



Evolution of Party System in India

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Abstract

The paper begins by defining the terms 'political party' and 'party system'. It then traces the evolution of the party system in India from the Indian independence in 1947 and takes us through the various phases of the evolution of the Indian party system.

Keywords: *Party, Party System, Indian Democracy.*

Like all modern democracies of the world today, successive Indian governments, whether at the Centre or at the states, have always been formed by political parties. It is therefore obvious that an understanding of party system in India is vital for understanding the Indian political system.

What is a Party?

According to The New Encyclopaedia Britannica (1981, p.677), "Political parties are groups organized for the purpose of achieving and exercising power within a political system". A political party differs from other organized groups in that it necessarily seeks power with a view to form a government or influence governmental policies.

What is a Party System?

Party system is "the system of interactions", says Sartori in his classic work *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*, "resulting from inter-party competition. That is, the system in question bears on the relatedness of parties to each other, on how each party is a function (in the mathematical sense) of the other parties and reacts, competitively or otherwise, to the other parties" (Sartori, 1976, p.4). Similarly, The Encyclopedia Americana (1983, p.338) also defines party system as "the number of parties and the pattern of relationships among the parties within a nation". Party systems, in short, imply competitive interaction patterns among parties.

Types of Party System

Three broad types of party system commonly cited are: *single-party*, *two-party*, and *multiparty*.

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In a single-party dominant system, one political party more or less completely dominates the political landscape of a country for a considerably long period of time so much so that it is able to win elections and forms successive national governments on its own. Two prominent examples of single-dominant party systems are Russia (dominated by United Russia), and South Africa (dominated by African National Congress).

In a two-party system, two major political parties dominate the political landscape. Under this system, one of the two parties normally forms a national government while the other party sits in the opposition. Both the USA and the United Kingdom have this system. The two dominant parties in the USA are Republican Parties and the Democratic Parties while the Conservative Party and the Labour Party are the two dominant parties in the UK.

A multi-party system, on the other hand, is a system in which several political parties exist and no one of them dominates the national politics. All these parties have the potential to win national elections and form national governments, (very rarely) either on its own, or (very often) in coalition with other parties. Germany, France, and Canada are prominent countries having multi-party systems.

Two prominent scholars whose studies on and conceptualizations of the Indian party system are greatly admired and respected are Rajni Kothari and W. H. Morris-Jones. The former described the Indian party system as ‘the Congress system’ (Kothari, 1964) while the latter described it as ‘one dominant party system’ (Morris-Jones, 1964).

Much has, however, happened and changed since 1964--the year of first publications, on the theme in question, of the works of the above two eminent Political Scientists. To describe the party system in India today as a ‘Congress System’ *a la* Rajni Kothari, for instance, would obviously not do. The understanding of party system in India, however, is simply impossible unless we start from Rajni Kothari and/or Morris-Jones.

The various stages of evolution of the Indian party system shall be analysed as given below.¹

First Phase (1947—1967): ‘Congress System’

The first phase in the evolution of party system in India was marked by complete dominance of Indian politics by the Indian National Congress (INC). This led Rajni Kothari, widely regarded as the most distinguished Indian Political Scientist, to remark that Indian party system is ‘*Congress System*’ or *one party dominance* (Kothari, 1989, p.22). In the same vein, an English Political Scientist W. H. Morris-Jones has described the Indian party system as *one-dominant-party system* (Morris-Jones, 1978, p. 197).

The first four general elections to the Indian Lok Sabha, 1952, 1957, 1961, and 1967, coincided with elections to all the state assemblies. In the first three of these, the Congress party won over two-thirds majority of seats in the Lok Sabha. It also won a majority of seats in the state assemblies during 1952-1962. The only exceptions were Jammu and Kashmir,

Nagaland, and Kerala. In the Congress-dominated states, it fell a little short of a majority in Orissa (1952-7), Madhya Pradesh (1962), and Madras (1952).

Although the views of Kothari and Morris-Jones are developed independently, they are sufficiently similar. As such, they can be considered together. Both of them describe, writes James Manor, a 'dominant party system', that is, a multi-party system, in which free competition among parties occurred but in which the Congress enjoyed a dominant position, both in terms of the number of seats that is held in Parliament in Delhi and the state legislative assemblies, in terms of its immense organizational strength outside the legislatures (Manor, 2002, p.22). Here was a competitive party system but one in which the competing parts play rather dissimilar roles. The ruling Congress party was a party of consensus and opposition parties constituted parties of pressure, that is to say, the opposition parties do not constitute alternatives to the ruling party. Their role is to constantly pressurize, criticize, censure and influence the Congress by influencing opinion and interests within the latter (Kothari, 1989, pp.22-23).

Second Phase (1967-1977): 'Market Polity' System

The second phase extended from 1967 to the defeat of the Congress party at the general election of 1977. Though the Congress party still retained power at the center, the 1967 general election saw the party losing power in eight out of seventeen states (non-Congress coalition governments were formed in the states of Punjab, Haryana, UP, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, and Kerala) and its vote share at the national level decreased from 44 % in 1962 to 40 % in 1967 (The National Emergency, which extended over nineteen months from 26 June 1975, could however be seen as a separate phase in this story).

Some of the earliest and most perceptive comments on the party system during this period came from studies by Morris-Jones and Rajni Kothari.

In his article, 'From Monopoly to Competition in India's Politics', Morris-Jones detected the emergence of inter-party competition in Indian politics for the first time in India. He characterized the new system as '*a market polity*' (emphasis mine). By this is meant, Morris -Jones says, "a system in which a large number of decisions are taken by a substantial number of participants who stand in positions of both dependence on and conflict with each other. A process of bargaining reaches the decisions; no one is strong enough to impose his simple wish. Although the terms of trading fluctuate continuously, every outcome is some kind of compromise where what is hoped for gives way to what is practicable" (Morris-Jones 1978, p.146).

Morris-Jones (1978, p.154) further states that: "There was plenty of competition and bargaining before 1967; it took place largely within the Congress, between groups and semi-institutionalized form. But the year marked an intensified competition even within the Congress so much so that dissidence within the party could no longer be successfully contained by internal party's mechanism; in fact, "dissident Congressmen played an

important role in the weakening of the party.” More importantly, says James Manor (2002, pp. 437-8), there was more open competition and a spreading of market power over a number of groups and players beyond the Congress. It brought a number of opposition parties fully into the market place, and competition that had previously occurred within the Congress was now brought into the realm of inter-party conflict. Competition also increased inasmuch as opposition parties formed coalition governments in every state they controlled except Tamil Nadu, and coalition governments are themselves ‘small markets’.

Kothari, on the other hand, maintains in his ‘The Congress System Revisited’ that although “the Congress reached a nadir of popularity in 1967 and hence suffered serious electoral reverses. The size of these reverses was larger than any before or ever since. But it did not alter the basic premises of the system,” that is, the Indian party system, in his opinion, remained ‘Congress System’. But he did admit that ‘the dominant party model has started to give way to a more differentiated structure of party competition.’¹² (Kothari, 1989, pp.42-43).

After the 1971 mid-term general election the Congress party formed a government at the center and people began to talk again of the return of ‘one-party dominance’. But a big shift occurred in the party system. Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi abandoned intra-party democracy wherein dissidence within the party was often termed as ‘anti-party activity’. Besides, she started adopting a confrontationist approach towards opposition parties whose activities were construed by her as ‘anti-national’. And after imposition of an Emergency in the country by her on June 26, 1975 she suspended Fundamental Rights and opposition leaders as well as her critics were put behind bar. All this led to the breakdown of what was often referred to as a ‘national consensus’. The hitherto consensus on a broad general national well-being in democracy and development collapsed.

Third Phase (1977-1998): Multi-Party System

The third phase in Indian party system is discernable from the coming to power in 1977 of the Janata Party at the center to the formation in 1998 of another non-Congress BJP-led government at the center.

In the first post-Emergency general election held in 1977, the Janata Party came to power by winning 295 Lok Sabha seats (41 % vote share). The Congress managed to get only 154 seats (34 % vote share). Thus, for the first time in India, a non-Congress government ruled in Delhi. The Janata Party was also able to form governments in a majority of the states in the same year. In this national election the two leading parties, the Congress and the Janata Party together polled 75 % of the popular votes. Some people have enthusiastically announced that the new development has heralded the arrival of a two-party system in India. A prominent writer on Indian politics Myron Weiner, for instance, speculated about the prospects of an ‘emergent two-party system’ in the country (Weiner, 1978, p. 97).

In his article *Rebuilding the State* (1977) Rajni Kothari, on the contrary, says that although the Janata Party victory has brought about the collapse of the Congress System, the

notion of a two-party system is wholly inapplicable to a vast and diverse Indian society. He then goes on to say that “*the Indian party system is best conceived as a multi-party system*”. Kothari does not elaborate on his description of the Indian party system as a multi-party system. Perhaps it was then still too early to fully comprehend and theorize on the ‘post-Congress’ system. But Kothari seems to imply that party system in India has become multi-party because of two things: One, that the Janata Party was ‘in fact more a coalition of parties than a single party’. This is, of course, true. The Janata Party consisted of a merger of five parties: Congress (O), Jana Sangh, BharatiyaLok Dal, Socialist Party, and Congress for Democracy. Two, the increasing role of regional parties, especially the rise of CPI (M) in West Bengal, AIADMK in Tamilnadu, Akali Dal in Punjab, and the National Conference in Kashmir leading to what Kothari calls ‘regionalisation of the party system’ (Kothari, 1990, pp. 286-7, 337).

It can be said that the first ‘coalition national government’, at least in the spirit, in India was the Janata government of 1977-1980. And an era of multi-party system has set in India from this year on (that is, since 1977). The following table illustrates the point.

Table 1: Union Governments and Ruling Parties/Alliances in India (1952-2004)

| Lok Sabha | and Year of constitution | Ruling party or ruling alliance |
|------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 st | 1952 | INC |
| 2 nd | 1957 | INC |
| 3 rd | 1962 | INC |
| 4 th | 1967 | INC |
| 5 th | 1971 | INC |
| 6 th | 1977 | Janata Party (5-party ‘coalition’) |
| 7 th | 1980 | INC |
| 8 th | 1985 | INC |
| 9 th | 1989 | (a) National Front (5-party alliance) minority coalition Government, externally supported by Left and BJP (b) Chandra Shekhar minority government, externally supported by INC. |
| 10 th | 1991 | INC Initially minority government, later got majority |
| 11 th | 1996 | United Front 13-party coalition minority Government, externally supported by INC |
| 12 th | 1998 | BJP -led 22-party coalition minority government, externally supported by TDP, Trinamul Congress, etc. |
| 13 th | 1999 | National Democratic Alliance (BJP-led 24-party Alliance) |
| 14 th | 2004 | United Progressive Alliance (Congress-led |

| | | |
|------------------|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 15 th | 2009 | 12-party Alliance) supported from outside by the Left Front United Progressive Alliance (Congress-led |
| 16 th | 2014 | 11-party Alliance) supported from outside by BSP, JD(S), etc National Democratic Alliance (BJP-led 29-party Alliance) |
| 17 th | 2019 | National Democratic Alliance (BJP-led 21-party Alliance) |

The Janata government however lasted for only two years and eight months (24/3/1977-14/1/1980). The Congress returned to power in 1980 and 1984. The party was able to form national government on its own on both occasions. It is significant to note that though the Congress, under an extraordinary circumstance of the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984, got the highest numbers in its history both in terms of Lok Sabha seats (415) and its vote share (48%) in the 1984 general election, it had to sit in the opposition bench following its failure to get a majority in the 1989 general election.

As a result, the National Front led by a former Congress leader V. P. Singh, a minority 5-party coalition government supported externally by the Left Front and the BJP was installed at the center in 1989. In the V. P. Singh's government, the largest party Janata Dal had only 142 MPs and a vote share of just 17%. After being in power for eleven months (2/12/1989-10/11/1990), V. P. Singh's government was replaced by another minority government headed by Chandra Sekhar [(who led a faction of the JD called JD (Samajwadi)] that was supported from outside by the Congress party. Within seven months (10/11/1990-21/6/1991), Sekhar's government fell.

With only 232 MPs, the Congress under Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao initially formed a minority government in 1991. But by December 1993, he managed to have a majority by bribing and admitting into the Congress party some MPs belonging to other parties such as Jharkhand Mukti Morcha and Janata Dal (Ajit). Rao's government was, in a way, thus a coalition of sort.

Again, there followed two minority 13-party coalition United Front governments headed first by H. D. Deve Gowda (1/6/1996-21/4/1997) and then by I. K. Gujral (21/4/1997-19/3/1998) between 1996 and 1997, supported by the Congress in both cases. Earlier, the BJP leader A. B. Vajpayee was standing alone in the Lok Sabha as Prime Minister for 13 days (16 May 1996-28 May 1996), waiting in vain for support from other parties.

The BJP then had emerged as the single largest party after the 1996 general election with 161 MPs, for the first time ahead of the Congress party which managed a poor number of 140-the lowest ever tally till then in its history. The third phase in the evolution of Indian party system was thus marked by a multi-party system in which the system became quite

competitive. No one party or one group of parties could dominate the system for any considerable length of time. Coalition governments became the order of the day. There was also constant realignment of forces and players. It took a penetrating foresight of Rajni Kothari to foresee this coming development when he wrote way back in 1977 in his 'Rebuilding the Polity', "a live party system operating in a society facing a large agenda of problems to which there are no final and uniform solutions must periodically face a process of *realignment* (emphasis is Kothari's). This is like to be the case in India too in the coming years, with a changing profile of constituents of the ruling coalition" (Kothari, 1990, pp.287-8). The period was also characterized by fragmentation of parties and the party system. The number of parties has tremendously grown over the years. While only 74 parties contested in the 1952 Lok Sabha election, 177 parties were in the fray in the 1998 Lok Sabha election. The emergence of cleavage-based parties since 1990s, the increasing role of regional parties, and naked pursuit of political power over ideology by parties have all contributed to fragmentations of the party system.

Fourth Phase (1998 to the Present): Loose Bi-Polar Alliance System

The last phase in the evolution of the Indian party system, starting from 1998 till the present day may be characterized as a '*loose bi-polar alliance system*'. The system is still a multi-party system, and it is still marked by the inability of any one party forming a national government on its own thereby necessitating formation of coalition governments². But the development and emergence of two distinct alliances at the national level, one led by the BJP called National Democratic Alliance and another led by the Congress called United Progressive Alliance is most unique. Peculiar, perhaps alone, to the Indian system. The emergence of bi-polar alliance system is more visible and more noteworthy than any other characteristics of the party system in today India, including the increasing multiplicity of parties as well as fragmentation of the system itself. However, given that the last phase is still characterized by a multi-party system, it may also be conceived as a '*multi-party loose bi-polar alliance system*'.

On the latest emerging trend in the Indian party system, Zoya Hasan writes: "Thanks to India's social diversity and to the first-past-the-post electoral system, a nation-wide two-party system has not emerged. At the national level, the BJP and the Congress have dominated the electoral contests in 1998 and 1999, obliging the regional parties to regroup around them and to coalesce into two distinct blocs: the BJP and its allies on the right and the Congress party and its allies in the middle. Regional parties such as the TDP, DMK, BSP, SP, and the Left parties retain significant influence and support in several states. At the national level, the organized expression of the 'third front' in the form of the 1996 United Front, a conglomeration of center-left parties has disintegrated, and most of its constituents have allied with the BJP. The fragmentation of the United Front has benefited both the BJP and the Congress" (Hasan, 2002, p.27).

The 1996 general election was remembered in the Indian electoral history, among others, for one thing: For the first time, the Congress party was overtaken as the single largest party by the BJP, winning only 141 seats compared to the BJP's 161, although it remained

the single largest party by a vote share with 28% compared to the BJP's 20%. And though the BJP could not form a government, its leader A. B. Vajpayee's humiliation for his inability to cobble together a required number in the Lok Sabha during his 13-day stint as Prime Minister in March 1996 was a turning point for the BJP. The party quickly learned to form alliances. As a result, a BJP-led minority coalition government consisting of 13 pre-poll (including two independents) and 9 post-poll allies (including five one-MP parties), and dependent on the support or abstention in confidence votes of at least the TDP and the NC, assumed power at the center on 19th March 1998. The BJP has increased its tally from 161 seats (vote share 20%) in 1996 to 179 seats (vote share 25%) in 1998. But the Congress was able to increase its tally of seats by a mere one seat, from 140 in 1996 to 141 in 1998; and its vote share decreased from 28% in 1996 to 25% in 1998.

However, on April 17, 1999 Vajpayee government fell within 13 months when one of the allies AIADMK withdrew its support, and after having lost the 'no confidence' motion in the Lok Sabha by just one vote: 270 votes in favour of and 269 votes against the motion. Sonia Gandhi's attempt to form a Congress-led government after the fall of the BJP-led government did not materialize for want of support from other parties.

In the 1999, Lok Sabha elections, essentially the BJP-led alliance christened National Democratic Alliance (NDA) and the Congress-led alliance fought against each other. The United Front disintegrated, being reduced to the Left Front and the rump Janata Dal (Secular) of Deve Gowda. The NDA was a more formal and more formidable alliance, having national platform and consisting of as many as 24 parties³. The Congress-led alliance was a more tentative alliance with state-by-state agreements with no common national platform, consisting only 6 parties⁴.

The BJP-led alliance the NDA got 299 seats, with the BJP alone getting 182 seats thus continuing to hold its position as the single largest party in the Lok Sabha in 1999. On the other hand, the Congress got its lowest ever (till then) 114 seats, and managed to garner altogether 137 seats with allies. However, in terms of vote share, the BJP declined to 23% while the Congress rose to 28%, remaining the single largest party (in terms of vote share). The NDA formed a government headed by A. B. Vajpayee as Prime Minister. The government lasted a full term (though dissolved earlier on the Prime Minister's recommendation) thereby becoming the first non-Congress Union government to last its full term.

In the general election held in 2004, the Congress for the first time in its history, went for a massive pre-poll alliance with other 11 parties⁵. The BJP also continued its electoral alliance with other 9 parties⁶. Defying all predictions by the national media and various opinion polls (which predicted a return of NDA to power), the Congress-led alliance with the support of the Left Front (CPI-M, CPI, Revolutionary Socialist Party, All-India Forward Bloc) was able to form a government. The Congress alone got 145 seats, and its vote share was 26% while the BJP got 138 seats with a vote share of 22%. The Congress alliance got 217 seats and the Left Front 59 seats while the BJP alliance got 185 seats. After the poll, the

Congress-led alliance was christened United Progressive Alliance (UPA). The UPA government headed by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan lasted a full term of five years.

The 2009 Lok Sabha election also witnessed a fight between the two political alliances, the UPA and the NDA. This time the Congress-led UPA comprised of 11 parties while the BJP-led NDA comprised of 8 parties⁷. The Congress and its UPA allies won 262 seats (48% vote share), just short of 10 seats for a majority. The BJP and its allies won 159 seats. The UPA, with external support extended by the SP, BSP, RJD, JD(S) and some Independents, formed a government with Dr. Manmohan Singh as Prime Minister. Singh's government lasted a full term of five years.

The last two Lok Sabha elections held in 2014 and 2019 were also fought primarily between the two alliances, the UPA and the NDA⁸. In the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, the 23-party alliance NDA won 336 seats (38% vote share), and the 13-party alliance UPA won just 60 seats (23% vote share), others 147 seats. While the BJP won a staggering 282 seats on its own, (31% vote share), the INC won a mere 44 seats, its lowest ever Lok Sabha seats won till date (8% vote share). Though the BJP could have formed a government on its own, it decided to form a coalition government headed by Narendra Modi as the Prime Minister with its pre-poll alliance partners. Modi's government lasted for a full term of five years.

In the 2019, Lok Sabha elections, the NDA won 353 seats (45% vote share) and the BJP alone won 303 seats (37% vote share). The UPA won only 92 seats, while the INC managed to win just 52 seats (19% vote share). The rest of 98 seats were won by other parties. As in 2014, the BJP though being able to form a government on its own, decided to form a coalition government in 2019 as well with Narendra Modi as the Prime Minister.

The latest trend in the Indian party system, it has become evidently clear, is the emergence of a bi-polar alliance system since 1998. One alliance, the NDA, is led by the BJP and another, the UPA, by the Congress. There is a subtle ideological divide between the two alliances; the UPA may be termed a 'left of the center' formation while the NDA may be termed a 'right of the center' formation. It is called 'loose' system as the system is still at its formative stage and the process of bi-polar consolidation at the national level is still on.

Notes

1. The various stages of evolution of the Indian party system are drawn largely from an article by James Manor: 'Parties and the Party System' first published in Atul Kohli (ed.): *India's Democracy: Changing State-Society Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988; reproduced in Zoya Hasan (ed.): *Parties and Party Politics in India*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2002.
2. With the exception of 2019 Lok Sabha elections that saw the BJP alone winning an absolute on its own majority (303 Lok Sabha seats). But the BJP stuck to its pre-poll alliance with other 21-NDA partners and formed a coalition government at the Centre. Zoya Hasan: 'Conflict, Pluralism and the Competitive Party System in India', in Zoya Hasan (2002), p.27.

3. NDA (1999) consisted of 24 parties: BJP, Shiv Sena, Akali Dal, Samata Party, Lok Shakti, JD-Sharad Yadav, the latter three agreeing to formally merge to form the JD (U), TDP, DMK, MDMK, PMK, TRC, MGR-ADMK, MGR-Kazhagam, BJD, Trinamool Congress, Sikkim Democratic Front, Arunachal Congress, Manipur State Congress Party, Loktantrik Congress, Janatantrik BSP, Himachal Vikas Congress, Indian National Lok Dal, Democratic Bahujan Samaj Morcha, Independent (Maneka Gandhi).
4. Allies of the Congress (1999) were: RJD, AIADMK, Kerala Congress (Mani), Muslim League, and Rashtriya Lok Dal.
5. The Congress's allies (2004) were: DMK, NCP, RJD, Marumalarchi DMK, Telangana Rastra Samithi, Pattali Makkal Katchi, Lok Jan Shakti Party, RPI (Athawale), J&K People's Party, JMM, MUL.
6. The BJP allies (2004) were: TDP, AIADMK, JD(U), Shiv Sena, All India Trinamool Congress, Shriromani Akali Dal, BJD, Nagaland People's Front, MNF.
7. The UPA (2009) was made up of the Indian National Congress, All India Trinamool Congress, DMK, NCP, National Conference, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, Indian Union Muslim League, Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi, Kerala Congress (Mani), All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen, Republican Party of India (Athvale). The BJP-led NDA (2009) was made up of 8 parties such as: BJP, Janata Dal (United), Shiv Sena, Rashtriya Lok Dal, Shrimoni Akali Dal, Telangana Rashtra Samithi, Asom Gana Parishad, Indian National Lok Dal.
8. The UPA (2014) comprised 13 parties: INC, RJD, NCP, RLD, JMM, NC, Mahan Dal, IUML, Socialist Janata, Kerala Congress (M), RSP, Bodoland People's Front, CPI.

The NDA (2014) comprised 23 parties: NDA consisted of BJP, TDP, Shiv Sena, Shriromani Akali Dal, LJP, DMDK, Pattali Makkal Katchi, MDMK, LJP, RLSP, Haryana Janhit Congress (BL), Apna Dal, Swabhimani Paksha, RPI (A), Rashtriya Samaj Paksha, Kongunadu Makkhal Desia Katchi, Indhiya Jananayaga Katchi, Kerala Congress (Nationalist), RSP (Bhalsevik), Naga People's Front, MNF, NPP, All India NR Congress.

9. The UPA (2019) consisted of 24 parties: DMK, RJD, NCP, JD (S), RLSP, JMM, CPI (M), Hindustan Awam Morcha, Vikasheel Isaan Party, CPI, IUML, Jan Adhikar Party, Viduthalai Chiruthaikal Katchi, Jharkhand Vikas Morcha (P), Swabhimani Paksha, Bahujan Vikas Aghadi, CPI (M-L) Liberation, Kerala Congress (M), RSP, Kongunadu Makkai Desia Katchi, Indhiya Janayaga Katchi, Murulamarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam, NC, + 3 Independents, one each in Mizoram, Maharashtra, UP.

The NDA (2019) consisted of 22 parties such as BJP, Shiv Sena, AIADMK, Pattali Makkal Katchi, JD(U), Shriromani Akali Dal, LJP, DMDK, Bharath Dharma Jana Sena, AGP, Apna Dal (Sonelal), All Jharkhand Students Union, Puthiya Tamilagam, Tamil Maanila Congress, Puthiya Needhi Katchi, All India N. R. Congress,

Bodoland People's Front, National Democratic Progressive Party, Kerala Congress (Thomas), Rashtriya Loktantrik Party, MNF, NPP, + one Independent (Karnataka).

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