CHAPTER I

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The idea of a Parliamentary Opposition began to evolve mainly after the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 in the United Kingdom, while the Opposition was emerging as a well organised part of the British political system. The phrase "His Majesty's Loyal Opposition" was first coined in 1826 by John Cam Hobhouse who carried the reputation of being a radical statesman. Dictionaries and books on political philosophy define the opposition mainly as a party that opposes the government or party in power. The Grolier International Dictionary defines it as a political party or organized opposed to the group, party or government in power. The Reader's Digest Great Encyclopaedic Dictionary defines opposition as the Chief Parliamentary party opposed to that in office and extends it to cover any party that is opposed to some proposals. Webster's Third New International Dictionary defines it as a political party that actively opposes the party in power and is prepared to replace it if opportunity offers. Larouse Illustrated

International Encyclopedia and Dictionary defines it the political group or groups in a democracy opposing the party in power and working to take its place by constitutional methods. The Universal Dictionary of the English Language defines it to denote a body of persons holding opinions adverse to a policy or proposal, and as the body of Members of Parliament who are opposed to the party in office. The New Oxford Illustrated Dictionary defines it as Chief Parliamentary party opposed to that in office. The Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary expresses the same idea without restricting it to the body of Members of Parliament. It defines it as a body of opposers or the party that opposes the Ministry or existing Administration. The Dictionary of American Politics defines it as the members of a party in the Congress, whether in minority or majority, politically opposed to the President and his Administration. It elaborates that in a Parliamentary Government it would


mean the members of the party or parties in Coalition who oppose the ruling party⁹.

In the special sense of the term, the Opposition normally means a coherent group of people, regularly acting together, and able to present themselves collectively to the electorate as an alternative Government with an alternative policy¹⁰.

In contrast to this, in political philosophy, the term Opposition is limited to constitutional Opposition¹¹. Jerzy Wjatrz and Adam Przeworski define it in terms of its characteristics. They state that a body which is political institutionalised in the form of a party or parties and is responsible may be termed as the Opposition, if it controls the government¹². Robert A. Dahl points out that the term Opposition, like other political terms, has both a personal and an operational definition, by which he means making Opposition, as well as being in Opposition. Applying this criterion, he looks upon the Opposition as a group of

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persons effectively organised for the purpose of opposing the activities in which such persons might engage include their thoughts and ideology.\(^{13}\)

In all democratic governments, if not in other forms remarks Ivor Jennings,

"The Government tends to regard the Opposition as the brake on a car going uphill and where the Opposition thinks that the car is going down hill; uphill and down hill are terms relative to some notion of level and there is no recognised standard by which the impartial, if there were such a person, could determine his conclusion.\(^{14}\)

Ghita Ionescu and Isabel de Madriga observed:

In a Parliamentary System, the Opposition can either challenge the system in which it operates or accept it. In some Parliamentary systems, notably in Britain, within the established frame work, of the two party system, each party plays the part of the 'loyal' or 'normal' Opposition, and acts as the alternative government.\(^{15}\)


They further add:

In multi-party Parliamentary democracies there are political parties which do not accept the alternative government unless their coming to power is accompanied by a general reform of the entire political, social and economic systems on which the government is founded.\footnote{Ionescu, Ghita and Madriga de, Isabel, p.15, p. 79.}

D.E. Apter reflecting on the role of a Political Opposition in new nations, observes:

"The Opposition has the responsibility of 'providing criticism' and posing useful alternatives to government policies. This function, properly performed helps government to set goals best qualified to produce public satisfaction. On matters of budget, welfare and other major concerns, criticism keeps the government responsive to the public and aware of weaknesses in its program.\footnote{Apter, D.E., "Some Reflections on the Role of a Political Opposition in New Nations", Comparative Studies in Society and History, An International Quarterly, Vol.4, 1961-62, p. 161.}"

Edward Shils examined the need for a coherent and responsible Opposition in Political Democracy. He observed:

"The effective and continuous existence of political democracy requires a fairly coherent..."
and responsible Opposition to the ruling party working within the rules of the Parliamentary game. This Opposition should not simply interest itself in the obstruction and depreciation of the majority. It should be capable of criticizing the majority's measures on the basis of detailed and realistic information about the situation in the country and the performance of the executive. The Opposition should be sufficiently coherent to control or to isolate extremists who do not wish to work with in the constitutional system. The Opposition must be able to resist the temptations of conspiracy and subversion, and the governing party must likewise avoid the idea that Opposition is in itself, a step in the direction of subversion.\(^{18}\)

The views held by Indian Political Scientists and leaders on this theme are not much different. C.P. Bham-bhri summarised the importance of the Opposition in a Parliamentary Democracy as follows:

"An effective Opposition is very necessary for the right functioning of a Parliamentary democracy. But it is not the business of the Opposition to obstruct the Government. Its purpose is to criticise not to hinder. Obstruction brings Parliamentary Government into contempt. The Government must govern and the

Opposition must oppose. The Government has the power to obstruct the Government but neither kind of obstruction is desirable because it leads to confusion and results in inefficiency\textsuperscript{19}.

Renu Saxena sketched the role of the Opposition in a Parliamentary Democracy in the following pattern:

"The existence of Opposition is the most distinctive characteristic of Parliamentary democracy; it is its life blood. Democracy admits of dissent and conflict which give rise to Opposition. Parliamentary democracy needs an Opposition most of it is to function effectively and successfully. No leader or party can overcome the temptation of becoming dictatorial, autocratic and arrogant without the watchful eye of a strong, viable, well-informed vigilant Opposition. It is the Opposition that can expose the mistakes, the errors, the failures, the corruption, the lack of honesty and integrity, the readiness to resort to most unscrupulous methods and means to achieve the ends and objectives of the rulers"\textsuperscript{20}.


Hayat Singh Fartyal underlined the techniques of the Opposition parties on governmental affairs in legislature as follows:

"In the legislature, the Opposition exposes the Government Omissions and opposes the measures contrary to the public interest. The majority party has a mandate from the people for the management of the affairs of the nation for the time being. The Government, therefore, maintains political peace and stability in the administration. The Opposition by its constant scrutiny and criticism of the Government policy makes the Government a more useful instrument of democracy. An organized Opposition makes the use of various Parliamentary methods to compel the Government to admit its mistakes and adopt appropriate remedies."  

The views of some Political leaders in India may also be noted on the relations between the Government and Opposition. Ram Kishore Vyas, former Speaker of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, writes:

"In a democratic country the majority and minority party or parties together constitute the Parliament or Legislature. Though both the Government and the Opposition generally function as contending blocks yet there is a tacit understanding that the majority is to

govern and the minority to criticise. Under the Parliamentary practice, the majority concedes to the minority's reasonable liberty of speech, expression, association and movement, and the minority likewise, allows the majority to implement its programmes.22.

On the role of Opposition, Morarji Desai who was at that time in Opposition and who later became the Prime Minister of India, said:

"The Opposition's role is that of working for the benefit of the people which is also the role of the ruling party.... It is the duty of the Opposition to see that the well-being of the nation is safeguarded by (1) Supporting the actions of Government which are democratic and in the interests of the Nation, (2) By Oppositing the measures of Government which in its opinion would harm the interest of the Nation and (3) By exposing the misdeeds of Government and by using all Constitutional and peaceful methods to bring to light cases of corruption with a view to check it and to reduce it to a minimum.23.


According to Balraj Madhok, a leader of the Bharateeya Jana Sangh:

"The role of the Opposition is not only to Oppose and criticize the government and the ruling party for its lapses and acts of omission and commission but also to provide an alternative to the people which they may choose through the ballot box to run the government." 24.

Ramjeth Malani, an eminent lawyer, a Rajya Sabha Member and an Opposition leader, expressed that:

"A strong and effective Opposition is essential for the health and vigour of the ruling party itself. A daily combat of ideas and actions with a competent and honest Opposition prevents the clogging of the governmental arteries and sustains the systole and diastole of the entire Political organism." 25.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In view of this importance, the role of the Opposition in Parliament and many State Legislatures in


India has been a subject of serious study by many Western and Indian Scholars. H.S. Partyal sketched the role of the Opposition in Indian Parliament from 1952 to 1962. Renu Saxena made a commendable effort to trace the functioning of Opposition in India since the First General Elections, up to the end of the Emergency and the announcement of the Sixth General Elections in 1977. J.A. Naik brought out the role of the Opposition parties. J. Bandyopadhyaya articulated the theory and practice of Parliamentary Opposition in India.


28. Saxena, Renu; The Role of Opposition in Indian Politics, Delhi, Anmol Publications, 1986.


Rajni Kothari dealt with the consensual politics of Opposition parties in India. R.T. Jangam described the role of the Opposition in Indian political system and causes for the absence of effective Opposition in Parliament, while P. Damodar Singhal focussed on the Parliamentary style of Opposition in India. Ram Kishore Vyas discussed the role of Opposition in Parliament and State Legislatures in India.

S.V. Raju, G.B. Kanitkar and M.R. Dandavate deal with the problems of development of the Indian Opposition


33. Singhal, Damodar P., 'Parliamentary Style of Indian Opposition' in Nationalism in India and other Historical Issues, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharial, 1967, pp. 84-94.


parties. Morarji Desai\textsuperscript{36}, Balraj Madhok\textsuperscript{37} and S.B. Pattabhi Rama Rao\textsuperscript{38} observed the role of Indian Opposition parties and its responsibilities in Parliament and State Legislatures.

C.P. Bhambri\textsuperscript{39}, in some of his articles, devoted attention to the classification, quality and role of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha from 1952 to 1956. Santosh Kumar Nandy\textsuperscript{40} describes the Opposition and indicated a trend towards the multi-party system in India. S.K. Mukherji\textsuperscript{41} also dealt with the role of Opposition in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{37} Madhok, Balraj; 'Opposition in the Parliament and the State Legislatures', in Shukdhar, S.L. (Ed.), n. 36, pp. 550-555.
\item \textsuperscript{38} Rama Rao, S.B.F. Pattabhi; 'Role of the Opposition in the Parliament and the State Legislatures', in Shukdhar, S.L. (Ed.), n. 36, pp. 556-561.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Nandy, S.K., 'Reflection on the Nature and Significance of Opposition in Parliamentary Government in India', The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 19, No. 4, October-December, 1958, pp. 343-348.
\end{itemize}
Parliament, while K. Raman Pillay\(^42\) sketched the Jan Sangh as a rightest Opposition party and Swatantra as a Conservative Opposition party.

S. Saraswathi\(^43\) summarised the Opposition group Alignment in Indian Parliament after the Fourth General Elections in 1967. Ram Joshi and Kirtidev Desai\(^44\) reviewed the problems and prospects of the Indian Opposition parties, while S.S. Patagundi\(^45\) analysed the basic features of the Indian Opposition and its impact on Indian Political System. N.S. Gehlot\(^46\) dealt with the causes for debacle of the Opposition parties in the Lok Sabha Elections of 1984.

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Asoka Mehta sketched the character and quality of the Opposition in the New States, while S.L. Malhotra articulated the reflections on the Opposition to the party system in India. M. Pattabhiram dealt with the failures of the Opposition parties in India during the mid-term poll to the Lok Sabha in March 1971. K. Parvathy Ammal traced the role of Opposition in India, while Amerendra Sarma described the Opposition role in the Indian Legislature.

D.C. Jain described the trends of the Indian Opposition parties, while Rakhahari Chatterji examined the

role of the Opposition in Indian Politics and the process of decentralisation of political power that has taken place in India over the last four decades. Shantilal Shah\textsuperscript{54} sketched the status of the Opposition Leaders in Indian Political System, while Rohit Dave\textsuperscript{55} analysed the Opposition parties position in Parliament after the Fourth Lok Sabha Elections in 1971.

Ramakrishna Hegde\textsuperscript{56} expressed the role of members of Parliament in Contemporary Society. Hari Sharan Chhabra\textsuperscript{57} brought out the unique, authentic and comprehensive biographical details of Opposition members in Indian Parliament while P.D. Sharma\textsuperscript{58} dealt with the performance of the Swatantra party as an Opposition in Indian politics from 1959 to 1974. Some observations relating to the Indian Opposition parties in Indian context was examined by

\textsuperscript{54} Shah, Shantilal; 'The Opposition and its Leader,' Indian Nation, June 5, 1970, pp. 1-32.


Sushama Ohir, Character of the Opposition in Parliamentary democracy was sketched by S.A.H. Haqui, While the Status of Parliament and Opposition was studied by J.M. Deb.

M.M. Sankdher analysed the politics of the Indian Opposition parties after the Fourth General Elections, while S.L. Shankdher examined the terms and conditions of the recognition of the Leader of the Opposition in Indian Lok Sabha. Nikhil Chakravarthy sketched the Rightist and Leftist Opposition balance in Lok Sabha.

Some of the political leaders delivered the Lectures on Role of the Opposition parties in Parliamentary democracy. The important lectures on this area are the Role of Opposition by S. Sivappa, The Role of Opposition in Parliament

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At the 42nd Annual Conference of the Indian Political Science Association held at Hyderabad (Osmania University) in 1983, 22 Research Papers were presented in Panel-III under the Chairmanship of Dr. S.N. Rath of Utkal University,


on the theme of the 'Role of Opposition in Indian Political System'. The papers of Vraj Mohan Sinha\textsuperscript{73} of University of Rajasthan, Champa Singh\textsuperscript{74} of Ayodhya pd. Mahila College of Bihar Sharif, Amarendra Mohanty\textsuperscript{75} of Rajdhani College of Bhubaneswar, S.S. Patagundi\textsuperscript{76} of Lingaraj College of Belgaum, Jai Ram Prasad\textsuperscript{77} of S.N. Sinha College of Warasiganj, Satchidanand Misra\textsuperscript{78} of Aska Science College of Aska, trace the role of the Opposition Parties in the Indian political system. S.S.P. Yadav\textsuperscript{79} highlights the profile of the Indian Opposition parties. Rohitashwa Dubey\textsuperscript{80} of R.D.S. College of Muzaffarpur, K.K. Srivastava\textsuperscript{81} of Government College of Rudrapur, Radha Mohas Das\textsuperscript{82} of

\textsuperscript{73} Sinha, Vraj Mohan; 'The Opposition in the Indian Political System,' Paper presented at the 42nd Indian Political Science Conference, Hyderabad, May 15-17, 1983.

\textsuperscript{74} Sinha, Champa; 'The Role of the Opposition in the Indian Political System', p.73.

\textsuperscript{75} Mohanty, Amarendra; 'Role of Opposition in Indian Political System,' p.73.

\textsuperscript{76} Patagundi, S.S., 'The Opposition and Indian Political System', p.73.

\textsuperscript{77} Prasad, Jai Ram; 'The Role of the CPI in Indian Political System, p.73.

\textsuperscript{78} Misra, Satchidanand; 'The Role of Opposition in the Indian Political System', p.73.

\textsuperscript{79} Yadav, S.S.P., 'Opposition in India: A Profile', p.73.

\textsuperscript{80} Dubey, Rohitashwa; 'Lack of Viable Alternative: A Challenge before Nation', p.73.

\textsuperscript{81} Srivastava, K.K., 'Opposition parties: Their needs and role in India', p.73.

\textsuperscript{82} Das, Radha Mohan; 'Opposition unity: A Study of Controversies and Impediments', p.73.
K.S.U.B. College of Bhavanagar, N.H. Sitarama Sarma\textsuperscript{83} of Sri Venkateswara University, and Subhas Chandra Hazary\textsuperscript{84} of Utkal University highlights the need for an effective and viable alternative to the Indian Nation.

Manjula Sharma\textsuperscript{85} of Guru Nanak Dev University sketched the nature of the Indian Opposition parties, while Md. Nawaz Hassan\textsuperscript{86} of Ravenshaw College of Cuttak examined the Opposition role in Centre-State relations in India. Bhagabankar\textsuperscript{87} illustrate the Role of Opposition in National Integration. Jatindra Ranjan De\textsuperscript{88} of G.C. College of Silchar examined the future of the party system in India. M.R. Kazimi and S.M. Hassan Heera\textsuperscript{89} of Bihar University described the disorderly scenes in Legislatures particularly

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{83} Sarma, Sitarama, N.H., 'The Sine Qua Non for a National Alternative', \textsuperscript{n.73}.
\item \textsuperscript{84} Hazary, Subhas Chandra; 'The Opposition in Indian Politics: Retrospect and Prospect', \textsuperscript{n.73}.
\item \textsuperscript{85} Sharma, Manjula; 'Nature of Opposition in India', \textsuperscript{n.73}.
\item \textsuperscript{86} Hassan, Md. Nawaz; 'Centre-State Relations and the Opposition Parties in India', \textsuperscript{n.73}.
\item \textsuperscript{87} Bhagabankar; 'National Integration and the Role of Opposition Parties in India: A Critique an Attitudinal Ambivalence', \textsuperscript{n.73}.
\item \textsuperscript{88} Ranjan de, Jatindra; 'The Future of the Party System in India for Political Stability', \textsuperscript{n.73}.
\item \textsuperscript{89} Kazimi, M.R. and Heera, S.M. Hassan; 'Disorderly Scenes in Legislatures: A Study of Opposition Behaviour', \textsuperscript{n.73}.
\end{itemize}
on Opposition behaviour. Hari Prasad Tulo\textsuperscript{90} of Hamirpur College of Koraput, P.C. Baral\textsuperscript{91} and B.C. Rout\textsuperscript{92} of B.J.B. College of Bhubaneswar, and S.K. Patnaik\textsuperscript{93} of Nayagarh College of Nayagarh studied the Opposition politics in the State of Orissa.

On the other hand, the Doctoral Studies of Aftab Ahmed Rizvi\textsuperscript{94} of Aligarh Muslim University, Chandra Prakash Sharma\textsuperscript{95} and Jagadish Prasad Sarma\textsuperscript{96} of Agra University, Suvira Shastri\textsuperscript{97} of Meerut University, Bali Prasad Pandya\textsuperscript{98} of Lucknow University and Sudhakar Damodar Jatkar\textsuperscript{99} of

\textsuperscript{90} Tulo, Hariprasad; 'Moratorium on Opposition Parties in Orissa', p.73.
\textsuperscript{91} Baral, P.C., 'Oppositional Politics in Orissa: A Profile of Congress(R) Legislators 1971-72', p.73.
\textsuperscript{92} Rout, B.C., 'The Oppositional Politics in Orissa: Continuity and Change', p.73.
\textsuperscript{93} Patnaik, S.K., 'Opposition in Orissa: A Study in Pattern Variation and Role Performance', p.73.
\textsuperscript{94} Rizvi, A.Ahmed; 'Role of Opposition in Fourth Lok Sabha (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis), Aligarh, Aligarh Muslim University.
\textsuperscript{98} Pandya, Baliprasad; Role of the Opposition in the provisional Parliament and the First Lok Sabha of India, (Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis), Lucknow, Lucknow University, 1968.
Osmania University relate to the role of the Opposition Parties in Indian Parliament in different periods/levels.

Victor Samuel Nath\textsuperscript{100} of Ravishankar University,

Ganesh Prasad Verma\textsuperscript{101} of Magadh University, C.R. Naik\textsuperscript{102} and M.A. Singammal\textsuperscript{103} of Poona University, Subhas Chander\textsuperscript{104} of Jodhpur University, A. Hamsapriya\textsuperscript{105} of Madras University, G.N. Datta\textsuperscript{106} of Gauhari University, Jagadish Pandey\textsuperscript{107} of Jabalpur University, Nawabkhan\textsuperscript{108} of Aligarh Muslim University, T.S. Kantilal\textsuperscript{109} of Gujarat University relate

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{100} Samuel Nath, Victor; The Role of Opposition in Madhya Pradesh State Legislature, (Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis), Ravishankar University, 1975.
  \item \textsuperscript{101} Verma, Ganesh Prasad; Role of Opposition in the Bihar Legislature, (Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis), Bodh Gaya, Magadh University, 1975.
  \item \textsuperscript{102} Nair, C.R.; Role of Opposition in Kerala Legislature 1952-1962, (Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis), Pune, Poona University, 1969.
  \item \textsuperscript{103} Singammal, M.A.; Role of Opposition in the Mysore Legislature from 1952-1964, (Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis), Pune, Poona University, 1969.
  \item \textsuperscript{104} Chander, Subhas, Main Opposition Parties in Rajasthan, (Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis), Jodhpur, Jodhpur University.
  \item \textsuperscript{105} Hamsapriya, A; Role of Opposition in Madras Legislature 1921-1939 (Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis), Madras, Madras University, 1982.
  \item \textsuperscript{106} Datta, G.N; The Role of Opposition Party in the Assam Legislative Assembly since Independence (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis), Guwahati University, 1974.
  \item \textsuperscript{107} Pandey, Jagadish; Role of Opposition in Vidhan Sabha of Old Madhya Pradesh, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis), Jabalpur, Jabalpur University, 1973.
  \item \textsuperscript{108} Nawab Khan; Role of the Opposition in Uttar Pradesh Legislature 1962-1972, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis), Aligarh, Aligarh Muslim University, 1975.
\end{itemize}
to the role of Opposition in State Legislatures, viz.,
Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Kerala, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Assam, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat respectively.

Coming to Andhra Pradesh in particular there have been some significant works on the Emergence of the State of Andhra Pradesh, Separatist Movements, Political Parties, Electoral Studies, State Government and Politics and Political Leadership in general. The important works in this area are the Emergence of Andhra Pradesh by K.V. Narayana Rao, Communist Movement in Andhra Pradesh by Mohan Ram, Communist Party in Andhra Pradesh by K. Seshadri, Some notes on the Study of Politics in India: The Andhra Case

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by Selig S. Harrison\textsuperscript{113}, Andhra Pradesh - A Citadel of the Congress by G. Ram Reddy\textsuperscript{114}, Political Participation and Political Change in Andhra Pradesh by Rasheeduddin Khan\textsuperscript{115}, State Government and Politics: Andhra Pradesh by G. Ram Reddy and B.A.V. Sharma\textsuperscript{116}, Government and Politics in Andhra Pradesh by A. Prasanna Kumar, V. Lingamurthy and K. Ravi\textsuperscript{117}, Challenges to political Stability: A Case Study

\textsuperscript{113} Harrison, Selig, S., Some Notes on the Study of State Politics in India: The Andhra Case, Chicago, Chicago Committee on State Politics in India, Association for Asian Studies, 1961.


\textsuperscript{117} Prasanna Kumar, A., Lingamurthy, V., Ravi, K., Government and Politics in Andhra Pradesh, New Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1982.


failure in Andhra by M.V. Ramamurthy\textsuperscript{125}, Telangana – An Essay in Democratic Conflict Resolution by V. Jagannadham\textsuperscript{126}, Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh 1956-1983 by V. Hanumantha Rao\textsuperscript{127}, Political Leadership in Andhra Pradesh 1956-1973 by Dagmar Bernstorff\textsuperscript{128}, Major Political events in Andhra Pradesh (Pradhana Rajakeeya Ghattalu) by G. Venkata Rama Rao\textsuperscript{129}, Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh (Vidhana Mandal) by M. Ram Chander\textsuperscript{130}, 1978 Assembly Elections in Andhra Pradesh (1978 Ennikalu) by Panjala Narasaiah\textsuperscript{131}, Politics in a Non-Congress(I) State: The Case of Andhra Pradesh by G. Koteswara Prasad\textsuperscript{132}, and Strength of the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{125} Ramamurthy, M.V. 'Opposition failure in Andhra', The Radical Humanist, Vol.41, No.1, April, 1977, pp. 5-8.
\item \textsuperscript{129} Rama Rao, G. Venkata; 'Pradhana Rajakeeya Ghattalu', Prasarita, No.33, July-September, 1978, pp. 1-38.
\item \textsuperscript{130} Ram Chander, M., 'Vidhana Mandal', Prasarita, No.33, July-September 1978, pp. 39-52.
\item \textsuperscript{131} Narasaiah, Panjala; '1978 Ennikalu', Prasarita, No.53, July-September, 1983, pp. 44-54.
\end{itemize}
Opposition Parties in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Pradeshlo Prathipakshalu : Bala Balaalu) by D. Sundar Ram

There are quite a number of Doctoral Studies on Political Parties, Cabinet Government and Legislature done in Osmania and Andhra Universities. At the Osmania University, research on these aspects includes that of V. Krishna Rao on the Communist Movement in Andhra Pradesh, D. Geetha on the Socialist Parties in Andhra Pradesh, M. Satyanarayana Rao on Cabinet form of Government in Andhra Pradesh and N. Sabhapathi on the Legislative Council of Andhra Pradesh, P. Manikyamba of Andhra University studied the Legislative Committees of Andhra Pradesh.


Apart from T.S. Mohanas,\textsuperscript{139} M.Phil., dissertation of Osmania University on the Role of the Communist Opposition in Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly from 1972 to 1978, there has been no other work relating to the role of the Opposition in Andhra Pradesh.

\textbf{STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM}

In view of the above it is proposed to study the Role of the Opposition in Andhra Pradesh from 1975 to 1985. This period chosen in light of the following important considerations from the point of view of the party system. Firstly, for the first time after the Emergence of Andhra Pradesh the Janata Party emerged, in 1978, as the single largest Opposition Party, till then, with 60 members in Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly. Secondly, for the first time, Jalagam Vengal Rao, the then Chief Minister, weathered the storm and managed to continue in office during the Janata regime at Centre upto 1978. Thirdly, after the second split in the Indian National Congress in 1978, the Congress(I) it had just two months to organize its campaign, but it succeeded in upset by the calculations of

\textsuperscript{139} Mohana, T.S., \textit{Role of the Communist Party as an Opposition in Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly: 1972-1978} (Unpublished M.Phil. dissertation), Hyderabad, Osmania University, 1977.
several seasoned Political Observers by winning the largest number of seats in Andhra Pradesh Assembly and came to power. Fourthly, the nine-month old Telugu Desam Party was swept into power, when it captured 202 out of 294 Assembly Constituencies in the elections to the State Legislature in 1983. Fifthly, the Congress(I) party was relegated to the status of the main Opposition from 1983 for the first time in Andhra Pradesh. Finally, at the national level, the Telugu Desam party emerged as the main Opposition group in the Eighth Lok Sabha after the 1984 Elections to the Lok Sabha.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

In short the period from 1975 to 1985 witnessed the change in the role of Congress(I) in Andhra Pradesh from the ruling party to that of a party in Opposition. The present study while aiming to indicate the role of Opposition in Parliamentary democracies in general and examine the policies and programmes of the Opposition at national as well as state levels in India, specifically tries:

1) To review the functioning of the Janata and Congress(I) as an Opposition parties inside the Legislature of Andhra Pradesh during the period of 1978 to 1984.

2) To critically evaluate the performance of the Janata, the BJP, the CPI, the CPI(M) and the Congress(I) as
an Opposition outside the Legislature of Andhra Pradesh from 1975 to 1985.

3) To analyse the theory of one-party dominance in the context of the politics in Andhra Pradesh.

HYPOTHESES

The study proposed is descriptive, analytical and critical. It does not put forward any hypothesis to be tested. It aims at making generalisations on the basis of evidence as to the nature of strategy of Political Parties in power contrasted with the situation when they are in the Opposition.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

In addition to interviews with prominent Political leaders in Andhra Pradesh with un-structured questionnaire and discussions with eminent Political Scientists, data have been collected from various relevant sources keeping in view the objectives of the study. Both empirical and analytical methods have been used in conducting the research study. The reports of the Proceedings of the State Legislature from 1978 to 1984 and the relevant data relating to the Business of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly and Council constitute the most important data for understanding the role of Opposition within the Legislature.
This have been supplemented by comments in Newspapers on the discussions in Legislatures in particular and on the Indian Political System in general.

Publications of Andhra Pradesh State Government, and the Legislature Secretariat, Books, Research Articles appeared in the reputed Social Science Journals, Pamphlets and Manifestoes of the different Political Parties have been made use of. Newspapers, Private Papers and other relevant literature have been taken note of for a proper analysis and evaluation of the role of the Opposition within and outside the Legislature of Andhra Pradesh.

CHAPTERISATION

The scheme of the study is as follows: The work is divided into Six Chapters. Chapter-I examines the Scope and Objectives, describes the Methodology and Reviews the Literature to bring out the importance of the Research Problem. Chapter-II traces the Role of the Opposition in a Democratic System with Special reference to India, Britain and United States of America. Chapter-III attempts an evaluation of the working of the One-Party Dominance in Indian Political System. It explains the characteristic features of one-party dominance in Indian Political System. The chapter also analyse the theory of One-Party Dominance.