CHAPTER ONE

Introduction
Broadly conceived, political sociology is concerned with the social basis of power in all institutional sectors of society. In this tradition, political sociology deals with patterns of social stratification and their consequences in organised politics. It is one of the approaches to the study of social organisation and social change. In narrower terms, political sociology focuses on the organisational analysis of political groups and political leadership. In this perspective, the core of political sociology involves the study of both formal and informal party organisation with its images with the governmental bureaucracy, the legal system, interest groups and electorate at large. This approach is based on an institutional or organisational point of view.
As societies strive to become modernised and as the role of formally organised political parties becomes more and more dominant, it appears difficult to make a sharp distinction between social stratification and institutional approaches to political sociology. Nevertheless, the prospective assume persistently different conceptions about the political process and are reflections of the basic writing of Karl Marx and Max Weber, both of whom have deeply influenced the emergence of a society of politics.

The ideas of Weber and their implications for sociologists are familiar. But the relevance of Karl Marx to sociologists studying political systems has to be carefully formulated. From the formulations of Karl Marx has come the pervasive view that class conflict and social stratification derive from economic factor or from the social relations generated by the prevalent mode of production. But Marx's fundamental contribution is not limited to or even dependent upon the theory that political behaviour is an expression of economic interests. On the contrary his essential contribution is that he made the study of political sociology equivalent to the study of social structure, or Macro-Sociology as it has come to be called. Marx's view that the political system derives from the
pattern of social stratification, rather than his specific emphasis on the primacy of economic factors in furnishing social relations, has been a dominant theme in the development of an empirical analysis of politics.

Political sociologists who have come to consider politics as more than a reflection of social stratification and mass ideology have increased, their concern with the analysis of those institutions and social systems through which the political processes operate. The intellectual heritage of those political sociologists who seek to synthesize the stratification and the institutional approaches to political power is diverse. In particular, they have been strongly influenced by the 'elite' theorists on the one hand, and on the other hand by the variety of writers who can be called macro-sociologists because they have taken total societies as the object of their analysis.

Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michaels serve as central figures in stimulating empirical studies of elites and the sociology of political organisation. Their initial formulations were concerned with the bureaucratic features of party organisation and had strong ideological overtones. Particularly in the case of Michaels, the "iron law of oligarchy" is more a definition than an empirical generalisation offered as a fundamental barrier to representative institutions.
The analysis of the organization of political parties obviously involves not only its internal structure but also its relation to the socio-political balance of society.¹

Conceptual analysis:

A genuine party system, that is, that which contains two or more parties, is a major step in the attainment of political maturity. It is now a little more than a century since parties in the true sense came into being. Before that there were "trends of opinion, popular clubs, philosophical societies, and parliamentary groups, but no real parties."² Today, parties function in most of the countries of the world, and in others there is an attempt to imitate them.

By a political party, then, we mean an organised group of citizens who hold common views on public questions and acting as a political unit seek to obtain control of the government with a view to further the programme and the policy which they possess. MacIver defines a political party as "an association organised in support of some principle or policy which by constitutional means it endeavours to make the determinant of Government."³

Historically, the emergence of political parties has accompanied the growth of the modern electorate. Indeed, it was the latter that made the former. The more the right to
vote became extended and multiplied the more it became necessary for party organisations which previously had been based upon legislative cliques, to organise the electors in order to make the candidates known and to channelise the votes in their direction. Parties, thus, acquired their new character. They became mass organisations, linking together a large body of citizens with their representatives in the legislative assemblies. They developed institutions of their own and with a view to fight and win elections, they collected financial contributions. In this way the parties responded to a real need. Without them the millions of voters who composed the new electorate would have become a disorganised crowd viable to formulate their aims or debate the many issues they confronted them. "By means of parties, the voters obtained a medium that, to state it is no stronger terms, afforded a chance of rational and coherent action." 4

If the primary function of the party is to consolidate public opinion in advance of the election, permanency and organisation are then the imperatives of a party system. If the parties are not duly organised, they will remain mere vague, shapeless tendencies to similar views but not units capable of doing their real work controlling the government. But parties can only be organised if they are permanent.
Short-lived parties are just transitory phases of political developments over passing issues or temporary problems. They are not parties, but groups without any unified programme and policy and without any definite influence on the electorate. And since the life of these groups is short and precarious, they rarely develop lasting traditions and loyalties. Nor do they dominate the government and instead become an instrument in the hands of a clever politician.  

An organised party is almost like a small state within a big one. It has its active membership and its passive adherents, its local branches or constituencies, with their branches for propaganda, fund collecting and recruiting, its election to the party council, responsible for its choice of leaders and officials and the adoption of the party policy. "By degrees which to the ordinary citizen were imperceptible," says Dr. Finer, "these nation-wide fellowships have come into being and organised themselves with a gigantic and complex apparatus. They possess building and newspapers, printing presses and advertising experts, songs and slogans, heroes and martyrs, money and speakers, officials and prophets, feast days and fast days; like all religions they disrupt families and produce heretics, and among their agencies of discipline and subordination are the novitiates and penance."
Party organisation, thus, operates incessantly and the permanence of organisation and activity differentiate the parties of the present from the parties of the past. Before the middle of the last century political parties were loosely organised and remained inactive before elections. They would mobilise their men and resources just before the election and demobilise them after the polling day. The modern way is different partly because victory in Parliamentary elections is otherwise impossible, and also because in the modern state there are many local elective offices to fill. Local elections are the index of public opinion and they give a cue to the shape of things to come. The friends of opinion expressed at the local elections indicate the electoral support the party is likely to secure at the General Elections. Every party must, therefore, keep itself abreast of the fluctuations in public opinion. In fact, the local party branch plays a very important part in the party organisation. 7

The main functions of political parties are the selection of candidates for election, the planning and execution of the election campaign, the maintenance of party loyalty and party discipline, the formulation of long-term policies and short-term programmes, propaganda, research, and political education of the electorate. Political parties assist in the
formulation and expression of the general will by organising and winning elections. If there were no parties, politics would be a sheer babel of tongues. A disorganised mass of people can neither formulate principles nor agree on policy. A political party is an organised unit which enables men and women, who think alike, to support a definite programme and pursue it vigorously. It, therefore, brings order out of chaos by putting before a multitude of voters its programme and securing their approval on vital issues of policy. It plans and contests elections and endeavours to win. For winning elections, it is necessary that a political party should have the sanction of a majority of voters. It needs educating the electorate and moulding public opinion. Every political party does it through its press, platform and other vehicles of propaganda at its disposal.

Political parties, thus, present their programmes and submit the representatives of those programmes to the choice of the electorate. On their programmes, political parties aim at solving the social and economic problems which confront the people and the country. They also attempt to formulate long-term policies and short-term programmes. The electorate, no doubt, primarily selects men, but by doing so it actually select a party's programme.
When a particular party gets the majority verdict of the electorate, it forms the government and thereby gets an opportunity to translate its programme into reality or to carry out its programme in action. If the existing framework of law is deemed inadequate for the pursuit of the party programme, then, new laws have to be made. For the fulfilment of the party programme and for making necessary laws thereto the party organisation provides for united action. It holds the representatives together subjecting them to the party whip and the party discipline. The legislature, indeed, cannot work smoothly without the party whip. The party's solidarity, in short, is essential for carrying out a coherent policy which is so essential for good and efficient government. "It is the work of the parties to bind the disconnected organs into a unity and secure the harmonious co-operation of the entire government." A party, therefore, is a unifying agency between the executive and legislative departments of a government.

A party system guarantees to the electorate that change in government can be effected if they wish it. It is always wholesome to know that no one is indispensable in politics and he can be replaced or be the replacement tomorrow. A party system always reminds the rulers that the ultimate appeal
vests with the people and they must remember those to whom they will have to account in the future as well as those who entrusted them with power. Under a representative government one holds one's job on good behaviour only. Finally, where considerable separation and division of power exists, as under the presidential system of government, political parties serve as the necessary unifying agency. 8

Every political party is based upon two fundamental aspects of human nature. Men differ in their opinions, but at the same time, they are gregarious by nature. If they are to live in society they must adjust their differences with others and agree on fundamentals. Secondly men combine with persons holding similar views in order to put forward those views in an organised manner, and to support the principles or policy which they jointly favour and support. Five conditions are, accordingly, necessary to constitute a political party.

1. There must be a certain measure of agreement on fundamental principles which can bind the people together as a political unit. They may differ on details, but there should be no difference of opinion on principles they stand for. If there is
no agreement on fundamentals, they cannot co-operate with one another and achieve their political and nor attain political power.

2. The men and women holding similar views must be duly organised. Without proper organisation the people constitute just a disorganised crowd and it is impossible to implement policies on which they agree. It is their organisation into a cohesive body that enables them to acquire strength so as to act in concert.

3. The men so banded and organised should formulate a clear and specific programme which they should place before the electorate to win their support and devise all possible means to maintain it. They can only succeed in their mission if all solidly stand for that programme and present a united front. Even the slightest deviation is sure to affect the party.

4. A political party should seek to carry out its policy by constitutional means. It is the ballot box which should decide the fate of a political party and its claim to form the government. Any organisation that
aims at the employment of unconstitutional methods, that is, to seize power by violence and suppress all other parties is not a party in the sense we view a political party.

5. All political parties must endeavour to promote national interests as distinguished from sectarian or communal interests. Burke defines a political party as "a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interests upon some particular principle in which they all agreed." When a political party directs its activities to furthering sectional interests and selfish ends, it degenerates into a faction. A faction is a loosely united group of men who unite to achieve sectional interests as oppressed to national interests.

It is thus clear that a political party without a well-knit organisation is nothing. It has the means neither to present nor to promote its programme. It has the national appeal to make and no possibility of succeeding in its political mission by winning elections and forming the government. The old conception that a political party is a group of men professing the same political doctrine is not the entire truth now. The emphasis has shifted from
ideology to organisation and this has been necessitated by
the extension in the franchise and consequently the nation-wide
appeal a political party should have for its programme.
Dr. Roucek has aptly said that a political party "is held
together, primarily, by its ideology and organisation."\(^9\)

**Significance of the System of Political Parties**

Historically, the term 'political parties' emerged in
the nineteenth century with the development of representative
institutions in Europe and the United States. It designated
organisations whose goal was the capture of public office in
electoral competition with one or more other parties. The
role of political parties in the system of responsible or
representative government is not only dominant and indispensable
but creative and comprehensive. A party was the political force
that emerged to make democracy workable in its indirect form,
when its classical order had become unworkable in the western
mass societies. A party served as the firm foundation of
representative democracy and performs all its major institutional
and functional activities. A ruling party formulates the
policies and programmes of government and implements them
in furtherance of its objectives. It provides a stable
basis for the majority principle in democracy and makes it
legitimate and realizable.\(^10\)
As already said, political parties are indispensable for the working of a democratic government. In fact, they supply the motive power which keeps the wheels of administration moving. "Without political parties," says MacIver, "there can be no unified statement of principle, no orderly evolution of policy, no regular resort to the constitutional device of parliamentary elections, nor of course any of the recognised institutions by means of which a party seeks to gain or maintain power."\(^{11}\)

As Lowell says, "The conception of Government by the whole in any large nation is, of course, chimera for whatever the suffrage is wide, parties are certain to exist and the control must really be in the hands of the party that comprises and majority or a rough approximation to majority of the people."\(^{12}\)

Political parties in any competitive polity serve as catalytic agents of its growth and development. They act as powerful links between the people and government and foster changes in the society for the attainment of the polity's goals. The immediate objective of parties, as Duverger puts it, is to gain power or to participate in the exercise of powers.\(^{13}\)
In addition, political parties play quite an interesting part in educating the masses, particularly in the area of political modernisation, articulation of interests and grievances of the people, integrating individuals and wide varieties of socio-cultural groups into the mainstream of national life, bridging communication gaps within and between societies, and contributing to the growth and development of the nation in various other respects of the nation’s socio-political life.\textsuperscript{14}

Further, the political party sorts the issues for the electorate. It puts before the people its programme much in advance of elections and presents them with alternative and the programmes which they put before the electorate represent a selection made by each party out of numerous possible issues of moment. Finer rightly remarks: Without parties, an electorate would be either impotent or destructive by embarking on impossible policies that would only wreck the political machine.\textsuperscript{15}

A political party organises the majority without which a government cannot remain in power. If there were no parties, if members of Parliament were completely disorganised forming only a mass of men voting one way today and another way tomorrow, the government could not tell how long it could
stay in power. Moreover, a party provides alternative teams
to run the government. It prevents the same people remaining
in power too long and looking on office as a matter of right.16

Political parties, thus, perform a necessary service
to a nation; they are inevitable like the tides of the ocean.
"Their essential function," says Lowell, "and the true reason
for their existence, is bringing public opinion to a focus and
framing issues for a public verdict." They are the instruments
for carrying on popular government by concentrating public
opinion. Political parties make the scheme of representative
government workable and in advance of the election help to
bring together large numbers of men in acceptance of a common
basis of action. The importance of political parties may be
summed up in the words of Bryce: "In popular governments,
however, parties have a wider extension if not a more
strenuous life, for everywhere a citizen has a vote, with the
duty to use it at elections, each of the parties which strive
for mastery must try to bring the largest possible number of
voters into the ranks, organise them locally, appeal to them
by the spoken and printed word, bring them up to the polls.
Ballots having replaced bullets in political life, every
voter is supposed to belong to one of the partisan hosts to
render more or less obedience to its leaders."17
Racial and ethnic minorities, low castes and classes and underprivileged sections of society suffering the woes of inequality may organise themselves to fight against inequalities, discrimination and deprivation. They often violently agitate for their legitimate share in economic opportunities, educational privileges, social rights and political power. This collective effort on the part of the exploited is generally referred to as a social movement. 18

However, a collective effort may be properly called a social movement only if it operates within the medium of a community. An attempt, for example, to change the laws of some association is not a social movement, since such action, as a rule, does not have any bearing upon a community interest. The most significant social movements are those which take place on a national scale and affect the political, religious and moral folkways and institutions. Thus a social movement may be said to exist wherever a group of individuals operating within a community aims to win the support of that community for the establishment of some innovation in the ways and means of promoting a common interest.

**Political Parties and Modern India**

With the independence of India in 1947, a new era was
ushered in this country. It has emerged as one of the most influential nations which helped in breaking the chains of colonialism in several other countries. The Gandhian Movement provided other countries also with a new and powerful weapons with which to fight for independence. It paved the way for the liberation of several countries from British, French and Dutch colonial rule. India, however, achieved this status after a prolonged struggle against colonialism and that too after the partition of its territories purely as a communal basis. The independence movement was not limited to the achievement of the political goal of freedom alone, but covered various other activities of economic, political and social reform considered essential for building a welfare state. High hopes of meeting the great challengers of a new-born nation were pinned on the performance of the political organisation and leaders controlling them. The aspirations of masses soared higher after the success of the independence movement. The masses had complete faith in the new nationalism and sense of dedication amongst the leaders, piercing through their affiliations of family, caste, and religion.

Within three years of independence, the people of India gave themselves a constitution declaring India a Sovereign Democratic Republic, based on social, economical, political,
justice and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and of opportunity to all and assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. The new State of India was to be a parliamentary democracy, federal, republican and secular in character. The new constitution also provided for direct election through adult franchise without access to the evils of parochialism and social loyalties. The salient features introduced under such a democratic pattern were: active public participation of people in the system, guarantee for the basic human rights and values, and creation of a federal structure of legislature, executive and judiciary. The constitution proved to be first and foremost a social document. The directive principles of state policy delineate obligations of the state towards the citizens. The directive principles direct the state "to promote the welfare of the people by securing and promoting as effectively as it may be a social order in which justice, social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of the national life." The provisions reflected a desire for changing and rebuilding society for the common good. All these provisions entrusted the future power holders with two essential tasks for Indian society—providing a stable government and accelerating the process of economic and social development.
The Congress which had spearheaded the Independence movement was not primarily a party for contesting elections and seeking power. However, the provision for active participation of the people in the national democratic process articulated itself through mobilisation of a plurality of political parties which emerged in new forms of power structure and social change. The hierarchical character was developed through these political parties. Thus, political parties entered the arena, not only for legitimate access to the source of power but also to fulfil the two essential tasks mentioned above.

However, disappointments came rather early. Economic and social development did not take place as rapidly as the leadership and the masses had expected. India continued to be under the domination of a single party, partly broken only in 1967. In place of the expected growth of a sense of national unity, caste, tribal, religious and linguistic bodies multiplied and instead of uniting to work as a single force to rally the country, the Congress party soon came to be given with factionalism. 19

In place of providing a radical alternative to the existing system, political parties started a process of reconciliation with the demands of caste, regional, linguistic and monopolistic interests. 20 In a society where respect for
democratic institutions and orderly processes were yet to be established, where man lived close to the economic margins, and where loyalties to caste, religion, tribe and language were strong, these parties under the party elites found a favourable climate for growth without regard to the interests of the nation as a whole. Many thinkers have come to the conclusion that the parties have been working without norms of democracy, federalism and discipline.

The state of affairs in political parties and the role of political elites in this democratic system have raised several questions that warrant a critical examination of the basic pattern of governance accepted by the people of India in 1950.

An account of the Regional political parties in India

Parties in India established on purely caste lines are relatively few in number. However, the influence of certain castes or tribes on some parties which campaign for greater autonomy of a region or for linguistic rights of a community in some particular area is nevertheless important.

The Jharkhand party, for instance, aims at establishing a Jharkhand state for a few million tribals who live on the high plateau of Chhotnagpur of Bihar, and some districts of Orissa and
Madhya Pradesh. Although it came to be known as Jharkhand party in 1950, its origin goes back to 1920 under the banner of the Chhotnagpur Unnati Samaj which was converted into the Adivasi Mahasabha in 1938. Two other parties of a similar kind, namely, the Republican Party of India (RPI) and the Peasants and Workers Party (PWP) of Maharashtra deserve attention. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who championed the cause of the backward classes, organised the Independent Labour Party as early as 1936. The Party was converted by him into Scheduled Caste Federation (SCF) in 1942. After his death, other leaders of the SCF of Maharashtra formed a new party called the Republican Party of India in 1957. Likewise the Peasants and Workers Party of Maharashtra has acquired a curious mixture of caste and class complexion. 24 The party under the leadership of a few Congressmen who were actively associated with the Social Liberation Movement took birth in 1948. It appealed primarily to the non-brahmin depressed groups. The orientation of the party is socialist, surrounded by a mystic aura of communism and therefore it attracted the less well-to-do of the Marathas.

Linguistic diversity of the Indian Union encourages parties to take up linguistic issues from time to time. In protest against the Assam State Language Act of 1960, the
All Party Hill Leaders' Conference (APHLC) was formed to spearhead the demand for a separate Hill State. The tribal leaders of the APHLC succeeded in their objective and the Government of India conceded their claim and announced in 1968 a plan for creating an autonomous state to be known as "Meghalaya" consisting of the three major tribes, the Khasis, the Jaintias and the Garos. The new state came into being in 1970 but the APHLC continued thereafter, as its leaders did not like to dissolve it even though its main political purpose was fulfilled. Another party which was the product of linguistic diversity was the Mizo National Front. It was born in 1960. It became very powerful as a political organisation under the leadership of Laldenga, its president, an ex-Army man. The party demanded 'Mizoram' a free Mizo state consisting of the Mizo areas of India, Burma and East Pakistan. The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak, party of Goa was similarly a product of linguistic diversity. After the liberation of Goa in December in 1961 the Goans were divided broadly into two sections, the one for merging Goa with Maharashtra and the other for keeping it as a separate state within the Union of India. The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party was formed in 1963 under the leadership of the pro-Maharashtra Group. Since its formation it has been strong enough to give a stable government to the people of Goa and
it has easily thwarted all powerful moves including those of the Congress, to undermine its supremacy.

After the linguistic reorganisation of the states the parties which had played up language lost their emotional appeal. But the linguistic minorities living in various states continued to fight for the protection of their language. Sometimes they took shelter behind the slogans of more autonomy or administrative reorganisation. The Travancore Tamilnad Congress of former Travancore-Cochin State, the Karnataka Pranthkarana Samiti of Kerala which emerged on the eve of the Independence and the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti born in 1956 need mention as examples of linguistic-oriented minority parties. The formation of Senas (militias) ostensibly for political ends manifested as a new development in Indian politics on the eve of the fourth general elections of 1967. Of all these senas, the Shiv Sena of Bombay under the leadership of Bal Thakeray, a leading Marathi Cartoonist, assumed a militant posture against the non-Maharashtriyans. On account of the encouragement given to it by active regionalists the Shiv Sena could build the base of a political party. The Gorkha league of West Bengal, which was born in the midst of leftist upheavals in Dehradun in 1923, revived in 1943 in Darjeeling as a political organisation of the
total Goorkhas living in the district of Darjeeling. The Goorkha League demanded autonomy for this district and inclusion of Nepali language in the eighth schedule of the Constitution.

In certain cases the people of certain regions, because of regional imbalance or a minority community owing to their grievances against the majority, have revolted against the Establishment. The Telengana Praja Samiti (Telengana People’s Conference) of Andhra Pradesh and the Praja Party of Jammu and Kashmir are examples of such kind. Born in 1969, the Telengana Praja Samiti voiced a strong protest against the neglect of Telengana region by Andhra and demanded separate statehood for Telengana. The Samiti formally became a political party in 1971 and contested the elections in the same year. But eventually it merged with the Congress led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir under the leadership of Sheik Abdullah came to be formed in 1939 though its origin as All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference goes back to 1931. From its inception the Conference has been agitating for popular participation and in 1946 the party unsuccessfully launched a "Quit Kashmir" movement against the ruling family.
After the state merged with the Indian Union in 1948, the leaders of the National Conference have tactfully fomented caste, communal and regional feelings and sentiments and have exploited the people and the political situation to their advantage. The party has been ruling the state from the very beginning except from 1965 to 1975 during Abdullah's detention when it merged with the Congress in 1965 and in 1975 it was temporarily dissolved. But the party was revived by Sheik Abdullah in 1975 when he formed the ministry. When the minority in Jammu and Kashmir were disregarded, the Praja Parishad was born in 1949 in defence of the Hindu interests against Sheik Abdullah's discriminating measures. But it merged with the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) in 1957.

The Akali Dal, the political mouth-piece of the Sikhs, is a regional party with a strong religious stance. The party has a compact area of influence and it draws considerable following from the Punjab, the home-land of the Sikhs. The sikhs are a militant community of which the Akalis form the more self-conscious and tenacious section. The Akali Dal from the very inception has been a religio-political force demanding the creation of a separate state on a purely cultural and linguistic basis.
Telugu Desam Party was started by N.T. Rama Rao in 1980. It was a reaction to the dissatisfaction of the people of the state with the perpetually ad-hoc and corrupt administration of the National party Congress-I. Its main objectives are:

- To safeguard the regional interests in developmental matters;
- To protect and strengthen the regional language and culture;
- To strive for national development with a clean administration.

The disturbing situations upon the mode of administration and the absence of schemes for the welfare of the people with corrupt administration warranted the emergence of this regional political party in Andhra Pradesh.

**Regional Parties in Tamil Nad**

Tamil Nad played a vital role in the independence struggle. Subsequent to independence, of course, sectional interests became dominant. Even before independence, the Justice Party of India gathered some power in Tamil Nad. It consisted of politically pro-British non-Brahmins who wanted to break the Brahmin domination. Their pro-British attitude however spelt its doom soon. E.V. Ramaswamy, who had been a dedicated
Congressman, started a party of his own calling it the Dravidar Kazhagam. He thought of the southern states as a separate unit, the polity of the Dravidian race. But the movement did not evoke much of a response in the other southern states. He incorporated into it the philosophy of Dravidian superiority, the duplicity of the Aryan, the humiliating domination of Sanskrit and Brahminism and untouchability. Thus his outfit included political, linguistic, cultural and racial issues and exploited the feeling that the Brahmin community was ruling the roost. It soon became an anti-Brahmin, anti-Hindi party. Hindi could provoke a lot of bad feeling because it was sought to be made the national language of India.

The effective government of Kamaraj did not give the party much scope to develop and E.V. Ramaswami kept away from the polls. The party split in 1949 on very personal issues that cropped up between E.V. Ramaswami who had little sympathy for democratic traditions and the ambitious and idealistic young man like C.N. Annadurai whom E.V. Ramaswamy had groomed politically.

The new party called itself the Dravida Munnetra-k-Kazhagam (The Dravidian Progressive Party). It produced a
greater impact on the public with its anti-north India, anti-Hindi and anti-Brahmin planks. Riding the crest of the anti-Hindi agitations of 1965, it came to power in Tamil Nadu in 1967.

C.N. Annadurai, its leader died in 1969, letting his ambitious lieutenants fight out their battles for supremacy in the party. M. Karunanidhi managed to grasp the reigns and he was the Party President and Chief Minister for three years. In 1972, the party split again because his ways did not please many. M.G. Ramachandran asked for strict accounting of all the funds raised by the party and the demand signalled revolt. M.G. Ramachandran was expelled, and he immediately founded the Anna Dravida Munnetra-k-Kazhagam (ADMK). Very soon it wrested power from the D.M.K. and M.G. Ramachandran became the President of the Party and the Chief Minister of the State.

The D.M.K. itself had given up its demand for a sovereign Dravidian state, and had acquiesced in India's nationhood. The ADMK offered no great changes from the D.M.K. but merely offered honest rule. The anti-Brahmin cry was losing force. So the ADMK espoused rationalism,
communal amity, anti-Hindi imposition and absolute co-operation with the Central Government as its guiding principles. In an effort to shed its inherited regional associations, the party expanded its name to All India ADMK in 1977. The party continued in power till the death of M.G. Ramachandran in December 1987.

The Congress party was increasingly monopolised by a few leaders which necessarily resulted in alienating large chunks of its members in the sixties. In many states the ministerial wing was either disapproved or exposed by the organisational leaders. The central leadership of the party was unable to bring about any reconciliation between the two opposing groups of the state wings. The widespread politics of alienation ultimately generated a large number of splinter parties forum the Congress named the Bangla Congress, the Kerala Congress, the Jana Congress of Orissa, the Jana Kranti Dal of Bihar and the Bharatiya Kranti Dal of U.P. Most of these splinter groups adopted only such names as were reflective of their tradition and past professing the Congress ideals and projecting the Gandhian image.
Some of these splinter parties at the regional level had the chance of leadership of some strong state-based leaders. Such parties have been described by Craig Baxter as "flush parties" referring to their sudden rise and possibly in some cases their eventual decline. Quite a few of these parties could increase their bargaining strength and share power later taking advantage of the process of political instability in the state.

**Importance of Regional Political Parties**

Regional political parties are almost an inevitable development and have a definite influence and impact upon the politics of the democratic states depending upon the right of dissent and the diversity of life in the body politic. In western democracies minor parties may be said to condition and modify major parties somewhat as the habitat of an organism determines its characteristics.

In a country of vast diversity like India where political fluidity continues indefinitely, there have emerged many minor parties or parties of purely local or regional origin and operation and pre-occupied with local issues. These have strongly dominated the political scene since independence.
The establishment of such parties marks the "transition from the traditional class politics to the democratic mass politics." With the initiation of the constitutional process, a process of regionalisation along primordial lines has commenced in India. The new circumstances immediately after independence led to the growth of several primordial linguistic and sub-cultural groups which demanded a regional identity and regional personality of their own. The growth of these pan-India's forces had, however, takes shape under the centralisation of power during the British rule. But they had been submerged in the national movement. After independence, the growth of regional parties in this vast society composed of numerous groups has been made easy. These regional parties are not yet in an advantageous position to raise their bargaining power in national politics although some of them have proved their strength against their adversaries including the Congress at the state level.

Regional parties have often been referred to as parochial or particularistic parties in India as they have mostly represented the parochial or particular interests of certain sections of population. Further, they were more concerned with the interests of certain groups than with the general welfare of the nation. Their limited aggregative potential
led them to identify with particular interests. The aggregation and articulation of these regional or other sectarian interests took shape in the hands of certain politicians of middle class origin as well as some caste and traditional leaders who saw new opportunities to acquire positions of prominence in the changed circumstances after independence. Sometimes caste and other traditional loyalties were overlaid by political or ideological statement. However, these regional parties gained commanding influence in some localities or regions, but at the national level their impact has been limited.

Existing literature on Regional Political Parties in India in General and in Tamil Nadu in particular.

An objective assessment of original policies and regional political parties in the Indian states is long over due. Interestingly, many of the regional political parties in most of the states have largely remained unrecognised and unstudied. Although there have been a spate of studies in each of the national parties in India very little research has been done on the regional parties. This apathy towards the study of regional
political parties seems to be partly rooted in the insufficient appreciation of regional politics as an operationally significant level of inquiry even though the regional parties in many states have increasingly gained strength and some of them have repeatedly held reins of power at the state level. The complacency of scholars may be also partly due to the continuing emphasis on the study of national parties and the dominance of regional parties by national parties. The net result is that the study of regional parties has not been accorded due institutional support and has been allowed to remain a dark area in the studies of Indian politics.

Of late, scholars--foreign and Indian--have undertaken studies on political development and political change in the Indian states. These studies, however, have made only indirect reference to the regional political parties in the states. By and large these studies base a part of their work on state politics and therefore cannot be expected to deal with the regional parties in detail. The works on state politics edited by Myron Weiner and Iqbal Narain are cases in point. They mainly emphasise the electoral behaviour of the political parties at the state level on the basis of
electoral cleavages and party alignments. Their main aim is to identify the working of the political system. The scope of these studies is, therefore, limited and the regional parties have received scant attention in these studies. Almost similar is the case with the studies of political parties which are largely confined to national politics and their factional conflicts in some states. Regional parties hardly figure at all in these studies. The spate of election studies in India made by both foreign and Indian scholars reveal that due emphasis has not been put by them on the study of the electoral behaviour of regional parties.

The Reports on the Indian General Elections: 1951-52, jointly edited by S.V. Kogeke and Richard L. Park, made a state-wise analysis of the electoral processes at work. This study has used the survey and statistical method and has only described the poll results of the parties including some regional parties. But there has been no such planned study of the 1957 elections, and 1959 and 1961 mid-term elections of some states. The third General Elections of 1962 which came to be described as symbolizing Indian's political "take off" evoked great scholarly interest. The political changes after 1967 in fact generated abundant interest and attracted a great number of scholars to study the electoral
behaviour and support base of the parties which included a number of regional parties also. However, all these studies were simply electoral studies on the basis of statistical analysis of poll results.

Rajni Kothari's works on Indian politics and the developing political pattern in the states were excellent studies with comprehensive analyses of political process in India. His framework of one party dominance, however, did not suit all the states and, moreover, the form and substance of one party dominance in the states was not studied on a comparative basis.

Iqbal Mirza visualised a linear development from one party dominance to stable party system through the intervening stages of "polarised pluralism," the transition from one stage to another being characterised by phases of political equilibrium and disequilibrium. Through this theme of polarization he also attempted to correlate in a broad way, the patterns of electoral alliances and coalition governments in the states.

None of the studies of these two eminent political scientists did include any individual study as regional parties. They, however, pointed out the importance of the
study of regional politics as part of the study of political development in under-developed areas.

The formation of coalition governments and the emergence of regional parties as their constituent partners after the 1967 elections became yet another important development which attracted the attention of many scholars. This new development of regional parties as coalition partners sharing power in some states with national parties increased the legitimacy of the regional parties as well as the important of their study. The coalition governments in the states were studied from the perspective of the issues involved in their nature and functioning. Several theoretical, constitutional and developmental issues were raised in the studies of coalition governments. But these studies were insufficient as they did not make any in-depth of the regional parties from the perspective of their contextual dimension and intra-regional imbalances.

Some of the works on individual parties have dealt with certain aspects of some regional parties. The works of H.L. Erdman and Craig Baxter are important in this context. Erdman's *The Swatantra Party and Indian Conservatism* analysed
to some extent, the ideological and organisational aspects of the rightist parties like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jana Sangh, the Ram Rajya Parishad of Rajasthan, the Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa and the Janata Party of Bihar. The merger issues of the smaller and regional parties like the Ganatantra Parishad, the Ram Rajya Parishad, the Janata party and the Praja Parishad of Jammu and Kashmir with the Jana Sangh and, other related issues have been discussed by Craig Baxter in his work on the Jana Sangh. Though they were of limited scope, these studies were nevertheless important; yet they were neither independent nor were they expected to deal with the regional perspective in detail as their focus was altogether different.

Regional diversities within states and the consequent development of regional parties have seldom received the attention of scholars. Only a few scholars have made political inquiry into the historical origin of regional diversities and of those movements and parties born out of difference due to uneven colonial impact.

The emergence of regional parties and their continuing political consequences have been studied from the perspective of their threat to national unity and their impact upon centre-state relations. This point of view has been

But some scholars have taken a different view. They argue that regional diversities and regional parties, instead of posing danger to national unity, constitute the necessary concomitant factor of a federal system. They emphasise the need for integrating sub-regional identities into the political system. This thesis is evident in the works of Puri, Kothari and Srinivas. They have dealt with larger question of re-organisation of India's territorial structure on the basis of smaller and more homogeneous states to ensure better national integration.

There are still very few independent studies on regional parties.

The studies of the Akali Dal and the Utkal Congress might be cited as examples. Nayar's work has been so far the best on the Akali Dal. Nayar's primary plan was to study the problem of nation-building in India and keeping in view this major objective his study focussed on two aspects. It aimed at understanding the basis and dynamics of one specific demand for the formation of a new state out of the territories
of the Punjab in North-West India. Secondly, it examined the complex relationship between diversity and national unit as well as between diversity and democracy in India. While studying the state's politics since independence he examined the origin and political strategies of the Akali Dal.

Sarangi, in his study of the Utkaal Congress, states that it came into being as a result of the defection of the dominant faction of the Orissa Congress because of the intervention of the High Command on behalf of the minority faction. He says that, in Orissa, factions are seldom based on caste and kinship ties; these mostly veer round their respective leaders. Sarangi has briefly examined the ideology and programme of the party. In analysing the socio-economic background of the Utkaal Congress legislators, he observes that it does not seem to be widely different from that of the general pattern of the Congress and other political parties. He has briefly studied the electoral performance of the party in both 1971 and 1974. But he has completely neglected its leadership pattern and performance in other fields.

Only a few studies are made available on regional parties of Tamil Nadu. All these studies have given a short account of the welfare of the non-Brahmins, Tamil language and Tamil culture.
The study of Rajaram on the Justice party reveals that the rule of the Justice party was powerful enough to uplift the political, social and cultural life of the non-Brahmins. Among the achievements of the Justice party, the passing of the Communal Government Order in the year 1921 to give greater proportion to non-Brahmins in Government jobs, making elementary education free, curtailing the exploitation of temples by Brahmins through the Hindu Religious Endowment Act of 1925, the formation of Andhra University and the enfranchisement of women were remarkable.

R. Ravichandran studied the Dravida Kazhagam and stated that it played a unique role in the political, social and religious life of the people of South India. It was largely responsible for making an effective change in the social life of the vast majority of the people through its ceaseless propaganda against superstitious beliefs based upon religious traditions. It popularised and perpetuated the assumption that the non-Brahmins were Dravidian descendants and original inhabitants of South India and the Brahmins were Aryan invaders from the north. In short, it was dedicated to the goal of giving non-Brahmins a sense of pride based on their Dravidian past, which also meant, a denial of the superiority of Brahmins and the Brahmins' implicit faith in the system.
L. Robert Hardgrave, Jr. in his analysis of the Dravidian movement has stated that the origin of the Dravidian people lies in question but it is generally accepted that they are not indigenous to the sub-continent. It has been suggested that they are the descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel. The process of Aryanisation began as Sanskritic elements were introduced into the Tamil language. Local customs were incorporated into the formation of a new social order and the Dravidian deities were given Sanskritic labels and were placed in the elastic pantheon of the Brahmanical religion. This Aryan-Dravidian fusion is probably the foundation of Hinduism as a popular religion. Archaeological discoveries indicate, for example, that the worship of Durga and Siva has a greater antiquity than the Aryan era. While Hinduism cannot be considered as some Tamil nationalist would suggest, "Un-Dravidian," Sanskritic religion was nevertheless a tool of social control in the hands of the Brahmins. When the Brahmanas settled in Southern India, and the ancient Tamil Rajahs desiring to secure the benefit of the Yogas, accorded to the fire priests the superimposition in society, the Brahmanas naturally tried to introduce their socio-religious organisation into the Tamil Society. He further states that without education, economic power or political influence, the non-Brahmin of Tamilnad felt the yoke of oppression and
exploitation. Among the urban non-Brahmin classes, however, there gradually emerged a counter-elite of those politically articulate and highly educated members of communities of lesser status and power. The Brahmins, because of education, religious authority, economic power, political influence, and social prestige, stood as an exclusive elite in juxtaposition to the illiterate masses which constituted more than 95 per cent of the society. The real impetus to the Dravidian movement did not come until the formation of the South Indian Liberal Federation, popularly known as the Justice Party.

P. Spratt in his analysis of the D.M.K. in power has stated that Nationalism is a contradictory passion of immense strength but subject to strange limitations. A man who has proved his willingness to die for his country on the battlefield will yet evade payment of his taxes. Linguism is subject to similar vagaries. People will vote and riot, and even burn themselves to death, to prevent the domination of Hindi over Tamil, but it does not follow that they are willing to take their education in Tamil. Education, in the ordinary citizen's view, falls in the same category as paying taxes: It is not an ideological but a bread-and-butter business. The bread-and-butter language of modern India is English, and
from the bread-and-butter standpoint Hindi is also useful. The opinions of the educated class on this subject are quite clear, and a great many of the uneducated agree with them. It was a mistake in the language policy of the Congress which brought the D.M.K. to power. A mistake in the language policy of the D.M.K. can bring the Congress back to power. The linguistic sub-nationalism of the D.M.K. is as well suited to the purposes of economic progress as was the nationalism of the Congress.

R. Thandavan made an indepth analysis of the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra-k-Kashagam (AIADMK) and found that it functions as a mobilising movement to enlighten the Tamil Society on its conflicts, inequalities and the ways by which they can be eliminated. For this, the ideology of Annaism has been developed by the AIADMK. Secondly as an organisational expression the AIADMK fosters and preserves the solidarity of the exploited people in Tamil Nadu. For this M.G. Ramachandran's charisma contributes greatly. Thirdly, as an educational instrument, the party suggests the merits of reforms for orderly and peaceful social change.

The studies discussed above have, no doubt, contributed to our understanding of regional political parties in Tamil Nadu. But our understanding in this respect needs to be
further improved by a more systematic and comprehensive study of regional parties. These studies, by and large, have confined themselves to the analysis of the status of non-Brahmins, Tamil language and Tamil culture but not on political link between leaders and members of a political party.

The meagre studies that have been carried out, in the field of regional political parties at the Municipal Town level in different aspects has been a motivating factor for the researcher to undertake this study.

It is surprising that though there have been rich and valuable data on the political analysis of social institutions, kinship, legislature, political leadership and political parties, yet research has to be undertaken on the relationship between leaders and members of political parties.

This study of the Dravida Munnetra-k-Kazhagam, a regional political party of Tamil Nadu, is an attempt at removing the lacuna. The researcher has prepared an empirical framework to conceptualise the relationship between leaders and members of the party.
The nature of working of a political party has a two-fold significance. It determines the efficiency of the party, and it also influences the political development of the members of the party. If the working of the party is principled, then the members develop the instinct and the training to be principled. The working of the party depends on its leaders and members. They influence one another. The members tailor their behaviour to the nature of their leaders and the leaders are corrupted or kept honest by what they find their followers tolerate. Thus the working of a party, its effectiveness and its efficiency, both depend on the relationship between its members and leaders.

This study tries to focus attention on this vital area of a party's existence. This study therefore hopes to get an insight into the political life of the country.