

Evolution of Political Parties in India

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Abstract:

Speaking politically and historically, the Indian party system has its origins in the nationalist movement for freedom from colonial rule in British India, and incremental extension of franchise since the early twentieth century and introduction of universal adult franchise under the Constitution of independent India enforced since 1950. If democratization has been the primary causal or independent variable producing the party system we have got today, the Indian social structure with its regional and multicultural variations and the nature of the parliamentary-federal Constitution under which Indian democracy has operated for over seven decades now are the intervening or intermediating variables that have shaped the party system's patterns and trends. In other words, the primary effects of democratic mobilization on the party system have been funnelled through the Indian political democracy has operated for over seven decades now are the intervening or intermediating variables that have shaped the party system's patterns and trends. In other words, the primary effects of democratic mobilization on the party system have been funnelled through the Indian political history and diverse cultural and social setting and the nature of the Indian Constitution.

Keywords- *Politically, Historically, Nationalist, Incremental, Variable, Party System, Democratic Mobilisation*

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I. Introduction

The formation of political parties is an ongoing process. Historic cemeteries are teeming with the parties that dominated the political scene. Perhaps you can distinguish the beginning of the feast in the city-state in Athens from "Prickley" and in Rome from Gracchi. However, its development was partly due to the lack of a truly representative system and the restriction of citizenship.

In addition, political parties can only be realized in democracy. The expansion of universal suffrage and parliamentary power led to the formation of parliamentary groups and election committees, and finally established a permanent connection between these two elements through groups or clubs.

The growth and emergence of political parties are closely related to parliamentary democracy and the electoral system. Ernest Barker regards the British system as the "mother of parties" and therefore the mother of all parliamentary systems in the world. According to Barker, during the Civil War, the Royalists or Cavaliers (Tory) and the Parliamentarians or Roundhead (Whigs) fought against each other for the privileges and rights of the king's parliament. Subsequently, these two groups were renamed the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party in the 1830s.

They are undoubtedly the prototype of the modern British two-party system. The main steps in the establishment of political party organizations in Britain were related to the electoral reforms in 1832, 1867 and 1884. The power struggle has shifted from aristocratic elites to openness, and now citizens are playing an active role.

For this reason; if there are no other factors, it is quite difficult to discuss the development of one. Palombara and Weiner proposed three types of theories that deal with the origin of the party system.

(I) Institutional Theories:- These focus on inter-relationship between early Parliament and emergence of party system.

(II) Historical-Situational Theories:- These focus on the historical crisis or tasks the system encountered at the time, when parties evolved.

(III) Development Theories:- These relate parties to the broader process of modernization.

The potential parliamentary environment of some European political parties is considered to be a kind of historical one based on the historical environment rather than the ordinary. According to Duverger, external parties tend to be more concentrated than internal parties, and internal parties are ideologically integrated and disciplined, and are less influenced by the party's legislature. Duverger's internal and external parties are

associated with the theory of the European Party and do not apply to the Indian party. The origins of the Congress Party and other parties are a widespread anti-colonial movement that includes all regions and all classes.

The official foundations of most political parties in African and Asian countries are the nationalist movement, the Messianic movement, and the success of racial, religious, or tribal organizations. Generally speaking, they develop the outside world and, in some cases, hostile to the parliamentary structure of the parliamentary system established by the ten regimes.

In fact, the political party and party system are products of many complex causes, such as tradition and history, social and economic structure, religious beliefs, racial makeup, and racial confrontation, which differ from country to country. The Political Party Unique "Descendants" The "Child of modern political system" must also be a highly sensitive political system, reflecting the distinct and unique sentiments of each particular political culture. Of course, within certain limits, certain attitudes, values, and cultures exist in certain politics.

The cultural diversity, social, ethnic, caste, community, religious, pluralism, traditions of the national movements, contrasting style of leadership, and clashing ideological perspectives helped to shape Indian party structure in general and political parties, in particular. A religious movement/group is one which has belief that a leader will or has the power to change the world and bring peace.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

This study is aimed at analyzing the evolution of Indian party system. We may formulate the main objectives of the study as under:

- 1) To study the history of the evolution of Indian Political Parties.
- 2) To study the origin of Indian Party System.
- 3) To study the growth of Indian Party System.
- 4) To study various stages the Indian party system has passed through from one party dominant system to bi-party situation and then multi-party system to bi-polar alliance system led by BJP and Congress Party.
- 5) To study the emergence of multi-party system at national level

II. Methodology

The study is based on secondary resources. The work makes use of publications and authentic sources released by political parties, Government of India and Election Commission of India. For deep understanding of the problem, books, journals, newspapers, periodicals and internet service are the source of material for the study of the topic.

Evolution and Growth of the Party System in India

One Party Dominant System (1952-67)

The most important direct impact of colonialism was the field of public administration, law and order, as well as the introduction of certain social benefits of well-being, in most Asian countries. Rashiduddin Khan points out that an important legacy of the national movement has been built around a national consensus on certain issues, such as national unity and integration, national defense and security, on the one hand, and the "regional socio-cultural diversity" provided. of the objective condition of the rise of regional parties and various groups on the other hand. Khan also adds that the coexistence of left, center and right forces in the struggle for freedom has laid the foundation for tolerance and the relationship to election and reform options", Report of the National Commission of examining how accommodation of different viewpoints works in Indian politics. Two types of trends occurred during the independence movement; (I) Large horizontal masses joined the movement across the country and (II) Vertical the process of integrating certain regions under the region's growing linguistic middle classes, such as Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Hindi-speaking Rajasthan, Madras, Bengal, Tamil and Telugu. These regional identities provided a solid space for all parts of India. The formation of the Indian National Congress by Allan Octavian Hume in the last week of December 1885 marked the beginning of a new life for the evolution of parties and the rationale for their growing "unity" as a nation. The Congress brought together different viewpoints, ideologies and processes, functioning as a composite party system. Meanwhile, the formation of the Swaraj Party in 1922 by CRD as and Moti Lal Nehru was very significant from the perspective of the evolution of the party system in India. With the promulgation of the Indian Constitution on January 26, 1950, political parties began preparing for the first General Elections.

In 1951 Election, the four major party emerged,

First Group: Consisting of Congress Party, Socialist Party, Kisan Mazdoor Party and Krishikar Lok Party in Andhra, which accepted democratic values and secular principles.

Second group: Consisting of Communist Party of India (CPI), Indian Bolshevik Party, Socialist Revolutionary

Party, etc. These parties supported the Soviet or Chinese model.

Third group: Jan Sangh, Hindu Maha Sabha, Ram Rajya Parishad were part of this group, which promoted Indian traditions & culture.

Fourth Group: Referred to Akali Dal, Schedule Caste Federation, Jharkhand Party and Tamilnad Congress. It concerned certain provincial and municipal interests.

The 1967 elections marked a turning point in Indian politics, which followed major structural changes in the political system, which led to the transition from the dominant party system to the political system competitive. The overwhelming Congress dominance in the center has eroded, on the one hand the party has lost a majority in eight state assemblies, namely Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madras/Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Rajasthan, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh over sixteen states apart. The national proportion of votes in Congress fell from 44.7% to 40.8%. The election dealt a terrible blow to the dominance of Congress. A disintegrated, factionalized and formless party, still shocked by the death of Nehru, as well as the complexity of two states, led by a lady (Indira Gandhi). This was unacceptable to many party leaders; she was severely torn to pieces at the polls

Polarization of Regional Political Parties (1967-77)

The 1967 elections was a watershed in Indian politics, which followed major structural changes in the political system, which led to shift from dominant party system to competitive polity. The overwhelming dominance of Congress at the Centre eroded, on the one hand, party lost majority in eight state assemblies, namely Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madras/Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Rajasthan, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh out of sixteen states, on the other. The national proportion of

Congress votes declined from 44.7 percentage to 40.8 percentage. The elections gave staggering blow to Congress dominance. A disintegrated, faction ridden, and shapeless party, still shocked by Nehru's death, as well as the intricacies of two succession, led by a lady (Indira Gandhi). She was unacceptable to many party bosses, was badly mauled at the polls by somewhat frustrated electorates. The party was divided against itself. Indira Gandhi was not yet powerful enough to control the government and the organization. Although, the opposition parties which were less faction ridden, were only in a little better shape to take advantage of the public disillusionment.

A fresh trial of strength took place in four state assemblies' elections in 1969, known as "little elections." The former kind of cohesive regional or coalition emerged as a viable alternate to Congress Party in West Bengal and Punjab, while, the later kind failed to do so in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. In West Bengal, United Front made the most drastic comeback and in Punjab, Akali Dal achieved dominance. After continuous instability for a long time this party system witnessed an increasing polarization between the INC and a coalition of regional parties.

However, a number of serious disturbances took place in 1969 and 1970 in Maharashtra, Assam and Bengal. Indira Gandhi emphasized to ensure stable and strong government by saying that alternative was an invitation to anarchy.

Indira Gandhi adopted a more confrontational posture both towards opposition parties at national level and towards non-Congress governments in various states. She created a 'pyramidal type of decision-making structure' in party as well as in government. Indira Gandhi started purging politicians such as Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Assam and Madhya Pradesh. Earlier, all disputes in the party were resolved through the Congress High Command but she started resolving all the conflicts at intra-party level. Jayaprakash Narayan symbolized it as "Indira is India and India is Indira." As a result, India was poised towards 'one party dominant system to one-party authoritative rule.' The post 1967 period witnessed a very important delinking of parliamentary as well as state assembly elections since 1971 and also suspension in organizational elections within the Congress Party from 1972 to 1992.

Evolution of Bi- Party Situation: Mergers and Splits (1977-79)

The March 1977 general elections ended thirty years of Congress Party rule, eleven years of Indira Gandhi's rule and twenty-one months of emergency that had led the nation down an authoritarian path. Obviously, the highly centralized government of Indira Gandhi contributed to the formation of opposition organizations/movements, such as the Nava Nirman Yuvak Samiti in Gujarat and the Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti in Bihar, as well as the student bodies which quickly spread to other states, which further set the pattern for the future political. At that time, public strikes multiplied, especially industrial and railway. The situation became tense, when there was a mutiny in the police in Gujarat and Bihar, on the one hand, the opposition parties caused popular unrest and demanded the resignation of the government of the State, on the other hand. The political system seemed unable to cope with high inflation, industrial recession, unemployment, food shortages and slowing economic growth. Kothari aptly refers to this type of situation as "insecurity above and unrest below".

Once again the Congress Party after its election defeat faced another split in 1978, which split the party into two groups, a section headed by Indira Gandhi known as the Indira Congress or Congress (I) and the other faction led by Swaran Singh then Dev Raj Urs group called Congress (S). At the same time, the heterogeneous composition of the Janata party and the fierce ambitions of its three leading figures Morarji Desai, Jagjivan Ram and Charan Singh, reflected the government's inability to achieve much cohesion. Eventually, the Janata Party government disintegrated in mid-1979 and many of its members collapsed. This period was characterized by free competition between political parties and greater instability in the party system. The abundant alternation between ruling parties at the state and national levels has led to continued decline. Fragmentation within parties due to a tendency to personalized party control or to bursts of differing interests has led to great fluidity within the factional and rump party system.

The result of the seventh election Lok Sabha in 1980 restored congress (i) rule with a double majority (2/3) in the lower house, guaranteeing 351 seats. The votes were split between the Janata Party and Lok Dal.⁶⁷ It was clear that the process of disintegration of the Janata Party began in 1978 when differences emerged between senior leaders such as Morarji Desai, Charan Singh and Jagjivan Ram and, second, in the first half of 1979. As a result, the central government and the party started to split into various groups such as BJP, Lok Dal, Janata Dal (S) and so on.

Myron Weiner concluded that India had many party systems which reflected the varied social division, class structures and historical circumstances of each state. All these shared in 1980 were the national party system. Important developments in the 1980s were the appearance of Sanjay Gandhi, son of Indira Gandhi on the legitimate political scene, the emergence of new classes such as upper- and middle-class peasants who now demanded power-sharing, rise of politically conscious backward classes/castes and above all no party capable of obtaining a sufficient number of seats to declare itself a recognized opposition. This indicated that Indira Gandhi faced no serious challenge to her position. Indira Gandhi increasingly turned to "bureaucracy" rather than politicians for advice. Decision-making has become personalized, centralized and ad hoc. He tried to turn the party into an instrument of personal power and assumed no one would question his position or endanger the succession of his sons Sanjay and now Rajiv.

The Congress Party's challenges at the central level stem from the "regionalization of politics". growth of regional parties and regionalization of national parties. There were many regional parties formed in government, at state level, National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, CPI(M) in West Bengal and Tripura, Telugu Desam Party (TDP) recently emerged in Andhra Pradesh and the Janata Dal in Karnataka in 1983. The 1984 national elections were overshadowed by the assassination of Indira Gandhi, generating an outpouring of sympathy for the Congress Party. During the election campaign, the Congress Party designated Rajiv Gandhi as his mother's logical heir and the party itself as a bulwark against the forces of secession. The main theme of the campaign was "save India" from external and internal enemies using the slogan "desh akhand" (undivided country). Paul Brass describes it as "snap elections" in which voters vote for local congressional candidates, regardless of character and ability. As a result, the Indian National Congress (INC) won 404 seats in Lok Sabha with 49.10% of the vote, surpassing all elections held under Indira Gandhi and reaching the level achieved under Nehru in 1957. However, the election result of the eleven state assemblies raised serious doubts about the interpretation of the electoral verdict in terms of "waves" in March 1985. Congress (I) obtained an absolute majority in only four states, obtained a small majority in four others and lost three state legislatures with wide margins. The party suffered a 26.79% drop in seats but gained the number of assembly segments.⁸³ The INC faced another setback in the September 1985 elections in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha and the Assam State Assembly in December 1985, where the regional parties, Shiromani Akali Dal (L) and Asom Gana Parishad (AGP), respectively, won absolute majority. This reflected a continuing trend, subject to the regionalization of politics at the state level.

In short, it was a period that characterized the landslide victory of Congress (I) in 1980 and 1984 as well as subsequent state assemblies, under the leadership of Indira Gandhi and her son Rajiv, which reinforced charismatic leadership traits. the phase was totally dependent on the leader as hegemon on the one hand and the failure of the no

Restoration of Congress Party's Dominance (1980-89)

In brief, it was a time that characterized overwhelming victory of Congress (I) in 1980 and 1984 as well as subsequent state assemblies, under the leadership of Indira Gandhi and her son Rajiv, which strengthened traits of charismatic leadership. The party in this phase was totally dependent on leader as hegemon, on the one side and failure of non-Congress or anti-Congress parties at national level, on the other. Thus, Indira Gandhi had a patrimonial view of Indian politics. She thought that estate (Indian political system) inherited from her father (Nehru) should be transmitted to her heirs (sons). That is why; she was reluctant to allow Congress leaders with an independent popular support to emerge in states or in the Centre.⁹⁰ The Congress Party was organizationally weak because, there was gradual erosion of inner-party democracy, due to

suspension of party elections, tight control over ticket allocation; finance party machinery and appointment of Chief Ministers etc, all became the prerogative of the Centre. Rajiv Gandhi failed to reserve these trends and revitalize the party structures.

Emergence of Multi-Party System at National Level and End of Congress Dominance (1989-96)

The 1989 parliamentary elections constituted a watershed in Indian politics in general and the party system made a formal switch over from one party dominant system to multi-party system, in particular. Three successive minority governments, formed by National Front under the leadership of V.P. Singh as Premier, then the Samajwadi Janata Dal with Chandra Shekhar as Prime Minister and Congress Party government headed by P.V. Narasimha Rao, were the reflection of multi-party system. It was more diversified and differentiated pattern of party domination in Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas, tended to give rise to more federalized structure of power, that is, there was significant shift in the power structure at the top.

In 1989 parliamentary elections, no party even came close to 263 seats which was the requisite number for majority in the Lower House. Consequently, the 'hung Parliament' was thrown. The Congress Party lost its majority but emerged as the single largest party in the House of People by gaining 197 seats, with 39.5 percentage of votes. Sudha Pai, coined the term the 'federation of parties' (NF) obtained 143 seats, with only 17.8 percentage of votes. The partners of NF did not perform on expectation lines, as TDP got two seats, Congress (S)-one, DMK-none, the BJP improved its position from two to eighty-eight seats in Lok Sabha, 98 third place behind Congress and Janata Dal.

P.V. Narasimha Rao initiated policy of economic reforms, which included devaluation of rupees, cut in public expenditure, privatization of public sectors and reducing subsidies, better known as liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG). The new fiscal policy created intra-party and inter-party conflicts. The Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao confronted another problem, his ministers Buta Singh, Balram Jakhar, Madhava Rao Scindia, Arjun Singh, K. Natwar Singh and N.D. Tiwari etc. were involved in Hawala scam and JMM bribery case. These cases tarnished the image of Congress Party in public eyes. Narasimha Rao's chankya method* further generated rift in the party. As a result, G.K. Moopanar formed Tamil Manila Congress; N.D. Tiwari and Arjun Singh left the party and organized themselves as Congress Tiwari. Moreover, after the death of Rajiv Gandhi, the INC was weak electorally and organizationally than at any time since 1977. The party strength reduced to third place in two largest states of Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu.

The decisive stimulus for change came between 1989 and 1991 in what was christened as the three 'Ms' of Indian politics, that is, 'Madal, Mandir and Market'. The Madal related with the implementation of Madal Commission recommendation for OBC reservation.

III. Conclusion:

By and large, after two elections of 1989 and 1991, national party system as reflected in distribution of seats, by the parties and in the alliance pattern among parties, took the shape of a loose, three or four coalition systems in which parties combined with regional and other smaller parties, in alliances or fronts, to enhance their position and to coordinate their policies and action in the Parliament. After the by-election held in November 1991, the Congress Party stood at the center of the largest such coalition, in which its own representation of 227 was increased to 251 through an alliance with AIADMK and four other minor parties. The BJP alliance with Shiv Sena accounted for another 123 seats. A third coalition, comprised two groupings the Janata Dal led National Front whose combined strength in the House was 140.

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