The scope of the present chapter is not adequately indicated by its title. The present chapter, in other words, contains not only a description of the socio-economic setting and method of the study but also a brief historical-institutional treatment of the politics of the Congress, Praja Socialist and Swatantra parties in Baroda City. A brief treatment of the nature of the leadership nuclei of these three party units is also made.

A Brief Socio-Economic Profile of Baroda City

Baroda City is the headquarters of the Baroda district of the western Indian State of Gujarat. Situated at the bifurcation of the Bombay-Delhi and the Bombay-Ahmedabad railway lines, the city is 392 kilometres north of Bombay and 100 kilometres south-east of Ahmedabad.

The city, sprawling over an area of 29 square miles, may be described as a prosperous, fast-developing University-industrial city. The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, which was established in 1949 as a unitary, residential, english medium University, and which to-day has 16,540 students and 778 teachers on its rolls, has
come to acquire a great amount of academic reputation in India and abroad.¹

Baroda is one of the most industrialized areas in the whole of western India. In this region, Baroda stood fourth in terms of the number of industrial licences received from 1954 to 1961. The number of licences issued was 1071 for Greater Bombay, 110 for Ahmedabad, 106 for Thana, and 89 for Baroda.² The current pace of industrialization in Baroda is very rapid indeed. During the third Five-Year Plan period, i.e. from 1961 to 1966, out of the total of 130 new industrial licences issued for the whole of Gujarat, 37 were for Baroda, and only 36 were for Ahmedabad.³ In 1966, Baroda accounted for about 22.5 per cent of productive capital, 11.4 per cent of employment and 14.5 per cent of net value added by all the manufacturing industries of the whole of Gujarat.⁴

². Govt. of India, Census of India, 1961, General Report on India, Vol. I, Part IA(i), Table 15.
The chief industries in Baroda are those engaged in the manufacture of chemical and textile products, and electrical and non-electrical machinery. Forty-four out of the total of 89 industrial licences issued for Baroda during the 1954-61 years were for drugs and pharmaceuticals. Out of the total of 37 new licences issued for Baroda during the 1961-66 years, 29 were for metal, chemicals and mineral-based industries.

There is also, in Baroda, a large oil refinery and a huge fertilizer factory. Work has also been started to set up a giant petro-chemicals complex. The city has also a co-operative dairy, a railway workshop, a Military School of Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, an Air Force Station, a civil aerodrome and a local station of All India Radio.

The city's population, which according to the 1961 census, was 2.98 lakhs, is now estimated to be well over four lakhs. According to the 1961 census, 83.60 per cent of the total population are Hindus, 12.60 per cent Muslims, 2.30 per cent Jains, 1.00 per cent Christians, and 0.50 per cent other religious. In terms of religious

5. See footnote No.2 above.
6. See footnote No.3 above. See also V.N. Kothari, "Growth Potential of Baroda City" in M.B. Desai and V.N. Kothari, eds., op. cit., pp.115-124.
composition, Baroda is less cosmopolitan than some other cities of Gujarat, viz. Jamnagar, Ahmedabad, Surat and Bhavnagar. But in terms of linguistic composition, Baroda is the most cosmopolitan city in the whole of Gujarat; the linguistic composition of Baroda City has a co-efficient of variation of 29.87 while that for Ahmedabad, the next most cosmopolitan city in Gujarat, is 41.96. In Baroda, 60.9 per cent of the population speak Gujarati, 17.1 per cent Marathi, 10.2 per cent Urdu, 5.3 per cent Sindhi, 4.3 per cent Hindi, and 2.2 per cent other languages.

Fifty-five per cent of the total population of Baroda city are literate. Out of the total of 1,64,589 literate persons, 16.5 per cent have studied at least upto matriculation or higher secondary school.

Three Gujarati dailies, viz. Loksatta, Lok Yug, and Sandesh, are published from Baroda. A fourth Gujarati daily, viz. Gujarat Samachar, published from Ahmedabad, has a regular supplement published from Baroda.

Until independence, Baroda city was the capital of the princely state of Baroda, ruled by the Gaekwads. In 8. The co-efficient of variation in religious composition is 48.59 for Jamnagar, 54.34 for Ahmedabad, 58.14 for Surat, 60.17 for Bhavnagar, and 65.87 for Baroda. See Shanti M. Dalsania, op. cit., pp.136-137.
9. Ibid.
10 and 11. See footnote No. 7 above.
1949, this princely state was merged into the Bombay Province, which, after the States' Reorganization in 1956, became the bi-lingual state of Bombay. In 1960, the Bombay State was bifurcated into Maharashtra and Gujarat. Since then, Baroda city has continued to be the headquarters of the Baroda district in Gujarat State.

Since April 1, 1966, the city is governed by a municipal corporation in accordance with the provisions of the Bombay Provincial Municipal Corporation Act of 1949. Prior to this upgrading as a municipal corporation, the city's government was carried out through a borough municipality.

Baroda city has local units of the Congress Party, the Swatantra Party, the P.S.P., the S.S.P., the Bharatiya Jan Sangh and the Communist parties. The Communist party units in Baroda, it may be pointed out, still use the label of the Janta Parishad, which was the name of the united front of all non-congress parties of Gujarat, which, from 1956 to 1960, successfully fought for the formation of the separate state of Gujarat out of the then bi-lingual state of Bombay. After the formation of the state of Gujarat in 1960, the communist parties and some like-minded individuals have continued to use the label of the Janta Parishad, while the other non-congress


parties have left it.

Of all the aforementioned party units in Baroda city the major ones, as shall be evident from the following discussion, are the Congress, Praja Socialist and Swatantra party units.

The Congress Party in Baroda City: Its Historical Background, Present Set-up and Leadership Nucleus

The history of the Congress party in Baroda goes back to the pre-Independence years, when there operated the Baroda State Praja Mandal, the counterpart of the Indian National Congress. Before Independence, the Indian National Congress, which operated directly in the British provinces of India, did not undertake any action in its name or under its auspices in the princely states of India. Individual Congressmen were indeed free to take part in the State Praja Mandals, which were formed for obtaining responsible government from the princely rulers. But, officially, the Congress party gave only "moral support and sympathy" to the cause advocated by the Praja Mandals in the princely states. 14

According to R.L. Handa, author of History of Freedom Struggle in Princely States, Baroda was probably the first state to have a Praja Mandal, which was formed in 1917. 15

15. Ibid., p. 89.
The Maharaja of Baroda, Sir Sayajirao III, who was indeed a very progressive ruler, had introduced the elective system, on a limited scale, into municipalities (in 1892) and panchayats (in 1901). A legislative council, called the Dhara Sabha, consisting of both nominated and elected members, had also been instituted (in 1908). These reforms were intended to train the people in the art of self-government. The resolution calling for the establishment of a Praja Mandal (literally, a forum of the citizens) was passed in a conference of the Baroda State Panchayats held on December 31, 1916. The Praja Mandal which came into existence shortly afterwards, with Raobahadur Hargovindas Kantawala as its first president, aimed to accelerate the political education of the people and to obtain responsible government from the ruler.

From time to time, the Praja Mandal espoused such policies and programmes of the Indian National Congress as were applicable to the princely state. Thus in 1922, the Praja Mandal adopted the Congress party's "constructive programme," involving the use of khadi, spread of cottage industries, advocacy of the national language and prohibition,

17. Ibid., p. 242.
and the removal of untouchability. The chairmanship of the conferences of the Praja Mandal were also held occasionally by such Congress leaders as Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Shri Vithalbhai Patel and Shri Abbas Tyabji. In 1930-32, a team of volunteers sent by the Praja Mandal took part in the Satyagraha movements conducted by Gandhiji in Broach and Panchmahals.

This is not the place to recount the various achievements of the Praja Mandal. Our concern has been merely to trace the "genealogy" of the Congress party in Baroda to the Praja Mandal, whose efforts succeeded in getting a responsible government instituted in the state on 4 September 1948. On that day, the State's first popular ministry, headed by Dr. Jivraj Mehta, came into existence. The other members of this ministry were: Chhotabhai Sutaria, Chunibhai Shah, Maganbhai S. Patel, Ramchandra J. Amin, Gangadhar Tambe and R.T. Leuva.

With the achievement of independence for India and the institution of responsible government in the princely state, it became possible for the Indian National Congress to operate in the princely state of Baroda. Accordingly, in a special session held on 10 October 1948, the Praja Mandal dissolved itself and its members "joined" the Indian National Congress.
From 1948 till today, with the exception of a three-year break from 1958 to 1961, the Congress Party has been enjoying a dominant position in the local political system of Baroda. Even after the 1969 split of the Congress Party into the Congress (O) and the Congress (R), the Baroda unit of the party has continued to be within the Congress (O) and is still the dominant ruling party in the Baroda Municipal Corporation.

In the first general elections, held in 1952, the Congress found itself without a candidate for the Baroda parliamentary seat; the candidature of its nominee, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, the then Vice-Chancellor of the M.S. University of Baroda, was rejected by the election commission on the ground of her vice-chancellorship. In that election, the parliamentary seat was won by an independent candidate, namely, Mr. I.B. Amin. In the same elections, the two state legislative assembly seats from the city were won by the Congress leaders, Messrs. Maganbhai S. Patel and Chhotabhai Z. Sutaria. (See Appendix I below.)

In the second and third general elections, held in 1957 and 1962, respectively, the Congress won both the state legislative assembly seats and the parliamentary seat from Baroda city. In 1967, there were three Assembly

constituencies in Baroda city, out of which only one was won by the Congress. One of the Assembly seats and the parliamentary seat were won by the Swatantra party. The third Assembly seat was won by the P.S.P. 20 In the 1971 mid-term Lok Sabha elections, the Congress (0) candidate, Maharaja F.P. Gaekwad, won the Baroda seat, defeating his rivals, Mr. Sanat Mehta (PSP), who was supported by the Congress (R), and Mr. K.P. Bhatt (BKC).

So far, our concern was with the elections to the Lok Sabha and to the State Legislative Assembly. Let us now turn to a consideration of the municipal elections. The performance of the Congress party in the municipal elections of 1954, 1958, 1962 and 1968 may be understood from Table 2.1. As shown in this Table, the Congress lost its majority in the general board of the Baroda municipality (which, since April 1966, is a municipal corporation) only in the 1958 elections.

The years 1956-1960 were marked by a spurt of oppositional activity in what now constitutes the state of Gujarat. 21 In the reorganization of the states, carried out in 1956, the present states of Gujarat and Maharashtra were constituted into a single bi-lingual state, named

21. See D.N. Pathak, et al., op. cit., Chapters III, IV and V.
Table 2.1: Number of Seats Won by Various Political Parties in Past Elections to the Baroda Municipal Corporation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Congress</th>
<th>No. of Seats won</th>
<th>Non-Party Front</th>
<th>No. of Seats won</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>&quot;Non-Party Front&quot;</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PSP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>PSP</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Swatantra*</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Janta Parishad (including Independents supported by the Janta Parishad)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>PSP*</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jan Sangh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Janta Parishad</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Independents not supported by the Janta Parishad</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Independents*</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Seven of the successful Independents were supported by an electoral front of the PSP and the Swatantra Party.

Bombay. There then emerged a popular movement, called the Mahagujarat Movement, which agitated for the formation of a separate uni-lingual state of Gujarat. The cause of the Mahagujarat Movement was espoused and led by all the non-Congress parties of the State; under the leadership of Mr. Indulal Yagnik, these opposition parties formed a united front, called the Mahagujarat Janta Parishad. The demand for Mahagujarat was conceded by the Congress government in 1960. Accordingly, on May 1, 1960 the two separate states of Gujarat and Maharashtra came into existence. Thereafter, the constituent parties of the Janta Parishad, excluding the Communists and a group of individuals led by Mr. Indulal Yagnik, left the Parishad and continued to operate on their own. The latter still use the label of the Janta Parishad.

When the 1958 municipal elections were held in Baroda, the popular sentiment was not favourable to the Congress, which was able to win only 18 seats out of a total of 45. The Janta Parishad, with the support of some independent candidates, assumed power in the municipality. The rule of the Janta Parishad continued till 1961. On May 1, 1961, the Congress party, led by Mr. Nanalal Chokshi, and with the support of some independent candidates, replaced the Janta Parishad as the ruling party in the
municipality, with Chokshi himself becoming the new president.

As pointed out earlier, the Baroda borough municipality was upgraded into a municipal corporation on April 1, 1966. Consequently, for the 1968 municipal elections, the number of seats in the general board of the corporation was raised from 45 to 51. In the 1968 elections, the Congress captured 31 seats.

In the municipal corporation, Congressmen occupy the important offices of the mayor, the deputy mayor, and the chairmen of the various committees, including the powerful standing committee. Congress has also a majority of members (seven out of thirteen) in the Baroda City Primary Education Board which administers the 86 municipal schools in the city. 22 Congressmen also control a number of semi-governmental, public and private institutions in the city. Some such institutions in which Congressmen play leading roles are the University, the Central Gujarat Chamber of Commerce, the Baroda Dairy, Apna Bazar (which is a large consumers' co-operative store), the Baroda City Co-operative Bank, two district co-operative banks, the Khadi board, the Baroda District Board.

22. In the 13-member Baroda City Primary Education Board, seven, including the chairman, are Congress nominees, 4 are nominated by the Opposition, and 2 are government nominees. Of the 4 Opposition nominees, one is a Swatantra and the remaining three are Independents.
Co-operative Purchase and Sales Union, the telephone advisory committee and the Railway users' association.

Of all the party units in Baroda city, the Congress has the largest organization; in 1969, it had 190 "active members" and 10,000 "primary members." In 1970, the number of active members has risen to 585 and that of primary members to 13500. A "primary member" is defined by the party's constitution as any person who is 18 or older, makes a signed acceptance of the objectives of the Congress, pays a biennial subscription of Re.1.00, and is not a member of any other political party, communal or other, which has a separate membership, constitution and programme. An "active member" is defined as any primary member of two years' standing, who is 21 or older, pays a subscription of Rs.25/- or enrols 25 primary members biennially, habitually wears hand-spun and hand-woven khadi, abstains from alcoholic beverages, does not observe or recognise untouchability, believes in communal unity, respects the faith of others, and undertakes to accept the minimum training and to perform minimum tasks prescribed by the Working Committee.

Besides its regular organization, the Congress party in Baroda has also active units of such auxiliary

23. All India Congress Committee, New Delhi: Constitution of the Indian National Congress (As in force from July 11, 1969), Article IV.
bodies, as the women's wing, called the Mahila Congress with about 300 members (in the city); the Congress Seva Dal with some 75 members (mostly school students); the Youth Congress with about 1200 members (who are also "primary members" of the party); and the trade union wing. In the 22 trade unions which are affiliated to the Congress-dominated Baroda branch of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, there are 12471 members. (See Appendix II:A.)

On account of its size, the Congress unit in Baroda city enjoys the status of a district Congress committee (DCC). Hence, it is called the Baroda City District Congress Committee (Baroda CDCC). In the whole of Gujarat, such CDCC's exist in only two other cities, viz. Ahmedabad and Surat. In Baroda, the CDCC has its office in the same building, viz. Sardar Bhavan, in which the Baroda District Congress Committee also has its office.

Subordinate to the Baroda CDCC, there are six ward or block committees in the city. These are: 1. Sayajigunj, with 124 active members (in 1970); 2. Raopura, with 118 active members; 3. Babajipura, with 88 active members; 4. Wadi, with 84 active members; 5. City, with 102 active members; and 6. Fatepura, with 69 active members. Each of these six wards has an elected Congress committee
Consisting of a president, a vice-president, two secretaries and a treasurer.

The 32-member Baroda CDCC is composed of the presidents of the six ward committees, 12 members elected at the rate of two from each of the six wards, 3 members who are elected to the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee (GPCC) at the rate of one for every two wards, 2 ex-presidents of the Baroda CDCC, the leader of the Congress party in the municipal corporation, and 8 co-opted members who do not have the right to vote. The co-opted members represent such "interests" and organizations as the Congress Seva Dal, the Youth Congress, the Mahila Congress, trade unions and the underprivileged communities.

In addition to these 32 members, the meetings of the Baroda CDCC are attended by about 35 "permanent invitees," most of whom are members of either the executive committees of the six wards or of the primary education board (which has been referred to above). It may also be pointed out that some of the Congress corporators (i.e. elected members of the municipal corporation) are also either members or permanent invitees of the CDCC.

These categories of Congressmen, viz. the members and "permanent invitees" of the CDCC, and the Congress
representatives in the municipal corporation and in the primary Education Board are, in a broad and real sense, the personnel who operate the Congress party organization in Baroda city. They are the subjects of the present inquiry. In the present study, a few of these party personnel are referred to as "top leaders" and the rest as "organizational activists." Brief profiles of the former are presented in this chapter. Data pertaining to the "organizational activists" are analysed in the subsequent chapters. The criteria used for separating the top leaders from the organizational activists and the reasons for focussing the analysis on the latter are explained in a subsequent section of this chapter. What follows below is a brief description of the leadership nucleus of the Congress Party in Baroda City.

Maharaja Fatesinhrao Gaekwad

He belongs to the illustrious Maratha royal family of the Gaekwads and has been, till lately, a minister in the Gujarat State cabinet. In the 1971 Lok Sabha elections, he contested for and won the Baroda seat on the Congress (O) ticket. He is also chancellor of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, named after his grandfather who was a very progressive and enlightened ruler of the

24. The paper distinction between the ward-level organizations and the city-level organization is not borne out in actual practice. Since the city is not too large, these two levels of the party organization coalesce in actual operation.
erstwhile princely state of Baroda.

Now in his fortieth year, Maharaja Fatesinhrao joined the Congress party in 1956 and represented the Baroda parliamentary constituency in the second and third Lok Sabha (1957–1967). From 1957 to 1962, he was Parliamentary Secretary to the minister for defence. During 1963–64, he was a member of the Public Accounts Committee of the Parliament. In the 1967 general elections, he ran for the State Legislature Assembly from the Sayajigunj constituency of Baroda City and won the seat by securing 60 per cent of the votes polled. He was the only Congress candidate to win a seat from Baroda city in the 1967 general elections. Since 1967, he has been a minister in the State Cabinet in charge of the portfolio of health, family planning, fisheries and jails.

Maharaja Gaekwad is a fellow of the Zoological Society, London, and a member of the Indian Board of Wildlife. From 1963 to 1966, he was president of the board of control for cricket in India. During 1962–63, he was chairman of the board of governors of the National Institute of Sports, Patiala. Since 1951, he has been Chancellor of the M.S. University of Baroda. He is also a founder-trustee or patron of many educational, medical and philanthropic institutions in Baroda. Perhaps the latest of such
institutions is the Sir Sayajirao Diamond Jubilee Trust which runs two hostels for University students (one for boys and the other for girls) which give free lodging and boarding on a merit-cum-need basis. Until his appointment as a Cabinet Minister, Maharaja Gaekwad was chairman/director of a number of public and private companies such as the Baroda Rayon Corporation and the Bank of Baroda.

When asked to define his role in the organizational life of the Congress party in Baroda city, he said that, by the ordinary standards of party activism, he could be ranked as a passive worker. He, however, claimed a bridge-builder's role for himself. "There are," he said, "groups and factions in the Congress unit in Baroda, and it so happens that I am able to provide a link." The groupism he referred to was the rivalry between the group led by the ex-mayor, Mr. Nanalal Chokshi, and the one led by the present mayor, Dr. Thakorbhai Patel. (The role of these two leaders is discussed below.) The Maharaja also mentioned that the popularity he enjoys among the masses is an asset to his party. This claim is justified by the fact that in each of the elections he contested, he secured 60 per cent or more of the total valid votes.
Regarding his influence in the major decisions of the Congress party in Baroda, he said that he and the mayor, Dr. T.V. Patel, worked in close collaboration on major policies. He also claimed that he performed an expediter's role at the State Government level on behalf of the Baroda Municipal Corporation.

When asked, "Do you feel that your party organization in Baroda is democratic in operation?" he replied in the negative and hastened to add: "It is so out of necessity." "The Congress," he explained further, "is a broad-based party. In that sense it is democratic. Its elections are also democratic. But when any collective action has to be taken, it is necessary that the leaders should be free to decide matter for themselves."

Mr. Bhailalbhai Contractor is a widely respected Congress leader of Baroda city. Many of the Congress respondents had laudatory words for his sense of dedication to the cause of the party. He was also referred to by many respondents as having occasioned their entry into party activism. He also played a major part in the successful election campaign of the Congress party for the 1968 municipal elections. He is 51 years old and belongs to the barber community.
Mr. Contractor has been a full-time political worker from his high school days in 1935, when he became secretary of the Baroda students' association. He was initiated into political work by three Praja Mandal leaders, viz. Messrs. Chunibhai Patel, Chunibhai Shah and Lalitchandra Diwanjee. One of the earliest political tasks undertaken by Mr. Contractor was to distribute a nationalist newspaper, Navjivan, which was then banned by the British Government.

In 1939-40, Mr. Contractor served as secretary of the Baroda city unit of the Praja Mandal. Ten years later, he held the same position in the Baroda CDCC. In 1952-53, he was a member of the Gujarat PCC. He represented the Raopura constituency of Baroda city in the State Legislative Assembly from 1957 to 1967. But in the fourth general elections, held in 1967, he was defeated by a PSP candidate, Mr. Sanat Mehta. Soon afterwards, Mr. Contractor became secretary of the Gujarat PCC and currently he is also chairman of the Gujarat State Transport Corporation. He is actively associated with a number of educational and social welfare institutions in the city, viz. a women's remand home and several education trusts.
Mr. Contractor was interviewed soon after his defeat in the 1967 general elections. He was not despondent. He said: "Although I am no more an M.L.A., I still continue to be a social worker. I am glad that I have been able to do what little I could for my country and for my fellow countrymen, and I wish to continue to do so." Explaining his role as a leader of the party, he said: "My role is to organize the party's workers and to promote harmony among them. We also seek to redress the grievances of the people."

Mr. Fatehali H. Palejwala is the ex-Speaker of the Gujarat State Legislative Assembly and is presently chairman of the Gujarat State Public Service Commission. He is a 59-year old bachelor and belongs to the Muslim community. He started his career as a probationary mamlatdar (i.e. a revenue official) under the erstwhile princely State of Baroda. He resigned this post in 1949 and started practising law. Two years later, advised by the Congress leaders, Maganbhai Patel and Vanilal Modi, he joined the Congress party and contested the municipal elections. He won the election and served as vice-president of the municipality from 1951 to 1954. But in the 1954 municipal elections, he was defeated by a rival Muslim independent candidate. He then became chairman of
the Baroda city primary education board (1954–1958) and, in 1958, he became president of the Baroda CDCC. In the third general elections (1962), he won an Assembly seat from Baroda city and was subsequently elected speaker of the State Legislative Assembly. But in 1967, he lost his Assembly seat to the Swatantra party candidate, Mr. Chandrakant Parikh. Mr. Palejwala was thereafter appointed chairman of the Gujarat State Public Service Commission. This assignment, like the speakership of the State Legislative Assembly he held previously, does not permit him to be involved in party politics.

Mr. Nanalal D. Chokshi is the ex-mayor of Baroda. A pleader and landlord, he is 52 years old and belongs to the Bania community. He has been active in politics since 1939, when, as a student, he distributed anti-British newspapers and pamphlets. In 1940, he was elected to the Baroda municipality and subsequently served as chairman of its standing and legal committees. In 1954 he became vice-president of the Baroda municipality and in 1957 he was elected to the Bombay Legislative Assembly from Baroda City.

As explained in a previous selection of this chapter, the Congress party was replaced as the ruling party in the Baroda municipality by the Janta Parishad for a three-year period from 1958 to 1961. It was Mr. Chokshi, who, in 1961, led the Congress back to power in the
municipality. He induced some independent members to support the Congress and on May 1, 1961, he got elected as president of the municipality. He continued in this position till April 1, 1966, when, with the upgrading of the Baroda municipality as a municipal corporation, he became its first mayor.

In the fourth general elections (1967), Mr. Chokshi ran unsuccessfully for the Parliament from the Baroda parliamentary constituency; he was defeated by Mr. Pashabhai Patel, a Swatantra party candidate. The subsequent political rivalry between Mr. Chokshi and Dr. Thakorbhai V. Patel, culminating in the latter's rise to the mayoralty and the political set-back suffered by the former shall be discussed later on.

During the interview phase of the present research, Mr. Chokshi, who was no more mayor, was nevertheless regarded by many Congress respondents as one of the top leaders of the party. When interviewed, Mr. Chokshi himself admitted that he was determined to continue his political activism and to seek a more responsible political position in due course. "Political work," he said, "has become a part of my life. I enjoy working with party colleagues. I create work for them."

25. See footnote No.20 above.
Mr. Chokshi holds office in a number of public institutions in the city. He is chairman of the Baroda District Co-operative Purchase and Sales Union, and the Baroda City Consumers' Co-operative Society. He is also a senator of the M.S. University of Baroda, of which he was also, till lately, a syndic. Some of his other associational attachments are: director of the Baroda Co-operative dairy, vice-president of an industrial co-operative bank, organizer of an industrial estate, director of a co-operative spinning mill, director of a mercantile bank, chairman or trustee of a number of education trusts, chairman of a gymnasium, adviser to a Bania Education Trust, and member of the Lions Club, the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Advocates' Association of Baroda.

For the present, Mr. Chokshi may be regarded as the leader of a dissident faction which is in sympathy with Mr. Laxmidas Patel, the suspended president of the Baroda CDCC and with Mr. Mohmed Hanif Munshi, who was secretary of the Baroda CDCC and who resigned in sympathy with Mr. Laxmidas Patel. 26

26. Mr. Laxmidas Patel was suspended from the party soon after the 1967 general elections for his alleged anti-party activities during the election campaign. Neither Mr. Laxmidas Patel nor Mr. M.H. Munshi has been interviewed for the present study since they were "out" of the Congress organization. While writing the final draft of the present report, it is gathered that both these persons and Mr. Chokshi have joined the Congress (R).
Dr. Thakorbhai V. Patel (hereafter referred to as TVP) is the energetic mayor and Congress boss of Baroda city. He is 54 years old and belongs to the Patidar community. His maternal uncle, the late Mr. Maganbhai S. Patel, was president of the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee (1956-59) and a member of the first and only popular ministry in the erstwhile princely state of Baroda.

TVP has a doctorate degree in medicine and is dean of the faculty of medicine of the M.S. University of Baroda, of which he is also a syndic and senator. He is superintendent of a private hospital, named Kalpana and Uma Clinic, and member of the governing bodies of several medical, nursing and family planning institutions at the state and national levels. He is also a trustee or executive committee member of many educational and philanthropic institutions in the city, e.g. the Sir Sayajirao Diamond Jubilee Trust, the Baroda Education Trust, and the Dr. Indumati T. Patel Trust (named after his late wife).

The title of "political boss" befits TVP in so far as he heads many a public institution in the city. Thus, in addition to his associational attachments already referred to above, he is also president of the Baroda Co-operative Dairy, director of a consumers' co-operative store, named Apna Bazar, and chairman of the Baroda City Co-operative Dairy, director of a consumers' co-operative store, named Apna Bazar, and chairman of the Baroda City Co-operative Dairy, director of a consumers' co-operative store, named Apna Bazar, and chairman of the Baroda City Co-operative Dairy, director of a consumers' co-operative store, named Apna Bazar, and chairman of the Baroda City Co-operative Dairy, director of a consumers' co-operative store, named Apna Bazar, and chairman of the Baroda City Co-operative Dairy, director of a consumers' co-operative store, named Apna Bazar, and chairman of the Baroda City Co-operative Dairy, director of a consumers' co-operative store, named Apna Bazar, and chairman of the Baroda City Co-operative Dairy, director of a consumers' co-operative store, named Apna Bazar, 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Co-operative Bank. These offices give him enormous scope for patronage. Some of the professional positions he holds, v.g. his deanship of the medical faculty, which serve as political resources are at the same time insulated from politics. His incumbency of these professional positions, in other words, is not dependent upon his political offices.

TVP became an active member of the Congress party in 1958. He said that his motive in joining the party was to merit the party's ticket in elections. At the time of the fourth general elections (1967), TVP who was then the deputy mayor of the municipal corporation, applied for the party's ticket for the Raopura Assembly Constituency of Baroda city. But the party gave the ticket to the sitting M.L.A., Mr. Bhailalbhai Contractor. TVP then set his eyes on the mayorship. The then mayor, Mr. Nanalal Chokshi, contested the 1967 elections for the Baroda parliamentary seat and was defeated by the Swatantra party candidate, Mr. Pashabhai Patel. With Chokshi's defeat in the parliamentary election, the chances of his exit from the mayorship of Baroda seemed to be slim. So TVP felt that his chances of becoming mayor could be ensured if the party could be made to deny a ticket to Mr. Chokshi in the ensuing municipal elections. He therefore sought to get control of the party organization.
Fortunately for TVP, soon after the 1967 general elections, the president of the City Congress Committee, Mr. Laxmidas Patel was suspended from the party and removed from office on charges that he had engaged in anti-party activities during the 1967 election campaign. TVP became the new ad hoc president. Internal elections in the party organization were around the corner and TVP set about the task of ensuring that the members who would be elected to the new CDCC would be men who would toe his line. Ably aided by a team of persons, he launched a party membership drive and got ward committees set-up in the six wards of the city. His "team" included, among others, his first cousin (and son of the late Mr. Maganbhai S. Patel), Mr. Lalitchandra M. Patel, who was and still is the chairman of the powerful standing committee of the municipal corporation, president of the Central Gujarat Chamber of Commerce, director of the Baroda District Industrial Co-operative Bank and executive committee member of some 20 other institutions in the city. The other prominent members of Dr. Patel's "team" were: 1) Mr. Chandrakant Mehta who belongs to the Bania community, and who is a leading advocate of the city, a Congressman of long-standing and, presently, a syndic of the M.S. University of Baroda; 2) Mr. Praduman Bhatt,
a Brahmin businessman of acute political perceptions;
3) Mr. Thakorbhai Shah, who was editor of a Congress party daily, viz. Navbharat, which has ceased publication since 1967; and 4) Dr. Kmmudchanara Desai who belongs to the Bania community, and who is a youth Congress worker.

After the six ward committees of the Congress were constituted, elections to the CDCC were held and on 5 December 1967, TVP, who until then was the ad hoc president, was elected as president of the CDCC. Mr. Chandrakant Mehta was elected as vice-president.

Elections to the municipal corporation were due in June 1968. TVP and his team was in such control of the party organization that they could have the deciding voice in the selection of the party's candidates. It was "rumoured about" that Mr. Chokshi, the incumbent mayor, would be denied the party's ticket if he were to apply for it. Unfortunately for Mr. Chokshi, he had lost the recent Lok Sabha elections. Rightly apprehending that he would not be given the party's ticket for the ensuing municipal elections, he did not sent in his application. He, however, issued a public statement that his candidature would be available to the party if the party desired it.²⁷ The party did not and Mr. Chokshi did not contest the elections.

²⁷. See Loksatta, dated 4 May 1968.
The Congress, after conducting a very vigorous campaign under TVP's leadership, won 31 seats in the 51-member new general board of the municipal corporation. TVP became the new mayor. The deputy mayorship was given to a "new-comer," Dr. Jatin Modi, who belonged to the Bania community of Mr. Chokshi. Dr. Modi's father, it may be mentioned, was formerly president of the Baroda borough municipality (from 1952 to 1956).

As mayor, TVP could not also be president of the CDCC, which position was therefore filled in by the then vice-president, Mr. Chandrakant Mehta. The new vice-presidency of the CDCC was given to TVP's cousin, Mr. Lalitchandra Patel, who was also continued as the chairman of the powerful standing committee of the municipal corporation. In the new "regime," a prominent position was given to a Scheduled Caste member, Mr. Nathabhai Parmar, who was made the chairman of the Baroda City Primary Education Board. Mr. Parmar, who is an advocate is also president of one of the six ward committees of the Congress.

Much of the vitality of the Congress party in Baroda city today may rightly be attributed to the energetic leadership of TVP. One of his actions which has won wide popularity is his practice of weekly visits.

28. Mr. Mehta's accession to the presidency of the CDCC helps illustrate a caste-related pattern in the leadership of the Congress Party in Baroda City. From 1962 onwards, when the mayorship was held by a Bania, the presidency of the CDCC was held by a Patidar, and vice versa. (See Table 2.2 and 2.3)
Table 2.2: Presidents/Mayors of Baroda Municipal Corporation, 1938-1970.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mr. Maganbhai S. Patel</td>
<td>1938-42</td>
<td>Praja Mandal</td>
<td>Patidar</td>
<td>Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mr. V.S. Pradhan</td>
<td>1942-46</td>
<td>Non-Party</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dr. Vanilal Modi</td>
<td>1946-58</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Bania</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dr. Harshad Thakore</td>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>Janta Parishad</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Dr. Rasiklal Bhatt</td>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot; Brahmin</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dr. Anandilal Kothari</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot; Bania</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Mr. Nanalal D. Chokshi</td>
<td>1961-68</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Bania</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Dr. Thakorbhai V. Patel</td>
<td>1968-</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Patidar</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3: Presidents of the Baroda City Congress Committee, 1952-1970.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mr. Chhotabhai Z. Sutaria</td>
<td>1952-55</td>
<td>Patidar</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mr. Lalitchandra C. Diwanjee</td>
<td>1956-58</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mr. Chandulal J. Shah</td>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>Bania</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mr. Patchali H. Palejwala</td>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mr. Ramanbhai H. Patel</td>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>Patidar</td>
<td>Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mr. Laxmidas M. Patel</td>
<td>1963-67</td>
<td>Patidar</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Dr. Thakorbhai V. Patel</td>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>Patidar</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Mr. Chandrakant C. Mehta</td>
<td>1968-</td>
<td>Bania</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to the various areas of the city for acquainting himself with the immediate problems to be attended to by the municipal corporation.

When asked to describe his current satisfaction from party/political work, TVP replied that he enjoys serving the people, especially the poor and the needy. He assigned a welfare-promoter's role to himself and said he valued reputation and prestige. Probably contrasting his leadership of the municipal corporation with the previous leadership, he said: "A lot of public money can be saved if proper men, i.e. men who are competent and devoted, are at the helm of affairs."

Within the group of Congress activists, there were however, a few voices of dissent against TVP's leadership. A few expressed sympathy towards the ex-mayor, Mr. Chokshi, and towards the suspended CDCC president, Mr. Laxmidas Patel. A couple of activists belonging to the city ward of Baroda city openly complained against TVP's action in giving the party's ticket for a recent municipal by-election to a candidate other than the one recommended by the city ward committee.

A few of the "dissenters," however, admitted that they would do nothing beyond expressing, or, at the most,
"recording" their protest against this or that specific action of TVP. They seemed to say that in the final counting they could be regarded as TVP's men. No one, however, explained the reason for this ultimate deference to TVP. This deference, it seems to me, has something to do with the rapid pace of urbanization that Baroda is currently experiencing. In a period of rapid urbanization, the mounting needs of the party activists and their "constituents" make them dependent upon and deferential towards whoever are incumbents of high offices.

The Praja Socialist Party in Baroda City: Its Historical Background, Present Set-up and Leadership Nucleus

The Praja Socialist Party (PSP) is the descendant of the Congress Socialist Party, which, from its formation in 1934 till its secession in 1948, functioned as a leftist group within the Indian National Congress.29 Operating as a party within a party, the Congress Socialist Party sought to inject socialism into Congress policies and to spearhead a revolutionary movement to eject the British out of India.

A major difference between the Congress Socialist Party and its parental organization, the Indian National Congress, erupted in 1947, when the latter decided to

29. Details of the emergence and growth of the PSP may be found in Myron Weiner, Party Politics in India, op. cit.
withdraw from the Communist-dominated All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) and to form its own trade union organization, viz. the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC). The Congress Socialists opposed this move. In Bombay, the Congress Socialists resigned in protest from the Congress Committee and were subsequently "expelled" from the parental party, viz. the Indian National Congress. The complete secession of the Socialists from the Congress occurred in February 1948, when the latter adopted a rule barring membership in it to those who are members of political parties with constitutions different from that of its own. Subsequently, many members of the Congress Socialist Party left the Indian National Congress and formed the Socialist Party. Some of its prominent leaders were Acharya Narendra Dev, Jaya Prakash Narain, Ashok Mehta and Ram Manohar Lohia. The present Praja Socialist Party was formed in 1952 through the merger of the Socialist Party with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, a Gandhian party formed in the previous year by a group of dissident congressmen led by Acharya Kripalani.

The ideology of the PSP is a mixture of Marxism, democratic socialism and Gandhism. The objective of the party, as defined by its constitution, is the achievement, by peaceful revolution, of a democratic socialist society.

30. For an authentic statement of the party's principles and policies, see N.G. Goray and Surendranath Dwivedi, "Why PSP?" in Ramdas G. Bhatkal, ed., Political Alternatives in India (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1967 pp. 227-274.)
free from social, political and economic exploitation. The PSP also blames the ruling Congress Party for having "failed to adopt bold and radical economic and social policies that alone can be the foundation of an egalitarian society."

On its part, the PSP advocates the nationalisation of basic and key industries, and of banking and general insurance. The party also puts great emphasis on cottage industries, small-scale enterprises and on "people's genuine participation" in nation-building. In foreign policy, the party is broadly in agreement with non-alignment.

The history of the PSP in Baroda dates back to the days of the Congress Socialist Party. Mr. Hari Ramchandra Gokhale,* who established the Socialist Party unit in Baroda in 1948, had been active in the All India Railwaymen's Federation and in the All India Trade Union Congress. He had also been active in the Baroda State Praja Mandal and had got elected to the Baroda municipality, in which, he served as vice-president for one term. Mr. Gokhale was a Maharashtrian Brahmin pleader. He organized and led several trade unions which still continue to be led by his successors in the Baroda PSP. In 1949, there was formed, under the aegis of the Baroda unit of the Socialist Party, a youth organization, called Sathi Dal, in which several young

* He is presently a Central Minister in Mrs. Indira Gandhi's cabinet.
persons, mostly Maharashtrians, became active. The main activity of the Sathi Dal was to organize games and discussions.

In the first general elections, Mr. Gokhale ran unsuccessfully for the Parliament from Baroda; he was defeated by an industrialist, Mr. Indulal B. Amin who contested as an independent candidate (See Table A of Appendix I.) Shortly after the elections, Mr. Gokhale left Baroda for Bombay, where in 1962, he became a judge of the High Court.

Another leader, who next to Mr. Gokhale, has done the most in organizing the PSP in Baroda is its present "top leader," Mr. Sanat Mehta. He is presently the general secretary of the Gujarat State Executive of the PSP and treasurer of the party's national executive. He is also a municipal corporator and represents the Raopura constituency of Baroda City in the Gujarat State Legislature. 32

A 41-year old Brahmin, Mr. Mehta is a science graduate and holds a diploma in industrial relations from Harvard University. At the time of his joining the Congress Socialist Party in 1943, he had already been active in a students' organization and Railway employees' union in Saurashtra. A founder-member of the Socialist Party in Gujarat, he came

32. In the 1971 Lok Sabha elections, he ran unsuccessfully for the Baroda seat. He ran on the PSP ticket and had the support of the Congress (R) but was defeated by the Congress (O) candidate, Maharaja F.P. Gaekwad.
to Baroda in 1949 to participate in a conference organized by the party's Baroda unit. After the conference, Mr. Mehta stayed on in Baroda and has to this day continued to lead the party.

In 1957-58, Mr. Mehta was elected to the Bombay State Legislative Council by the municipalities of South Gujarat. In 1958, when the Janta Parishad came to power in the Baroda municipality he became leader of the house. From 1961 to 1968, he served as leader of the Opposition in the Baroda municipal corporation.

Mr. Mehta is a full-time trade union worker/social worker. He also writes a regular column in a Gujarati commercial bi-weekly, viz. Vyapar. He is president of all but one of the 18 trade unions which are organized and run under the auspices of the Baroda P&SP. (The list of these trade unions is given in Appendix II.) The only PSP-sponsored union, of which he is not president, is the Government Drivers and Technical Staff Union, Baroda, in which the employees themselves fill in the offices of president and secretary. All these 18 trade unions are affiliated to the PSP-dominated trade union federation, called the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, whose local branch is called the Baroda City Labour Council. Mr. Mehta is president of this council. He is also president of two industrial co-operatives, viz. a beedi workers' co-operative society
and a polish and paint workers' co-operative society. Finally, he is president of the Baroda Labour Education Trust, which, among others, conducts educational courses and tours for the workers, and of an education trust, viz. the Jeevan Sadhana Education Trust, which runs a high school, in which many PSP activists, including Mr. Mehta's wife, serve as teachers. Mrs. Mehta, it may be pointed out, is also a party worker of long standing and had been elected to the Baroda municipality in 1952 and 1962.

Mr. Mehta heads almost all the PSP-sponsored organizations and unions in Baroda city. Two factors which seem to favour the cumulation of power in his hands are (1) the need for co-ordination of the work of the various trade unions and (2) the need for expertise and experience in managing the affairs of trade unions. In fact, all the PSP activists, who were interviewed in the course of this research, referred to Mr. Mehta as the leader of the PSP in Baroda. When interviewed, Mr. Mehta explained his role as follows: "It is my role to air the grievances of the oppressed and the underprivileged. Through my public speeches, I also try to educate the people politically." Mr. Mehta cited "social commitment" and "party loyalty" as the motivating factors for his party activism.
In November 1969, the Baroda PSP claimed to have some 50 active members and 1300 ordinary members. The ordinary member is defined by the party's constitution as: any person who is of the age of 18 years or above, who accepts the objects, policy, programme and discipline of the party and who is not member of any other political or communal organization. The membership fee for the ordinary member is Re.1/- yearly. The active members, who has to put in "some public work recognised by the party," is required to pay in addition to his membership fee of Re.1/- per annum, at least one day's average income, He is also required to collect a minimum of Rs.3/- annually for the party and to enrol at least 10 ordinary members.

The present 21-member executive committee of the Baroda City PSP was elected in a two-day camp of the party members in June 1969. The camp was attended by some 100 members. The elections were not contested; incumbents to the various positions were nominated with the unanimous consent of the "house." Accordingly, Mr. Russi Contractor, a London-educated Parsee advocate, Mr. Amin Quereshi, a former school-teacher belonging to the Muslim community, and Mr. Krishnakant Sheth, an advocate belonging to the Bania community became the three general secretaries of the Baroda City PSP Committee.
Mr. Sanat Mehta, as already mentioned, is general secretary of the Gujarat State PSP Executive. Its two other members from Baroda are Mr. Amin Qureshi (who has been referred to earlier) and Mr. Fatehsinh Rana. The latter, a Muslim, owns a small cloth shop and is a member of the Baroda municipal corporation. Two prominent activists of the Baroda PSP are permanent invitees of the Gujarat State PSP Executive. They are: 1) Mr. G.G. Paradkar, who belongs to the Brahmin community and who is secretary of seven trade unions and of the Baroda City Labour Council; and 2) Mr. Murlidhar Ranalkar, who belongs to the Sunar community and who is secretary of eight trade unions and editor of Mazdoor Samaj, a fortnightly paper for the workers.

The four major action fronts of the Baroda PSP are labour, education, agitations and elections. The party's involvement in the labour and educational fronts has already been referred to above. On the agitational front, the party has been conducting numerous agitations and strikes to air the people's grievances and to get them redressed by the authorities concerned. More recently, for instance, the party agitated against the spiraling prices of edible oils, against the inefficiency and mismanagement of the Employees State Insurance Scheme, and for the "liberation" and re-distribution of land.
The Baroda PSP, which has been doing well on the labour front and in the field of agitational politics is yet a minor political party in the political system of Baroda. The number of its active members, as shown above, is small. Its performance on the electoral front, as shall be shown below, has not been too encouraging.

In 1952, as mentioned above, the PSP candidate for the Baroda Lok Sabha seat, Mr. Gokhale, was defeated by an industrialist. In none of the first three general elections, did the PSP succeed in winning a State Legislative Assembly seat from Baroda City. In the fourth general elections (1967), the PSP leader, Mr. Sanat Mehta, won an Assembly seat from the Raopura constituency of Baroda City. (See Appendix I.) In the 1971 Lok Sabha election, the PSP leader, Mr. Sanat Mehta, who was supported by the Congress (R), was defeated by the Congress (O) candidate, Maharaja F.P. Gaekwad.

In the municipal elections held in 1954 and 1958, the PSP won 4 and 6 seats, respectively, out of a total of 45 seats. It may be recalled that during 1958-60, when the Janta Parishad was the ruling group in the municipality, the PSP was a constituent partner of this group, and the PSP leader, Mr. Sanat Mehta, was the leader of the house. In the 1962 municipal elections, the PSP contested as a partner of a united front, called
Bin Pakshiya Juth. Out of the 18 seats won by the Juth, the PSP secured 8 seats. In the 1968 municipal elections also, the PSP joined an electoral front, called Samyukta Morcho. Its other partners were the Swatantra party and some independents. This time the PSP secured only three seats in a house of 51 seats. The victorious PSP candidates are Messrs. Sanat Mehta, Fatehsingh Rana (both of whom have been referred to earlier) and Manilal Solanki. Mr. Solanki belongs to the Scheduled Caste and is general secretary of the Baroda City Bhangi Kamdar Union.

The Swatantra Party in Baroda City: Its Historical Background, Present Set-up and Leadership Nucleus

The Swatantra Party was founded in 1959 by a group of "independent free-thinking people." This group was led by C. Rajagopalachari, an elder statesman, N.G. Ranga, an Oxford-educated economist and leader of a peasant movement, and Minoo Masani, an economist educated at the London School of Economics. The immediate provocation for the formation of the Swatantra party was the Nagpur resolution of the Congress party on joint co-operative farming, which, to the founders of the Swatantra party appeared to be yet another step toward collectivization and statism. They also disapproved of the expansion of

the Five-Year Plans, the imposition of land ceilings and the State "monopoly" in the foodgrains trade.

In order to oppose and resist these trends, a self-styled group of "independent free-thinking people," led by the aforementioned leaders, met informally on 4th June 1959 in Madras under the auspices of the All India Agriculturists' Federation. The idea of forming the Swatantra party as a non-leftist alternative to the Congress was conceived in this meeting. The new party was inaugurated in a preparatory convention held in Bombay in August 1959.

The preparatory convention ratified the 21 basic principles of the party which are classical liberal in tone. Some of the basic tenets of the party's ideology are: equality for all; individual initiative and enterprise; minimum interference by the state; and a competitive free economy. "The party believes that in the field of production, the free choice of the producer and the consumer must be given basic place and importance." 34

The delegates from Baroda City who attended the party's inaugural convention in Bombay and who are still active in the party are Messrs. P.C. Hathi, an advocate, Jayantilal Patel, a contractor, Somabhai Patel, an advocate, and Ishwarlal Desai, a sales officer in Jyoti Engineering,

whose director, Mr. Nanubhai Amin, has been the guiding
spirit behind the formation and development of the Swatantra
Party in Baroda City. Mr. Amin has been financing a party
newspaper in Gujarati, viz., *Swatantra Sarjan*, published
from Baroda in the name of Mr. Ishwarlal Desai. This paper
has ceased publication since 1970, because of financial
difficulties. A few months before its stoppage, its name
had been changed to *Lok Mitra*.

Mr. Amin, whom the Swatantra party activists mentioned
as their topmost leader in the city, does not hold any
office in party or government. He is a leading industrialist
of Baroda, and a senator and syndic of the M.S. University
of Baroda. He belongs to the Patidar community. His advice
is sought and complied with by the office-holders of the
party's unit in Baroda City. For instance, Messrs. Jayantilal
Patel and Chandralcant Parikh reported that they took
the advice of Messrs. Nanubhai Amin and P.C. Hathi in
finalising the party's candidates for the 1968 municipal
elections.

Mr. P.C. Hathi, the founder-president of the Baroda
unit of the Swatantra Party, is a 57-year old Brahmin and
a leading advocate. He is the legal representative of many
industrial concerns. He is also a syndic and senator of
the M.S. University of Baroda. In the first general elections
(1952), he ran unsuccessfully for the State Legislative
Assembly from Baroda City as an independent candidate.
(See Table B of Appendix I.) During the Mahagujarat
Movement, when the Janta Parishad came to power in the Baroda municipality, Mr. Hathi was president of the Baroda unit of the Janta Parishad. During this period, he was also vice-president of the Gujarat State Janta Parishad. At present he is one of the three elected representatives of the Baroda City Swatantra Committee to the Baroda District Swatantra Committee.

The founder-secretary of the Swatantra party in Baroda City, who later rose to its presidency, is Mr. Jayantilal R. Patel. He is 41 years old and a contractor by profession. He too was in the Janta Parishad from 1956 to 1959. During the 1958-1962 years, he was an elected member of the municipality. At the time of his interview in April 1969, he was president of the Baroda city unit of the Swatantra Party, and a member of the municipal corporation. He is also a member of the Baroda City Primary Education Board and of the State Transport Advisory Committee. In the party organizational elections held on 12 November 1969, Mr. Jayantilal Patel was elected to be one of the representatives of the party's city unit to the district level organization. He has subsequently been elected president of the Baroda District Swatantra Committee. Mr. Jayantilal Patel's place as president of the city unit has been taken by Mr. Narottamdas Patel, proprietor of a stationery mart,
who joined the party on the eve of the 1968 municipal elections, in which he contested successfully on the party's ticket.

The two Swatantra party leaders of Baroda city who occupy "high" elective public offices are Mr. Pashabhai Patel, member of the Parliament and Mr. Chandrakant Parikh, member of the State Legislative Assembly. Their brief profiles are given below.

Mr. Pashabhai Patel, a septuagenarian Patidar industrialist, represented the Baroda Parliamentary constituency in the fourth Lok Sabha.* His father, a relative of Sardar Patel, was the director of agriculture in the erstwhile princely state of Baroda. In 1943, Mr. Pashabhai Patel was jailed for two years for publishing and distributing a pamphlet against the British government in India. In 1957, Mr. Patel gave up his membership in the Congress party and joined the Mahagujarat Janta Parishad, on whose ticket he ran unsuccessfully for the Baroda parliamentary seat in the second general elections; he secured only 36.70 per cent of the votes polled as against the 63.30 per cent polled by his rival, Maharaja Fatesinhrao Gaekwad, the victorious Congress candidate. In the third general elections (1962) also Mr. Patel was a losing candidate.

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* He did not contest the 1971 mid-term parliamentary elections. The present M.P. from Baroda is Maharaja F.P., Gaekwad of the Congress (O).
for the Sabarkanta parliamentary seat on the Swatantra party ticket. In 1967, he won the Baroda parliamentary seat defeating the Congress candidate, Mr. Nanalal Chokshi, the then mayor of Baroda. Mr. Patel attended the inaugural meeting of the Swatantra party in Bombay in 1959. But he admitted that at present he is not active in the local unit of the party in Baroda city. He also admitted that he is not in regular contact with the local party activists and that he did not campaign for his party in the 1968 municipal elections. Whatever he does for the party, he said, he does it in Delhi (during his term as M.P.). It was reported by one of the Swatantra respondents that Mr. Patel had once offered to contribute a sum of Rs.2000/- to the local party unit if some responsible workers could use it properly. Mr. Patel was reported to have said that his involvement in business did not give him the time required for party work. Mr. Patel, when interviewed, said: "Whatever the Congress has done is all wrong. It is my role to criticize and oppose the Congress government. For the moment, I try to influence the industrial policy of the government."

Mr. Chandrakant M. Parikh, M.L.A., is a 38-year old graduate in Commerce and belongs to the Bania community. He is proprietor of a business firm, the Bharat Textile Corporation.

35. See footnote No. 20 above.
which deals in raw materials for textile mills. His political career started in 1958, when he joined the Mahagujarat Movement. In that year, he contested and won the municipal election as an independent candidate supported by the Mahagujarat Janta Parishad. To this day he has retained his position in the Baroda municipal corporation.

When the Swatantra party was established in Baroda in 1960, Mr. Parikh became president of the party's constituency committee in Baroda City (East) Assembly Constituency. When asked to explain his motive for joining the party, Mr. Parikh said: "In a democracy, all the people, especially businessmen, should be active in politics and should try to influence the policies of the government." "My role," he said, "is to influence the industrial policies of the government, to maintain contact with the people and help solve their problems, especially those problems which have to do with civic amenities." He also claimed that he meets the administrative officials of the municipal corporation to urge promptness in the disposal of urgent matters affecting his constituents.

In the third general elections (1962), Mr. Parikh fought unsuccessfully for the State Legislative Assembly seat from Baroda City (East) on the Swatantra party ticket;
he was defeated by the Congress candidate, Mr. F.H. Palejwala. 36
In 1967, Mr. Parikh avenged his 1962 defeat by winning the
seat from Mr. Palejwala. (See Appendix I.) As pointed
out earlier, Mr. Parikh also won a seat in the 1968 elections
to the Baroda municipal corporation.

Presently a member of the standing committee of the
Baroda municipal corporation, Mr. Parikh is also a senator
and syndic of the M.S. University of Baroda, a senator of
the South Gujarat University, the honorary treasurer of
the Federation of Gujarat Mills and Industries, and a
member of the managing committee of the Central Gujarat
Chamber of Commerce.

In the biennial election to the Rajya Sabha from
Gujarat, held in March 1968, Mr. Parikh, who was then
president of the Baroda City Swatantra Committee, canvassed
for a candidate other than the official nominee of the
Swatantra party. The party's official candidate was
Mr. Babubhai Vaidya. The rival candidate who won and
whom Mr. Parikh supported was Mr. U.N. Mahida. For this
action, the party took disciplinary action against
Mr. Parikh by debarring him from holding any office in
the party for two years. As a consequence, he had to give
up his presidency of the Baroda City Swatantra Committee.

36. See footnote No.19 above.
He however retained his membership in the party till August 1970, when he, along with 26 Baria (i.e. Kshatriya) M.L.A.'s, left the Swatantra party and formed a new party, called the Gujarat Praja Parishad, which promised to be more serious in its bid to topple the Congress (O) government in the state. Some two months later, Mr. Parikh and eight other Gujarat Praja Parishad M.L.A.'s joined the Congress (R).

Prior to 1967, the party's electoral performance in Baroda city has not been good. (See Appendix I). In the 1962 municipal elections, it won only one seat. In the general elections held in the same year, none of the party's candidates won a seat from Baroda city. In the fourth general elections (1967), the Swatantra party had better electoral successes than any other party in Baroda city. In these elections, the Swatantra party won the Baroda parliamentary seat and one of the three Assembly seats from Baroda city. In the 1968 municipal elections, the Swatantra party put up 12 candidates, out of whom five have been successful. (See Table 2.1.) The five successful Swatantra candidates are, Messrs. Chandrakant Parikh, Jayantilal R. Patel, Narottamdas Patel, Khushranjan Patel (a 33-year old Patidar agriculturalist who joined the party in 1965) and Pandurang Banker (a 55-year old...
Maratha merchant who joined the party on the eve of the 1968 municipal elections.

As at the beginning of 1970, the Baroda city unit of the Swatantra party has 26 "life workers" and about 440 "active workers." When the present research was started, the party did not have even half the number of active workers that it now has. At one stage of my study (August 1969), the party membership figures were: 19 "life workers" and 200 "active workers." Obviously, there has been a very vigorous membership drive prior to the party organizational elections held in November 1969.

The party's constitution defines an active worker as "every person above the age of 18 who subscribes in writing to the principles of the party, pays the prescribed fee and expresses his readiness to work for the party." The fees prescribed are Rs.3/- as membership fee and Re.1/- as annual renewal fee, which, for members of the scheduled castes/scheduled tribes, are Re.1/- and Re.0.50, respectively. Some of the approved activities are: enrolling new members; introducing new workers; campaigning for the party; redressing public grievances on behalf of the party; collection of funds; acceptance of party tickets for elections to elective public offices; acceptance of party organizational offices; and helping to run party offices.
The party's constitution provides for a committee in each Legislative Assembly Constituency. The State or regional authority of the party is also empowered to authorize the formation of a committee for any area comprising more than one constituency or for any area smaller than one constituency. In Baroda City, which has three Assembly constituencies, there is at present only one committee, viz. the Baroda City Swatantra Committee. Until November 1969, this committee consisted of 24 members, of whom three were co-opted women members37 and the rest were elected at the rate of seven from each of the three constituencies. On 12 November 1969, a new 11-member city committee was elected. In electing these 11 members, the entire city was regarded as constituting a single areal unit, and no quotas were fixed for the constituencies. This procedure of electing the city committee, which was supported by the majority group, led by Mr. Jayantilal Patel and Mr. P.C. Hathi, was challenged and opposed by a minority faction led by one Mr. Sardar Singh Hatalia.

Mr. Hatalia, whose father has been a vice-president of the Gujarat Kshtriya Sabha, has had other grievances.

37. One of these women members said that she was elected in her absence and that she did not wish to be regarded as a member of the party committee.
against the party's leadership. He, along with several other Kshatriya members of the Swatantra party, attacked the party's state-level leadership for not having given enough party tickets to the Kshatriya members of the party in the 1967 general elections. Mr. Hatalia felt that the Swatantra party could have replaced the Congress as the ruling party in 1967 if more Kshatriya members of the party had been given the party's tickets. Mr. Hatalia also complained against the improper selection of candidates for the 1968 elections to the Baroda municipal corporation. He and his supporters did not approve of the selection of candidates which was done by Messrs. Jayantilal Patel and Chandrakant Parikh in consultation with Messrs. Nanubhai Amin and P.C. Hathi. 38

On 12 November 1969, when the party workers met to elect the new 11-member city committee, Mr. Hatalia submitted a memorandum, signed by 102 members, to the election officer. The memorandum challenged the constitutionality of the proposed election. It was alleged that the agenda for the election meeting was drawn up improperly and incompletely. Specifically, the memorandum stated that the formation of the city committee before or without the formation of the three constituency committees would be unconstitutional. The

38. In fact, hardly a month before the 1968 municipal elections, a party worker had resigned from a 4-member election committee of the party in protest against what he called the "autocratic actions of a few leaders." See Navbharat, dated 22 May 1968.
memorandum also accused the "dominant group" of inactivism and lethargy. It was also stated that a few individuals were using the party for their selfish interests. Despite these objections, the elections were held as scheduled and eleven members of the dominant Patel-Hathi group were elected unanimously to constitute the city committee. Messrs P.C. Hathi, Jayantilal Patel and Narmada Shanker Raval (a Brahmin owning a watch-repairing shop) were elected as representatives of the city committee to the district committees, whose presidentship was subsequently won by Mr. Jayantilal Patel.

The following persons were elected as office-bearers of the City Swatantra Committee: Mr. Narottamdas Patel, a Patidar businessman, as president; Mr. Vakil Ahmed Thai, a Muslim advocate, as vice-president; Mr. Hariprasad Contractor, a Brahmin contractor-cum-commission agent, as secretary; Mr. Khushranjan Patel, a Patidar agriculturist, as joint secretary; and Mr. Pandurang Banker, a Maratha merchant, as treasurer.

The Method of the Research

In the present analysis, I have separated the top leaders of the three party units from their organizational activists. These top leaders, whose profiles have been given in the preceding sections of this chapter, are:

1. Maharaja F.P. Gaekwad, 2. Mr. Bhailalbhai Contractor,
3. Mr. F.H. Palejwala, 4. Mr. Nanalal D. Chokshi (who is presently in the Congress-R), 5. Dr. Thakorbhai V. Patel, 6. Mr. Sanat Mehta, 7. Mr. Nanubhai B. Amin, 8. Mr. Chandra-kant Parikh (who is presently in Congress-R) and 9. Mr. Pashabhai Patel. All these persons, excluding Mr. Amin, are or have just been incumbents of high political offices. Mr. Amin, who does not hold any position in party or in government, is a leading industrialist and was mentioned by the Swatantra Party respondents as their topmost leader in Baroda City.

These top leaders, by virtue of the high political positions they hold, may be said to have promoted themselves far out of the category of mere party organizational activists. The political roles played by the former are of a much greater magnitude than those played by the latter. This was the reason for treating these two categories of party personnel separately.

In so separating the top leaders from the organizational activists, I have not assumed either that the former are the oligarchs or that the latter are the "pedestal of an oligarchy." The high public offices they hold do indeed make the top leaders perform political tasks of a much greater magnitude than the tasks performed by the organizational activists. Besides, as admitted by
the organizational activists of their respective parties, these "top leaders" wield much power over the affairs of their respective party organizations. This, however, does not necessarily imply that they are oligarchs. That a few leaders take many of the decisions does not mean oligarchy; oligarchy means, rather, that a few "leaders" are able to take decisions contrary to or disregarding the wishes of their followers.\(^{39}\) It may therefore be concluded that whether the aforementioned top leaders—or some other leaders in their place—will operate in greater or lesser democratic ways would be greatly determined by the characteristics, attitudes and involvement of the organizational activists, with whom and through whom the former have to work.\(^{40}\)

Hence in chapters III through VII, through an analysis of the data pertaining to 138 organizational activists of the three party units, I have sought to explore certain determinants and sub-processes of their participation in party activities. The description of

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40. See Samuel H. Barnes, Party Democracy, pp.5-7. He writes: "The student of political parties ... needs to concentrate as much on the recipients as on the wielders of authority." (p.7.)
the political careers and party organizational roles of the top leaders given in the preceding sections of this chapter is intended to give a proper perspective both for understanding the "behaviour" of the rest of the party organizational activists and for grasping certain behavioural dimensions of the party organizations. The party-wise distribution of the 138 organizational activists is as follows: Congress(0) = 82; PSP = 30; and Swatantra = 26. All these "party organizational activists" fall in one or more of the following categories: a) members of permanent invitees of the city committees of their respective parties; b) party representatives elected to the general board of the municipal corporation; and c) a few party activists who did not belong to any of the aforementioned categories but were mentioned by party spokesmen as playing equally important roles in the organizational life of their respective parties. By thus going beyond the formal membership of the three party committees, I have sought to enlarge, rather than contract, the study population. 41 This was done partly to ensure that I studied the real and not merely the formal party organizations, and partly to obtain a sufficiently large number of cases within each of the three parties.

41. A similar procedure of determining the study population has been followed in other studies of party activists. See Dwaine Marvick and Charles R. Nixon, "Recruitment Contrasts in Rival Campaign Groups" in Dwaine Marvick, ed., Political Decision-Makers (The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp.193-217; and Allan Kornberg and Joel Smith, "The Development of a Party Identification in a Political Elite." (Mimeographed; Duke University.)
Admittedly, this "study population" does not constitute a sample of all the active members of the three parties; no sampling has been involved in this study. I have sought to study almost the entire cadre of "organizational activists" of the three party units. What precise layer or level of party activism these "organizational activists" represent has already been indicated in chapter I. Admittedly, the organizational activists do not represent the whole party and therefore the generalizations made on the basis of the data pertaining to them are not valid vis-à-vis the total organism of the party. For a comprehensive analysis of the entire party structure, the various categories of party members (see chapter I above) and the party identifying section of the general public would have to be studied.

On the basis of the lists of active members of the Congress and Swatantra Party units of Baroda City for 1970, I have worked out the caste distribution of the 585 Congress active members and the 466 Swatantra active members (Table 3.8 of chapter III). The Congress list also contained information about the members' age and occupation, which have also been tabulated (Tables 3.2 and 3.6 of chapter III).

42. This has not been done for the PSP, since 30 out of the total of about 50 PSP active members are included in the category of PSP organizational activists.
The data pertaining to the party organizational activists and the top party leaders were obtained through personal interviews with them. The questionnaire which was used took about an hour and a half to administer. It consisted of both open-ended and closed questions. In general, the open-ended items, which were of a focussed nature, were meant to elicit information on the social backgrounds, political career patterns and activities of the party activists. The closed questions were meant to tap their political perceptions and attitudes. Most of the items used in the questionnaire were either borrowed or adapted from the following sources:

1) The questionnaires used by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi, for the study of ward leaders and for the International Studies of Values in Politics.

43. The Swatantra leader, Mr. Nanubhai Amin, could not be interviewed for this study. I have, however, benefitted from some contemporary research data pertaining to his political role. See Howard L. Erdman, Political Attitudes of Indian Industry: A Case Study of the Baroda Business Elite (University of London, the Athlone Press, 1971), and Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, "Parochialism and Cosmopolitanism in University Government: The Environments of Baroda University," op. cit.

44. I am indebted to Dr. Rajni Kothari, Dr. Bhashiruddin Ahmed and Mr. D.L. Sheth of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi, for making the questionnaires available to me and for numerous other gestures of encouragement. For a preliminary report on the International Studies of Values in Politics, see Philip E. Jacob, "Values Measured for Local Leadership," Wharton Quarterly, Summer 1969. See also V.M. Sirsikar, The Rural Elite in a Developing Society (New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1970), chapter VI.
2) The questionnaires used by Eldersveld, Barnes, Bowman and Boynton, and Kornberg and Smith. The specific sources of some of the borrowed "items" will be indicated at the appropriate places in the following chapters.

I have constructed and used a few indices, e.g. the Index of Task Productivity and the Index of Respect for Intra-Party Democracy. These will also be explained at the appropriate places in following chapters.

All the interviews were taken by me either at the respondent's residence, place of work, party office or in the municipal corporation. One respondent, who was approached without any previous notice, turned suspicious and refused to be interviewed. But some six months later he called on me at my residence and requested that he be interviewed for the "useful study you are carrying out." In general, I first interviewed those leaders with whom I had established some rapport in the course of a previous research. These leaders introduced me to their colleagues and so on and so forth. The most gratifying experience of


46. See footnote No.20 above.
my field work was the contagious spirit of co-operation shown by the party personnel.

Most of the interviews were taken during the year 1969. A few leaders were interviewed in the early part of 1970. About two-thirds of the interviews were conducted in English and the rest in Hindi.

The data obtained through the interviews were coded, punched onto 80-column cards and machine-processed into contingency tables. Percentages and, wherever appropriate, a statistical measure of association, called gamma, were then computed. 47 Gamma, it may be pointed out, only measures the degree of relationship between the two ordered variables of a contingency table; it does not offer any statistical test of significance as the Chi-square does. The use of statistical tests of significance is not required in the present analysis since its study population has not been determined through random sampling. 48 A word or two may be said about how the gamma value is to be interpreted. Goodman and Kruskal, who originally proposed gamma, explain as follows:


48. The reasons for the inappropriateness of statistical tests of significance for a study such as the present one are explained in S.M. Lipset et al., Union Democracy, pp.427-432; and John C. Wahlke et al., The Legislative System (New York: John Wiley, 1962), pp. 455-463.
Gamma is 1 if the population is concentrated in an upper-left to lower-right diagonal of the cross-classification table.

Gamma is -1 if the population is concentrated in a lower-left to upper-right diagonal of the table.

Gamma is 0 in the case of independence.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{49} Goodman and Kruskal, op. cit., p. 749.