CHAPTER IV

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN UTTAR PRADESH

- SAMAJWADI PARTY – IDEALOGY AND PLACEMENT
- OTHER PARTIES
INTRODUCTION:

“Uttar Pradesh’s heterogeneity and difference has led over the centuries, to the evolution of strategies of accommodation, of living together. It has also produced possibilities of conflict that same internal differentiation creates under changed political circumstances, possibilities of irreconcilable conflict of unending civil war.”

In the post reformed Indian democracy the state of Uttar Pradesh occupies a pre-eminent position in Indian politics, representing a microcosm of the most crucial conflicts and events in the political history. For nearly a century UP with its population of nearly 160 million and till the formation of the Uttarakhand, out of its one sixth of the total number of members of parliament nationally has been the nerve center of Indian politics. It had the privilege of being the center of India’s freedom struggle. It has also provided the center–stage for the consolidation of All India Congress Committee from Allahabad, so as proved a breeding ground for partition demand. During the national movement UP produced an extraordinary generation of leaders both for the congress and for the opposition. In fact UP has proved to be a springboard to the office in New Delhi. Till 1989, a sweeping majority in this state swept the party to power at the center, and it also set the electoral trend in North India. The departure of the congress from UP, or the fact that assignment of Prime Ministers is not the exclusive prerogative of this state anymore, or that the central government in the era of coalitional politics can be formed without substantial support in UP has in no way diminished its political significance. Rather the state has gained the status of being the chief locale for the transitions from congress dominance to the post congress politics. Some of the key political debates such as Hindi – Urdu controversy, Hindutva rise, Prominence of OBC class and Dalitssignals a significant social revolution in a
stagnant and conservative north. In fact UP has been and still in the stage of the construction of new social and political designs in Indian democracy.

Apart from the centrality of UP in Indian political scenerio, apparently the most compulsive reason for selecting this state in relation to the expansion and appraisal of socialist movement is the complex socio-economic structure which has provided ample ingredients and impetus for flowering of mutually contested ideologies. Its rampant poverty, unemployment, economic disparities, great urban – rural divide and above all a caste dominated exploitative social structure is very much suitable for the flourishing of socialist ideology. Its political soil is very much fertile for cropping up of Dalit politics, peasantry rise, OBC phenomena and identity politics. Any appraisal of socialist movement in UP undoubtedly means the interlinked analysis of all these multidimensional aspects of “partipatory Democratic upsurge” of 1990 onwards.2

From the Socialist movement point of view, initially noted socialists such as AcharyaNarendraDev, Achyutpatwardhan, J.P. Narayan, Kriplani held important placement in UP idealogical platform. In factlohia and J.P. Narayan had a very close association with the state politics. Noncongressism, the legacy of Lohia was forwarded by Charansingh in UP. This manifested itself in the new forms of political mobilization leading to the decline of congress and rise of new actors, most prominently Samajwadi party along with the BahujanSamaj party on the political stage.

The implementation of Mandal commission collided with the emergence of Mulayam Singh yadav, championing the cause of socialist ideology representing a dominant social group. Keeping in mind the social justice plank of socialist group and the corresponding trend of politicization of social cleavages, there appears enough stimulus to study the interaction between these political processes and socialist movement. Thus this chapter ranges from socialist movement in UP, strategic and political performances of the political outfits carrying the ideological tag, specifically
Samajwadi Party and its performances at various levels in relation and competition to the other political parties playing at the most fertile ground of Indian politics, namely Congress, BhartiyaJanta Party and BahujanSamaj Party.

- **IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL INTERPLAY IN UP**

The socialist movement in UP after the independence reeled under the twin forces. One, the predominant mass favor for congress being a launch pad for Indian independence, and secondly the merger and splits within the various anti – congress and socialist outfits at the national and state level. For more than three decades after independence UP was the centerpiece of the congress system. It was the state where fortune of the congress were made an destroyed. In the fifties , congress was not a monolithic institution rather had representatives from three distinct ideological persuasions. First was of secular and liberal polity. Second of Hindu interests, and thirdly and most dominating was of Socialists. Infact until 1947 congress socialist party (CSP) dominated the congress which was compelled to exit from the congress in 1948. Their departure profoundly affected the party which was suddenly transformed from a socialist dominated organization in a conservative one. Unlike other states where the CSP had little influence on congress organization, the socialists had been the dominant ideological force in UP since 1930’s. The National Herald described the UP congress as Haven of Reaction. In 1951 it noted –

“Opposition to Nehru’s outlook and ideology may have been withdrawn from the all India plane only to be entrenched in UP. This state continues to contains elements of progress but also contains and attracts strong element of reaction”.  

But significantly, the exit of socialist did not lead to an exodus from the congress, majority of whom stayed in congress, rallied round the leadership of G.B Pant, KamlapatiTripathi, and have had prominent role in
the government also. Thus many organizational and district leaders had CSP ties. Those who left the congress did so, in many cases owing to the personal influences of NarendraDev, J.PNarayan and Dr. Lohia as well as to ideological commitments. As the congress was never a monolithic movement, encompassing many groups, differing political orientations and ideologies. In its transition from movement to party some groups were forced out in 1950. A group of 22 members of the legislative assembly (MLA’s) and two members of the legislative council (MLC) followers of Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, the political manager of G.B Pant, who had been pushed to the background in the congress, formed an opposition party known as Jan – Congress in UP included Triloki Singh and S.K.D Paliwal. This followed by a contest in the National Congress between P.D Tandon and AcharyaKriplani for the party presidency. Kripalani was defeated and was not included in working committee, thus he left the congress and formed KisanMazdoorPraja Party (KMPP). Which intended to be a national party. In UP the Jan Congress also merged with KMPP.

SOCIALISTS AS OPPOSITION IN UP
A narration of mergers and splits

The socialist party and the KMPP fought the state assembly elections separately in 1952. However the performance of the socialist band was not as impressive as was expected. Socialist party managed to gain only 19 out of 421 assembly seats and KMPP managed to get only 1 seat. Thus in the year 1952 both merged to form Praja Socialist Party. In the year of 1955 the famous Lohia split occurred. Again creating the PSP and the Lohia socialist party in UP and in the country. The split was most serious in UP where in the previous outfit, the Lohia followers controlled the executive committee of PSP.
The socialist party in the initial two decades, like the congress were afflicted with factionalism and with the struggle of individual leaders for personal prestige. The leadership of both the socialist parties originally came out of congress partly because of ideological differences and partly due to factional quarrels. Thus the whole group consisted of defeated and dissatisfied personnel and leaders, paving way for weak district organizations. Moreover, throughout the post Independent India there had been a constant movement of political leaders from the Congress to the PSP, from PSP to socialist party and very often from one of the socialist parties back to the Congress led to the weakening of the socialist movement.

One important issue which kept on haunting the UP socialist movement was the relationship of the party with the Congress. The 1953 talks of J.P Narayan with Nehru was agitated vigorously by Lohia whose anti-Congressism provided the impulse and stimuli for oppositional mobilization in UP. Infact within the socialist party there were some leaders who nursed cooperative and sympathetic attitude towards Congress, such as Ashok Mehta who believed that the Awadhi Resolution of Congress in 1955 which initiated the socialist pattern of society is providing a basis of cooperation with Congress.

In 1957 assembly elections in UP reflected an encouraging situation. However not upto the mark where Praja Socialists managed to gain 44 seats and Lohia Socialists managed 25 assembly seats. But the socialist movement as a whole suffered from various setbacks. In 1956 AcharyaNarendraDev died. After 1957 J.P Narayan retired from active politics and so as from party activities. The decline in PSP strength from the year 1957 to 1962, from 44 to 38 seats led to the thoughts of fresh attempt of merger between PSP and Socialists party in UP assembly. After 1962 UP assembly elections the back benchers of the two parties in UP maneuvered secretly, established
an **United Socialist Party**. This shocked the national leadership of both the parties.

The major line of contradiction between the two factions was the aggressive forwarding of Lohia’s militant programme. The terms on which the merger was offered to PSP were the acceptance of Socialist manifesto of 1962 by the Lohia Socialist party which put more emphasis on language and backward caste matters than the economic or any other matter. The Lohia Socialists took the position that English be abolished forthwith and regional languages should be utilized except for Hindi as the link language. Secondly 60% of all government jobs and political representative seats be reserved for the members of backward communities. The Socialists maintained that among the backwards, the participative sense in governance was at the minimum, it follows then, the government can be made democratic by inducing these two programs.

On the other hand the PSP could be termed either an old fashioned liberal party, or a democratic Socialist party. Its ideology was a blended mixture of Marxism, Gandhism and Social Democracy. It put great emphasis on economic issues having its disfavor to all class caste distinctions, favored rapid social change, economic equality and expansion of freedoms.

During the 1957-1962 interval, the Praja Socialist Party suffered no major split, however plagued by a gradual drifting away of district and local leaders. Acharyakriplani left the party to become an independent. A struggle for power took place between Ashok Mehta and S.M Joshi for power with the issue of relationship to the Congress, led to the split in 1964, after which Ashok Mehta accepted the government’s offer of a position in the planning commission, refused to resign and left the party.

On the other hand the merger of PSP and Socialist party at all India level in 1964 into a Samyukta (united) socialist party (SSP) lasted only seven months until January 1965 when the PSP restablished its separate existence. In UP party splited in three ways. Some members favoring unity with the
socialists, some favoring joining of Congress and some with its hardcore continued existence. Although, there were several issues in dispute. It included the question of the status of Dr. Lohia as the leader of the Unified party and the issue of alliance with other parties particularly the Jana Sangh and CPI which were especially important in the public dialogue. Those PSP leaders who opposed both the leadership of Dr. Lohia and the SSP policy of non Congressism, which called for alliances with any party of right or left to remove the Congress from power left the SSP and revived the PSP in 1965.

Consequently the PSP emerged from this merger and split seriously weakened leaving the new SSP as the leading party of socialism in India particularly in the stronghold of UP. One more noteworthy phenomena appeared during this merger and split, the continuous movement of Socialist politicians in and outside congress. The Bhubaneswar commitment of Congress to Democratic Socialism in 1964 also reflected the maneuvering at doctrinal level. In fact this decade also reflected the intimate relationship between the conflict in the dominant party and conflict within the oppositional movements especially the Socialists. Just as Socialist parties provided haven for discontended Congress politicians, so as the Congress in turn, provided haven for dissatisfied opposition socialists politicians.

In the years of 1967 to 1969 and for the coming years ,UP politics witnessed major events having major impact on the sustainability of Socialist movement. In the year 1967 not only did the Congress lost power in the UP for the first time, but its base in the countryside was severely damaged. A new party was formed, Bhartiya Kranti Dal (BKD) of Charan Singh, that later formed the core of Janata coalition which defeated the Congress in 1977 parliamentary elections. In fact Charan Singh outwitted and outmaneuvered C.B Gupta, the dominant leader of the state Congress to become the first non-Congress chief minister of the state on April 13, 1967 and again in 1971. This also emphasized on one very important aspect that it became necessary for competing political forces to pay closer
attention to the distinctive interest of different social classes and castes of north India along with agrarian issues and interest which started acquiring importance in UP in 1970’s. And that the BKD/Lok Dal replaced all other parties as the major opposition in UP. The year 1971 proved crucial for the socialist parties in UP, with Loksabha elections SSP won only three seats and the PSP only two. These dismal results lead to new merger talks and reunification of most SSP and PSP leaders into the new Socialist Party in August 1971 without actually resolving the disagreements.

**NATIONAL EMERGENCY of 1975 AND JANTA PARTY**

- **Socialist movement at national level**
  With the backdrop of J.P movement against the corruption, the emergency of 1975 proved as a kind of tornado against the Congress, where Socialist parties also found themselves situated after facing a dismal era of non-performance along with split and merger saga, of course, not as organized as an opposition. In 1977 with the sudden announcement of elections by Indira Gandhi there was a realization of the fact that the Socialists were not prepared for the elections. Despite of deep conflicts of personalities, different social bases and organization the opposition leaders felt emboldened to give Congress a solid fight. A nation wide party merging happened. Congress O, Congress for democracy, Bhartiya Jan Sangh, and the Socialist party of India merged under the banner of Janata Party which was formed on 1st May 1977 to defeat the Congress in elections.
  Leaders such as Morarji Desai, Chaudhary Charan Singh, AtalBihari Vajpai, Lal Krishna Advani, Madhu Limay, George Fernandes, Madhu Dandvate, Jagjivan Ram, H.N Bahuguna, Chandrashekar all joined hands to contest the elections followed by the revolution by Ballot. Morarji Desai became the Prime Minister with Janta Party capturing 43.17% of votes and 298 out of 545 seats.
Afterwards Congress governing states also faced the heat, where the UP government under Congress was also dismissed and fresh elections were held. As was quite expected the Congress once again was miserably defeated in the Assembly elections. The Congress secured an all time low number of seats in the elections, 47 out of 425 due to the unity of opposition parties. Thus a government was set up as a replica of one working at the national level. Ram Naresh Yadav was appointed as the Chief Minister. With the collapse of Janata government as the center the UP also faced repercussion led to the demise of coalition government and for the two subsequent elections, in 1980 and 1985, Congress returned to power and the Socialist movement witnessed new trends and formations with new faces and changed ideological ferments in the coming years.

- **Socialist movement in UP during 70’s**

In UP, as regard to the role of Socialist party in government is concerned in the post Congress defeated era of 1967 the Socialist party became a partner to SVD – SamyuktaVidhayak Dal, consisted of eight parties – Jan Congress, BJS, SSP, Swatantra party, CPI, Left communists, Republic party and Independents. As the formation suggests it failed to hold together due to heterogeneous elements of their ideology, programme, interest and policies. In fact the binding force of Anti-Congressism failed to hold them together which ended with Charan Singh resignation in 1968.

For SSP, it was a matter of loosening some members to Charan Singh party. Which was again repeated in 1970 with Charan Singh’s second tenure. This followed by Congress government under Kamlapati Tripathi from 1971 to 1977.

It was the unfulfilled promises assured by Socialist parties and the *unprincipled opportunism* which nailed Socialist movement in UP, placing it at a negligible platform in the later years.

**RISE OF SAMAJWADI PARTY**
IDEALOGY AND PLACEMENT

- **The formative years**

The 1990's have unleashed several independent yet simultaneous trajectories. With 1989 the era of Congress domination came to an end, both at national as well as in UP at state level. This marked the beginning of the phase of enduring **coalition politics**. The intensity of electoral competition had increased with the rise in electoral volatility. This has been accompanied by a participatory upsurge, so as the idioms of politics also changed. The level of politics shifted from the all India level to the states. The course of politics in UP represents a microcosm of Indian political happenings. Which also reflected in a rapid fragmentation of polity.6 Also the expansion of political participation in UP has placed historically disadvantaged and marginalized groups at the center of the political system. In 1992 the other backward classes long search for direct and active participation in the power structure was rewarded by the rise to power of the **Samajwadi Party**, known as one of the chief beneficiary and carrier of the Mandal upsurge in north India. The party was formed by Mulayam Singh Yadav in October 1992 who considers Ram Manohar Lohia as his political guru and in this sense represents the Socialist tradition in UP.

In fact 1990's represents the moment of reconfiguration and differentiation. The structure of political competition was marked by the arrival of the three M's on the political stage **Mandir, Mandal and Market**. The transition from the congress system to the post congress polity was neither gradual nor smooth. It was a product of a systemic shock, a cataclysmic transformation. It was not merely the change in the ruling party or the change in the political actors engaged in competition for power, rather this period was marked by a fundamental reconfiguration of the political process. The unfolding of OBC identity consciousness really created a space, the space which was lying vacant after the fading of active Socialist movement in India and specifically in UP. Mandir design helped BJP
to strengthen the Hindu community as a vote bank. The market design saw the middle class as the anchor of the reinventions of identity. Mandal represented the phenomena of strengthening of OBC’s as the core of UP politics. The polarization of UP society along caste lines has resulted in the churning of new political formations of which SP emerged as distinct one.

In 1967, Mulayam Singh Yadav entered the UP legislative assembly on the ticket of Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP) and since then has played a significant role in shaping socialist tendencies in UP, more pointly, after 1985. In fact as Gillian Wright has correctly said “as the Congress prepared to fall, Mulayam Singh Yadav began to rise”.

**ESTABLISHMENT OF SAMAJWADI PARTY**

After getting elected to UP assembly in 1967 on SSP ticket, the death of Dr. Lohia in 1968 led Mulayam Singh Yadav to join the BhartiyaKranti Dal of Chaudhary Charan Singh, accepted him as the political mentor, re-elected on BKD ticket in 1974. The BKD and SSP merged the same year to form the BhartiyaLok Dal (BLD) which became the part of Janata Party and Mulayam Singh Yadav became a minister in the state cabinet of UP. When Charan Singh pulled out of Janata party in 1979 and formed the Lok Dal (LD) Mulayam Singh Yadav stayed with him, becoming his deputy in Lok Dal, started building his own support base in the state. After Charan Singh died in 1987 and Lok Dal splitted, Mulayam Singh’s faction (Lok Dal B) scored over Ajit Singh’s Lok Dal (A). Mulayam Singh Yadav merged his faction in Janata Dal in 1989 and was elected chief minister of UP in 1989 with 204 out of 405 seats. His support base was backward castes and Muslims. There was a split in Janata Dal in 1990 between V.P Singh and Chandrashekhar where Mulayam Singh Yadav remained with the faction of Chandra shekhar formed Samajwadijanata Party (SJP) which he left in 1992 and formed his own
party called **Samajwadi Party (SP)** in Lucknow on October 4, 1992 at Begum Hazrat Mehla Park.

**SOCIAL – IDEALOGICAL – ELECTORAL BASE OF SAMAJWADI PARTY**

The electoral history of UP since 1980’s is characterized by the rise of the backwards reflected in the Janata Dal vote share of 30 percent of the total votes in 1989 elections. The Samajwadi Party had been formed largely on the social support base derived from the Janata Dal which continued from the Charan Singh and Lohia’s legacy, provided the backwards a new social support and political platform.

- **CASTE – CLASS STRUCTURE**
  The remarkable thing about mass politics in UP is the underlying theme of caste solidarity which runs through any kind of political mobilization and proved as crucial to the political strategy for every party, so as Samajwadi Party. In UP the backward castes comprise of 42 percent of the total population with the Yadavs heading the list at 9 percent. They are situated as an important force everywhere in the state except the western UP and the hilly districts. Yadavs were the caste, who formed the backbone of Samajwadi Party and with the rise of party Yadavs gained extra ordinary strength in UP. Mulayam Singh Yadav maintained his caste identity and his caste fellows sustained him. 
  In fact the social consciousness of Yadavs began from the formation of All India Yadav Mahasabha in 1923, facing the domination and exploitation by Thakurs, Kayasthas, Baniyas and Brahmins. They faced political negligence by Congress during its rule over the UP state. So as Congress's opposition to the preferential treatment for OBC’s at all levels. Although chaudhary Charan
Singh did recognize this political discontent, but the political compulsions of being labeled as “Castiest leader” or “Jat leader” prevented him from openly denouncing the upper caste informal domination. However he really worked consistently to place the OBC’s such as Ahirs, Yadavs, Kurmis, Keoris into the fold of BKD. Agrarian changes of 1960’s and 1970’s helped OBC’s in their economic and political assertions. The formation of Janata Dal government in New Delhi and UP brought the OBC’s to the forefront more forcefully. In 1989 V.P Singh took the decision to implement the Mandal Commission’s recommendation of 27 percent reservation to OBC’s in government jobs. This reinforced the urge among OBC’s and especially Yadavs to forge inclusive or collective group identity. They aimed at mobilization for political power found a strong votary in Mulayam Singh Yadav, as he asserted once “Far more important than economic well being is status and honor in society”. Moreover he argued “Yadav’s possessed the clout and conviction to fight the communal forces led by BJP”.

The announcement for 27 percent quota for OBC’s in government services including Muslims coincided with AyodhyaBabri Masjid dispute and RathYatra by L.K Adwani of BJP. Here as a chief minister Mulayam Singh Yadav forged an alliance of OBC’s and Muslims to counter BJP.

His role in containing the crowds that attempted to ravage the Babri Masjid in October 1990, had without doubt brought him closer to Muslim community across the state. But then, the unity of forces between Yadavs and Rajputs that helped the ascendancy of Janata Dal and Mulayam Singh Yadav in 1989 did not obtain afterwards due to the hostile turning of Rajputs in the Post Mandal Context.

In fact the assembly elections of November 1993, after the imposition of president rule due to the demolition of Babri Masjid in December 1992 under Kalyan Singh regime, a change in the voting share of different parties reflected. There was a clear indication of changing patterns in UP politics. SP
entered the elections with a tie-up of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) under Kanshi Ram.

Here Congress lost about 2.4 percent of votes since 1991, BJP and BSP gained 2 percent each. The major loser was the Janata Dal whose share of votes dropped from 18.8 percent in 1991 elections to 12.2 percent in 1993. Most of the lost was being picked up by SP managing 18 percent of the total votes share.

The SP for most of its time survives on a social coalition comprising the Muslims and the backward Hindus. By Juxtaposing Muslims with the threat emanating from BJP and by posing himself as the sole protector of the backward community against upper castes. Of course keeps on attracting other OBC's also as reflected in the position enjoyed by Amar Singh, athakur, or the occasional favors to Raja Bhaiya.

**IDEOLOGICAL BASE**

Samajwadi party under the strong leadership of Mulayam Singh Yadav represents a blend of Gandhism, Socialism and Marxism. There was a search of a unique mobilization strategy with ideological justifications.

According to Devi Dayal Dubey “Leaders like Mulayam Singh have emerged as an inspiration to go beyond the socialist politics of the past to form a socialist political action plan of a new kind. This action plan does not involve only mobilization of the backwards, but clearly shows a courageous and a skillful attempt to successfully unite backwards and other down trodden with the minorities for the first time. This is Lohia and Ambedkar style of politics."

SP ideology hugely draws inspiration from Lohia's vision due to Mulayam Singh Yadav's interaction with him in 1960’s. Backward caste upliftment, mobilization and empowerment in north India dates back to 60’s and 70’s under the leadership and policy influence of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Kanshi Ram and Chaudhary Charan Singh. Dr. Lohia, deeply
aware of hurts and prejudices of Indian social history choose to had one “JatiTodoAndolan” consciously created the foundation for a powerful anti establishment or upper caste platform. For Lohia the horizontal mobilization of the lower castes on the basis of explicit appeals to caste identity had substantial political potential for organizing poor and deprived. In fact in order to mobilize lower caste peasants and workers, he merged his Socialist Party with KisanMazdoorPraja Party of AcharyaKriplani to form PSP in 1952. Thus when the second democratic upsurge in 1989 left the OBC's disillusioned with the existing parties – the Congress and the BJP, they began looking for a third space. This was provided by Janata Dal and later Samajwadi Party and since then SP claims to be the true representative of the backwards.

For Mulayam Singh Yadav Mandalization was the cornerstone of Lohiaite politics to which he was strongly committed and since his brand of politics held no distinct appeal for the upper castes, he felt there was no need to be defensive about it. In fact Mulayam Singh Yadav was a strong votary of reservation, the UP state government in 1989 under his chief ministership promulgated an ordinance providing for 15 percent reservation for OBC’s in government jobs even before Mandal’s implementation. He privileged caste solidarities by emphasizing the mobilization of lower castes on the platform of Social Justice against upper castes.

Samajwadi party has in fact appeared more as a pragmatic political outfit. As Mulayam Singh Yadav although parted ways from Socialist party and joined ChaudhryCharan Singh camp, most of the policies and decisions were rooted somewhere in an ideological framework that Lohia had formulated. ChaudhryCharan Singh followed the ideology of “facilitating the marginal” in the mainstream. Even Mulayam Singh Yadav set out on a course from which he could add on an ideological veneer to such negotiations in order to gain political legitimacy. This probably explains the difference between Mulayam Singh Yadav and Ajit Singh. Mulayam Singh
Yadav has ensured a sense of political legitimacy to his actions because they are seen as being guided by a certain ideology and an image.

- **PARAGMATIC SOCIALISM**

The Samajwadi Party ideology of Socialism comprised the ideals of democracy, personal freedom, nationalism, social equality, radical economic change, decentralization of political and economic power, introduction of small unit technology to prevent alienation of man that modern industrial civilization has caused. The party holds that without radical transformation of the existing socio-economic order based on redistributive justice, prosperity shall be impossible to realize.

This appears to be a blend of Gandhian conception of a decentralized political economy founded on village republic and involving the grassroot participation by the people. There is a Marxian conception where SP is committed to form a class less and exploitation free society and so as including the impact of Fabian Socialism where the commitment to pursuation and gradualism is also reflecting.

This may also be defined as disassociation from some of the core aspects of Lohiaite ideology, which is against large scale industries and a preference for appropriating technology as reflected in Gandhian way also. Samajwadi Party’s association with Amar Singh, Anil Ambani, Subroto Roy is viewed as a refutation of Socialist ideology. Mulayam Singh Yadav defends this by suggesting that the capitalists are really social assest, their cooperation should be taken for the overall development of the state. The ideological position of the Samajwadi Party seems to have adjusted itself to the broad socio economic policy paradigm of the prevalent time – the acceptance of liberalization and globalization. Thus while internalizing the concept of affirmative action, welfare schemes for the needy, rural and
agricultural upliftment, SP is also not convinced of the relevance of a campaign against promoting large enterprises in the private sector.

The decision to make Amar Singh the chairman of the UP Development Corporation, followed by Anil Ambani’s announcement of a power generation unit, relocation of Sahara Group in Lucknow and the concessions to all these by the state government certainly knocked the bottom off the party’s claim to represent the Lohia’s Socialist ideal, who was a staunch advocate of appropriation of technology but a trenchant critic of mega-projects, always argued against capital intensive technology. Here SP emerged as a pragmatic party with realistic future and growth oriented perspective, although deviated from the original ideological commitment.

- COMMITMENT TO SECULARISM

The decade of the 1990s in UP simply belonged to SP so far as the commitment to secularism was concerned and even after a longtime the commitment has remained intact.

As reflected during the time of Mandir-Masjid issue, during the Rathyatra of 1990, there was a massive mass pressure to build a temple in Ayodhya. It was only Mulayam Singh Yadav, then, the Janata Dal chief minister of UP who cracked down on the agitators ruthlessly. The demolition of the disputed structure in Ayodhya in 1992 once again reflected upon the policy of secularism, where SP organized protests all over the country led to his gaining of the title named Mullah Mulayam and Maulana Mulayam. His role during the period of 1989 to 1993, without brought him closer to the Muslim community.

SAMAJWADI PARTY- FROM IDEALOGY TO POLITICAL STRATEGY
FROM NON CONGRESSISM TO ALLIANCE FORMATION
The Samajwadi party has undergone a long period during which its alliance making strategy was apparently guided by ideological considerations as much as electoral - political calculations.

At its earlier stages, due to the Lohia’s impression and training of non congressism, the party worked as anti-congress. The domination of upper caste elites over Congress and outright political – social disapproval and alienation of OBC’s fuelled this anti – Congressism. Mulayam Singh Yadav as the staunch supporter of OBC’s due placement in polity and economy made him a champion of backwards. In fact Mulayam Singh Yadav played a very dominant role in the decline of Congress party. He orchestrated the 1989 Janata Dal campaign in UP which brought the party in power and he became the Chief Minister. By issuing an ordinance to implement the Mandal Commission recommendations, snatched the opportunity from Congress bag and by aggressively adopting secularism during Babri Masjid demolition, provided Muslim an alternative and took off a major chunk of loyal electorate from the Congress umbrella. In fact SP used this alliance of OBC’s, Dalits and Muslims in 1993 assembly elections. He formed an alliance with BSP and formed the Government. Since then Samajwadi party has been quite cautious in supporting Congress as and when political compulsions arises, in fact SP has some what diluted its anti congressism but not completely done away with it, ready to enter into a coalition of left and secular parties. Actually an alliance with the Congress would mean a possible danger of desertion of lower OBC’s and Muslims to Congress. Mulayam Singh Yadav had consciously set out on a course to cultivate himself as a leader in his own right and always kept himself free from the trappings of being a passive participant in someone’s else scheme.

Once tried the alliance with BSP in 1993, but the experiment was short lived from 1993 to 1995. It was due to strong polarization of castes and extension of castes interests where Dalits totally sided with BSP. This ended the possibility of developing a social cleavage on the basis of
combined backward castes (Dalits + OBC’s). The future possibility of an alliance with the BSP is restricted because of the structure of social relations in which the influential among the OBC’s have in no way been less exploitative of the Dalits than the upper castes.

Openly denouncing the communal politics of BJP, SP has time to time tried to form alliances with like minded parties along with shared interests like the RashtriyaJantantrikMorcha, RashtriyaJanata Dal (RJD) of Laloo Prasad Yadav and RashtriyaLoktantrikMorcha (RLD) of RamvilasPaswan. They also tried to form one coalition in August 2003 to form the government after BSP government resigned, shared the power with RJD, RLD, Rashtriyakranti party, Janata party, CPI (M), Thus charted the new zones in order to consolidate the power.

On the front of ideology, it appeared that the Indian power politics have derailed some of the original ideological tenants. Absolute adherence to socialist ideology appeared as impractical, SP seems to practice on a mid zone between ideology and political ambitions.

**SAMAJWADI PARTY AND OTHER PARTIES**

A MATTER OF POLITICS AND PERFORMANCE

Uttar Pradesh as a state has all ingredients for flowering of various ideologies. Rampant poverty, unemployment, economic disparity, great urban – rural divide and above all an exploitative social structure provided suitable grounds for flourishing of socialist and left ideologies as well as the rightist one. This state is quite suitable for the success of religion based politics on account of an overwhelming large Hindu population and a sizeble number of Muslims too. It is also fertile for Dalit politics and for politics based on the interest of the peasantry as they jointly constitute the majority of the population.
Nevertheless for years Congress subsumed all these consideration and provided umbrella kind of cover to various interests. It managed to get the mixture of support from Muslims, Schedule castes, Forward castes and other. In fact UP was traditionally the bastion of Indian National Congress since pre - independence time, thus had no difficulty in forming stable governments upto the year of 1967. It used to enjoy almost 48% of the vote share upto than time. Other oppositional parties like Socialist party (All variants), Jansangh, Communist parties failed to provide an alternative for Congress as reflected in table (1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Seats (% votes)</th>
<th>1952</th>
<th>1957</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1967</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td></td>
<td>390 (47.95)</td>
<td>286 (42.92)</td>
<td>249 (96.3)</td>
<td>199 (32.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJS</td>
<td></td>
<td>02</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>98 (21.65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSP</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>14 (3.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPIM</td>
<td></td>
<td>02</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>01 (1.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWATANTRA PARTY</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>12 (4.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11 (4.71)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Data obtained from the office of the Chief Electoral Officer, Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow.
Neither C.B Gupta nor Kamlapati Tripathi helped in improving the low popularity among masses and rising discontent within Congress led to the poor performance during elections of 1967 and within Congress led to the poor performance during elections of 1967 and thus paved way for the first non Congress government in UP under Samyukta Vidhayak Dal (SVD) banner with Chaudhary Charan Singh as the Chief Minister on 3rd April 1967, the first ever coalition in the state consisted of Jan Congress, BJS, SSP, Swatantra party, CPI, Republic party and Independents.

Of course this combination was enough heterogeneous in terms of ideologies, interests, programs, policies which proved difficult to stay together. This left enough space for Congress to recover in 1971 elections after Charan Singh’s second stint as Chief Minister with the support of Congress, which ultimately collapsed. Thus, from 1967 to 1971 five governments changed hands. Upto 1977 all went in the favor of Congress, crashed by imposition of emergency and nation wide merger of all opposition parties in Janata party in 1977 which ordered the dissolution of all Congress government assemblies, including UP and led to the defeat of Congress in 1978 elections where it managed only 47 out of 425 seats. However the fate of non Congress government replicated the fate of Janata government fate at the centre leading to the return of Congress in UP in the next two subsequent elections by a thumping majority 306 out of 425 in 1980 and 268 of 425 in 1985. All this dwindled in 1989 elections both at central and state level elections, where the rise of sectional interests under the new participative democratic wave led to the creation and recreation of new parties. Specifically in UP, the faulty lines for all the communities were crossed by the Congress. Be it Shah Bano case of 1986 for Muslims or Shilanyas orders at disputed site of Ayodhya or utter resistance to the backward class upliftment. This led to the final
end of Congress in UP and marked the beginning of the phase of coalition governments based on identity and interests.

- **BHARTIYA JANATA PARTY**

Post Congress politics in UP since 1989 is best characterized as “Ethnification of the party system”. Here it refers to a discursive shift in the political arena from the covert to the overt use of ethnic identity in political campaigns by all major political parties. It happened in UP after the virtual disappearance of Congress and its replacement by three parties. Along with SP it was BhartiyaJanata Party and BahujanSamaj Party, where all three players make open appeals to ethnicity, the centerpiece of their political campaigns.

The principle gainer at the cost of Congress in UP is BJP. Basically it is an upper caste dominated party, drawing most of its cadres from RashtriyaSwayamsevekSangh (RSS), sharing history with Jan Sangh and a participant in Janata party government of 1977. They clearly rode on the wheels of religious mobilization and majoritarian support. Adapted to change and made a clear dent in other parties “leftover by mistake” space.

In fact UP came under the sway of BJP in 1990 witnessed surprise, from a party without even a single seat in 1984 elections to winning the bulk of seats in 1991 elections and forming the government. All credit goes to a sustained Ramjanambhoomi campaign to build a temple in Ayodhya, leading to the communalization of the society and polity of UP. The fault lies with Congress which unconsciously helped BJP by ordering Shilanayyas at the disputed site and unleashed the frictions and strifes. Where it got converted into a popular slogan of Hindu nationalism and the expansion of political Hinduism. BJP already gained some surface by
Shah Bano controversy in UP which worked as a watershed event in mobilizing Hindus. This communal polarization forwarded by Ayodhya movement succeeded in stimulating sentiments among Hindu community which were dormant upto then, and intervened it with anti Congressism this has also broadened the social base of BJP to the new urban educated elite class.

There appeared one more phenomena, which helped BJP in gaining foothold in UP. This was the relative mandalization of its social base. The OBC mobilization by Samajwadi party since 90’s aimed more at Yadav community, the Kurmis of UP felt alienated. The BJP through its social engineering brought into its fold the other OBC’s particularly those who resented Yadav’s position. This was done under the leadership of Kalyansingh who was promoted due to his Lodhi caste and became the Chief Minister of UP. It was under his tenure the Babri Masjid was demolished in 1992. Despite of an increase in numbers for Lodhis and Kurmis in government formation, upper caste still cornered a disproportionally large numbers of position in BJP power ranks.

- **BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY**

The BSP was formed in 1984, after the delayed awakening of Dalit consciousness which reflects the unfolding of two processes, democratization and affirmative action policies of the state. In the political field the decay and the collapse of the Congress party provided space to this identity based party. The neglecting attitude of Congress in UP led to the disorientation of the lower castes, which were traditionally understood as the loyal voters of Congress.

So it is the political vaccum left by the Congress which was used by the formation of this party. This was established in the background of republican party’s failure in 1970 in championing the cause of lower
castes. BSP draws a cross cutting line between Alpjan (minority) and Bahujan (majority) where upper castes were named as minority and the majority or Bahujan consisted of backward castes, schedule castes, schedule tribes, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs estimated around 80 percent of the population. They are being oppressed by the minorities – upper castes. BSP treats ascriptive identity as the sole classifying criteria for status in any society.

It was not the revolutionary mobilization, but rather was an attempt to harness the social change within the community to establish a strong party. In 1976 the Trade Union Organization of government employees was formed by Kanshi Ram known as the backward and minority classes employees federation(BAMSEF) made up of new educated and better off sections, which served the base for BSP.

In terms of political strategy, there appears a willingness to form alliance with any party. They emphasized a need to maintain organizational independence and a critical posture toward any alliance partner. Extreme hostile attitude towards Congress may be counted as one, continued with opposition to upper caste dominance of politics and administration. In its formative years, in 1985 Mayawati fought a by - election in Bijnor, 1987 in Haridwar with 1/3 of vote share, and in 1998 the by - election of Allahabad against Congress. This helped BSP in gaining popularity, vote share and organizational structure and finally in 1989 assembly election managed to get 13 seats. BSP has consistently appealed to its largest ethnic categories with a single point program, holding of political power. According to Kanshi Ram political power was the master key to open up any political, social, economic, cultural, educational lock. In the later phase of its electoral journey BSP seems to dilute its staunch attitude toward other castes and classes. After 1993, with the experience of alliance
with SP it tried to extend from *Bahujan to Sarvajan*. So in 1996 elections 41% of tickets were given to backward classes targeting Muslims, 17% to upper castes along with others. It was a strategy named SarvaSamaj. However proved quite problematic for the reason of strong resistance from the traditional schedule caste Jatav votes.

**SAMAJWADI PARTY – POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE**
**FROM 1989 - 2004**

- Agrarian force and Samajwadi Party - pre 1991 scenerio

  The study of electoral politics from the mid 1960's reflects a growing nexus between agrarian change and electoral politics in major areas of UP. In the backdrop of Zamindari abolition along with the strong impact of Green Revolution there appeared a rich peasantryintermediary caste group which formed the core base of BKD. They merged in Janata Dal of 1988 where caste identity appeared as a tool of mobilization. In 1989 elections, this combination resulted in the victory of V.P Singh at the centre and in UP under the leadership of Mulayam Singh the government was formed. He gained 204 out of 421 assembly seats and ruled, first with the support of BJP and later with Congress including 13 seats of BSP also. The support base was of Yadavs and Muslims. Here Mulayam Singh Yadav was made to realize that his ascendancy as UP Chief Minister was largely depended upon V.P Singh thus was convinced of the need to carve out a space for himself, independent of the high command at centre. He sensed an opportunity during the Mandal Commission implementation of 27% of reservation to OBC’s. This backdrop was also supported by L.K. Advani’s RathYatra on the issue of Ram JanamBhumi – Babri Masjid dispute. This was justly capitalized by Mulayam Singh Yadav. His role in
containing the crowd that attempted to ravage the Babri Masjid in November 1990 earned him a support base among Muslims. This followed by the split in Janata party, where Mulayam Singh Yadav threw his lot behind Chandra Shekhar under SamajwadiJanata party. This followed by the dissolution of central government under Chandrashekhar and so as Mulayam Singh Yadav recommended his own government’s dissolution too.

- **1991 ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS**

  The verticle split in Janata Dal led to the victory of BJP in the elections held in 1991. The split in Janata Dal sadly affected the rural base in western UP and it was shifted to BJP. Janata Dal opposition to the idea of building Ram Temple on the disputed site of Ayodhya led to the withdrawal of upper and middle caste Hindu votes and very contrary to its expectation SamajwadiJanata Party under Mulayam Singh Yadav failed to get the adequate support. The Muslims community’s vote was also diverted into various directions like Janata Dal, BSP, and Congress. Projection of Kalyan Singh by BJP as the Chief Minister also paved way for the diversion of some intermediate caste like Lodhas towards BJP.

  Post assembly elections era is marked by the establishment of Samajwadi party under the single control and presidentship of Mulayam Singh Yadav on October 4, 1992. Which in the make of demolition of Babri Masjid got a new opportunity in the form of post presidential rule situation.
• **1993 – SP – BSP Alliance**

In the assembly elections of 1993, SP entered into an alliance with BSP in ordered to woo backward castes, Muslims and schedule caste simultaneously. This resulted in the transfer of the vote share of previous Janata Dal to SP, this government was headed by Mulayam Singh Yadav. The Congress was compelled to give its support to SP – BSP government to keep BJP out of power. This government and its composition reflected new caste equations, near end to the upper caste domination over state apparatus. However this experiment didn’t prove successful. Suspicions, apprehensions, political ambitions, violent tensions in assembly resulted in the withdrawal of BSP support to the Mulayam Singh Yadav government in June 1995. This ended with the famous Guesthouse incident which made SP and BSP the permanent enemies for all the future years and closed all possibilities for any kind of alliance.

• **1996 ELECTIONS**

Upto now the Mandal and Mandir issues were settled down, with Congress receding in the back, what all remained were the residue of issues and passions raised in 1991. The inter caste rivalaries were the only issues which kept the flame alive. The assertiveness of schedule castes under BSP emerged as the rising phenomena. Although BJP won a large number of seats in LokSabha, 52 out of 85. SP also showed a steady increase in the number of assembly seats, as reflects in table (2).15
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>1993</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>94(27.9)</td>
<td>46(17.4)</td>
<td>28(15.0)</td>
<td>33(8.4)</td>
<td>25(9.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>57(11.6)</td>
<td>221(31.5)</td>
<td>178(33.3)</td>
<td>174(32.5)</td>
<td>88(20.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JD</td>
<td>208(29.7)</td>
<td>92(18.8)</td>
<td>27(12.3)</td>
<td>7(2.6)</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJP/SP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34(12.5)</td>
<td>109(17.9)</td>
<td>109(19.7)</td>
<td>143(25.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP</td>
<td>13(9.4)</td>
<td>12(9.4)</td>
<td>69(11.3)</td>
<td>67(11.2)</td>
<td>98(23.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CSDS Data Unit.

The Samajwadi party made a virtue of the necessity of remaining in opposition for almost seven years from 1995 onwards. Meanwhile UP faced frequent changes of rule by BSP and by BJP. After the 2002 assembly elections and with BJP in decline, the SP switched to portray itself as the only credible opposition to the BSP and Mayawati. Dramatic events in August 2003 led to the outser of Mayawati and Mulayam Singh Yadav sworn in as the Chief Minister for the third time in his political career.

This established the hard realities summing up the last whole decade of SP establishment and also emerged as the trend for the future of UP politics – willynilly or perhaps deliberately, both SP and BSP as the two parties with the sharpest contradictions in UP politics. In the process of fighting the battles, neither set too much store for ideological niceties. But the fact that they managed to dictate the terms of political confrontations in the state means first the Congress and then increasingly the BJP are getting marginalized in India’s most populous state.

- **2004 LOK SABHA ELECTIONS**
In 2004 LokSabha elections the people's mandate took a very different trajectory bringing in a decisive victory for the SP, which won more than 50 percent of the seats that it contested, 35 out of 68. This brought into limelight the end of exclusionary politics and the beginning of inclusive politics in UP. SP which operated a social cleavage framework based on social osmosis, opened up to all castes and social denominations, all segments and took a U-turn accompanied by the phenomena of Reverse Social Osmosis.

AN APPRAISAL

- EXTENTION OF SOCIAL BASE

The theory of social osmosis suggests that during elections voters belonging to a particular caste group are attracted towards a political party that is based on their own caste ideology and caste leadership. With 1990 elections, after reaching to the optimum caste support some sort of stagnation was marked in SP. Moreover SP was also failed to reach to the required strength for the government formation, thus in 2004 went on to the Assimilation Framework, it was a trend where SP tried to attract Banias, Thakurs as reflected in its support to Raja Bhaiya in coming out of Prevention of Terrorism act in 2004. The support to SP from rich and middle class also went up from 15 to 16 percent in 2004. This reflects a trend of the nature of mobilization going under serious transformation.

The SP under Mulayam Singh Yadav should be given credit for evolving and retaining a solid social base across all social denominations and economic group of course western UP is an exception owing to its different kind of social stratification and
agrarian based production relations. This limitation also owe some explanation to Ajit Singh’s traditional stronghold on “Harit Pradesh” prospects, as a legacy from Chaudhary Charan Singh.

As shown in Table (3) the National Election Studies, CSDS survey data clearly reflects upon the emerging trends.17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste Characteristic</th>
<th>1996 Lok Sabha</th>
<th>1998 Lok Sabha</th>
<th>1999 Lok Sabha</th>
<th>2002 Legislative Assembly</th>
<th>2004 Lok Sabha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper Caste</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yadav</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other OBC’s</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CSDS data unit

This reflects that after a less than impressive performance in 1999, the base of the party has increased among various sections in 2002 assembly elections. Despite of functioning in a framework of cleavage politics, it has made inroads in other voting sections too, at the cost of loosening some of Muslims and Backward castes votes.

- **AT THE LEVEL OF ECONOMIC ADAPTATION**

The economic ideology of the party has evolved with time in fact has undergone several transformation and has assumed various pragmatic forms. The SP has responded to the onslaught of the market in a very cool and calculated manner. It has adapted itself easily to the requirements of LPG without creating a fuss. The party does retain its agenda of
equalitarianism, ruralism, and socialism along with its ability to adapt to the demand of LPG. In tune with capitalist tendencies, SP has lately induced several capitalists to meet the development requirements of UP, in fact SP has made development a new plank of its government agenda.

- **SP AT THE LEVEL OF BACKWARD CASTE MOBILIZATION**

  The SP appeared at a historic juncture and could have attained greater heights and loftier goals had it but made a sincere attempt. The performance of the backward caste movement in UP has been less than satisfactory. SP has failed to create a political identity through the mobilization of the backwards. First, it failed to develop a backward class constituency since it limited itself to one particular community (Yadavs). Second, its failure to attempt the homogenization of the upper and the lower castes among the backwards and thirdly, it failed to connect the backwards in the different states of the country.

- **SP AT THE LEVEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL CREDENTIALS**

  The organizational capacity of the SP is quite weak. To many, it appears as a one man show, where Mulayamsingh Yadav is considered as the undisputed leader. In fact SP has never really discussed and debated the issue of leadership. There is no second line of leadership, and the party is also not considering any democratic way of decision making too. The party is being run like a family business, among Ram Gopal Yadav, Shiv Pal Singh Yadav, Akhilesh Yadav, and Dharmendra Yadav. SP has never imparted any formal political training to its workers as concerned to the ideology, party programs, orientations etc. SP is also frequently charged for having criminal association, which it vehemently denied as baseless and politically motivated.
Despite of all achievements and the uncharted zones, the failures and the non performances, the SP has convinced all, for all coming times to be a compulsory and consistent player in electoral competition in UP. Its continuation and presence has reassured the dominant role of social cleavages in UP politics. Of course the SP is successfully learning the trick of engaging in development “rhetoric” and has started appealing to the voters on these inclusive grounds, which has moved its leadership towards attaining a possible national role provided the democratization process within the party is strengthen and the ideological ferments become more logical and visible.
REFERENCE:


and Paul Wallas (eds), Regionalism, Hindutva and state politics, New Delhi, Sage Publication, Page – 55.

14. **Pioneer** (1986), Lucknow, 20, Jan in Zoya Hasan, Quest for Power


