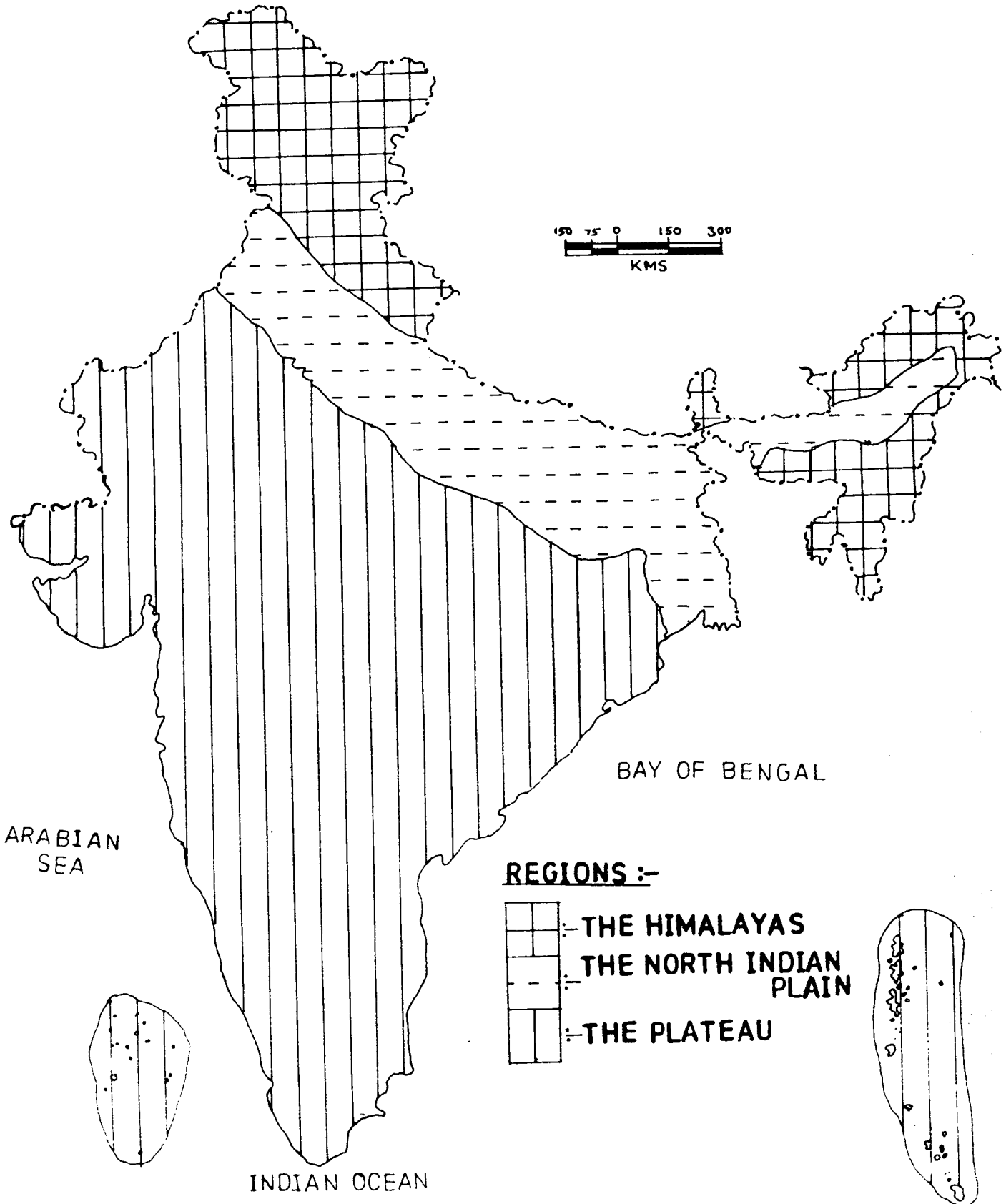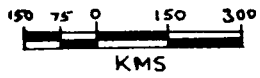
REGIONS :-

:- THE HIMALAYAS

:- THE NORTH INDIAN
            PLAIN

:- THE PLATEAU

INDIAN OCEAN

MAP - 2   16-(a)
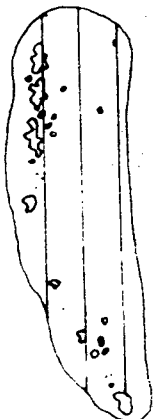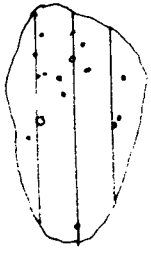
themselves with the people of their particular regions. The people of the particular community or region support these political parties who they think will try to solve their problems. This attitude leads to the emergence of regional parties along with certain electoral patterns which reflect the politico-geographical variation of the region concerned.

The electoral performance of the regional parties in the successive parliamentary elections is analysed according to the broad physiographic divisions of India, viz., **The Himalayan Region,** consisting of the states of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Darjeeling,* Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura. **The North Indian Plains**, includes the states and union territories of Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Chandigarh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Assam. **The Plateau** consists of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Daman and Diu, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, Goa, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Pondicherry and the islands of Aandaman and Nicobar and Lakshadweep.

THE HIMALAYAN REGION

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* Darjeeling (politically part of West Bengal) is included in Himalayan region due to its similarity with other Himalayan states.

The Himalayan Region encompasses the north and the north-eastern part of the country. It is characterised by lofty mountains and deep valleys. The terrain is highly rugged with steep gradients making it the most inaccessible part of the Indian sub-continent. The climate also displays a variance which gives rise to difference in the natural vegetation as well. It is inhabited, in general, by tribals who have their own customs and traditions which are quite different from other regions of India. The electoral performances of the regional parties are carried on statewise.

Jammu and Kashmir was integrated in the Indian union in 1947. It has 6 Parliamentary seats. Jammu and Kashmir took part in the fourth general elections in 1967 for the first time. Prior to this, it used to send its representatives to the Lok Sabha. The Jammu and Kashmir "**National Conference**" is the prominent regional party of Jammu and Kashmir. This party was formed prior to independence to overthrow the monarchy in Kashmir. After independence, it abandoned its communal character. It caters to the Kashmiri interests who are basically confined to the Kashmir valley. In 1975, it reached an agreement with the union government and merged with the congress. It was, however, revived and rechristened as "**National Conference**". In the 1967 Lok Sabha elections it secured only one seat polling 24.9% of the votes. In 1977, it won two Lok Sabha seats and

got 33.9% of the votes. In 1980 **Lok Sabha** polls it increased the tally to 3 Lok Sabha seats and secured 36.9% of the votes. In 1984 and 1989 Lok Sabha polls it again bagged 3 Lok Sabha seats each with 46.2% and 6.8% of the votes respectively. In 1991, Lok Sabha elections could not be held due to increased disturbances in the state. The **National Conference** did not contest the 1996 parliamentary elections.

Sikkim became the 22nd state of the Indian Union in 1975. It has one seat in the Lok Sabha. Different regional parties emerged in different points of time in this state. Sikkim is inhabited by Nepalese speaking population of Mongloid origin. Sikkim first went to the parliamentary polls in 1980, and the lone Lok Sabha seat was won by the **Sikkim Janata Parishad**. In 1989 and 1991, the Lok Sabha seat was wrested and retained by the **Sikkim Sangram Parishad. Sikkim Sangram Parishad** was formed by a congress rebel, Nar Bahadur Bhandari. The party demanded reservation of seats in state assembly for the Nepalese. In 1989 Lok Sabha elections, the **Sikkim Sangram Parishad** polled 68.5% of the votes. In 1991, it got an overwhelming 90.1% of the votes. In 1996, the Lok Sabha seat was won by **Sikkim Democratic Front**, headed by Pawan Kumar Chamling. It recommended the implementation of the Mandal Commission report which would include the Nepalese of Mongloid origin. This party got 72.7% of the votes.

In **Darjeeling** and the adjoining hill areas, the Gorkhas of the Nepalese origin are numerically preponderant. The assertion of their identity is well articulated by the **Gorkha National Liberation Front** founded by Subhas Ghising. **The** party demands a separate Gorkhaland within the Indian union in order to safeguard the Gorkha identity and interests. The GNLF contested the polls in 1980 but failed to get any seats but it managed to secure 0.5% of the votes. In 1989 parliamentary elections, it got one seat and polled 1.4% of the votes. The Party, however, did not contest the 1996 elections as according to them the centre failed to define the status of Darjeeling and Kalimpong as "no man - no lease land".

Regional parties in the north-east constitute a distinct group. They face special problems which largely shape their perceptions, perspectives and political strategies.[2] It is predominantly a tribal area inhabited by more than 150 odd tribes with numerous clans and sub clans of immense diversity. Cultural heterogeneity is quite conspicuous in a conglomeration of myriad ethnic groups and it is the preservation of tribal heritage rather than manifestation of chauvinistic patriotism that often matters to the most of tribes in the

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[2] Bombwall, K.R., "Regional Parties in Indian Politics : A Preview", (Delhi : ESS ESS Publications : 1989) p.9.

region.[3] This was further accentuated by the fact that they belong to altogether different racial stock and were not much exposed to the national freedom movement. Moreover, the lack of adequate commercial links, cultural and economic contacts with rest of the country created a persisting feeling of psychological distance from the Indians outside the region. They remained cocooned in their own world shielded from the outside world by high mountains and inaccessible terrain. Despite sincere efforts by the central government to bring the tribal people in the mainstream of Indian politics through various developmental project works and instil a feeling of Indianess, the region remained occupied with its own internal problems relating to socio-cultural integration.

There are numerous regional parties in the north-eastern states. They are basically confined to the states and articulate the demands and aspirations of the tribal groups residing in the respective states. The performance of the regional parties in the successive general parliamentary elections is analysed statewise.

The first Lok Sabha elections in **Arunachal Pradesh** were held in 1977, after it was given the status of a union territory in 1972. In Arunachal Pradesh, Congress emerged as the dominant party winning

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[3] Michael, (Captain) St. John F., "The North-East Frontier of India", (New Delhi : Vivek Publications : 1973) pp.10-11.

all the parliamentary elections till 1991. In 1996 elections, 2 independent candidates won both the parliamentary seats with the tacit support of the Chief Minister of the state. The Chief Minister, then belonged to the Congress Party, but he was not happy with the centre's decision to grant citizenship to the thousands of Chakma and Hajong refugees from Bangladesh who were rehabilitated in the state during 1960s. The **Peoples Party of Arunachal (PPA)** was another party which was primarily opposed to the Congress Party. It failed to secure a single parliamentary seat but did get a sizeable percentage of votes. In 1980 Lok Sabha polls, it got 40.2% of the votes. In 1984 its votes share fell to 0.69%, but surprisingly increased to 35.2% in 1989 parliamentary polls. It, however, merged with Janata Dal in 1991.

Manipur, after independence was integrated with India in October 1949. It was made a union territory in 1956 and in January 21, 1972 it achieved full statehood. The most prominent regional party of Manipur is the **Manipur Peoples' Party (MPP)**. The **Manipur Peoples' Party** asserted and articulated the Manipuri's interests. It fought for the inclusion of the Manipuri language in the eight schedule of the Indian constitution. It was firmly against any secession of its Naga inhabited territory to Nagaland which had been seeking consolidation

of contiguous areas including those areas across the border.[4] **Manipur Peoples' Party** fought the Lok Sabha elections for the first time in 1971. It, however, never managed to secure a Lok Sabha seat except in 1991 elections. It always ended up second only to Congress party. In 1971 Lok Sabha polls, it secured 12% of the votes. In 1977, the MPP campaigned vigorously but managed to increase its votes share to 20%. In 1980, it was relegated to the third position with 6.9% of the total votes cast. In 1984 and 1989 parliamentary elections, it secured 17.7% and 17.4% of the votes share. In 1991 polls, it managed to secure one Lok Sabha seat with 20% of the votes. In 1996, it was badly routed.

Meghalaya was carved out of Assam as an autonomous region in April 2, 1970. It became a full-fledged state on January 21, 1972. It has 2 Lok Sabha seats. Meghalaya does not have any prominent regional party. Its political scene was dominated by Congress till 1991. In 1996 parliamentary elections, however, a consensus candidate of **Meghalaya Federation** won one parliamentary seat.

Mizoram, the erstwhile Lushai hill district of Assam, was made a union territory in 1972. It became the 23rd state of India in 1987. It has one Lok Sabha seat. The most prominent regional party of

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[4] Shivlal, "Indian Elections since Independence", (New Delhi : The elections archieves : 1972) p.110.

Mizoram is the **Mizo National Front (MNF)**. It was MNF under the leadership of Laldenga who had given a call for a sovereign Mizoram in 1965, and the underground hostilities of MNF had stepped up military operations in Mizoram. But the signing of the "Mizoram Accord" by Laldenga with the government of India on June 30, 1986 brought peace to the region and the subsequent inauguration of statehood ensued stability and cessation of hostilities.[5] The MNF fought the first Lok Sabha elections in 1989 and since then it unsuccessfully contested all the elections. It however, did manage to increase the percentage of votes share from 31.3% in 1989 elections to 34.1% in 1991 and finally to 37.6% in the 1996 parliamentary elections.

Nagaland, the former Naga Hills district of Assam and the former Tueusang Frontier division of the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) was made a centrally administered area in 1957, conferred the status of a state in January 1961, Nagaland was officially inaugurated on December 1, 1963. It has one seat in the Parliament. The main regional party is the **United Democratic Front (UDF)**. This party pledged to work for a "final negotiated settlement" of a political problem in the spirit of reconciliation and unification of all Naga

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[5] Rahamatullah, R., "Obsolesceness of Nationalism : An appraisal of anatomy forces in North Eastern India", in Bhatnagars, *et al* (ed), Regional Political Parties in India", (New Delhi : ESS ESS Publications : 1966), p.24.

areas.[6] The first election for the Nagaland Lok Sabha seat was held in 1967. It was won by **Nagaland National Organisation**. In 1971, the **United Front of Nagaland (UFN)** the forerunner of UDF won the lone Lok Sabha seat with 60.5% of the votes. The **Nagaland National Organisation** could secure only 39.5% of the votes share. In 1977 the UDF won the Lok Sabha seat and polled 51.7% The **Nagaland National Organisation** merged with the Congress in 1977. The UDF in 1980 was relegated to a second position with 49% of the votes. In 1984, the Lok Sabha seat was won by the **Nagaland Democratic Party** with 29.3% of the votes. After the 1984 parliamentary elections, however, all the regional parties in Nagaland lost their significance, giving a dominant rote to the Congress Party.

   Tripura became a union territory on September 1st 1956 and acquired statehood on January 21, 1972. Tripura has two parliamentary seats. Tripura politics has been greatly influenced by the tribal non-tribal rivalries. Before 1947, the tribals - Tripuris, Chakmas, Riangs, Halmas, Tamatias and other thirteen groups constituted nearly 78% of Tripura's population. But huge influx of the Hindu refugees from across the border changed the demographic structure of the state and native tribals into a minority. The **Tripura**

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[6] Shivlal, Op. Cit., p. 30

Upajati Juba Samiti (TUJS) founded by Deb Burman agitated for their language, restoration of lands transferred to non-Tribals and formation of autonomous district councils for administering the tribal areas.[7] It fought the 1977 and 1980 Lok Sabha elections and secured 6.2% and 13.5% of the votes respectively. Another regional party formed to counter the TUJS was **Amara Bengali**. This party championed the cause of the Bengali population of the state. This party fought the 1989 and 1991 elections. It could secured only 3% and 1.1% votes respectively.

THE INDIAN PLAINS

The Himalayan ranges overlook the great Indo-Gangetic Plain, stretching in an area from sea to sea and drained by the mighty streams of the Indus, the Ganga and the Brahmaputra, alongwith their tribularies. There rivers have played an important role in the emergence and sustenance of the early civilization. They have also contributed significantly to the cultural ethos of the Indian people. The plains is an area of relatively level relief and its comparatively uniform surface is as impressive as its vast extent.[8]

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[7] Janardhan Thakur, "The Travails of Tripura", The Hindustan Times, Sunday Magazine, New Delhi, Jan.4, 1987.

[8] Raza, Moonis, Op.Cit.

Unlike the Hills, the Plains is inhabited by the people of different castes, creed and religion. However, the development of transport and communication throughout the plains has led to a better intermingling of diverse populations, giving rise to almost similar socio-economic, cultural and political environment. The states and union territories which form the part of the **North Indian Plains** are Punjab, Haryana, Chandigarh, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Assam.

Punjab was formed out of Punjab and Patiala and East Punjab Union (PEPSU) under the state reorganisation Act of 1956. In 1966, Punjab was further divided into the States of Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and the union territory of Chandigarh. Punjab is divided into three parts, the Malwa, Doaba and the Majha. Punjab has 13 seats in the parliament. It has a majority of Sikh population and the scheduled castes comprise 28.5% of the population of Punjab. The Punjab politics was always dominated by the **Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD)**, founded in the year (14th December) 1920 to, wrest the Mahantas' control over the Gurudwaras. Subsequently, they assumed the role of representing the Sikh communities' sentiments, and fought to perform its role as a political party by striving to create an environment conducive to its political aspiration by highlighting the issues concerning the Sikh religion, culture and tradition, and the

control concept of Piri and Miri. After independence, the SAD fought the Lok Sabha elections. The main issues, apart from the above mentioned, for which they fought was creation of a Punjabi Suba (which materialised with the creation of the state of Punjab in 1966), decentralisation to give wider powers to the states and the abolition of the Presidents power to dismiss state governments. In 1952 Lok Sabha polls, the SAD secured 2 Lok Sabha seats polling 12.3% of the votes. In 1957, the SAD was divided into Akali Dal headed by Fateh Singh (ADFS) and the Akali Dal headed by Master Tara Singh. The ADFS emerged winner in 1957 parliamentary polls with 3 sets and 22.6% of the votes share. In 1971, the SAD managed to get only one seat with 30.99% of the votes. In 1977, SAD performed exceptionally well by wining 7 Lok Sabha seats and 42.3% of the votes. This win can be attributed to a strong anti-Congress wave which was witnessed throughout the country then. In 1980, the SAD managed to secure only one Lok Sabha seat with 23.4% of the votes share. In 1985, after signing of the accord between Sant Longwal and Rajiv Gandhi, the SAD secured 7 Lok Sabha seats and 37.2% of the seats. Between 1988-89, during height of political disturbance in Punjab, the SAD got divided into numerous factions. In 1989 the Akali Dal headed by Simranjeet Singh Mann emerged victorians with 6 Lok Sabha and 29.2% of the votes share. In 1992, the SAD boycotted the

parliamentary as well as the **State Assembly** elections. The SAD participated in the 1996 elections and once again emerged victorious with 8 Lok Sabha seats and 29.7% of the votes polled Another party which gained prominence in recent years in Punjab is the **Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)**. The **Bahujan Samaj Party** broadly speaking is a regional party formed in 1989 by Kanshi Ram. This party articulates the interests of the downtrodden of the society especially the scheduled castes or the Dalits. The popularity of BSP in Punjab is attributed to the fact that largest percentage of scheduled caste population resides in Punjab. In 1989 elections, the BSP secured one seat and 8.6% of the votes. In 1992, it again got one Lok Sabha seat but its votes share increased to 19.7%. In 1996, the BSP secured 3 seats with an immensely reduced 9.47% of the votes cast.

Haryana was carved out of the Hindi speaking areas of Punjab in 1966. It became a full fledged state on January 27, 1971. It has 10 Lok Sabha seats. Generally speaking, the political scene of Haryana was always dominated by national parties. Nevertheless, it has its own regional parties which are launched by prominent personalities of Haryana politics and they grow and survive till the charisma of its founding father lasts. In the 1970s, the **Vishal Haryana Party (VHP)** was formed by Rao Birendra Singh. It had a clout in the Ahir dominated areas of Haryana. The VHP fought the Lok Sabha elections

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in 1971 for the first time. It managed to secure one seat and polled 9.1% of the votes cast. In the 1977 Lok Sabha elections, it failed to win any seats but managed to get votes share of 4.6%. Finally the VHP merged with the Janata Dal. In 1991 Lok Sabha elections, another regional party the **Haryana Vikas Party (HVP)** formed by Bansi Lal secured one seat and got 5.4% of the votes. In 1996, the HVP got 3 seats with 15.2% of the votes share. Another regional party the **Samajwadi Janata Party (SJP)** headed by Devi Lal fought the 1991 elections but failed to secure single seat even polling an impressive 25.4% of the votes.

Uttar Pradesh, the former United Province has 85 Lok Sabha seats, the maximum number of seats in the Parliament. It has substantial population belonging to different castes, communities which helped the emergence of many regional parties. So, case and community always play an important role in the UP politics. Despite this fact, Uttar Pradesh politics has always been dominated by the national parties especially the Congress Party. Right from 1952, all the parliamentary seats were won by the national parties till 1996. In 1996, the **Samajwadi Party (SJP)** which was formed by Mulayam Singh in 1991, emerged second with 16 Lok Sabha seats with 20.8% of votes. The Samajwadi Party caters to the interest of the intermediate castes or the Other Backward Castes (OBC). The third position

acquired by **Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)** catering to the interests of the Dalits. It polled 20.6% of the votes and got 6 seats.

Adjoining Uttar Pradesh is the state of **Bihar**. Its socio-economic, cultural and political environment is quite similar to U.P. Caste is again an important factor of Bihar polls. It has 54 seats in the Parliament. Bihar's southern part, i.e. the Chhotanagpur plateau, is inhabited by the tribals having their own ways of life. It is however included in the **North Indian Plains** because its political destiny is linked with the political happenings in the state of Bihar. The **Jharkhand Party (JHP)** was formed to highlight and safeguard the needs of the tribal people of Bihar. Interestingly it was formed prior to independence. This party clamoured for separate statehood for the regions inhabited by the tribals in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa because it perceived the tribal interests threatened by the non tribal population which seemed to be gradually exploiting the tribals and usurping the tribal land. The Jharkhand Party contested all the Lok Sabha elections since 1952 and managed to stay in the fray all through. In 1952, JHP secured 3 seats and polled 7.5% of the votes. In 1957, it got 6 Lok Sabha seats but the percentage of the votes remained the same. In 1957, another minor party the **Chhotanagpur and Santhal Pargana Janata Party** secured 3 seats and polled 4.9% of the votes. In 1962 elections, the JHP got 3 seats

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and polled 4.7% of the votes. In 1967 it got merged with the Congress Party. In 1977, the **All India Jharkhand Party**, a new regional party, contested one seat and polled 0.6% of the vote. In 1991, the **Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM)** headed by Shibu Soren secured 6 Lok Sabha seats and polled 4.5% of the votes. In 1996, a new regional party the **Samata Party (SP)** founded by Nitish Kumar articulating the needs of the intermediate caste of Bihar like the Kurmis and Keoris, managed to secure 6 Lok Sabha seats and polled 14.5%$ of the votes. Its alliance with BJP was the major cause of its success. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha could secure only one seat and polled 3.01% of the votes share.

In **West Bengal**, the political scene is dominated by the Communist Party (Marxist) and the Congress. However, in 1967 the **Bangla Congress**, a state party founded by the defectors from Congress Party managed to secure 5 seats and polled 9.4% of the votes. But this party later got dissipated.

Assam has 14 Lok Sabha seats. Barak and the Brahmaputra valley are the two major regions of the now remaining state of Assam. The political scene of Assam has always been turbulent and it was affected by internal as well as externally induced disturbances. In the 1950s and 60s, when small tribal dominated hill states were part of

Assam, there were demands for separate states which were thought to be safeguarding the interests of the tribal people. In the 1952 and the 1957 Lok Sabha elections, even though there were intrinsic border problems with Nagaland this was not considered as a major issue. The **All Peoples' Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC)** formed in 1960 clamoured for separate hill state or the introduction of Scottish pattern of administration for autonomous hill districts. In 1962 elections, the APHLC secured one Lok Sabha seat and got 3.7% of the votes polled. In 1971, it again won one seat by polling 3% of the votes cast. After the 1971 elections the APHLC lost its appeal as all the tribal dominated areas were either converted into states or union territories. Soon after the calling off of the agitation by the tribal people demanding separate state, Assam was again plagued by another disturbance of different nature. This was the successive incessant waves of muslim Bangladeshi refugees which were gradually and illegally filtering from the adjoining Bangladesh. The peace loving and tolerant Assamese eventually realised that the illegal immigrants were fast altering the demographic structure of the state and increasing their clout in state politics. This was detrimental to the Assamese interests. This situation was articulated by **Asom Gana Parishad (AGP)**. It was formed out of the students agitating against the ever-increasing influx of the illegal Bangladeshi refugees

in the seventies and eighties with the connivance of Indian politicians. To end the agitation, the AGP signed an accord with the union government. It contested the 1985 Lok Sabha elections for the first time. It got 7 seats and polled 33.4% of the votes. In the same elections the **United Minorities Front (UMF)** furthering the interests of mainly the illegal muslim refugees from Bangladesh or the erstwhile East Pakistan got one seat and polled 13% of the votes. Elections were not held in 1989 due to increased political disturbance. In 1991, the AGP secured only one seat with 17.6% of the votes. the Congress emerged the clear winner. In 1996, the AGP improved its tally to 5 Lok Sabha seats and polled 27.2% of the votes. The AGP is still very relevant in Assamese politics.

THE PENINSULAR PLATEAU

Towards the South, the Plains meets the table land, where a complex of plateau surfaces of highly denuded rocks has developed series of scraps which in some areas are arranged like staircase and in others rise steeply like a wall. The interior plateau, initially quite extensive in Central India tapers towards, the south acquiring its essentially Peninsular form. **The peninsular plateau** has a variety of relief.[9] The Plateau also witnessed intense mixing of people giving

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[9] *Ibid*

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rise to similar socio-economic cultural fabric of society. The states and union territories which are included in **the Peninsular Plateau** are Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Daman and Diu, Maharashtra, Goa, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry, Kerala and the Islands of Aandaman and Nicobar and Lakshadweep.

The border state of **Rajasthan** does not have any regional parties. It was always dominated by national parties since its inception with the merger of erstwhile princely state and the subsequent reorganise in the mid 1950s. It has 25 seats in the Parliament.

Gujarat was formed on May 1, 1990 out of the main Gujarat speaking areas of Bombay and the formed states of Saurashra and Kutch. It has 26 seats in the parliament. There is no regional party in Gujarat. However, prior to the formation of the state of Gujarat, there was the **Nutan Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad (NMGJP)** which fought for separate Gujarati speaking state. It won one Lok Sabha seat in 1962 and got 5% of the votes. The party disappeared after Gujarat was formed.

Madhya Pradesh is the largest state which was formed on 1st November, 1956. It is a plateau except for the valleys of Narmada and

Tapti. It has 40 seats in the Lok Sabha. National Parties dominated the politics of Madhya Pradesh. However, in the last 2 parliamentary elections the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) catering to the aspiration of the 14% scheduled caste population managed to acquire Lok Sabha seats. In 1991 elections, BSP got one Lok Sabha seat and polled 3.5% of the votes. In 1996 elections, BSP increased its tally of seats to 2 in Lok Sabha and polled 8.2% of the votes. Another party the **Madhya Pradesh Vikas Party (MPVP)** floated by Madhavrao Scindia along with Arjun Singh of the break away Congress managed to secure 2 seats. Apart from the above mentioned parties 2 unrecognised parties gained one seat each in 1957 and 1977 elections. They were the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha which got one Lok Sabha seat polling 4.9% of the votes in 1957. And the **Republican Party of India (Khabragade)** which got one seat and 1.3% of the votes share.

Orissa was formed which the merger of 25 princely states on August 19, 1949. It has 21 seats in the Parliament. Orissa do not have any powerful regional party in the Contemporary politics. But in the 1950s and 1960s, the **Ganatantra Parishad (GP)** was a prominent state party. This party had strong rightist ideologies. It fought for the abolition of land revenue. It also stressed for blanket reservation of all unskilled jobs in all projects within the confine of the state. In the first parliamentary elections of 1952 the Ganatantra Parishad (GP)

secured 5 seats and polled 26.2% of the votes. In 1957 elections, it increased it seats to 7 with 29.1% of the votes. In 1962, it managed 4 Lok Sabha seats and 17.4% of the votes share. After 1962, the Ganatantra Parishad merged with the Swatantra Party. In 1971, the **Utkal Congress (UL)** founded by Biju Patnaik got one Lok Sabha seat and 23.6% of the votes. After a long gap, in 1996 elections the **Samata Party** got one seat and polled 1.6% of the votes share.

Maharashtra continued to be a bilingual state of Bombay after independence and became Maharashtra on May 1st, 1960 after the separation of Gujarat. It has 3 prominent regions, the western Maharashtra, Vidharbha and Marthwada. It has 7% scheduled caste and 7% Buddhist population. It has 48 seats in the parliament. Maharashtra had a variety of regional parties catering to different regions, castes, communities in different points of time. In 1952 and 1957 Lok Sabha elections the **All India Scheduled Caste Federation** was a prominent party. In 1952 it won one Lok Sabha seat and secured 14.4% of the votes. In 1957, it gained 5 Lok Sabha seats and 8.1% of the votes share another regional party with strong rural base was the **Peasants and Workers Party (PWP)**. It had a leftists ideology. It fought for the wresting for Maharashtra certain marathi speaking areas bordering Mysore. PWP won one Lok Sabha seat in 1952 elections and polled 17% of the votes. In 1957 it secured 2 Lok

Sabha seats with 7.5% of the votes. In 1977, PWP got 5 parliamentary seats and 6.1% of the votes. In the 1990s, another regional party the **Shiv Sena (SS)** grew in prominence. Shiv Sena was formed in 1964 by one time cartoonist Bal Thackeray to preserve the "Maratha Pride". "Maharashtra for Maharasthian" was its slogan. According to the organisation, people from other parts of the country especially from the southern states are usurping the jobs in Bombay's factories and offices at the cost of the "son of the soils" the Maharashtrian.[10] It fought the Bombay and the Thane municipality election in 1967. It, however, shot to prominence after the Ayodhya issue. In 1991, it secured 4 Lok Sabha seats and polled 9.5% of the votes. In 1996 Lok Sabha elections it increased its seats to 15% with 16.8% of the votes.

Goa, Daman and Diu was liberated on December 10, 1961 from the Portuguese occupation. Goa became a full fledged state of India on May 30, 1987 while Daman and Diu was retained as the union territory. Goa has 2 seats in the Lok Sabha. In Goa the major regional party is the **Maharashtra Gomantak Party (MGP)**. This party propagates the merger of Goa with Maharashtra. In 1971, the MGP fought the elections but failed to secure any seats. It however polled 23.29% of the votes. In 1977 and in 1980, it managed to secure one

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[10] Shivlal, Op. Cit. p. 26

seat each with 40.5% and 36.0% of the votes share respectively. In 1984 Lok Sabha elections the party failed to get any seats but polled 20.3% votes share. In 1989 it got one Lok Sabha seat and 27.9% of the votes share. in 1991, MGP did not secure any seats but got 20% of the votes share. In 1996 parliamentary elections, MGP got one seat and polled 26% of the votes share. Another party in Goa in the late 1960s and early 1970s was the **United Goan Sequeira Group (UGSG)**. It bagged 2 Lok Sabha seats each in 1967 and 1971 parliamentary elections. It polled 36.0% and 24.7% of votes share respectively.

Andhra Pradesh is the fifth largest state. It was carved out of the Telugu speaking areas of Madras on October 1st 1953. Nine districts from the Nizam's Hyderabad state were added to it on November 1st, 1956. Andhra Pradesh has 3 main regions - Andhra, Rayalseema and Telangana. Andhra Pradesh has 42 Lok Sabha seats. The **Telugu Desam Party (TDP)** is the most prominent and powerful regional party of Andhra Pradesh. The Telugu Desam Party was launched by Nandamuri Tanaka Rama Rao on March 28, 1982. The aim of the TDP was that of uniting the people of the state on the basis of common bond of the Telugu language and to emphasise the pride of the Telugu language. TDP won 30 seats with 44.8% votes on its first run to the Lok Sabha polls in 1984 after the assassination of Indira Gandhi. After five years in 1989 elections, Andhra switched back to

Congress and TDP's share dropped to 34.2% of the votes with only 2 seats. In 1991, the TDP vote dropped to 32.3% but it won 13 parliamentary seats. After the death of N.T. Rama Rao in 1996, TDP split. One faction was headed by his widow Lakshmi Parvathi and another by his son-in-law Chandrababu Naidu. In 1996, the TDP led by Naidu won 16 seats with 32.6% of the votes. Earlier, the **Telangana Praja Samiti**, a state party articulating the problems of the people of the Telangana region was a prominent party. In 1952 Lok Sabha elections, it won 7 seats and polled 28.2% of the votes. In 1957, it got 2 seats and 11.0% of the votes. In 1971, it secured 10 seats and polled 14.3% of the votes. There was the **All India Majlis (MIM)** which was the part of **All India Scheduled Caste Federation**. It bagged on seat in 1952 elections and got 6.3% of the votes. Again in 1989, it got 1 Lok Sabha seat and got 2.1% of the votes.

Karnataka was previously the Mysore state. It was inaugurated as a Kannada speaking state on November 1st 1956 with the inclusion of areas of Hyderabad. Bombay and Madras. It was renamed Karnataka on November 1st 1973. It has 28 Lok Sabha seats. Congress Party dominated the political scene throughout the Lok Sabha elections. There was no major regional party. There were only small unrecognised party which manage to get few seats in the Lok Sabha. In 1957, the **All India Scheduled Caste Federation** got one seat and

2.0% of the votes. The **Lok Sevak Sangh** got one Lok Sabha seat in 1962 and polled 3.3% of the votes. In 1991, the **Samajwadi Party** got one seat and secured 3.8% of the votes.

Tamil Nadu came into being on 14th January 1969 when Madras state was renamed Tamil Nadu. It has 39 seats in the Lok Sabha. Tamil Nadu witnessed the emergence of two powerful regional parties, The **Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)** and the **All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK)** which was a breakaway faction of DMK. In 1996 another party the **Tamil Manila Congress (Moopnar)** also gained major political clout in Tamil Nadu. Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam was founded in 1926 by E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker. It was a movement which converted itself into a caste based party to project and defend the interests of the culturally akin backward caste, Dravid people of all the four south Indian states against Brahmin dominance. Over the time the movement narrowed culturally to include only the Tamil speaking people, but broadened socially to include all castes and classes of Tamil Nadu. As for its political goal, the DMK began with a frankly secessionist aim demanding an independent Dravidsthan, later scaled it down to a sovereign Tamil Nadu and finally reconciled itself to a reorganised and homogeneous state within the Indian union.[11] DMK had an erratic

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[11] Shivlal, Op. Cit., p. 8

performance in the Lok Sabha elections. In 1962 Lok Sabha polls it won 7 seats and secured 18.5% of the votes. In 1967, it got 25 seats and polled 35.5% of the votes. In 1971, its strength decreased to 23 in Lok Sabha and polled 35.3% votes. In 1980, it won 16 seats and got 23% votes. In 1984, it had a disastrous performance winning only 2 seats and secured 25.9% votes. In 1989, its percentage of votes share increased to 26.1% but it failed to get any Lok Sabha seats. In 1991, the DMK again failed to secure any parliamentary seat and its percentage of votes decreased to 22.7%. In 1996 Lok Sabha polls, it secured 17 seats and 25.8% of the vote. The next powerful regional party is the **All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagham**. It was launched by M.G. Ramachandran on October 18, 1972 after his suspension from the DMK party. AIADMK's basic ideology is "Annaism" which means anti-Brahminism. In 1977, the AIADMK contested the Lok Sabha elections for the first time. It won 18 seats and got 30.5% of the votes. In 1980, the percentage of votes declined to 25.4% and it could manage only 2 seats in the Lok Sabha. In 1984 parliamentary polls, the AIADMK increased its strength to 12 in the parliament by securing 18.4% of the votes. After the death of M.G. Ramachandran, the AIADMK split into 2 factions. One faction was led by his widow Janaki and another by Jayalalitha. The AIADMK led by Janaki however disappeared after few years. In 1989, the AIADMK

(Jayalalitha) polled 17.1% of the votes and secured 11 seats in the Lok Sabha polls. In 1991, the percentage of votes for AIADMK increased to 18.1% and it got 11 seats. In 1996, it failed to get any seats and its votes share plummeted of 7.8%. This failure is attributed to the corruption charges against the AIADMK Chief Jayalalitha and her colleagues. The 1996 Lok Sabha elections saw a new Regional Party, the **Tamil Manila Congress Party** founded by G.K. Moopnar who defected from the Congress party. This party secured 20 Lok Sabha seats and 27% of the votes share.

Kerala came into being on November 1st 1956 by the merger of Travancore - Cochin state and the Malabar districts of Madras. It has three regions - highlands, midlands and the low lands. It has 20 parliamentary seats. Kerala has been the bastion of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). But **Muslim League** is a major regional party of Kerala and won seats in the parliamentary polls right from 1962. The Muslim League articulate the needs of the 10% Muslim community of the Malabar area. Prior to independence and partition of the country, the Muslim League was the premier party representing the Muslims. When Pakistan was formed the Muslim League became extinct. It was, however, revived at a conference held in Madras in 1948 by Muslim leaders from Malabar under it modified name the Indian Union Muslim League. Thereafter, the Muslim League has been

INDIA
REGIONAL PARTIES: AREAS OF OPERATION

N.C

SAD

HVP

SP
BSP

SSP
SDF

AGP

MPP

SAMATA
PARTY

TU
JS
n

MNF

JMM

FB

SS, PWP,
RPI

TDP

ARABIAN
SEA

MGP,
UGSG

BAY
OF
BENGAL

DMK,
AIADMK,

MUL

TMCM

(For key to the Regional Parties
please see appendix III on Page no. 98)

INDIAN OCEAN

150 75 0   150   300
KMS
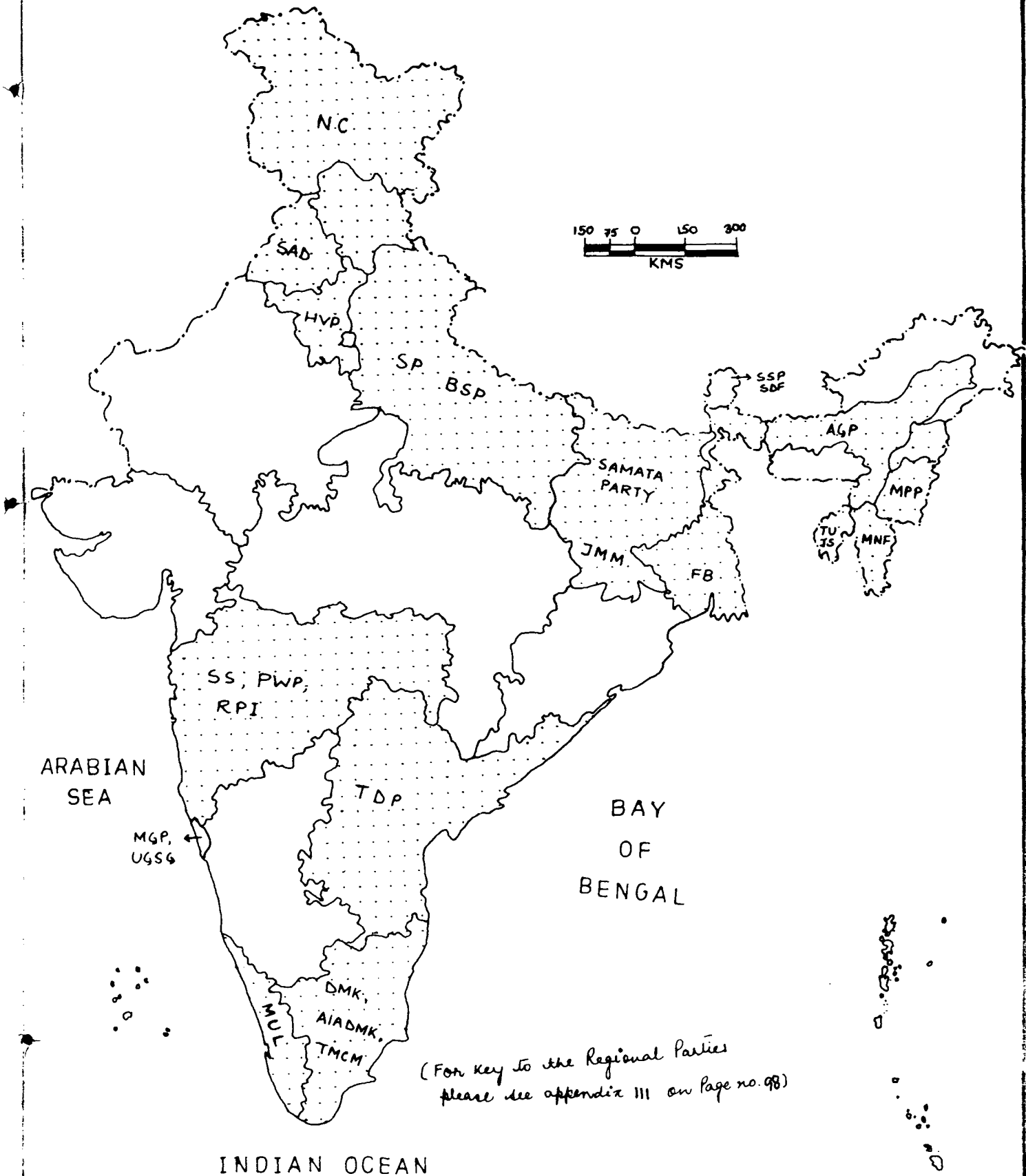
quite active in Kerala politics. It has always been able to send two representatives to the Lok Sabha.[12] The percentage of votes in 1967 and 1971 elections, it polled 6.6% and 6.4% of the votes. In 1977 it got 5.6% of the votes and in 1980 it polled 6.0% of the votes. And from 1984 to 1996, the percentage of votes polled remained around 5%.

Pondicherry was transferred to India by the French in 1954 and it became an union territory in 1962. It has one Lok Sabha seat. In Pondicherry, the DMK is the prominent regional party. It failed to secure any Lok Sabha seats but remained a popular party polling 36 to 40% of the votes in the poll. In 1977, the AIADMK, however bagged one seat with 53.3% of the votes.

From the above analysis of electoral performance it can be discerned that emergence of different regional parties espousing different ideologies are influenced by the geographical factors. Because regional parties are the consequence of different socio-economic cultural and political milieu which is again the outcome of interaction with the physical environment by the people.

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[12] Bharadwaj, K.K., "An open government, Scenerio political parites and ninth Lok Sabha", (New Delhi : ABC Publishing House : 1990) p.162.

CHAPTER III

REGIONAL PARTIES AND THE FEDERAL STRUCTURE

The phenomenal growth and success of the regional parties in contemporary Indian Politics has cast a tremendous impact on the federal set up of the Indian political and constitutional system. Regional parties have catalysed a realignment of political forces posing a powerful challenge to the traditional one party dominance. This in turn has a profound impact on the centre-state relations.

In a federation, a number of separate or autonomous political units mutually agree to merge together to form a nation-state with a single centre of federal government. The federating units delegate some of their powers to the centre while retaining a degree of guaranteed regional autonomy. Thus, the political units of a federation enter into a compromise to create a halfway house between complete unity and complete separation, and a Federation results.[1]

Our constitution does not describe India as a 'Federation' or a "Federal system". The Federal arrangement in our constitution was to

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[1] Dikshit, R.S., "The Political Geography of Federation", (Delhi : The Macmillan Company : 1975) p.4.

a large extent decided by the existence of a strong national political party, i.e. the Indian National Congress (INC) and the weak position of the regional force in the constitutent assembly.[2]

Moreover the framers of the constitution realised that in India there exists a variety of cultural, linguistic, religious, regional, economic and ideological differences which may pose a danger to national integration. So, to unit India in presence of these fissiparous and parochial forces a strong centre was considered necessary.[3]

In India, political parties through competition among themselves and by mobilizing public opinion on various issues have played an important role in the federalising process. Policies and issues relating to centre-state relations were formulated and decided 'not with reference to formalised or constitutional procedures, but rather by a bargaining process which reached a conclusion only after each set of deciders have found out through elections or agitations, what the unknown stage of public reaction was likely to be.[4]

[2] Pai, Sudha, Regional Parties and the emerging pattern of societies in India", The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 51. No. 3, July-Sept. 1990, p. 406.

[3] Sukhwal B.L., "Modern Political Geography of India", (New Delhi : Sterling Publishers : 1985) p. 88.

[4] Franda, Marcus, "West Bengal and Federalising Process in India", (Delhi : Prinection Press : 1968) p.7.

During the initial periods of independence i.e. pre-1967 years, India's central government effectively dominated the constitutent states. This has been attributed to many factors such as Nehru's leadership, the domination of a single party over both central and state governments, centralising economic planning, the weakness of regional parties and the initial enthusiasm of the Indian people for the national building activities undertaken by the central government. For the twenty years period after independence the congress party cleavages did not threaten this hegemony. State-centre relationships during this period established a pattern of centre domination.[5] This was the phase of "Unitary Federalism", the centre is strong and takes responsibility for national planning and development and bold initiatives and based on it, formulates programmes and policies even in those sphere of activities which are in the state list.

However, the assertion of the regional forces seen in the creation of separate linguistic states and other regional and linguistic demands meant that different regions could throw up region based political forces which would voice the aspirations of the region. Both these factors have reinforced each other leading to important changes in the nature of the working of the federal structure and the party

[5]   Bhambri, C.P., "Political parties and Centre-State relations in India; *in* S.C. Kashyap (ed.), "Union state relations in India". (New Delhi : Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies : 1969) p. 47.

system in India. The rise of regional parties had led to a loosening of the tight constitutional mould in which federalism was cast. However, this has not been a continuous or smooth process, but seen over a number of distinct phases with the balance of power tilting back and forth between the centre and state.[6]

The fourth general elections of 1967 was a turning point in the political history. It ended the single party dominance in centre as well in states and witnessed the emergence of many regional parties which captured power in the state assembly. This led to alternation as well as redefining of the centre-state relationship.

The trend was now towards a politics of coalition. Before 1967, there were only a few coalitions. There were two coalitions in the period of 1952-57 in PEPSU and Andhra-Pradesh and each in Orissa (1957-62) and Kerala (1960-64). After the 1967 general elections the figure rose to eight. Coalitions were formed in Kerala, West Bengal , Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.[7]

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[6]   Pai, Sudha, Op.cit., p. 406.

[7]   Hedge Ramakrishna, "Credible Coalition at the Center" *in* Sunder Ram (ed.), "Readings in Indian Parlimentary Oppositions Vol. 2', (New Delhi : Kanishka Publishers Distributors : 1996) p. 249.

Even at the centre, as no single party got a absolute majority, government was formed with the help of regional parties.

The Coalitions are product of politics in a parliamentary democracy. It is a phenomenon of multi-party government where a number of minority parties join hands for the purpose of running the government, which is otherwise not possible in a democracy based on party system.

The term coalition is derived from the Latin word 'Coalito' which is the verbal substantive of coalescere, co-together and alescere-to grow up, which means to go or grow together. According to the dictionary meaning coalition means an act of coalescing, or uniting in to one body: a union of persons, states: alliance. In strict political sense the word coalition is used for an alliance or temporary union for joint action of various powers or states also of the union into a single government of distinct parties or members of distinct parties.[8]

Riker evolves that the general decision making policy of a coalition depends upon its leader who might be an opportunist power hungry or status seeker, or one who is selfless worker, believes in

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[8] Sahni, N.C., "The Theory of Coalition", in N.C. Sahni (ed.), "Coalition Politics in India", (Jullunder : New Academic Publishing Company : 1971) p.18.

duty and devotion and wants neither material gains, nor power nor prestige, whether he is an idealist or a realist. Riker's theory further finds support from Bryce who observes that administration formed by a coalition of parties is usually weak, not merely because the combination is unstable but because men who professed principles differ are likely to be entangled in inconsistencies or driven by unsatisfactory compromises.[9]

In a Federation the centre has two choices open to it as is the case with India. A coalition can be formed with country level parties i.e. the all India parties, or the state level parties i.e. regional parties. But to form a coalition with the regional parties has its disadvantages also. A regional party with its unbending regionalist outlook and stiffness might find it difficult to cope with the national level party. As a result of which such coalition might have to sacrifice some issues of vital social reforms and of national interest in face of accomodation of one. Constituent of a coalition government and such insurmountable problems. This fact was very much evident in the result of 1967 elections. Many regional parties came to power in the states and were also partners in the coalition government at the centre. These regional parties like the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagham

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[9] Ibid., p.21.

(DMK) and the Akali Dal with regional support, ideology and leadership advocate for greater devolution of power to the states. Therefore, their impact on centre-state relations were greater and encouraged regional forces in other states, giving rise to regional ambitions, linguistic rivalries, territorial claims, river water disputes, claims over capital cities and competition for establishment of new steel mills or other industrial plants.[10] For e.g. the DMK government in Madras and Swatantra party in Orissa government emphasised the need for the curtailment of central authority and the re-allocation of resources in favour of the states. The Tamil Nadu government led by DMK chief Karunanidhi announced to set up a committee under justice Rajamannar to look into the centre-state relations on 22nd September 1969. The committee was asked to examine the entire question regarding the relationship that should exist between the centre and the states in a federal set up with special reference to the provision of the constitution of India and to suggest suitable amendments to the constitution so as to secure to the states utmost autonomy.[11] The Rajamannar committee suggested sweeping changes in the whole gamut of centre-state relations which, if implemented, would effectively under-cut all the controls which the

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[10] Sukhwal, B.L., op cit., p.91.

[11] Jain, S.K., "Party politics and centre-state relations in India", Abhiman Publication, New Delhi, 1994, p. 48.

centre has upon the states in the legislative, administrative, financial and judicial fields, and significantly alter the federal arrangement in India. But the recommendations of the Rajamannar committee was altogether ignored. So, Tamil Nadu's relations with the centre could be described as antagonistic cooperation.[12] However, they did not take the relations to a breaking point, their objective being to utilize to the maximum the techniques of negotiations in order to secure as much resources for development as possible. In contrast the CPI (M) led United Font governments of West Bengal and Kerala attempted to project centre state conflicts along class lines using regional grievances in order to further their revolutionary aims. They followed an extremely aggressive posture in their attitude towards the central government by carrying federal issues to the streets.[13] Thus, in the new political environment the theory of state rights were strengthened. The 1967 elections mark the first stage in the development of a new pattern of centre-state relation arising out of the assertion of regional forces in India.

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[12] Bombwall, K.R., "Regional Political Parties in India", in S.Bhatnagar and Pradeep Kumar (ed.), "Regional Political Parties in India", (New Delhi : ESS ESS Publication : 1988) p.206.

[13] Ray, Ansal, "Tension Areas in India's Federal System", (Calcutta : World Press : 1970) p. 32.

The new coalition form of central government was subjected to regional pulls and pushes. Different state governments who were partners in the central government started putting pressure on the centre to give concessions through one of the political parties. This led to tensions between the states. Moreover, due to the weak centre many regional sentiments became more vociferous in their demands.

However, due to internal contradictions in the ideologies, lack of cohesion and leadership many non-congress state government could not sustain for long. They fell in five states in less than three months, from December 1967 to February 1968.

The 1967 elections highlighted both the fact that the Indian voter had come of age and could not be manipulated by existing boss. Structure and vote banks based on caste and communal loyalties and the fact that the congress leadership in its preoccupation with factional quarrels had failed to measure up to the peoples' expectations. This defeat led to internal power struggle within the congress which ended with the decisive win for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. This also led to a split in the congress party in August 1969, the majority faction going with Indira Gandhi.[14]

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[14] Kothari, Rajni, "Opposition in India", in S. Sunder Ram (ed.), "Readings in the Indian Parliamentary Opposition, Vol. 2", (New Delhi : Kanishka Pubilshers, Distributors : 1996) p.15.

The fifth general elections were held in 1971. It ended the period of instability and inaction and its result proved decisive for the nature of Indian federalism in more than one way. Firstly congress party was returned to power. It captured power in 14 out of 16 states. Secondly, the lok sabha and assembly elections were delinked for the first time. Thirdly, the parties with regional affinity and interest suffered heavily. The elections marked the return of congress party to a dominant position. Under the charismatic leadership of Mrs. Gandhi, the new congress was transformed once again into a monolithic organisation and state units of the party came under the central control. This reestablishment of the one party dominance led to unsettling of the old system-based on a shared consensus between governing and opposition forces and led to a more hegemonial model of dominance. On all policy issues like legislation on ceilings on agricultural land, urban property, state governments accepted the directions of the centre and the federal balance tilted towards the state in the years 1967-71, once more tilted away from them.[15] For sometime, regional forces remained subdued. Even such states as Kerala, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu also toned down their confrontationist attitude. The proclamation of emergency in June 1975 marked the climax of the concentration of power within the party as

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[15] Pai, Sudha, op cit., p. 409.

well as within the government. But this was a temporary phenomenon.

The emergency was lifted in March in 1977 and fresh elections were announced. All the non-congress parties united under one banner to end the one party dominance. The political scenario was tremendously changing. The long suppressed debate on centre-state relations was again revived. The political leaders were appealing for an end of unitarian attempts to undermine the federal system of India. With the win of "Janata-Party", environment was created for the reinforcement of federal system of India. Many states ruled by non-Janata parties as well as some of the states ruled even by the Janata party raised voices to get more powers for the states. Such state were West Bengal, Jammu and Kashmir, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Punjab, Sikkim and Nagaland along with the other north eastern states of India. The opposition parties in power in various states were the AIADMK in Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry, the National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, CPI (M) in West Bengal, Akali Dal in Punjab, Regional parties in Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura, Maharashtra Ganantak Party in Goa, Congress(I) in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra.

After the 1977 state elections, the chief minister of West Bengal Jyoti Basu (CPI-M) asked for a whole review of the question of authority. The West Bengal Government's memorandum submitted to the centre declares that nothing beyond foreign relations, defence, communication, currency and related matters should be the exclusive domain of the centre. It further demanded that the preamble of the constitution should be amended to include the word 'federal' in the description of the Republic of India. The chief ministers of Jammu and Kashmir partially concurred with Jyoti Basu for more powers for the states. In addition, the chief ministers of two Janata run states-Gujarat and Bihar also asked for more powers for the states.

The Janata Party regime, however, maintained a status quoist approach to the centre-state relation. They did not encourage any proposal for devolution of power to the states. They rejected the West Bengals memorandum. The Janata party rule at the centre was short lived. It succumbed to internal squabblings, defections, contradictions and organisational strains and governmental non-performances.

The sixth round of general elections of 1980 brought back congress at the helm of the affairs. It got a thumping majority. This election again shifted the focus to centralisation. But by now the

regional forces have become very powerful. They were organising themselves and were very vociferous in their demands of regional recognition. A number of political parties with strong regional and local base emerged like the 'Telugu Desam'. The birth of Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh was the result of over centralisation and growing discontentment against the centre's policy towards the state. Telugu Desam heralded a new era with regard to regional parties and with opposition parties to launch an offensive against the central government's overriding powers and increasing encroachment in the affairs of the state.[16]

However, by 1982-83, there emerged a different political complexion of the country, where quite a few states came under the rule of non congress(I) parties leading to open political conflict between them and the centre ruled by the congress(I). In fact, two political trends emerged during the 1980s. First, most of the regional parties particularly in the south came to power in the states and their leadership enjoyed wide social base and share the regional emotions. Secondly, there took place a convergence of opposition political forces along with regional parties in the form of "conclave politics". This opposition unity was forged to jointly resist the centre.[17]

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[16] Jain, S.K., op. cit, p.57.

[17] Jain, S.K., op. cit, p.58.

In 1983, the chief ministers of the southern states- Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, met in Bangalore. At the first meeting the council demanded changes in the constitution so as to give new definition to the centre-state relations and to set up a fiscal commission to suggest a more equitable distribution of resources between centre and the state. The chief ministers wanted that the bulk of the financial resources should be transferred to the states as a statutory rather than discretionary basis.[18] This meeting led to the setting up of Sarkaria Commission under the chairmanship of retired justice R.S. Sarkaria to review the centre-state relations. The decision of setting up of a commission was welcomed by all political parties. The commission made 227 suggestions in order to improve the centre-state relations. It stressed for "cooperative federalism" between the union and states. But the centre did not pay much attention to the recommendations of the Sarkaria commission. The commission's report was kept in cold storage. In the "Srinagar conclave" of opposition parties the vital issue of centre-state relation and issue of state autonomy was raised. The opposition, both national and regional were claimouning for more power to the states and they were growing more and more powerful as well as assertive.

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[18]   Pai, Sudha, op. cit, p.410.

However, the 1984 general election again reinforced the one party domination at the centre. This was primarily because the brutal assassination of Indira Gandhi generated a sympathy have in favour of congress in general and his son Rajiv Gandhi who was projected as the Prime Ministerial Candidate in particular. The congress won the elections with an overwhelming majority. It won 415 out of 517 seats. Once again the states became very much subordinate and subdued. But voices of dissents were heard in the "conclave of opposition parties". At the Surajkund 'conclave of nine opposition parties, the Telugu Desam chief asked for the restoration of "cooperative federalism".

All the opposition parties were stressing for a federal polity and were working towards an alternative to congress(I), which ultimately resulted in the form of "National Front". The erst while Janata Party, Jana Moracha, Lok Dal(B) Congress(S), Telugu Desam, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagham and Asom Gana Parishad came togeyther to form a national front on August 7, 1988. The Telugu Desam chief N.T. Rama Rao the then chief minister of Andhra Pradesh was elected the chairman of the National Front and Vishwanath Pratap Singh its convenor.

In the ninth lok sabha elections held in November 1989, although the National Front failed to secure the majority necessary for forming government at the centre after defeating the congress(I), it could, however, form minority government with the support and cooperation of Bharatiya Janata Party without its participation in the government. The left parties also supported the coalition government from outside.[19] V.P. Singh, the then Prime Minister strived hand to built a consensus among the political parties and upheld the federal polity. V.P. Singh government emphasised the need for setting up of a inter-state council to reconcile the differences between the states. This council consisted of the Prime Minister as the chairman and the chief ministers as the members. It met twice a year to try and sought out the difference between the states, enquiring and advising on the disputes which have arisen out in the different states, investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all the states, or the union and one or more states have common interest.[20]

However, this colalition government of V.P. Singh collapsed after 11 months after MPs defected and joined Chandrashekhar camp.

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[19] Ram Sunder D., "Towards Opposition Unity in India : A Study from Praja Socialist Party to National Front", in D. Sunder Ram (ed), "Readings in the Indian Parliamentary Opposition, Vol.2", (New Delhi : Kanishka Publishers, Distributors : 1996) pp.384-385.

[20] Deccan Herald, 14 April, 1990.

Chandrashekhar formed government at the Centre with the support of congress. But unfortunately, on 6th March 1991, Congress withdrew support and the Chandrasekhar government fell after 4 months.

In 1991, the tenth general elections not a single party won a majority to form government at the Centre on its own. The Congress with the help of regional parties was able to form government at the Centre. It was a minority government but it could sustain itself and survived for full five years. But the government was marked by corruption and non-performance. The states were dissatisfied by the attitude of the Centre toward them. They were growing powerful and the Centre was growing weak with every passing day.

The eleventh round of elections was held in 1996. In this election also not a single party could gain an absolute majority. The one time dominant congress was relegated to the third position. The Bharatiya Janata party emerged as the single largest party. The National Front along with the left party emerged as the second. So, the major regional parties along with the left parties formed the government at the Centre. The congress party supported it from outside. The new government, having a majority of regional parties as its partners in the central government took the issue of Centre-State relations seriously. It reviewed the Sarkaria Commission report and

few of its recommendations was accepted by the Centre. However, the H.D. Devegowda government fell as Congress withdrew its support to it. And in his place I.K. Gujral became the new Prime-Minister. By this time the Centre was becoming extremely weak. All the time of the central government went on pacifying its allies and partners in the government so that the government at the centre could survive its full term of five years. This factor made the regional forces very strong. They started asserting their identity. There was a growing demand for the reorganisation of states as many smaller local and regional forces within the states demanded for separate state in order to preserve their identity. They alleged that they are socially, economically, culturally and politically exploited by the Centre as well as by the States in which they are situated. As a consequence we find demands for separate Uttaranchal State from Uttar Pradesh. In Uttar Pradesh there are also demarcations between Poorvi (east), Paschimi (west) and Pahari (mountainerous) U.P. all clamouring for separate states to preserve their identity. Likewise, we hear demand for Poorvanchal and Jharkhand in Bihar, Gorkhaland in West Bengal, Bodo Land in Assam, Telangana in Andhra Pradesh, Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Chattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh and scores of other such demands for separate states. These demands sometime

take extreme forms of agitation and become very violent causing a threat to the unity and integrity of the country.

In India, the most inclusive segment is territorially defined region. A region in India has its own composition of ethnic and linguistic groups, religious communities and land based jatis. It has its own specific pattern of economy, craft and loom and a local history and psychological make up and behaviour, pattern of its people. India essentially is a multi-regional federation.[21] Historically, India had been a federation. There were different autonomous provinces and they all performed their duties independent of central authority. In the medieval times also Ain-e-Akbari records the existence of autonomous provinces under the Mughal rule.

Therefore, it can be argued that even if our constitution doe not embodies the word "federalism", India with its diversities is a federal state. So, efforts should be put towards making India's federalism a "cooperative federalism". Cooperative Federalism is the promotion of cooperation and minimisation of frictions between the various constituent governments of the federal union whether it is centre vs. state or state vs. state. The realisation that the promotion of the general public welfare is the common goal of government at the

[21] Khan, Rasheedudin, "Federal India, A Design for Change", (New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House : 1992) p.30.

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centre and in the states. They should work in concert and not in complete isolation in their efforts to reach the goal. This is the essence of "Cooperative Federalism". It is a system by which state and national governments support and supplement each other in their day to day working and jointly perform a variety of functions.[22]

In this fast changing world of technological know-how, globalisation, and competitions thrown open by liberalisation India can no longer afford to stay cocooned in its own internal strifes. She has to open up and face the challenges that are posed by the outside world. And for this she should be united and internally strong. For all these to be achieved, she should strike a balance between the centripetal and centrifugal forces and work towards her own betterment.

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[22] Tiwari, O.P., "Federalism and Centre State Relations in India, towards a new era of Mutual Coopeation" *in* Balveen Arora *et al* (ed), "Federalism in India, Origins and Development", (New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House : 1992), p.223.

CHAPTER IV

REGIONALISM AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

The fast growth of the regional forces in India is a natural consequence of the given widespread heterogeniety of Indian society which is a "continent of many communities united through shared experiences but powerfully motivated by parochial and regional considerations".[1] Hence, this problem can be seen as one dimension of the unresolved "national question", which of late, has assumed mounting importance in the context of regionalisation of Indian politics particularly after 1967. This process of regionalisation is both the cause and effect of indigenisation and democratisation of politics, especially at provincial level which gave "a strong impetus to the development of diverse regional political cultures". The political manifestation of such cultures is evident in the emergence of regionally based political parties and movements amidst a multiplicity of political identities at different levels of Indian polity.[2]

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[1] Lewis, P. Fickell Jr., "The Politics of Regionalism in India", Pacific Affairs, Vol.XLIV, No.2, (Summer 1971), p.193.

[2] Verma, Rakesh Kumar, "Regionalism and sub-Regionalism in State Politics, social, econmic and political bases", (New Delhi : Deep and Deep Publications : 1994) p.8.

Unlike many developing countries, India followed a path of simultaneously achieving the goals of modernisation and nation building and try to create a "comprehensive framework of concensus" by following the "democratic path" without dealing with "distributive justice" which it was presumed would automatically follow. This strategy of gradual and necessary uneven development which suited the system created regional awareness among the masses and new groups emerged at different levels which in a situation of scarcity of resources resulted in the competition among regional groups to get the maximum share of the limited economic cake produced by the modernisation.[3]

This competition, a by-product of modernisation resulted in the politicisation of primordial "givens" like caste, language, religion and region, which in many cases superimposed one another. In a society characterised by diverse regional political cultures these 'given' of social existence became the symbols of groups identity. The political manifestation of this competition is evident in the emergence of regionally based political parties and movements admist the multiplicity of political identities at the different levels of the Indian polity. This trend is noticed in many states of the country from Jammu

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[3] Weiner, Myron, "Politics of Scarcity", (Bombay : Asia Publishing House : 1963).

and Kashmir in the North to the Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh in the South which have been ruled by the regional parties.[4]

In India, the wide variety of cultures and language gives rise a multiplicity of identities which are spatial in character thereby associated with specific regions. The spatio-cultural identities became a vehicle for political phenomena called "Regionalism" and "Sub-Regionalism". The emergence and growth of spatio-cultural regionalism in the politico-economic processes of the country is often treated as a threat to the national unity and integrity of the country. This kind of perception is based on the view that the political conflicts is marked by cultural and linguistic divisions and often tends to be divisive and sectarian in nature, therefore, detrimental to the national unity and integrity.[5]

Regionalism and sub-regionalism are unavoidable in a country as vast and expansive as India. Nothing is more basic to the very concept of Federalism than regionalism and sub-regionalism because Federalism presupposes the existence of diversity and endeavours to guarantee the freedom of expression to the diverse elements India's Federal System based as it is on an universal adult franchise,

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[4] Verma, Rakesh Kumar, op cit., p.9.

[5] Singh, Ajay K., "Nation-building and Regionalism", Third Concept, Vol.4(50-51), Apr-May, 1994, pp.57-58.

representative institutions, responsible governments, rule of law and independence of judiciary supported by a vigilant media and active organs of public opinion was abound to allow and even encourage the crystallisation of interest-oriented and interest articulation of its many segments - linguistic, religious, ethnic, regional, cultural and politico ideological.[6]

"Regionalism" refers to subnationalism demanding the preference of one regional against the country as a whole. Injustice done to people of a particular region by the dominant political section (of the other region) is one important factor for the growth of regionalism in Indian politics.[7] In other words, Regionalism has a political dimension that involves a consciousness of kind, a collective identity and a defence of territorial interest. Regionalism involves the politicisation of regional concerns and the articulation of regional commitment.[8]

India has remained multi-lingual and multi-cultural from time immemorial. It has remained so because variation is accepted and

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[6] Khan, Rasheeduddin, "Federal India, A Design for Change", (New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House : 1992) p.24.

[7] Rao, V. Krishna, "Regionalism", in P. Sayanarayan et al. (ed), "Perspective on National Integration", (Hyderabad : Prakasam Institute of Development Studies : 1982) p.37.

[8] Hillar, Harry H., "Canadian Society : A macro analysis", (Ottawa : 1991) p.9.

differences are respected making conflict and conciliation a continuous process. Regionalism is rooted in India's cultural and linguistic diversity. However, the establishment of British rule created in India a basic pre-requisite for the formation of such a larger state the establishment of relations of the common market. Thus, was formed the United Indian State with centralised economic institutions and central administration. But the development economic, education, administrations etc - which took place under the British regime was uneven. Moreover, the major part of the country was under direct British rule (the so called 'British Provinces') while rest was under the Indian princes (the so called Indian state) who ruled over their states under the British paramount power.

These differences in the economic and political set up of the various parts of the country gave a particular political complexion to every particular province and state. It therefore, developed what may be called the provincial state or regional outlook to the people of the respective regions.

The basis of putting an end to these diversities and thus unifying the nation was laid in the post-independence year. This process was completed with the state reorganisation Act of 1956

when all the part B and C states were formed more or less on the linguistic principle.

An economic basis was laid for this political unification when a common plan of economic development was formulated. A series of Five Year Plans and a Perspective plan for long team development came to be evolved and executed. In the actual execution of these developmental plans, however, provincial, regional and other discrepancies began to creep in. It is, therefore, not surprising that the people belonging to those states and which didnot get an adequate share in the fruit of development get dissatisfied conflicts develop between people and even governments of the various states. Therefore, it is the disparities in development that give rise to passions leading to provincial and regional disparities.[9]

While this is the material background against which regionalism has developed and is developing, rarely does it expresses itself as a single factor. It operates mostly along with certain other forces.

Political regionalism joined hands with the linguistic factor and gave rise to the movement of "linguism" for linguistic states. Out of this movement arose regional linguistic passions. The formation of

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[9] Namboodripad, E.M.S., "Problems of National Integration", (Calcutta : National Book Agency : 1966) p.48.

states on linguistic basis created a new identity and consciousness among the people regarding their language, culture and territory. Regional linguistic passion were raised so much so that the conflicts and movements took the shape of sessionism. And the political parties with narrow regional outlook acted as a catalyst to these movements. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagham (DMK) of Tamil Nadu initially preached sessionism on the basis of separate "Dravidstan' comprising of four south Indian states. They emphasised the need to secede from India in order to safeguard their language and culture. The DMK had to abandon the plank of sessionism in 1963, when a resolution was passed in the parliament banning all the political parties harbouring sessionist ideas. After abandoning the idea of secession from India, DMK gave a call for "Tamil nationalism". It took up the issue of the Indian official language and vehemently opposed the idea of Hindi as the official language. It staged an anti-Hindi agitation in 1965, nursing Tamil nationalism to counter the advancement of Hindi at the union level.

In other parts of the country, in the north-east especially, Regionalism allied itself with the tribal factor and gave to the movement the so called "tribalisms". The tribal population constitute nearly 8% of the Indian population and they are predominantly concentrated in the hill regions of the north-east India. The tribal

differentiation and their exclusive profile is a distinctive feature of Indian society. Economically backward and impoverished, socially alienated, politically segregated tribal population have always manifested separatism and sessionism in different form. Tribals are basically primordial communities with a deep sense of ethnic consciousness intending to maintain their distinctive socio-cultural identity. Tribalism may be viewed as expression of growing political and social consciousness of the tribal people of India in the form of an organised political behaviour and articulation.

After independence, tough considerable efforts were underway towards tribal development yet the discontent among them has been quite visible in the view of following factors. The role of Christian missionaries in the north-east has been significant for it provided considerable political awareness. However, the impact of Christian missionaries on the tribals was viewed as anti-India or anti-Hindi for its separatist and isolationist policy. Moreover lack of proper coordination and planning, in the area of education and agriculture hampered tribal development. In the first and second plans the financial outlay on education for tribals was substantially high compared to agriculture. Because of this, several tribals received education devoid of proper employment avenues. And being educated the tribal youth found themselves to be misfit in the traditional tribal

economy. This led to frustrations among the educated tribal youths and they took to extremist activity indulging in insurgency.

In the contemporary north-eastern regions of India, almost all the states have underground sessionist groups.

In Nagaland, the "Nagaland National Council" led by Zaphu Angami Phizo preached the formation of separate Greater Nagaland comprising parts of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and parts of Manipur. To pacify the sessionist forces among the Nagas, the Government of India granted statehood to Nagaland, in 1963, within the Indian union. Despite this, the sessionist movement started by Phizo in 1956 did not cease but took a new dimension because of T.H. Muviah and Isac Sue, who together formed the "National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN)", on Jan. 31 1980.[10] The Government of India, however, adopted a flexible attitude towards the Naga rebels and talks between the Govt. of India and the rebels have taken place in recent past still lot of matters stayed unresolved.

In Manipur, the banned Manipuri Meitei Extremist Organisation Peoples' Liberation Army (PLA), the Peoples' Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak known as the PREPAK and its off shoots the armed wing

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[10] Rahmathulla, B., "Obsolescene of Nationalism : On Appraisal of Autonomy Forces in North-Eastern India", *in* S. Bhatnagar *et al* (ed.), <u>Regional Political Parties of India</u>, (New Delhi : ESS ESS Publications : 1988) p.18.

of PREPAK called the Red Army. The Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP), and the KCP's Red army have been indulging in guerilla warfare and openly advocating the idea of independent Manipur.[11]

In Mizoram, the Mizo National Front (MNF) under the leadership of Laldenga had given a call for a sovereign Mizoram in 1965 since then the underground hostilities have stepped up its military operations in Mizoram. But the signing of the Mizoram accord by Laldenga and the Government of India in 30 June, 1986 brought peace and tranquility to the state of Mizoram.[12]

In Tripura, there is a armed struggle between the Tribals and the non-Tribal Bengalis. The Army of Tripura People Liberation Organisation (ATPLO) the militant and clandestine unit of Tripura tribal extremist had expressed its firmness to carry out armed struggle with a view to form a "sovereign Tripura state". The Tripura National Volunteer Force is another insurgent group of Tripura fighting for autonomy of Tribals.[13]

In Assam, the problem of Bodos demanding a separate Bodoland has assumed a greater dimension. The Bodos claim to be the oldest tribal or ethnic group, largely inhabiting the northern bank

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[11] Ibid., p.19.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

of the Brahmaputra and the two districts of Nilanchal and Laulung on the southern bank. The origins of the Bodo movement can be traced to the passage of official language Bill in 1960 which led to the assertion of separate tribal cultures by the All Party Hill Leaders' Conference, the Mizo Hill District council and the Plain Tribals Council of Assam (PTCA). The PTCA - the precursor of the present day All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) and the Bodo Peoples' Action Committee (BPAC) - first articulated a larger version of the Bodo land demand under the name of Udayachal. In 1987, the leadership of the bodo movement passed into the hands of the ABSU-BPAC combine. Apart from ethnic factors, complex economic forces played a part in the origin of the Bodo movement. The major ones were the problem of land alienation, poverty, indebtedness, unemployment and lack of capital formation. The Bodo agitation became very violent leading to lots of killings and blood bath. The government of India partially conceded to their demand by forming the "Bodoland Autonomous Council". But, the Bodos were not satisfied and are still indulging in subversive activities in Assam.

The Tribals in other parts of India like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh etc. have also voiced their discontentment against the state and the National government. The tribals of Jharkhand have been demanding autonomous state comprising areas of Chhota

Nagpur and other contiguous parts of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. The government of India taking note of the demand formed the Jharkhand autonomous council. But due to the ineffectiveness of the council the tribals of Jharkhand are dissatisfied.

Again, Regionalism allied itself with the religious community and gave birth to the movement for separation of pre-independent India into Hindu and Muslim majority state. In the post-independent years, it led to the slogan of Sikh Homeland or "Khalistan". Akali Dal championing the cause of the Sikhs called for separate Sikh homeland for the preservation of their language and culture. The Akali movements can be attributed to the fundamentalism and its thrust on sub-nationalism as a counter to Indian nationalism. During the independence, the Akali Dal demanded the separate state of Sikhistan. However, the demand for Khalistan-Sikh homeland was modified and in its place a demand for Punjabi suba within the Indian Union was put forth. Though the Akali Dal succeeded in getting the Punjabi suba, it could not satisfy them because the Punjabi reorganisation bill had excluded allegedly predominantly Punjabi speaking areas from Punjab and it also placed the management of Bhakra dam complex outside the control of Punjab. The concept of

Khalistan was never away from the Sikh mind.[14] The demand for Khalistan grew momentum from 1971 and it gained a frenzied heights after the 'operation Bluestar' in 1984. Presently, most of the factions of Akali Dal have denounced the separatist tendencies and joined the national mainstream by participating in the elections. Still, there are few groups, especially operating from outside India who have kept the idea of Khalistan still alive.

Another area where religious sentiments have fueled subversive activities is in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The insurgency and sessionist activities in Kashmir is, however, more through outside help. Still there are some parties like the "Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front" and the "Hurriyat Conference" who add fuel to the sessionist ideas.

It should be noted that regionalism does not on occasions express itself, not in combination with other factors but all by itself. The regional rivalries have no connection of any kind with the tribal, communal or linguistic factors. Regional rivalries in such cases should indisputably be treated to the uneven development of the respective regions i.e. they are purely economic in character.

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[14] Gopal Singh and Rajendra Kaur, "Priorities of Sikh Homeland" in K.S. Sexena *et. al. (ed.)*, "Indian Democracy: Recent Trends and Issues, (Delhi : Anmol Publications : 1985) pp. 78-79.

The economic aspect of regionalism assumes many forms ,such as variation in economy among different sub-regions of a state as well as one region compared to other, employment avenues and opportunities manifest through "Sons of the Soil" theory, inter-state river water disputes, boundary disputes and assets and liabilities.

The economic imbalances among the regions is a factor of British legacy in India. Even after independence such uneven development of regions in terms of agriculture, industry, percapita income etc. is noticed. The planning commission no doubt had laid the stress on even development of the country in utilising the resources as well as the location of industrial plants, etc. But the political pressure seems to have played a decisive role in the allocation of resources for economic development leading to an uneven distribution of resources in different states and regions. This led to a lot of discontentment among the so called deprived and hence underdeveloped regions which ultimately took the shape of regional or sub-regional movements demanding greater share in the national resources for catching up with the developed regions. It is in this context that the DMK continued its agitation for greater devolution of financial resources and also for the grant of greater autonomy to the states. In Andhra Pradesh the less developed Telangana region agitated against the Andhra leadership as they felt

that they are being economically deprived and called for bifurcation of the Andhra state. Similarly, in Maharashtra, there are regional rivalries between the Vidarbha and Marathwada regions with the rest of Maharashtra as they felt economically neglected and called for separate states of Vidarbha and Marathwada. In Uttar Pradesh, the region of Uttarakhand is passing through turbulent crisis. An imbalanced process of economic development has resulted in distortions in the socio-economic structure of the region. The Gorkhaland agitation in West Bengal got momentum only in 1986, on the issue of Indo-Nepal treaty, inclusion of Nepalese language in the Eighth schedule and other sundry economic factors and a separate state for the Gorkhas to be called Gorkhaland, affecting the sub-division Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. The agitation was organised by the Gorkhaland National Liberation Front (GNLF) led by the Subhas Ghising. From time to time they have employed violent means of agitation. Similar regional rivalries are underway in different parts of India.

Another dimension in this regard is that of the theory of "Sons of the soil". It is a form of movement for the special privileges for the natives of the particular state. The rise of "Shiv-Sena" in Bombay is a valid example of the parochial attitude which led the movement of driving away the non-Maharashtrians from the city of Bombay as they

felt that all the jobs in the city were given to the migrants from other states. Likewise, in Assam, "Lachit Sena" was formed to agitate against the cumulative dominance of the outside migrants like Punjabis, Marwaris, Hindus Bengalis, Nepalis and Bangladeshis in all the spheres of the economy of Assam. Similar senas like the "Gopal Sena" of Kerala and other 'senas' were formed preaching an element of sub-nationalism acting as a potential threat to nationalism.

As stated earlier, Regionalism is the politically articulated aspirations of the people of different regions. The political dimension is mainly an ultimate end objective of the sum total of various manifestations of regionalism such as language, economy, religion and ethnicity. The emergence of the elites in different states drawn from rich peasantry and it allies and local level industrialists tend to mobilise the people on linguistic, religious, cultural on economic issues, whip up their sentiments and emotions and raise the issue of distinctive regional group in order to acquire power and legitimacy. The political aspiration of the regionalism is amply manifested by the demand of the formation of new states. It has been seen that the process of state formation has since independence taken place not for reasons of strategic security or administrative efficiency, but most frequently to accommodate primordial demands. In most instances, the central government gave in the primordial demands with a view

to outbid the primordialists and to ensure the installation of a state government that would support or at least not undermine national unity.

As a result of regionalism certain centrifugal forces appear to be strengthening, for example,

(i)   sectarian pulls by regional political parties,

(ii)   regional bias of the state units of all the political parties which claim to be organised on a national basis;

(iii)   inter-regional tensions and disputes over linguistic, economic and political issues;

(iv)   a discriminating type of regional ethnocentrisms

(v)   regional movements for preservation of culture and safeguarding the 'state rights'.

(vi)   militant sub-nationalism subsequently expressed through the activities of regional movements for greater autonomy or for political separatism.

These centrifugal forces of regionalism are potential dangers to national integration, and if they remain unchecked, may strike at the

root of achieving a workable democracy.[15] Therefore, the need of the hour is suppressing the separatist tendencies of regionalism and work towards national integration.

The term national integration implies a strong sense of national identity and feeling. It involve a psychological and emotions involvement in the nation and nationhood. The national integration conference defines national integration as "a psychological and educational process, involving the development of feeling of unity, solidarity and cohesion, in the hearts of people a sense of common citizenship and a feeling of loyalty to the nation" Myron Weiner explained national integration involving following four dimensions, (i) a process of bringing together culturally and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit and the establishment of national identity, (ii) the process of establishing a central national authority over subordinate political units and regions which may or may not coincide with distinct cultural or ethnic groups. (iii) binding governments with government, (iv) and evolving minimum value and consensus necessary to maintain a social order with a reference to norms and processes for achieving of goals.[16]

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[15] Arun K. Chatterji, "Sociological content of Regionalism in India: A conceptual framework", in Satish Chandra, *et. al.* (*ed.*), Regionalism and National Integration", (Jaipur : Aalekh Publishers : 1976) p. 43.

[16] Weiner, Myron, op cit.

The process of integration itself involves the integration of the viable regions as a precondition for the development of national identity. National integration is necessary for modernisation. It involves readjustment of loyalties of the people. The values of a tribal, a feudal and a parochial ethos give way to the ideas and ends of a democratic, egalitarian and an evolving national society. Integration is thus a movement away from traditionalist allegiances and towards a modernist allegiance - a movement for the establishment of a new national identity.

In the language of functional politics, the term national integration means and ought to mean cohesion but not fusion, unity but not uniformity, reconciliation but not merger, accommodation but not elimination, assimilation but not extinction, synthesis but not non-existence, solidarity but not regimentation of the many segments of the people in a territorial sovereignty.

National integration may be summed up to signify a condition of unity in diversity in which the components and the whole are equally valid and mutually inter-dependent. National integration pressumes the existence both of unity and diversity. Because if there is only diversity then integration is not possible. Obviously, then integration is not a process of conversion of diversities into a

uniformity but a cognance of diversities leading to a higher level of unity in which both the varieties and similarities are maintained. It may be also remembered that all diversities are not and need not be constructed as divisive in their operation. Viable plural societies anyhow presume that diversities are reconcilable.[17]

As India represents a plural society, integration becomes all the more a prerequisite so as to accommodate the divergent elements under a common fold. So, the constitution of India has provided an institutional consensus in the form of democratic, secular and federal republic so as to accommodate the diverse forces of Indian society under a common body politics. It also emphasised the ideas of common national culture, secularism and a common national language as the basic elements of nation-building. Despite the five decades of independent national life the consensus has been questioned and challenged by the forces of separatism and fissiparous elements. The efforts have been undertaken to pave for national integration in India. National integration conference have been convened to discuss the problem of nation integration since 1961. The conference emphasised that no political parties should indulge in any activity which aggravates the existing differences and causes tensions between

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[17] Rasheeduddin Khan, op cit., p.85.

various castes, communities and linguistic groups. The conferences noted the role of education as an important variable in promoting national integration and therefore suggested uniform and cohesive education policy and even suggested making concurrent list.

Despite such positive efforts, there is rise in regionalism, communal tensions and caste atrocities. These problems continue to act as a challenge to the unity and solidarity of India. It will persist and may even rise due to the paucity of any massive economic transformation. The need of the hour is therefore for the union and state governments to embark upon a few imaginative and progressive policies for the economic development of the deprived groups and regions thereby eradicating regional imbalances and bring about all around socio-economic development. These measures may go a long way in contributing to the long cherished dream of attainment of national integration and national identity.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

India is a federal democracy which is functioning in the specific context of its considerable size and diversity. It has evolved in response to the challenges arising from increased political awareness manifested periodically in electoral mobilisation based on universal adult franchise. In a multi party democratic system, the emergence of regional parties are an inevitable consequence of the intrinsic diversity of India's socio-economic and cultural facets. These regional parties articulate and provide a vent to the aspirations of the people of that particular community or region they represent. This in turn paves the ground for regionalism and sub-nationalism.

The successive rounds of general elections from 1952 till 1996 has witnessed the gradual growth and strengthening of the regional parties. The emergence of the regional parties, however, provides a specific pattern in terms of their areas of operation which is helpful in the regionalisation of the regional parties. The mountaineous areas of the country has parties which have a strong support in the tribal areas. These regional parties like Mizo National Front, Sikkim Sangram Parishad, Gorkha National Liberation Front, etc. highlight the problems of the people inhabiting the mountaineous regions.

Where as in Plains and Plateaus we find parties based on caste, religion, language etc. These regional parties fight for the problems of particular caste like the Bahujan Samajwadi Party, Samata Party etc., religion like the Akali Dal, language like the Telugu Desam party.

The first two decades after India gained independence, however, didnot witness as the emergence of any major regional parties. The representation of the regional parties in the Lok Sabha was a mere one or two percent. After 1967, with the split in the Congress Party, there emerged numerous regional parties formed by breakaway groups of the Congress party. These regional parties, despite being strong in the states, could not successfully challenge the national parties at the centre. In many states they formed governments with the help of national or other state parties, thus ushering in an era of coalition governments. Experimentation with coalition government at the centre started in 1977, and again in 1989 and in 1996 when all the opposition national and major regional parties came under a single banner to fight the dominant national parties like the Congress or the Bharatiya Janata Party. But this experiment met with failure primarily because different parties have diverse ideologies and apart from preventing the Congress I or the Bharatiya Janata Party to form governments at the centre they donot have any common point. Moreover there are ego problems with the

prominent leaders which further pulls away different parties in different directions. Apart from being providing unstable governments the coalition government also have few drawbacks. For instance, the decision making power shifts from the Prime Minister to a Steering Committee or the Coordination Committee. The Prime Minister cannot appoint Ministers to his cabinet according to his own wish but had to relent to the demands of different parties which want particular port folio to be given to their party. Moreover, norm of secrecy is violated. Nevertheless, the coalition governments have their positive sides also. The coalition government gives opportunity to each and every constituent to take part in the decision making process. Every party which forms the part of the coalition government are able to put forward the causes for which it is fighting and can draw the attention of the central government to any particular problem. Moreover, coalition government helps in strengthening "cooperative federalism" thereby enhancing and highlighting the rich diverse fabric of the Indian society. It also provides a viable alternative in a parliamentary democracy. There is no doubt that coalition politics is here to stay. This fact is further accentuated and strengthened by the election results of 1998, when a coalition government headed by Atal Bihari Vajpayee was formed at the centre. The failure of the national parties to secure adequate

seats in the Lok Sabha force them to look towards the regional parties to form governments at the centre. This coalition government have immense impact on the federal system of the country. The regional parties with gaining of strength successfully challenged the single party dominance at the centre. They are in a better position to bargain. They are able to stress for greater devolution of power, equitable distribution of resources, greater cooperation between the centre and the states and also between states for settling problems in a more amicable manner. They stressed for "cooperative federalism". However, the coalition governments formed with the help of smaller parties primarily with regional parties have its disadvantages. Many of the regional parties have narrow regional outlook and are preoccupied with their petty regional politics. They try to forward their causes with little understanding of the repercussions it might have on the national politics. In order to sustain the coalition governments, it is imperative for the coalition partners to shed their narrow regional outlook, broaden their horizon and should help in sustaining the government keeping in mind that a stable government at the centre will be able to work and deliver the goods to people in a better way and at the same time can improve the country's standing in the international arena. For the sustenance of the coalition government it was hitherto opined that pre-poll alliance is necessary.

But in the recent times it is seen that many parties in the coalition defy the norms of alliance and resort to the tactics of blackmailing in order to meet their demands by the coalition government. But, the pre-poll alliance is very important as it provides a legitimacy to the coalition and it also becomes decisive when after the election the President calls any party to form the government.

The regional parties articulate and express the aspiration of the people and provide a vent to the pent up demands of the people of the particular region or community which they represent. They also look up to the government at the centre with greater power to heed their problems and find solutions. They also pressurise the government to form policies and programmes for all round development of their regions and implement it. This fact also inspired them to ascertain that the government at the centre sustains itself to work together with greater harmony among other states. Looking from this perspective, the regional parties do have a positive impact on the national integration and enhance a feeling of mutual habitation among different units of the federal system thereby strengthening the centripetal forces.

The regional parties, when further their petty, parochial aspirations and acquire an unbending attitude threatening

sessionism, if their demands are not met, strengthen the centrifugal forces. This causes serious threats to the unity and integrity of the country. The main reason of the strengthening of the centrifugal forces is the rise of the distorted form of regionalism and sub-regionalism. Regionalism express itself in different forms like linguism, religious fundamentalism, tribalism, racial attributes and other forms of regionalism. The main reason which underline the rise of regionalism is economic. The relative economic underdevelopment of one region leads to the feeling of deprivation among the people. This gives rise to mutual hatred among people of different regions and raises the slogan of "sons of the soil". All the contemporary agitation clamouring for further autonomy on the demand of new states like Uttarakhand, Vananchal, Chhatisgarh etc. have the common connotation of economic issue. The central government in order to underplay the heightened emotions of regionalism which threatens the basic fibre of the society thereby damaging prospects of national integration, do give in to the demands of separate states, sometimes partially and sometimes completely.

From the above discussion based on the spatial analysis of the political process in context of election, it can be concluded that regional parties is the, reality of the contemporary politics of India. They are exerting a profound impact on the federal set up of the

country. They are redefining the centre-state relations by heavily tilting the balance of power to the state. They are forming the part of the central government which is providing with a greater say in the decision making process. They are strengthening the concept of "cooperative federalism". Moreover, the regional parties by articulating and expressing the aspirations of the people are strengthening the centripetal forces consequently enhancing national unity and integrity.

However, for making India more stable and strong it is imperative on the part of both national and regional parties to understand the problems of the people and form policies and programmes for all round socio-cultural and economic developments of India and firmly implement it.

INDIA
PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES

ARABIAN
SEA

BAY

OF

BENGAL
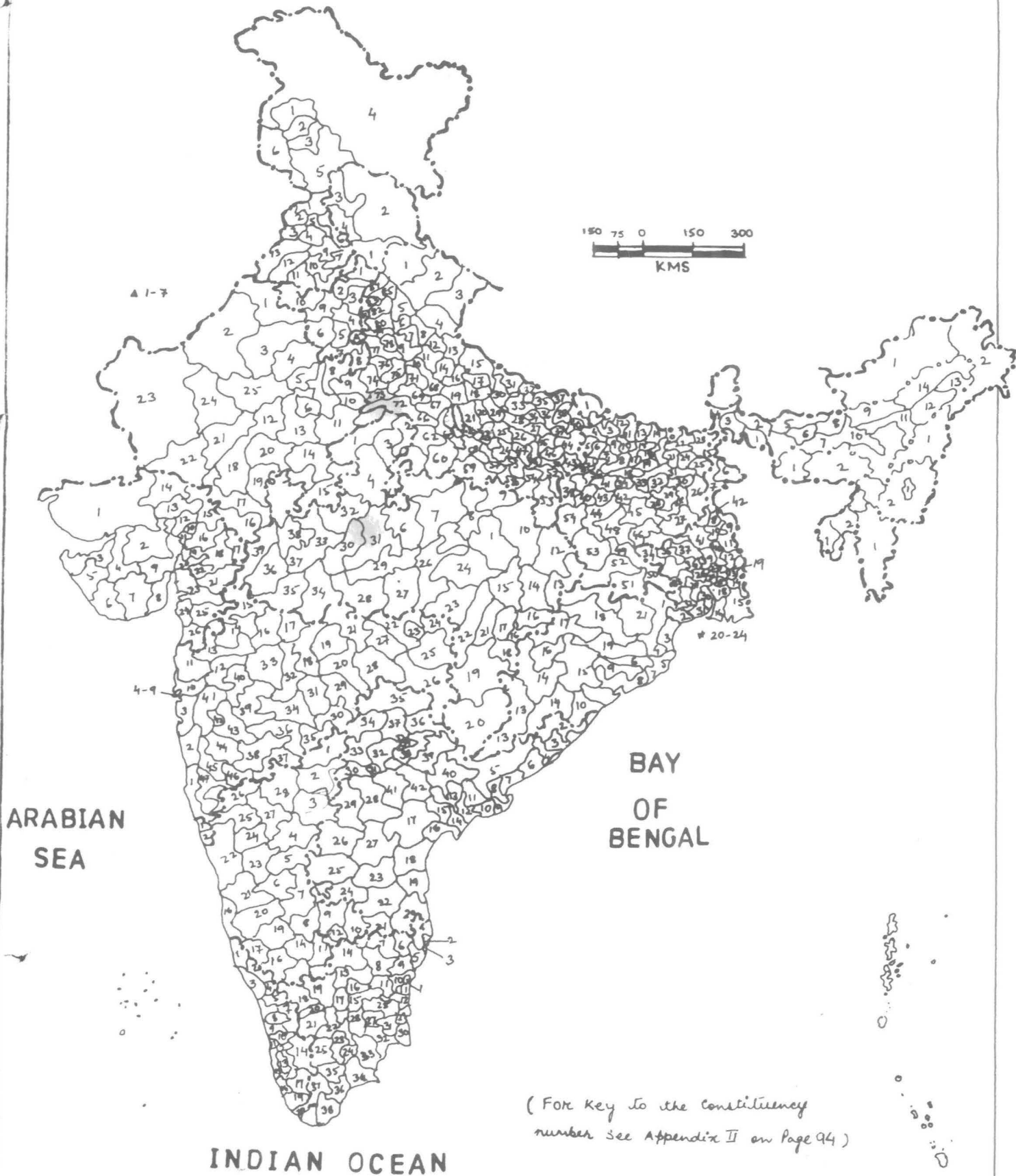
(For key to the constituency

number see Appendix II on Page 94)

INDIAN OCEAN

APPENDIX II

LIST OF PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES

ARUNACHAL PRADESH

1. Arunachal East
2. Arunachal West

ANDHRA PRADESH

1. Srikakulam
2. Parvatipuram
3. Bobbill
4. Vishakapatnam
5. Bhadrachalam
6. Anakapalle
7. Kakinada
8. Rajahmundry
9. Amalapuram
10. Narasapur
11. Eluru
12. Mahilipatnam
13. Vijayawada
14. Tenal
15. Guntur
16. Bapatla
17. Narasarapet
18. Ongole
19. Nellore
20. Tirupati
21. Chittoor
22. Rajampet
23. Cuddaph
24. Hindupur
25. Anantpur
26. Kurnool
27. Nandyal
28. Nagarkurnool
29. Mahbubnagar
30. Hyderabad
31. Secunderabad
32. Siddipet
33. Medak
34. Nizamabad
35. Adilabad
36. Peddapalli
37. Karimnagar
38. Hanamkonda
39. Warangal
40. Khammam
41. Nalgonda
42. Miralguda

ASSAM

1. Karimganj
2. Silchar
3. Autonomous District
4. Dhuburi
5. Kokrahjar
6. Barpeta
7. Guwahati
8. Mangaldai
9. Tezpur
10. Nowgong
11. Kaliabor
12. Jorhat
13. Dibrugarh
14. Lakhimpur

BIHAR

1. Bagaha
2. Bettiah
3. Mothari
4. Gopalganj
5. Siwan
6. Maharajganj
7. Chhapra
8. Hajipur
9. Vaishali
10. Muzaffarpur
11. Sitmarhi
12. Sheohar
13. Madhubani
14. Jhanjharpur
15. Darbhanga
16. Rosera
17. Samastipur
18. Barhi
19. Balia
20. Saharsa
21. Madhepura
22. Araria
23. Kishanganj
24. Purnia
25. Katihar
26. Rajmahal
27. Dumka
28. Godda
29. Banka
30. Bhagalpur
31. Khagaria
32. Munger
33. Begusarai
34. Nalanda
35. Patna
36. Ara
37. Buxar
38. Sesaram
39. Bikramganj
40. Aurangabad
41. Jahanabad
42. Nawada
43. Gaya
44. Chapra
45. Kodarma
46. Girdih
47. Dhanbad
48. Hazaribagh
49. Ranchi
50. Jamshedpur
51. Singhbhumi
52. Khuti
53. Lohardaga
54. Palamu

GOA

1. Panaji
2. Marmagao

GUJARAT

1. Kachchh
2. Surendranagar
3. Jamnagar
4. Rajkot
5. Porbandar
6. Junagadh
7. Amreli
8. Bhavnagar
9. Dhandhuka
10. Ahmadabad
11. Gandhinagar
12. Mahesana
13. Patan
14. Banaskantha
15. Sabarkantha
16. Kapadvanj
17. Dohad
18. Godhra
19. Kaira
20. Anand
21. Choota Udepur
22. Vadodara (Baroda)
23. Bharuch (Broach)
24. Surat
25. Mandvi
26. Valsad (Bulsar)

HARYANA

1. Ambala
2. Kurukshetra
3. Karnal
4. Sonipet
5. Rohtak
6. Faridabad
7. Mahendragarh
8. Bhiwani
9. Hisar
10. Sirsa

HIMACHAL PRADESH

1. Shimla
2. Mandi
3. Kangra
4. Hamirpur

JAMMU & KASHMIR

1. Baramula
2. Srinagar
3. Anantnag
4. Ladakh
5. Udhampur
6. Jammu

KARNATAKA

1. Bidar
2. Gulbarga
3. Raichur
4. Koppal
5. Bellary
6. Davangere
7. Chitradurga
8. Tumkur
9. Chikballapur
10. Kolar
11. Kanakapura
12. Bangalore North
13. Bangalore South
14. Mandya
15. Chamranjnagar
16. Mysore
17. Mangalore
18. Udupi
19. Hassan
20. Chikmagalur
21. Shimoga
22. Kanara
23. Dharwad South
24. Dharwad North
25. Belgaum
26. Chikkodi
27. Bagalkot
28. Bijapur

KERALA

1. Kasargod
2. Cannanore
3. Badagara
4. Kozhikode (Calicut)
5. Manjeri
6. Ponnani
7. Palghat
8. Ottapalam
9. Trichur
10. Mukundapuram
11. Ernakulam
12. Muvattupuzha
13. Kottayam
14. Iddukki
15. Alleppey
16. Mavelikara
17. Adoor
18. Quilon
19. Chirayinkil
20. Trivandrum

MADHYA PRADESH

1. Morena
2. Bhind
3. Gwalior
4. gunja
5. Sagar
6. Khajuraho
7. Damoh
8. Satna
9. Rewa
10. sidhi
11. Shahdol
12. Surguja
13. Raigarh
14. Janjgir
15. bilaspur
16. Sarangarh
17. Rajpur
18. Mahassamund
19. Kanker
20. Bastar
21. Durg
22. Raj Nandgaon
23. Balaghat
24. Mandla
25. Jabalpur
26. Seoni
27. Chhindwara
28. Betul
29. Hoshangabad
30. Bhopal
31. Vidisha
32. Rajgarh
33. Shajapur
34. Khandwa
35. Khargon
36. Dhar
37. Indore
38. Ujjain
39. Jhabua
40. Mandsaur

MAHARASHTRA

1. Rajapur
2. Ratnagiri
3. Raigad (Kolaba)
4. Bombay South
5. Bombay South Central
6. Bombay North Central
7. Bombay North East
8. Bombay North West
9. Bombay North
10. Thane
11. Dahanu
12. Nashik
13. Malegaon
14. Dhule
15. Nandurbar
16. Erandol
17. Jalgaon
18. Buldana
19. Akola
20. Washim
21. Amravati
22. Ramtek
23. Nagpur
24. Bhandara
25. Chimur
26. Chandrapur
27. Wardha
28. Yavatmal
29. Hingoli
30. Nanded
31. Parbhani
32. Jaina
33. Aurangabad
34. Beed (Bhir)
35. Latur
36. Osmanadbad
37. Solapur
38. Pandharpur
39. Ahmadnagar
40. Kopargaon
41. Khed
42. Pune
43. Baramati
44. Satara
45. Karad
46. Sangli
47. Ichalkaranji
48. Kolhapur

MANIPUR

1. Inner Manipur

95

2. Outer Manipur

MEGHALAYA

1. Shillong
2. Tura

MIZORAM

1. Mizoram

NAGALAND

1. Nagaland

ORISSA

1. Mayurbhanj
2. Baleshwar
3. Bhoadrak
4. Jajpur
5. Kendrapara
6. Cuttak
7. Jagatsinghpur
8. Puri
9. Bhubaneshwar
10. Aska
11. Brahmapur
12. Koraput
13. Nowrangpur
14. Kalahandi
15. Phulbani
16. Balangir
17. Sambalpur
18. Deogarh
19. Dhenkanal
20. Sundergarh
21. Kendujhar

PUNJAB

1. Gurdaspur
2. Amritsar
3. Tar Taran
4. Jalandhar
5. Phillaur
6. Hoshiarpur
7. Rupnagar
8. Patiala
9. Ludhiana
10. Sangrur
11. Bathinda
12. Faridkot
13. Ferozpur

RAJASTHAN

1. Ganganagar
2. Bikaner
3. Churu

4. Jhunjhunun
5. Sikar
6. Jaipur
7. Dausa
8. Alwar
9. Bharatpur
10. Bayana
11. Sawai Madhopur
12. Ajmer
13. Tonk
14. Kota
15. Jhalwar
16. Banswara
17. Salumber
18. Udaipur
19. Chittaurgarh
20. Bhilwara
21. Pali
22. Jalor
23. Barmer
24. Jodhpur
25. Nagaur

SIKKIM

1. Sikkim

TAMIL NADU

1. Madras North
2. Madras Central
3. Madras South
4. Sriperumbudur
5. Chengalpattu
6. Arakkonam
7. Vellore
8. Tiruppattor
9. Vandavasi
10. Tindivanam
11. Cuddalore
12. Chidambaram
13. Dharmapuri
14. Krishnagiri
15. Rasipuram
16. Salem
17. Tiruchengodu
18. Nilgiri
19. Gobichettipalayam
20. Coimbatore
21. Pollachi
22. Palani
23. Dindigul
24. Madurai
25. Periyakulam
26. Karur
27. Tiruccirappalli
28. Perambadur
29. Mayiladuthurai
30. Nagappattinam
31. Thanjavur

32. Pudukkotai
33. Sivaganga
34. Ramanathapuram
35. Sivakasi
36. Tirunelveli
37. Tenkasi
38. Tiruchchendur
39. Nagercoil

TRIPURA

1. Tripura West
2. Tripura East

UTTAR PRADESH

1. Tehri Garwal
2. Garhwal
3. Almora
4. Naini Tal
5. Bijnor
6. Amroha
7. Moradabad
8. Rampur
9. Sambhal
10. Budaun
11. Aonla
12. Bareilly
13. Phlibhit
14. Shahjahanpur
15. Kheri
16. Shahabad
17. Sitapur
18. Misrikh
19. Hardoi
20. Lucknow
21. Mohanlalganj
22. Unnao
23. Rae Barelli
24. Pratapgarh
25. Amethi
26. Sultanpur
27. Akbarpur
28. Faizabad
29. Bara Banki
30. Kaiserganj
31. Bahraich
32. Balrampur
33. Gonda
34. Basti
35. Domariaganj
36. Khalilabad
37. Bansgaon
38. Gorakpur
39. Maharajganj
40. Padrauna
41. Deoria
42. Salempur
43. Ballia
44. Ghosi

45.	Azamgarh	17.	Diamond Harbour	**PONDICHERRY**
46.	Lalganj	18.	Jadavpur	
47.	Machhlishahr	19.	Barakpur	1. Pondicherry
48.	Jaunpur	20.	Dum Dum	(incl. Karaikal, Yanam
49.	Saidpur	21.	Calcutta North West	& Mahe)
50.	Ghazipur	22.	Calcutta North East	
51.	Chandauli	23.	Calcutta South	
52.	Varanasi	24.	Haora	
53.	Robertsganj	25.	Uluberia	
54.	Mirzapur	26.	Serampore	
55.	Phulphur	27.	Hugli	
56.	Allahabad	28.	Arambagh	
57.	Chail	29.	Panskura	
58.	Fatehpur	30.	Tamluk	
59.	Banda	31.	Contai	
60.	Hamirpur	32.	Medinipur	
61.	Jhansi	33.	Jhargram	
62.	Jalaun	34.	Puruliya	
63.	Ghatampur	35.	Bankura	
64.	Bilhaur	36.	Bishnupur	
65.	Kanpur	37.	Durgapur	
66.	Etawah	38.	Asansol	
67.	Kannauj	39.	Barddhaman	
68.	Farrukhabad	40.	Katwa	
69.	Mainpuri	41.	Bolpur	
70.	Jatesar	42.	Birbhum	
71.	Etah			

72. Firozabad
73. Agra
74. Mathura
75. Hathras
76. Aligarh
77. Khurja
78. Bulandshahr
79. Hapur
80. Meerut
81. Bahpat
82. Muzffarnagar
83. Kairana
84. Saharanpur
85. Haridwar

AANDAMAN AND
NICOBAR ISLANDS

1. Aandaman and Nicobar
   Islands

CHANDIGARH

1. Chandigarh

DADRA AND NAGAR
HAVELI

1. Dadra and Nagar
   Haveli

DELHI

1. East Delhi
2. Chandni Chowk
3. Delhi Sadar
4. Karol Bagh
5. New Delhi
6. Outer Delhi
7. South Delhi

DAMAN AND DIU

1. Daman and Diu

LAKSHADWEEP

1. Lakshadweep

WEST BENGAL

1. Koch Bihar
2. Alipurduars
3. Jalpaiguri
4. Darjiling
5. Raiganj
6. Balurghat
7. Maldah
8. Jangipur
9. Murshidabad
10. Baharampur
11. Krishnanagar
12. Navadwip
13. Barasat
14. Basirhat
15. Joynagar
16. Mathurapur

APPENDIX III

LIST OF THE STATE PARTIES AS RECOGNISED IN THE 1996 GENERAL ELECTIONS

ABBREVIATION	PARTY
ADMK	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
AGP	Asom Gana Parishad
ASDC.	Autonmous State Demand Committee
BSP	Bahujan Samaj Party
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
FBL	All India Forward Bloc
FPM	Federal Party of Manipur
HVP	Haryana Vikas Party
ICS	Indian Congress (Socialist)
JMM	Jharkhand Mukti Morcha
JPP	Jammu and Kashmir Panthers Party
KCP	Karnataka Congress Party
KEC(M)	Kerala Congress (M)
MAG	Maharashtrawadi Gomantak
MDMK	Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
MNF	Mizo National Front
MPP	Manipur Peoples Front
MUL	Muslim League
NTRTDP (LP)	NTR Telugu Desam Party (Lakshmi Parvathi)
PMK	Pattali Makkal Katchi
RSP	Revolutionary Socialist Party
SAD	Shiromani Akali Dal
SDF	Sikkim Democratic Front
SHS	Shiv Sena
SP	Samajwadi Party
SSP	Sikkim Sangram Parishad
TDP	Telugu Desam party
TMC(M)	Tamil Mannila Congress (Moopanar)
TUJS	Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti
UGDP	United Goan Democratic Party

APPENDIX IV

DATA REGARDING THE PERFORMANCE OF REGIONAL PARTIES IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS (1952-1996)

IV.a. THE HIMALAYAN REGION

YEARS→ STATES AND PARTIES ↓	SEATS WON AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTES										
	1952	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991	1996
JAMMU AND KASHMIR National Conference	–	–	–	1(4) 24.9	–	2(3) 33.9	3(5) 36.9	3(5) 46.2	3(3) 6.8	–	Did not contest
SIKKIM Sikkim Janata Parishad	–	–	–	–	–	–	1(1) 61.7	–	–	–	
Sikkim Congress (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	0(1) 22.6	–	–	1(1)	
Sikkim Sangram Parishad	–	–	–	–	–	–	0(1) 10.0	–	1(1) 68.5	1(1) 90.1	0(1) 24.50
Sikkim Democratic Front	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		1(1) 72.15
Rising Sun Party	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0 9.6	–	–
DARJEELING GNLF	–	–	–	–	–	–	0(1) 0.5	0(1) 0.1	1(1) 1.4	–	–
ARUNACHAL PRADESH Peoples Party of Arunachal	–	–	–	–	–	–	0(2) 40.2	0 34.6	0(2) 35.2	–	–

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YEARS→ STATES AND PARTIES ↓	SEATS WON AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTES										
	1952	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991	1996
MANIPUR											
Manipur Peoples' Party	–	–	–	–	0(1) 12.0	0(2) 23.5	0(1) 6.9	0(1) 17.7	0(1) 17.1	0(1) 20.0	0(1) 6.7
MEGHALAYA											
All Party Hills Conference	–	–	–	–	–	–	0(1) 11.8	–	–	–	–
MIZORAM											
Mizoram National Front	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0(1) 31.3	0(1) 34.1	0(1) 37.6
Peoples' Conference	–	–	–	–	–	–	0(1) 42.0	–	–	–	–
NAGALAND											
United Democratic Front	–	–	–	–	–	1(1) 51.7	0(1) 49.0	–	–	–	–
Nagaland National Organisation	–	–	–	–	0(1) 39.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Nagaland National Democratic Party	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0(1) 29.4	–	–	–
United Front of Nagaland	–	–	–	–	1(1) 60.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Nagaland People's Council	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0(1) 39.7	–	–
TRIPURA											
Tripura Upajati Tuba Samiti	–	–	–	–	–	0(2) 6.2	0(2) 13.5	–	–	–	0(2) 4.6
Amara Bengali	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0(2) 1.1	0(2) 3.0	–

Source : Election Commission Reports

IV.b. THE NORTH INDIAN PLAINS

YEARS→ STATES AND PARTIES ↓	SEATS WON AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTES										
	1952	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991	1996
PUNJAB											
Shriomani Akali Dal	2(8) 11.4	–	3(7) 12.3	–	1(12) 30.9	9(9) 42.3	1(7) 23.4	7(11) 37.2	0(4) 1.3	–	8(9) 29.7
Shiromani Akali Dal (Mann)	0(4) 2.2	–	1(1) 2.3	–	–	–	–	–	6(8) 29.2	–	–
Akali Dal (Sant Fateh Singh)	–	–	–	3(8) 22.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Akali Dal (Master Tara Singh)	–	–	1(1) 1.7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bahujan Samaj Party	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1(12) 8.6	1(12) 19.7	3(4) 9.4
HARYANA											
Haryana Vikas Party	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1(4) 5.4	3(4) 15.2
Vishal Haryana Party	–	–	–	–	1(3) 9.1	0(1) 4.6	–	–	–	–	–
UTTAR PRADESH											
Samajwadi Party	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	16(64) 20.8
Bahujan Samajwadi Party BKD in 1971)	–	–	–	–	1(67) 12.8	–	–	–	2(75) 9.9	2 (3.54)	6(85) 20.6
Samyukta Socialist Party	2(61) 12.9	-	1(51) 8.6	8(43) 10.3	0(25) 4.1	–	–	–	–	–	–

YEARS→ STATES AND PARTIES ↓	SEATS WON AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTES										
	1952	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991	1996
Praja Socialist Party	0(37) 4.9	4(52) 13.3	2(48) 10.4	2(27) 3.7	0(7) 0.2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Doordarshi Party	–	–	3(33) 5.0	1(38) 4.8	–	–	–	–	0(82) 1.3	–	–
Republican Party of India	–	–	3(22) 4.3	1(24) 4.1	–	–	–	–	0(4) 0.1	–	–
Samata Party	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
BIHAR											
Samata Party	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6(4) 14.1
Jharkhand Mukti Morcha	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6(8) 4.5	1(20) 3.01
All India Jharkhand Party	–	–	–	–	–	1(1) 0.6	–	–	–	–	–
Jharkhand Party	3(7) 7.5	6(12) 7.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
WEST BENGAL											
All India Forward Bloc	0(6) 4.5	–	1(6) 6.3	2(6) 4.9	0(10) 2.7	3(3) 4.3	3(4) 4.6	2(4) 4.1	3(3) 4.0	3(3) 3.7	3(3) 3.42
Revolutionary Socialist Party	2(4) 2.4	–	1(2) 2.6	–	1(5) 2.0	3(5) 3.8	4(4) 5.2	3(4) 4.6	4(4) 4.7	4(4) 4.7	4(4) 4.7
ASSAM											
Asom Gana Parishad	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7(10) 33.4	–	1(14) 17.6	5(11) 27.2
All Party Hill Leaders Conference	–	–	1(1) 3.7	–	1(1) 3.0)	–	–	–	–	–	–

*Source : Election Commission Reports

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IV.c. THE PLATEAU

YEARS→ STATES AND PARTIES ↓	SEATS WON AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTES										
	1952	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991	1996
ANDHRA PRADESH											
Telugu Desam Party	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	30(34) 44.8	2(33) 34.2)	13(35) 32.3	16(36) 32.6
Telangana Praja Samiti	7(12) 28.2	2(8) 11.0	–	–	10(14 14.3	–	–	–	–	–	–
GOA											
Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party	–	–	–	–	0(1) 23.2	1(2) 40.5	1(2) 36.0	0(2) 20.3	1(1) 27.9	0(2) 20.6	1(2) 26.9
United Goan Democratic Party	–	–	1(2) 36.0	–	1(1) 24.7	–	–	–	–	–	1(1) 22.7
KARNATAKA											
Samajwadi Party	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1(6) 3.8	–
KERALA											
Muslim Leage	–	–	2(3) 4.5	2(2) 6.6	2(2) 5.6	2(2) 6.0	2(2) 5.6	2(2) 5.3	2(2) 5.2	2(2) 5.0	2(2) 5.1
Kerala Congress	–	–	–	–	3(3) 8.6	2(2) 5.6	–	–	–	–	–
Revolutionary Socialist Party	1(1) 6.3	0(3) 5.1	1(1) 3.6	–	2(2) 6.4	1(1) 3.1	0(1) 2.3	–	0(1) 2.4	–	–
MAHARASHTRA											
Shiv Sena	–	–	–	–	0(5) 1.6	–	0(2) 0.6	–	1(3) 1.2	4(17) 9.5	15(20) 16.8
Peasants and Workers' Party	1(11) 7.0	4(7) 5.5	0(10) 6.3	2(11) 7.5	0(12) 5.3	5(6) 6.1	0(5) 2.5	1(3) 2.1	0(5) 2.3	–	–
Forward Bloc	–	–	–	–	1(3) 2.5	–	–	–	–	–	–

YEARS→ STATES AND PARTIES ↓	SEATS WON AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTES										
	1952	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991	1996
ORISSA											
Ganatantra Parishad	5(12) 26.2	7(15) 29.1	4(10) 17.4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Utkal Congress	–	–	–	–	1(2) 23.6	–	–	–	–	–	–
Samata Party	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1(2) 1.6	
PONDICHERRY											
Dravida Munnetra Kazhagham	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0(1) 36.1	0(1) 41.7	0(1) 35.8	0(1) 39.9
All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhgham	–	–	–	–	–	0(1) 53.3	–	0(1) 6.6	–	–	–
Pattati Makkal Katchi							0(1) 26.7	–	0(1) 6.6		
TAMIL NADU											
Dravida Munnetra Kazhagham	–	–	7(18) 18.5	25(25) 35.8)	23(24) 35.3	1(19) 18.0	16(16) 23.0	2(27) 25.9	0(31) 26.7	0(29) 22.7	17(17) 25.8
All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagham	–	–	–	–	–	18(20) 30.5	2(24) 25.4	12(12) 18.4	11(11) 17.1	11(11) 18.1	0(10) 7.84
Tamil Manila Congress (Moopnar)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	20(20) 27.0

Source : Election Commission Reports

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