Chapter II

Methodology and Review of Literature
In a pluralistic society like India, party system exhibits multiplicity of interests. Proliferation of political parties in India is a reflection of the democratic character of the polity. Indian polity has not yet reached that stage of development where ideologies are strong. The political parties are able to structure meaningful electoral issues and parliamentary opposition successfully canalizes popular opposition.

The Indian party system is characterized by the existence of various types of parties. The Political Parties are free to emerge and collapse. Whenever general elections are announced several political parties emerge to contest for and gain power. Prominent persons who failed to get seats either for themselves or to their group form a political party. There are national parties, like Congress, Communist party, B.J.P and Lok Dal etc. Besides there are regional parties like DMK, AIADMK, Akali Dal, National conference, Telugu Desam party etc.
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Political parties build up cadres by recruiting members into their fold. These candidates carry policies and programs to mobilize public support. In fact, it is believed that Indian party system is not cadre based, as they are described as leader-based parties. Most of the parties in India, with the exception of the Communist and Bharatiya Janata Party at the national level and the regional parties like AIADMK and TDP have no committed cadres of their own to work for their parties. Only at the time of elections volunteers are recruited to work for their parties.

Another dominant and striking feature of the Indian party system is the personality factor or the charisma of leaders, i.e., late Sri. N.T. Rama Rao, etc., rather than programs and ideologies of the parties like Congress (I), Congress (S), Lok Dal (C), AIADMK and TDP. During the Nehru era the Congress party was symbolized as the party of Nehru. After Mrs. Indira Gandhi came to power the Congress was identified with her personality. Same is the case with other parties like the Lok Dal (C), AIADMK and TDP, which were identified with M.G.Ramachandran, Charan Singh and N.T.Rama Rao respectively. From this it can be said that personality oriented politics is gaining significance in the Indian political party system. Hence, personality factors have an overwhelming influence on the formation and functioning of political parties in India.
Indian political parties reflect a pattern of study fragmentation and proliferation of political forces reflecting social fragmentation and regional divisions of the country. The castes and communal divisions, cultural diversities, linguistic rationalism, varying socio-economic levels, elite-mass and rural-urban, dichotomies and traditional-modern differences are likely to sustain the forces of political fragmentation and proliferation.

Since the first general election in 1951-52 the Indian political system has experienced the emergence of several regional and sub-regional political parties. In majority of the cases these parties came to existence because of the excessive centralism and monopolistic politics of the Congress. Particularly after the fourth general elections in 1967, the regional parties played a crucial role in some of the States. Despite their limited range of concerns and their limited pool of potential supporters, regional parties play an important role in national, state and local politics. The national government of Indira Gandhi, for instance, depended, to some extent, on support from Tamilnadu’s Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in the Lok Sabha between 1969 and 1971 to maintain Congress majority. The Government of Morarji Desai relied on the support from the Akali Dal and the DMK during its election campaign of 1977 and one member of Desai’s first cabinet was a member of the Akali Dal. Both the DMK and AIDMK, a mere leftist offshoot of the DMK, lead the State government in Tamilnadu, while Akali Dal lead government in Punjab. Several other states, including
Bihar, West Bengal and Kerala had coalition governments that counted regional parties among their members.

This development of regional politics challenged the phenomenon of one party dominance in India. The Congress Government at the Centre, tended to create all types of obstacles to non-Congress parties and to topple them by hook or crook. In course of time, some non-Congress national parties that came to power in some states have also clamored for more powers for states. Thus, the tilt of the Indian federation towards the centre has been subjected to severe criticism and serious debate took place largely due to the emergence of regional parties.

Andhra Pradesh like some other Indian states experienced the existence of several political parties, groups and fronts of regional and sub-regional dimensions at different periods of its political history. Many had emerged but only a few survived and continued in some form or the other. Though styled as State parties, most of them owed their origin to the factionalism of the dominant Congress party or some other stable political parties. The frustrated and disgruntled dissidents of major and minor political parties floated them. Denial of share in political power gave birth to these local parties. Accommodation and absorption of dissidents into the power circles by the major groups of parties led to their dissolution. Ideology was not the basis for the rise of smaller parties. Opportunistic alliances, alignments and power equations were mainly responsible for the emergence and exit of local
parties. Few powerful leaders without any cadres or organizations headed most of the local and sub-local parties. Praja party, Democratic party, Socialist Democratic party, National Democratic Party, United Democratic Front, Andhra Pradesh progressive front, National Democratic group, Progressive front, Jana Congress, Majlis Ittehadul Muslimeen, Telangana Praja Samithi, Sampoorna Telangana Praja Samithi, Telangana Congress, Labour party, Telangana Congress Forum, and Jai Andhra Front, Anna Telugu Desam Party, NTR Telugu Desam Party, Pyramid Party, were some of the significant regional and sub-regional parties, groups and fronts that existed at different periods in the political history of Andhra Pradesh since its formation in 1956.

Therefore, it can be presumed that party politics refers to the activities, accommodation and adjustment pattern of the political elites in the context of 'shaping and sharing of power'. Hence, the need for the study of political parties and the assembly elections at the district level.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

An objective assessment of regional politics and members of regional political parties in the Indian states is long overdue. Interestingly many of the regional political parties and their political elite in most of the states have largely remained unrecognized and unstudied. Although there has been several studies on each of the national parties and their elites in India but very little research has been done at the regional level electoral politics. This apathy towards
the study of regional political parties and elites and electoral process 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 was that the study of electoral politics with focus on political elite of different parties was not accorded due institutional support and was allowed to remain a dark area in the studies of Indian politics. As such an attempt is made to study the electoral politics at the district level with the focus on political elites of different parties in the following pages.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

India is one of the most popular democracies of the world, with a special social structure based on caste, community, religion, language and region. All the above factors are fused into a territorial integration under the general conditions of a participatory democracy. They figure most prominently in general elections right from the district level.

Andhra Pradesh is one of the prominent states of the Indian Union. It is a strong citadel of Congress Party for more than three decades. It lost its glory in the state of Andhra Pradesh to Telugu Desam Party, which emerged as the dominant party not only in the state but also in the electoral politics of the Centre.
The present work is an attempt to throw light on the changing political conditions of Andhra Pradesh with special reference to Chittoor District from 1989 to 1999. Chittoor district is one of the important districts of Rayalaseema region. An attempt has been made by the researcher to study and analyze the party politics and assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh with special reference to Chittoor District in the following pages.

The primary objectives of the study are:

- To study the role of political parties in the electoral politics of the state and Chittoor district from 1989 to 1999.

- To study the role of Chittoor district in the Assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh.

- To study the role of political elites and leaders in the electoral politics of the state in general and the Chittoor district in particular.

- To study the party politics in the Chittoor district of Assembly elections.

- To study the electoral politics in each constituency in Chittoor District.

**SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTION**

The present study has made use of the historical-analytical approach to study the electoral politics with the emphasis on political elites of different political parties of Chittoor District in Andhra Pradesh. The study makes use of both primary and secondary sources of data. It is also supplemented with the data collected by the researcher with
the help of interview method from knowledgeable persons who are involved in electoral politics.

A structured interview schedule was used to interview the leaders and other respondents. The interview schedule consisted of several questions and sub-questions pertaining to various aspects of political elite to unfold the electoral politics. It included questions among others on their attitude to regional and local development, and such other related issues. In some cases some leaders could not be personally interviewed even after several attempts and a few leaders did not entertain personal interview. The relevant information had to be collected from them with the help of mailed questionnaires.

Library resources were extensively used for collecting materials. Party literatures were collected from the party offices and from the persons who held positions in the parties. For these purposes extensive trips to different places were made. Lot of difficulties are faced in course of collecting party literature and conducting interviews with the leaders of different political parties at the district and state levels.

**CHAPTERIZATION**

The present study is divided into seven chapters.

**Chapter I** deals with the Introduction. It provides the conceptual framework of the present study. Concepts like political system; political socialization, political participation, political efficacy, political parties, etc., have been
discussed. A brief reference is given to the latest manifests of different political parties as the Political parties performance is linked with the objectives of the parties' manifests.

Chapter II deals with the methodology and review of literature. It explains the statement of the problem, the significance of the study, and also deals with the sources of data collection.

Chapter III is devoted for presenting a brief profile of the study area. It contains the data relating to Andhra Pradesh and Chittoor District.

Chapter IV deals with the Assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh since 1952 till 1999 with the focus on the performance of political parties. In this chapter an attempt has been made to provide the background for the present study. It analyses the political equations of various political parties and their performances.

Chapter V is devoted to analyze the performance of political parties in relation to the Assembly Elections of the Chittoor District. As the study is limited to the period between 1989 and 1999, an attempt is made to present an objective analysis of the three elections held to the Andhra Pradesh legislative assembly during 1989, 1994 and 1999 in Chittoor District.
Chapter VI deals with the socio-economic background of the political elites of the Chittoor District. It makes an objective analysis of the political elites under the study.

Chapter VII contains a brief summary of findings and conclusions. It also contains some suggestions.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Of late, scholars, both foreign and Indian, have undertaken studies on political development and political change in the Indian States. These studies by way of their discussion on parties and political development have made only indirect reference to the political parties and political elite in the States. By and large these studies formed a part of their work on state politics and therefore, were not expected to deal with the party elites at the regional level.

The works on State Politics edited by Myron Weiner⁴ and Iqbal Narain⁵ are cases in point. They mainly emphasized the electoral behavior of the political parties at the state level on the basis of electoral cleavages and party alignments. Their main aim was to identify the working of the Political System.

The scope of these studies is therefore, limited and the electoral politics of district or region at best received scant attention in these studies. Almost similar is the case with the studies of electoral politics, which were largely confined to the national politics and their factional conflicts in some states.⁶ Regional parties and their electoral performance in these studies hardly figured at all.
They did not put the spate of election studies in India made by both foreign and Indian scholars reveal that due emphasis on the study of the electoral behavior of regional politics. The Reports on the Indian General Elections: 1951-52 jointly edited by S.V. Kogekar and Richard L. Park\textsuperscript{7} made a state-wise analysis of the electoral processes at work. This study by use of survey and statistical method only described the poll results of the parties including some regional parties as well. But unlike the 1952 elections, there has been no planned study of 1957 elections, and 1959 and 1961 mid-term elections of some states by any institution.\textsuperscript{8} The third General Elections of 1962, which came to be described as symbolizing India's political "take off", evoked great scholarly interest.\textsuperscript{9} The political change after 1967 in fact generated abundant interest and attracted a great number of scholars to study the electoral behavior 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. These studies did not focus on the political elite, rather their focus was on political parties.

Rajni Kothari's works on Indian politics and the developing political pattern in the states were excellent studies with comprehensive analysis of political processes in India\textsuperscript{10}. His framework of "one party dominance", however, did not suit all the states, particularly the states like Andhra Pradesh after 1980s and, moreover,
the form and substance of one party dominance in the states was not studied on a comparative basis.\textsuperscript{11}

Iqbal Narain visualized a linear development from one party dominance to stable party system through the intervening stages of "Polarized Pluralism", the transition from one stage to another being characterized by phases of political equilibrium and disequilibria.\textsuperscript{12} 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 on 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.\textsuperscript{13}

The formation of coalition government and the emergence of regional parties as their constituent partners after 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 increased the legitimacy of the regional parties as well as the importance of their study. The coalition governments in the states were studied from the perspective of the issues involved in their nature and functioning\textsuperscript{14}. Several theoretical, constitutional, and developmental issues were raised in the studies of coalition governments. But these studies were also too insufficient, as they did not make any in-depth study of the
regional parties from the perspective of their contextual dimension and intra-regional imbalances.\textsuperscript{15}

Some of the works on individual national parties have dealt with certain aspects of some regional electoral politics. The works of H.L.Erdman \textsuperscript{16} and Craig Baxter \textsuperscript{17} are important in this context. Erdman's 'The Swatantra Party and Indian Conservatism'\textsuperscript{18} analysed, to some extent, the ideological and organizational aspects of the rightist parties like Hindu Mahasabha, Jana Sangh, and Ram Rajya Parishad of Rajasthan etc. The merge issues of the smaller and regional parties like GP, RRP, Janata Party and Praja Parishad of Jammu and Kashmir with Jana Sangh and Craig Baxter has discussed other related issues in his work on the Jana Sangh.\textsuperscript{19} Understanding the limited scope of these studies, they were nevertheless important, but 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 and their electoral politics have seldom received the attention of scholars.\textsuperscript{20} Only a few scholars have made political inquiry into the historical origin of regional diversities and of those movements and parties born out of differences due to uneven colonial impact ignoring the political elites of the parties.\textsuperscript{21} Duncan B.Forrester's, "Sub-regionalism in India: The case of Telengana" \textsuperscript{22} and Reddy and Sharma's "Regionalism in India, A study of Telengana", \textsuperscript{23}
are important. There have been a few studies on the Princely hold and the emergence of some Princes as an important force in democratic politics. The parties like Ram Rajya Parishad of Rajasthan, Janata Party of Bihar and the Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa are some of the examples of princely-oriented parties that attracted the attention of scholars like William L. Richter and Urmila Phandis. In their studies "Princes in Indian Politics" and "smaller parties" respectively both scholars have attempted to analyze the emergence of Ex-Princely rulers as important actors in democratic politics and their increasing influence in the regional politics of the states, which led to the growth of regional parties. Their studies, however, discussed only the electoral support base of the extremely rulers and their parties and they did not deal with the their ideologies, organization and leadership pattern.

The emergence of regional parties and their continuing political consequences has been studied from the perspective of its threat to national unity and its impact upon center-state relations. This point of view has been underlined in Gogate's "Rise of Regionalism in Bombay City", Gangadharan's "Shiv Sena" Joshi's "The Shiv Sena: A movement in search of Legitimacy" and Singh's "Vishal Haryana". But some scholars have taken a different view. They argue that regional diversities and regional parties, instead of posing danger to national unity, constitute necessary concomitant factor of a federal system. They emphasize 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 the larger question of re-organization 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 purely regional electoral politics. These studies are limited only to the electoral politics of DMK and Akali Dal. Hardgrave's works on DMK are notable in this context. In his works Hardgrave has mainly focused on the aspect of "cultural nationalism" and "separatist tendencies" in DMK. While emphasizing the cultural differences between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Hardgrave attempted to study how culture had been used as a weapon by one group of castes against another. The author has, however, extensively dealt with the cultural renaissance of the caste groups and its radicalism, which had far-reaching political consequences. Nayar's work has been so far the best on Akali Dal. Nayar's primary question was to study the problem of nation building in India and keeping in view this major objective the study focused on two aspects. It aimed to understand the basis and dynamics of one specific demand for the formation of a new state out of the territories of the Punjab in Northwest India. Secondly, it examined the complex relationship between diversity and national unity as well as between the diversity and democracy in India. While studying the state's politics since independence he examined the origin and political
strategies of Akali Dal and its electoral politics. However, the works of both the scholars primarily emphasized the stresses and strain of Akali Dal electoral politics in federal relationship between the Union and the States in India. Thus, the two parties were not free from separatist tendencies and communalism respectively.

Only a few studies are there on the political processes in Andhra Pradesh and still fewer are on the regional parties' electoral politics of the state. All these studies have, more or less, given short account of the politics of government formation and the electoral behavior of the people. F.G. Bailey's series of articles published in Economic Weekly in 1959 are excellent works on Orissa Politics. Bailey in his book, "Politics and Social Change: Orissa in 1959" examines from a sociological approach the relationship between parliamentary democracy and the traditional forms of social and political organization in Orissa. His articles, "Parliamentary Government in Orissa (1947-1959)", and "Politics and Society in Contemporary Orissa" are also quite similar to his earlier articles in their approach and focus. These works of Bailey on Orissa Politics were undoubtedly pioneer and were based on empirical survey. His treatment of the Ganatantra Parishad in the context of state electoral politics mostly confined himself to the politics of the formation of this party and its elite.

Dash, in his article, "Government and Politics in Orissa" has mainly dealt with the factionalism in Orissa Congress from 1936 to 1961. His approach to the analysis of Congress elite's factionalism is
mainly caste-oriented. He opines that the rift in the Congress for gaining power before independence and its aftermath was between the 'Satyabadi' group consisting of veteran Brahmin leaders and the other group comprising Khastriya, Khandayat and Karan leaders. Dash has briefly analysed the formation and dissolution of the Congress-Ganatantra Parishad Coalition government by the party elites. But here he has paid more attention to the internal wrangling of the Congress Party which led to the fall of the coalition that to the role and performance of the Parishad as a coalition partner. Thus, the role of Congress elite in the electoral politics has absorbed most of the attention of Dash.

Jeena's article, "Feudal Grip", is one of the first and best on the switchover of the ex-feudalists to the democratic politics of post-independent India. It points out the considerable influence that they exercised upon the politics of the state in the post-independence period. It also draws the line of the gradual erosion of their stranglehold upon the state politics.36

In contemporary India, States have come to play increasingly important roles in shaping India's federal system. Therefore, studies of electoral behavior and political mobilization have come to assume great significance in the analytical exercises on Indian politics. In this context the State of Andhra Pradesh has become a trendsetter in Indian politics and has been active in shaping the contours of national politics. N. Chandrababu Naidu, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh
has lately emerged as a key player capable of swaying national politics. In fact the advent of Naidu provided a new turn and twist to coalition politics at all India level. It is against this backdrop; K.Ramachandra Murthy and D.Suran Naidu examined the importance of electoral politics and the role of political elite of Telugu Desam Party with reference to the 1999 general elections in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

The studies discussed above have, no doubt, contributed to our understanding of political parties and their elitist politics in general and in Andhra Pradesh in particular. But our understanding in this respect needs to be further improved by a more systematic and comprehensive study of the electoral politics and the political behaviour of the elite of various political parties. Moreover other important aspects of electoral processes like ideology and program; organization and leadership and performance profile have either received scant attention or no attention at all from the scholars on Orissa politics.

The present work is, therefore, a humble attempt to provide a systematic and comprehensive picture of all the important aspects of electoral politics and political elites of Chittoor District in Andhra Pradesh. Besides, fruitfully utilizing the existing knowledge of the phenomena under study, it is proposed to tap new sources of data to enrich knowledge on the subject.
The impact of the electoral process edited by Louis Maisel and Joseph Cooper (1977) explore many aspects of the consequences of the electoral process. In recent years many political scientists have begun increasingly to ask questions regarding the relationship between their findings in their chosen areas of interest and the actual functioning of the political system. This represents a very positive development. This volume therefore examines the impact of electoral process on the functioning of the political system.

R. Yadagiri (1980) in his research work on 'Congress Party and its support structure: A Case Study of Medak Parliamentary Constituency' attempted to empirically test the assumption that the typical support structure of Congress party is to be found among voters belonging to low socio economic state. He concentrated on studying the behaviour of Indian voter in terms of his perception of parties, issues and qualities of leadership etc., to analyze the determinants of voting choice. This is a micro level study in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh.

V. Hanumantha Rao (1983) in his "Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh 1956-1983" attempted to analyze certain major aspects of party politics in Andhra Pradesh. The main focus was centered on the fissiparous tendencies and rampant factionalism among the ruling and opposition parties. For the first time the study explored the element of defections based on the records of the legislature in Andhra Pradesh. He analyzed the end of the Congress dominance in Andhra Pradesh.
and the emergence of Telugu Desam Party with reference to the Andhra Pradesh State elections 1983. His study extensively dealt with the role of ruling and opposition parties in the Andhra Pradesh State legislature. He interviewed more than 100 political party leaders to substantiate his study.

N.L. Madan (1984) in his "Congress Party and Social Change" attempted to trace the relationship between the socio-economic promises made by the Congress party to the people of India in the Parliamentary elections. In a sense it is a comparative study between promise and performance. He conducted his study with the object to trace as to how far the Congress party was able to keep up the promise of socio-economic change. However the study is the macro study focus in on the national policies such as implementation of industrial policy, agricultural policy, reservation policy and the Congress policies towards the general welfare of the public.

Paul R. Brass (1985) articles deal with some of the basic issues in contemporary Indian politics. His two volumes on electoral studies provide the most authoritative and perceptive analysis of Indian politics in the last two decades. Particularly in part-II the key essay is the study of politicization of peasantry in Uttar Pradesh. This is followed by a very penetrating study of the two momentous parliamentary elections in 1977 and 1980, which focuses on the new forces that brought about dramatic upheavals in Indian politics within
its democratic framework. Part III of this study offers to specific case studies- caste alliances in Alighar and voting patterns in Kanpur city.

N.S. Gehlot (1992)\textsuperscript{43} in his "Elections and Electoral Administration in India" provides a critical insight into the glaring structural and functional drawbacks and lapses of the electoral systems, keeping in view the realities of Indian politics. He examines the burning issues and problems that have affected the purity of the electoral procedure. Gehlot dealt with the growth and development of electoral system in India and analyses the corrupt practices and evils of the Indian electoral system. He also included a critical analysis of the elections of 1989-1991. The approaches are formal rather than empirical.

Har Bhagvan Bathla (1994)\textsuperscript{44} conducted an empirical study on political parties at grass root level in Haryana. His work "Panchayat Raj and Political Parties" is claimed to be the first empirical study conducted in Haryana on the working of Panchayat Raj institutions and the role of political parties. The author has made an intensive empirical study to determine the impact and the role that political parties have been playing in the formation and functioning of Panchayat Raj institutions.

M.L. Ahuja (1998)\textsuperscript{45} in his "Electoral Politics and General Elections in India" (1952-1998) focused on the situation that was responsible for the dissolution of the 11\textsuperscript{th} Lok Sabha. He also provided a glimpse of the electoral scene in all States and Union Territories of India. He analyzes the growth and effect of regional parties on the electoral...
politics in India. The study is descriptive rather than empirical in character.

Kalpana Roy (1999) in her "Women in Indian politics" states that women still face many obstacles in their fight for representation. She contends that no women organization specifically focus on getting women elected at the national level. She focused her study on the status of women in Indian politics and the participation of women in electoral and agitation politics.

Ramashray Roy and Paul Wallace (1999) edited a volume on "Indian politics and the 1999 elections". These writers state that Indian politics has undergone a sea-saw change from the beginning of the 1980's. This period has witnessed the emergence of regional parties at the national level, the fracturing of the electorate and the emergence of coalition politics. The book provides data on the 1998 election combined with a rich comparison with past elections right from 1957. These writers discussed the emergence of two party competitions and the fragmentation of two party systems both at national and state levels. This book provides a good insight on the electoral politics of states in India.

K. Rama Chandra Murthy (2001) in his "Parties, Elections and Mobilization" argue that in contemporary India, states have come to play increasingly important roles in shaping India's federal system. Therefore, studies of electoral behaviour and political mobilization have come to assume great significance in the analytical exercises on Indian
politics. In this context Andhra Pradesh has become a trendsetter in Indian politics and has been active in shaping the national politics. This volume therefore examines the importance of state politics and the role of Telugu Desam party in the state of Andhra Pradesh. However, this volume is based on secondary data without basing on the empirical evidences.

In view of the stated literature it can be said that there is dearth of literature on the study of State Politics in general and Andhra Pradesh in particular. Hence, an attempt is made by the researcher to study the party politics with reference to state elections in Andhra Pradesh. This study makes an attempt to integrate state politics and district politics with a view to provide micro and macro analysis of state politics in Andhra Pradesh.
REFERENCES


3. Ibid.


9. Ibid. p.26


14. See K.P.Karunakaran, "Governor, Chief Minister and Coalitions", Economic and Political Weekly, (Bombay) V(42), 17 October 1970; See papers presented to he Seminar on Coalition


18. Craig Baxter, n.71

19. Sushil Kumar, n.55, p.102.

20. Ibid


48. K. Ramachandra Murthy, D. Sooram Naidu (eds), "Parties, Elections and Mobilization"