CHAPTER II

REGIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA
This chapter gives the meaning of Regional parties, emerging of regional parties, regional parties in India, impact of the regional parties and others.

An indirect reference to regional party is, found in Maurice Duverger's concept of Minor Party. According to Duverger the concept of minor party deserves special consideration¹. He says that a minor party is one which is minority minded. There is a good deal of controversy over these minor parties or small parties as the case may be regarding their role and performance in government and opposition. Of late some distinct types of these minor or small parties have emerged which have played a significant role in the politics of the developing countries. Their emergence and their activities under certain socio-economic milieu have set certain patterns which nevertheless seem significant in the working of the political system. Duverger's theory of minor parties is primarily based on the distinction between major and minor parties reflecting the difference in their mentality². He has distinguished a minor party from a party with majority bent and in this case he has clarified that the parties with a majority bent are those which command an absolute majority in parliament or at least they have potential to attain majority³. This distinction between a majority and minority party is more keenly felt in a multi-party system than in a two party system⁴. Parties without a majority bent are often led into demagogy by the very nature of the system⁵ as they make irresponsible and unrealistic
promises for they well know that it is quite unlikely for them to shoulder along the responsibilities of the government.

Dureger's minor party - "Minority minded' party seemingly includes regional, local and such other smaller parties formed on the basis of linguistic, religious, ethnic and cultural interests. Accordingly to him there are two distinct types of minor parties. They are 'personality minor parties' and 'permanent minor parties'. 'Personality Parties' are purely legislators groups, noted based on any real party organization. They mostly originate as dissident groups and subsequently appear as separate organizations. Under the bossism or discipline imposed by major parties. These parties are centered around influential personalities and considerable number for reasons of 'prestige or favour'. It is for these reasons that such parties lack a true social sub-structure and for the reason also they are neither strong nor stable in character. In the absence of any discipline and precise doctrine they turn out to be what Duverger has called as the most recalcitrant of all parties.

On the other hand, 'Permanent minority parties have organization in the country which are either national or local. They represent a modern variety of minor party and in this respect they stand in sharp contrast to the personality which are more of an archaic type.

The permanent minority parties represent either a race or a region and without accepting complete fusion with the national community they tend to
strive to manifest their strong minority bent of mind. However, these parties are relatively stable as they are very strong locally, frequently occupying the position of dominate party or even of single party at the provincial level\textsuperscript{11}. These permanent minority parties are supported by a fairly homogenous and solid fraction of the population either a geographical, cultural or religious minority which tend to emphasis maintaining a separate identity to their own. Hence, permanent minority parties have been found in most of the cases to tend towards opposition.

Thus, from the analysis of Duverger's concept of 'minor party' we can arrive at a conceptual meaning of regional parties. Regional parties are those which generally and exclusively operate within a limited geographical area with a state or which represent the interests of particular linguistic, religious, ethnic of cultural groups whose population may be concentrated in an area an small as a single assembly constituency or as large as an entire state or region. In respect of their narrowly defined interests regional parties stand in sharp contrast to the broad ranging, diverse concerns, of national parties\textsuperscript{12}.

The programmatic focus of regional parties is usually restricted towards specific issues of concern to there membership only or at best to their region. Regional parties do not generally aspire to secure control over the country's national government\textsuperscript{13}. It may be because they are mostly confined to a limited geographic area. The regional parties are also relatively
strive to manifest their strong minority bent of mind. However, these parties are relatively stable as they are very strong locally, frequently occupying the position of dominate party or even of single party at the provincial level. These permanent minority parties are supported by a fairly homogenous and solid fraction of the population either a geographical, cultural or religious minority which tend to emphasize maintaining a separate identity to their own. Hence, permanent minority parties have been found in most of the cases to tend towards opposition.

Thus, from the analysis of Duverger’s concept of ‘minor party’ we can arrive at a conceptual meaning of regional parties. Regional parties are those which generally and exclusively operate within a limited geographical area with a state or which represent the interests of particular linguistic, religious, ethnic of cultural groups whose population may be concentrated in an area an small as a single assembly constituency or as large as an entire state or region. In respect of their narrowly defined interests regional parties stand in sharp contrast to the broad ranging, diverse concerns, of national parties.

The programmatic focus of regional parties is usually restricted towards specific issues of concern to there membership only or at best to their region. Regional parties do not generally aspire to secure control over the country’s national government. It may be because they are mostly confined to a limited geographic area. The regional parties are also relatively
homogenous in their policy preferences. These may be the reasons why they aim at securing control over the state government or over certain policies that have special significance for their constituencies\textsuperscript{14}.

Regional parties draw their influences from two major sources. First is the concentration of their supporters in a particular geographic area which helps them to concentrate their attention on certain constituencies at election time.\textsuperscript{15} Because of this concentration of attention, relatively few votes for regional parties are wasted. In fact few votes are cast in constituencies where candidates of regional parties have no chance of winning. On the other hand, regional parties generally avoid to fielding candidates in those constituencies or areas where they do not have at least a marginal support base. Secondly, regional parties draw considerable influence from the stability they enjoy. Their relatively constant base of support in particular locals helps them in promoting these programmes that would benefit their constituencies\textsuperscript{16}. This stability of regional parties proves extremely beneficial in certain circumstances especially when the regional parities are in a position to form government at the state level in coalition with other parties.

\textbf{ROLE AND RELEVANCE OF REGIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES}

Regional parties are almost an inevitable development and have a definite influence and impact upon the politics of the democratic states depending upon the politic of the democratic states depending upon the right
of dissent and the diversity of life in their body politic. In western democracies minor parties may be said to condition and modify major parties somewhat as the habit an organism determines its characteristic\textsuperscript{17}. The multiplication of minor parities cannot however, be prevented and they are bound to be an integral part of the political system because of the continuous struggle between various closed social groups, particularly in the multiparty system\textsuperscript{18}.

Several new political parties were accorded recognition as state parties in December 1997 by the Election Commission. These parties includes the Trinamul Congress of Mamta Benerjee (West Bengal), Biju Janata Dal of Navin Patnaik (Orissa), the Tamilzhaga Rajiv Congress of Vazhapadi K. Ramamurthy (Tamil Nadu), the Haryana Lok Dal of Om Parakash Chautala (Hariyana), Himachal Vikas Congress of Sukh Ram (Himachal Pradesh), Manipur State Congress (Manipur) and Akhil Baratiya Lok Tanktrik Congress (UP)\textsuperscript{19}.


Apart from the National and State Parties there are a number of other unrecognized parties which can acquire the status of a registered party if they secure at least one per cent of the votes in a state.

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

Regional parties are inevitable development in India and they have a definite influence and impact upon the body politic. In fact minor parties may be said to condition and modify the major parties, as the habitant of an organism determines its characteristics. The different linguistic states represent not only administrative regions but they stand for different regional nations. Over and above these regional nationalities exists the
newly fostered all India Nationality. While the regional loyalties are strongly rooted, the All-India Nationality is a compromise of these regional loyalties. Whenever India as a whole is treated by an external element, the whole stands untied. However, when there is no such engrossing All-India concern, the regional loyalties dominate the political scene. It stands to reason that the stability of India depends on the maintainance of the balance between these levels of loyalties.

Regional loyalties have made another useful contribution to the Indian state by their very nature of functioning. Since the primordial loyalties operate mostly at the levels of the state-government, they leave the congress to operate the economic forces with a free will. National integration and socio-economic development therefore become tangible.

The conflict between the nationalist and regionalist loyalties has brought several dilemmas to both. For the congress, the suppression of the regional forces posed moral problems. Also, educating the primordialists have proved to be a different exercise. The politics of national integration and socio-economic development rattle congress for more and more concentration of powers, which is resented by the regional parties and the public alike. At another level, the demands of the masses for progress make the congress blink, because resource for responding effectively to the situation do not offer themselves. Congress can choose to ride the tiger of exacerbated pluralism, and possible internal strife and disintegration, or it
may choose to restrain social and economic changes to a level that can be handled by it. While so doing, the congress has two options. It may emphasize building an effective response by giving the younger technical elites their hand and playing down the political structure or it may collaborate with the regional forces themselves to foster steady progress.

As for the regional parties, the dilemmas are more inexplicable. As they could not reach the centre by the nature of the political system, they must collaborate either with the other regional loyalties. This means that the central authority is not likely to collapse as a result of regional pressure, in spite of the fact that congress is built upon time foundations and depends upon a relatively a small elite. Selig Harrison's prophecies of imminent disintegration of India are not falsified by the regional parties, but their achievements to their respective groups are not much indeed. Congress will not change its policy of instrumentalist and it will continue to survive. Regional parties will not be obsolete but they will not gain much success, given the operational rules of the Indian state set by the congress. To be sure, the nation does not have any vision or ideology of the uses of political power but has powerful resources and continuously adopting institutions. The region has definite vision of uses of political power but matching resources and institutions do not exist. It is high time the regionalism is treated as a cure than a disease for this perspective would lead to
harmonious political development of India, its stateness than to its statelessness\textsuperscript{26}.

The regional parties have awakened the consciousness of the people in their very different statuses and locales. They have made clear to the congress about the needs of their groups, ideologically and politically. Finding that secessionism and violence could not pay to their demand, they operate now with more efficiency in the parliamentary arenas as opposition. They expect to play a leading role amidst the diversity of Indian in future\textsuperscript{27}.

Regional parties have often been referred to as parochial or particularistic parties in India as they have mostly represented the parochial or particular interest of certain sections of population\textsuperscript{28}. Further they were more concerned with the interests of certain groups than with the regional welfare of the nation. Their limited aggregative potential led them to identify with particular interest. The aggregation and articulation of these regional or other sectarian interests took shape in the hands of certain politicians of middle class origin as well as some caste and traditional leaders who saw new opportunities to acquire positions of prominence in the changed circumstances after independence.\textsuperscript{29} Sometimes caste and other traditional loyalties were over laid by political or ideological statement. However, these regional parties gained commanding influence in some localities or regions, but at the national level their impact has been limited\textsuperscript{30}.\textsuperscript{36}
Rise of Regional Parties in India

The existence of regional parties is nothing new. Their entry into national level politics is, a new phenomenon. In 1977, the Akali Dal and DMK were partners in the Janatha party government, although, the Janatha Party has a clear majority (295 seats) on its own. This was the first time that regional parties shared power at the national level. There were 51 members belonging to various regional parties in 1977. In 1980, regional parties lost their newly found moment of glory when the congress returned to power. The DMK managed to win 16 seats but the Akalis were reduced to one seat and the total tally of regional parties including the smaller left parties of West Bengal remained only 36 in the seventh Lok Sabha. The election to the eighth Lok Sabha were held in the backdrop of Indira Gandhi’s assassination. But in 1984 regional parties increased their share in the Lok Sabha. There were 76 members belonging to different regional parties in the eighth Lok Sabha. The rise of Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh and Asaam Gana Parishad in Assam were the main factors responsible for this performance of the regional parties. However, with congress having 415 seats in the Lok Sabha, the role of regional parties was bound to be insignificant in national politics.

Non-congressism brought many regional parties together in the National Front formed in 1988. These include in the TDP, DMK, AGP and Congress (S), apart from the newly formed Janatha Dal. But in the election
in 1989, these regional parties did not meet with success. In the ninth Lok Sabha, 45 members belonged parties but the regional allies of NF had only two seats (won by TDP). In spite of their disastrous performance, these regional parties became partners in the NF-led government of 1989. In 1991, the strength of regional parties in the Lok Sabha was at 56 but this time around TDP had a fair share (13 seats). The All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK), Janatha Dal (G), Indian Union Muslim League (IUML), Skkim Sangram Parishad (SSP) and Kerala Congress (KC) supported the congress government of Narasimha Rao. However, these parties were not part of the government.

Since 1996, regional parties have become indispensable in the formation of the government at the national level. They have been important partners in the coalitions that came to power after 1996. Besides, the numerical strength of the regional parties has considerable increased, with a sizable vote share being captured by regional parties. Finally, regional parties have emerged in being emerged in a large number of states. First underscored the centrality of regional parties to national politics. In the 1996 Lok Sabha, 137 members of Parliament belonged to various regional parties.

The regional forces – at least some of them – quickly switched over to the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA)) in 1998. The Lok Sabha in 1998 included 161 MPs belonging to regional parties; 92 of these were part of the NDA. The TDP, which proved crucial for the survival of the
government. Another regional party, AIADMK, played a decisive role in defeating the NDA government. The 13th Lok Sabha (1999) has 168 MPs who belong various to regional parties.

It can be observed that since 1996, the BJP and congress together get a little over 50 per cent of the share of the total votes. The communist parties, BSP and JD were the three other non-regional parties. Together, they had not more than 20 per cent votes. Thus, at least one-fourth of the electorate voted for regional or state-level parties. In 1999, the share of votes polled by regional parties shows an increase wide BJP fold 23.5 per cent votes, its regional allies fold 18 per cent votes the regional allies of the congress fold 5 per cent other regional parties fold more than 15 per cent.

It terms of seat share, regional parties dominate Nine States since half of the MPs from these states belong to regional parties. These include the smaller state of Manipur, Meghalaya and Sikkim. Besides these, other states in this category are Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Maharastra, Haryana and Jammu and Kashmir. Another test of the prominence of regional parties would be their vote share. In 13 states, regional parties had 30 per cent of more share of the votes in the 1999 elections. They include the smaller states mentioned above. In Manipur and Sikkim, regional parties polled 67 and 95 per cent votes, respectively. Other states where regional parties polled around 30 per cent or more votes are Jammu & Kashimr, Haryana, Punjab, Maharastra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, West
Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. In Tamil Nadu various regional parties together polled 75 per cent votes. In Maharashtra and Andhra, regional parties polled 44 and 42 per cent votes, respectively. The vote share of regional parties in West Bengal, Punjab, Orissa and Haryana.

IDEOLOGICAL POSITION

The regional parties extended a broad range of regionalist arguments. These surround invocation of regional pride and marks of regional identity. Regional arguments involve demands pertaining to regional culture, history and language. The demands formation of a state or inclusion of certain territories into a state are potent weapons of mobilization. Yet another aspect of regional ideology is the demand for more autonomy to the state. Such demands are posed as opposition to the role of the governor, to Article 356, etc. Finally, the regionalist ideological position takes the form of demands for the state's development. Such regionalism deals less with issues of identity and more with issues of backwardness, investment and industrial progress. Regional parties variously use these arguments – identity, statehood, autonomy and development. The National Conference, Akali Dal, DMK, often combine identity autonomy. Parties like Biju Janata Dal (BJD) emphasize the development arguments, that TDP emerged on the basis of the identity argument but Chandrababu Naidu has led the part quietly to the development argument. Many parties originate in the demand for statehood. The Jharkand Mukti Morcha, Chhattisgarh Mukti Morch, Vishal Haryana
Parishad, is examples of parties demanding statehood. Most parties of the northeast continue to combine the identity issue with autonomy or statehood demands.

However, it is not always necessary that a regionalist party would confine itself only to regionalist arguments. Many times regional parties cover non-regionalist ideological ground. While the Akalis tend to define regional identity in terms of religion, the Shiva Sena uses the two ideologies of regionalism and religious communalism according to the exigencies of electoral politics. Regional parties also rely on caste for the ideological formulations. Thus, the DMK originally combined Dravidian identity with non-Brahminism. By employing anti-caste ideological resources, the DMK strengthened its claims pertaining to a separate Dravida Identity vis-à-vis the Aryans. More recently, the PMK in Tamil Nadu has also combined the regional rhetoric with an anti-caste social position on behalf of the Other Backward Caste (OBCs). Such ideological formulations should not be seen cynically only as marriages of convenience. There is also a broader implication involved in such formulations. They tend to restate the meaning of 'regional' identity. Thus, the Akali claim implies that the Punjabi identity is not merely a territorial and linguistic identity.

Some state-based parties employ only the second variety of exclusion/inclusion. There are parties which seldom explicitly rely on regionalist exclusion. Instead, the primary locus of exclusion/inclusion is
caste/community/tribe. Second, because the principle of exclusion/inclusion has a regionally specified political salience, the party becomes a single state party. Although example of such parties are more prominent in the late 1980s and 1990s, regional parties did exist earlier also which did not rely on regionalist ideology. The Republican Party of India conceived as an all-India party. But it operated in the frame work of exclusion/inclusion on the basis of caste. In the late 1950s, dalit mobilization on such basis could take place only in Maharastra. So the party became confined to Maharastra. This same constraint impinges the growth of BSP outside the typical context of UP. More recent, in 1993, the Bahujan Mahasangh (BMS) has emerged in Maharastra as a party of OBCs favouring dalit-OBC cooperation and unity. But the more dramatic example of this type of parties are those of the SP and RJD. Both aspire to be national, i.e. all-India parties. Both are non-regionalist in their ideology. They have reached the regional states through the caste route of exclusion/inclusion. In principle, the ideology of OBC uplift can have all-India applicability. But these parties have defined their ideological positions in the specific context of their respective states. As a result, the ideology is translated into the ideology of the upwardly mobile OBC communities. The rhetoric of protecting the minorities too, does not attract people, outside of UP, nor does Laloo’s rhetoric about Advani’s ignorance about milking the cow appeal to OBCs outside of Bihar\textsuperscript{36}. 

42
Mumbai-Than-Konkan region. Outside this region, this party does not invoke regionalism. In the 1990s, Shiv Sena emerged as a militant Hindu party of moderately educated youth from both the Maratha caste and the OBCs. In 1995, when Shiv Sena came to power in the state along with BJP, it had the support of 17 per cent voters from the Maratha-Kumbi caste cluster. The party has consolidated this base over a period of time and added to it a valuable section of OBC voters. In 1998, the party had almost 30 per cent support among the OBCs. All through this period, the base of Shiv Sena consists of illiterates and less educated voters. Some slight changes were observed in the survey of 1999.

The Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) has a strong base in Maharashtra. The social composition of NCP's base is somewhat comparable to that of Shiv Sena. Although the NCP was formed with a view to dividing the Congress all over the country, Sharad Pawar succeeded in only dividing the Congress in Maharashtra between 1980 and 1986. It appears that he has retained his following. In 1999, NCP received balanced support from voters of various age groups. The party was supported more by women, rural voters of various age groups. The party was supported more by women, rural voters and illiterates. In terms of caste, there was a keen competition between NCP and the Shiv Sena for Maratha, Kunbi and OBC votes. Almost one-third of the NCP voters were Marathas. The main difference between
NCP and Shiv Sena was that the formers got a sizable support from SCs and Muslim. More than 20 per cent dalits and 30 per cent Muslims voted for NCP. Since 47 per cent of NCP voters are from the Maratha-Kumbi community. The party can be identified as a party of the Maratha-Kumbi is of Maharashtra. Like Lok Shakti in Karnataka, NCP seems to have played in an important role in formalizing the fragmentation of the Maratha-Kumbi vote bloc in Maharashtra.

**Trinamool Congress**

Since the left front has been the ruling front in West Bengal since the late 1970's, politics in the state revolves around left and anti-left poles. It has been further observed that the success of the Left Front is attributable to the typically Bengali identity acquired and nurtured by the left parties. In this sense, politics in West Bengal had already become regionalized. Strident anti-left agitation by one section of the state congress further contributed to this regionalization. The congress in West Bengal was divided between two factions, one trying to associate with the all-India perception of politics leading to the anti-BJP strategy and another faction rooting its politics firmly in the trajectory of state-level politics which led to a tacit understanding with the BJP\(^37\). The Trinamool Congress emerged from this scenario in 1997. Although, the new party did of ruling classes\(^38\). The rise of regional parties needs to be seen in this specific context. The 1980s and 1990s were definitely marked by the political assertion of the masses.
The dalits and OBC in terms of caste, but the dis-privileged in general, were retaining their stakes in the political process. These democratic claims met with two responses from the political establishment. One, these claims were incorporated within the Hindutva rhetoric. Two, they were locally digested in the twin polemic of regional pride and regional development. Both these responses were effectively worked out by the new middle classes which have placed themselves in the forefront of politics in the 1990s. The middle classes endorsed the Hindutva rhetoric and they also provided the rationale for regionalism. In this context, that the social composition of the middle classes is changing to include rural sections and OBCs. This is how the democratic upsurge can be usurped by the ruling classes through the middle classes.

The process of liberalization and globalization of the Indian economy have upset the balance within the ruling classes. While these process have underscored the overall ascendance of capitalism, the new dispensation has brought into the picture at least three players. One is the metropolitan capital both in the form of multi-nationals and global financial companies. These have threatened the Indian bourgeoisie or reduced it to a secondary place. The second is enterprising section among the rich peasants who are turning to capitalist farming and exports. This new section is vociferously pro-development in the sense of regional development. The third player within the ruling classes is the middle class. Its rural component has an excellent
equation with the rich peasant class and the urban component has a favourable predisposition towards metropolitan capital.39

Coupled with the decline of the congress, this new set of the political economy presents the ruling classes with a fundamental problem. On the one hand, it necessary to give a political share to the rich peasant and middle classes, and on the other hand, the economic politics need to be legitimated. This requires new political instrumentalities. With the BJP not yet being able to fulfill both the above tasks, regional parties will be expected to function as the mechanism routing new elites to places of power and shaping local mandates for the advance of economic restructuring. Paradoxical though it may seem, regional parties have been and are going to be both agencies of legitimizing domination and sites of democratization. The contradiction inherent in this duality of their roles is the defining factor in their careers. Telugu Desam party too comes under regional party in Andhra Pradesh. The causes, formation and roles of Telugu Desam party are to be discussed in the following chapter.

**IMPACT OF REGIONAL PARTIES ON INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM**

Political parties play an important role in a democratic system. In fact, one without the other cannot exist and they are the two sides of the same coin. The role the political parities in the political system in almost the same as that of the nerves and arteries in the biological system because they are the supply lines of the political process in democratic polity. In India,
this political process started with the funding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 followed by the Muslim League in 1907. Subsequently, other political parties such as the Swaraj Party, Communist Party of India, Hindu Mahasabha at the national level, and the Akalidal, the Unionist part in (in Punjab), D.M.K. (in Tamil Nadu), and National Conference (in Jammu Kashmir) were founded at the provincial level. At the time of partition of the country, however, at the national level the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League were the only two dominant politics parities. But with the creation of a separate state of Pakistan the Muslim League ceased to be a force in National Politics. Hence, after India became independent, for all practical purposes at the national political level, the Indian National Congress was the only effective political party and this has been the position since, then except for a short period between 1977 and 1979 when the Janata party was able to throw it out of office. Therefore, since independence, the political supremacy of the Congress led by the Nehru family has been almost intact. In 1989 Lok Sabha Elections, however, the Congress (I) has been defeated.

During all these years if there have been any challenges to the congress in electoral politics, it has always been from the regional parties. Even the National parties could challenge it only in some states and not in the country as a whole and that too by forming post-election or pre-election alliances. For example, Akali Dal in and Punjab, National Conference in
Jammu and Kashmir, DMK and AIADMK in Tamil Nadu, Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, Assam Gana Sangram Parishad in Assam, Naga Nationalist in Nagaland, MHU (Manipur Hill Union) and MPP (Manipur People Party) in Manipur and MNF (Mizo National Front) in Mizoram are strong regional parties which have thrown the congress out of power in the states at one time or the other, and some of them have done so more than once. Some of them such as Assam Gana Sangram Parishad, Sikkim Parishad and AIADMK are in power in the states now. Even the National parities such as CPI, CPI (M) and the other leftist parties, Janata Dal, Janata and BJP though national parties, yet they have only a regional support base. For example, CPI, CPI (M) and other leftist parties in west Bengal, Tripura and Kerala, the Janata Dal in Haryana, Utter Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan the Janata in Karnataka and Orissa and BJP in Himachala Pradesh, Delhi, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh have their respective support basis. Out of the national parties in the recent past, only the CPI (M) in alliance with the other leftist parties in West Bengal and Kerala and the Janata Dal, in UP, Bihar and Haryana have been able to successfully challenges the congress supremacy in the above mentioned states. This shows that the role of regional political parties in providing a competitive electoral process has been very effective in the absence of a national and viable alternative.
REFERENCES


2. Ibid., p. 289.

3. Ibid., p. 283.

4. Ibid., p. 286.

5. Ibid., p. 284.

6. Ibid., p. 290.

7. Ibid., p. 292.

8. Ibid., p. 291.

9. Ibid., p. 291.

10. Ibid., p. 291.

11. Ibid., p. 292.


13. Ibid., p. 111.


15. Ibid., p. 111.

16. Ibid., p. 113.


22. Ibid, p.4.


27. Ibid, p.142.


31. Suhas Palshikar., *The Regional Parties and Democracy Romantic Rendezvous or Localized Legitimation?* In the book

32. Ibid, p.308.

33. Ibid, p.309

34. Ibid, p.314.


-o0o-