

CHAPTER - IV

FACTIONS AND POLITICAL LEADERS



C H A P T E R - I V

FACTIONS AND POLITICAL LEADERS

I. General Background of the Political Leaders:

In this chapter, we shall discuss factions as described by political leaders in Karnataka. So far, we have discussed factions in the politics of Karnataka pertaining to the development of factions from the beginning. Now we shall see how these have been conceived by the political leaders of Karnataka. For this purpose, 107 political leaders in Karnataka were interviewed in order to test the hypothesis that we have advanced so far.

Before we discuss about the political leaders and factions, let us try to have a conception of the term "political leaders." The dictionary meaning of the verb 'to lead' shows that the term is used in two different senses: (1) "to excel, to be in advance, to be prominent", and (2) "to guide others, to be head of an organisation, to hold command". In the former sense leadership is identified with individual pre-eminence and in the latter sense, it is identified with the organisational talent. Thus personal leadership may be distinguished from group leadership. A person is born with the talent for personal leadership but he must learn group leadership or political leadership. (Sachdev and Vidyabhushan:1982:366). According to Paul

Brass (1966:33) political leaders are men whose positions depend less upon their personal esteem than upon the political patronage they distribute.

K.G.Gurumurthy (1988:111) writing about the factional leadership says that in the political field with its administrative and leadership activities, it has got the links with factionalism.

According to Weber (1947:180), leadership goes with authority and power. A leader means one who has some rights and duties and also certain qualities of leadership and followers (Kadetotad:1977:50).

Interviewed political party leaders came from different districts of Karnataka. All the twenty districts of Karnataka were represented by these leaders interviewed. They came from different political parties as shown in Table No.7.

Table No.7
Districtwise Political Party Leaders.

| Districts | JD | CONG (I) | BJP | IND | RAITH SANGH | MES | AIADMK | JANATA | MUSLIM LEAGUE | CPI | NO.OF TOTAL LEADERS |
|----------------------|----|-------------|-----|-----|----------------|-----|--------|--------|------------------|-----|---------------------------|
| 1. Dharwad | 18 | 13 | 3 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 35 |
| 2. Belgaum | - | - | - | - | 1 | 3 | - | - | - | - | 4 |
| 3. Bijapur | 4 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 6 |
| 4. Karwar | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| 5. Shimoga | 4 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 6 |
| 6. Chitradurga | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| 7. Bellary | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| 8. Raichur | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| 9. Gulbarga | - | 3 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 5 |
| 10. Bidar | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| 11. Kolar | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 4 | - | - | 6 |
| 12. Mandya | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | 8 |
| 13. Mysore | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 3 |
| 14. Hassan | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 2 |
| 15. Bangalore (U) | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | 3 |
| 16. Kodagu | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| 17. Dakshina Kannada | 1 | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4 |
| 18. Bangalore (R) | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| 19. Tumkur | 1 | 1 | 3 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 6 |
| 20. Chickmagalore | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4 |
| Total | 33 | 45 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 107 |

In all ten parties were represented by these leaders. The political leaders belong to different positions. For example, among them were 49 M.L.As, 15 M.L.Cs, 5 Ministers, 3 Lok Sabha Members, 2 Rajya Sabha members and 33 belonged to other categories like Municipal Councillors, members of Corporations, Zilla Parishads, Mandal Panchayats, Panchayats, Taluka Development Boards (TDB) etc. These political leaders were enjoying the status in different levels like State level, National level and sometimes both. Our political party leaders, males and females, belong to different age groups. Table No.8 shows the Age group of political party leaders according to sex.

Table No.8
Age group of Political Party Leaders

| Sl.No. | Age groups | Males | Females | Total |
|--------|------------|-------|---------|-------|
| 1. | Below 30 | 3 | - | 3 |
| 2. | 31-40 | 25 | - | 25 |
| 3. | 41-50 | 30 | 2 | 32 |
| 4. | 51-60 | 30 | 2 | 32 |
| 5. | 61-70 | 12 | 1 | 13 |
| 6. | 71-80 | 1 | - | 1 |
| 7. | 81-90 | 1 | - | 1 |
| | Total | 102 | 5 | 107 |

The educational status of the political leaders varied from person to person. There were 12 in the primary level, 18 in the secondary, 77 in the higher education level. There was not a single person who was illiterate. This shows that the political party leaders that have emerged in different levels are almost educated and a majority of them were from the higher level. And many of them did know three to four languages. A few of them did know six languages. There were only six political leaders who knew only Kannada language. From our list leaders knowing three languages were the highest in number. These three languages were Kannada, Hindi and English and for most of these leaders Kannada was the mother-tongue. Some of them did know Urdu, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Konkani, Hindi and Coorgi. Among the political leaders 93 were Hindus, 9 were Muslims, 2 were Christians and 3 were Jains. However, among the 93 Hindus, there were 32 Lingayats, 17 Scs, 11 Kurubas, 7 Marathas, 9 Brahmins, 7 Vakkaligas, 1 Coorgi, 1 Mudaliyar, 1 STs, 2 Nayaks, 1 Kamma, 2 Edigas.

The occupations of the political party leaders were also recorded. 89 were agriculturists, 34 were businessmen, 3 were artisans, 2 came from the labourer class, professionals were 7. This shows the tendency that the political leaders came from agriculture and business.

Naturally the primary source of family income was mainly from agriculture and business. This shows that the leaders from labour and artisans classes are very few. Even among the secondary source of family income, for most of the leaders, it is agriculture and business which are the main sources. Very few are having industry:12, Horticulture:7, Gardening:6, Poultry:2, etc.

Among these 107 interviewed leaders the landed property owned by them is shown in the Table No.9.

Table No.9

The landed property owned by the leaders

| In Acres | No.of Leaders | Dry | Wet | No.of Landless Leaders |
|------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| BELOW 5 | 6 | 4 | 5 | - |
| 5 to 10 | 13 | 12 | 16 | - |
| 11 to 20 | 23 | 20 | 13 | - |
| 21 to 30 | 13 | 11 | 8 | - |
| 31 to 40 | 15 | 9 | 3 | - |
| 41 to 50 & above | 24 | 16 | 4 | - |
| Total | 94 | 72 | 49 | 13 |

* 27 members possess both dry and wet lands. 13 are landless.

From the analysis of this table we find that among

these leaders mostly as the size of the holding increases the number of leaders also increases. This shows that the leaders are having mostly big land holdings and among them as many as 49 are having wet lands and others possess dry lands. There are only 13 leaders who do not hold any land and they are mostly businessmen and labourers. Among the labourers most of them belong to SC/ST group or backward castes.

It is significant to note that among the 107 political leaders, 67 belong to joint families and 40 belong to elementary families. It shows that mostly political leaders come from joint families because the leaders of the joint families are in a position to spend their time in political matters, whereas persons who belong to elementary families cannot spend their time in the political activities. A.E.Punit (1973:16) in his study "Leadership Dimensions in Rural India" agrees with our finding that most of the leaders come from large families and the size of the family plays an important part in this regard. In our interview, the respondents of the political parties belong to different parties like Cong.(I) 46, Janata Dala 37, Janata 7, Bharatiya Janata Party 4, Independent 4, Raith Sangh 2, Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti (MES) 3, AIADMK 4, Muslim League 1 and CPI 1.

We enquired of the political leaders as to why they became members of the political parties. To this question many have given different reasons.

Among them the following may be mentioned as most important. Some have become members of the parties in order to serve the nation and also to help and uplift the downtrodden and unfortunate communities like SCs and STs.

For some others, in order to uproot the existing parties which have spoiled the country and by joining the party like Janata, they could try to remedy the situation.

For many, it was some political party leaders, who brought them to one or the other political party. Many have mentioned names like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Devaraj Urs, who brought them in the political party.

For many others their fathers or forefathers were already there in political party and they continued in one or the other party.

For some they thought that by joining the big political party like Congress (I), they could serve the country to uplift the downtrodden and poor and Congress party got independence to India and so they thought of joining that party.

For many others (13), it was the political party

leaders that influenced them to join the party. Moreover, they were also attracted by the policies and principles of the party.

For some others when certain parties started the reformative movements like land reform etc. They joined the parties like socialist party etc. A few joined the M.E.S. so that they could transfer Belgaum to Maharashtra. Those who were interested in the upliftment of the farmers (Raiths), they joined Raith Sangh, a political party in Karnataka.

II. Political Background of the Leaders:

For as many as 85 political leaders, constituency and their native place were the same, whenever they contested for one or the other election. For 18 political leaders the constituency was different from their native place. Among these 18, five changed their constituency from their native place, because they had to contest from the reserved constituency, whereas their native place was not a reserved constituency. For some others, they migrated from their native places and that was why they had to contest the elections from the places wherever they had stayed. Among these political party leaders they have changed from one

party to another party due to factional politics. For example, there were 40 political leaders who were in the beginning in the national Congress. When there was a split, 10 of them defected to Congress (I) in 1978. Among these 10, three joined the Janata party in 1987. As many as 6, who were in Janata Party in 1981 changed to Karnataka Kranti Ranga in 1982. Due to factional split in Janata Party in 1989, two leaders joined Janata Dal.

Among the political leaders interviewed twenty two of them had worked in different capacities in the central level as follows: 1 President; 1 Vice-President; 5 Party secretaries and 15 party Executive Committee members. At the State level, four were Presidents, nine were Vice Presidents, Party General Secretaries were 17, Party Executive Committee members were 31. At the district level party Presidents were 30, Vice Presidents were 10, Party General Secretaries were 15, District Party Members were 9. At the Taluka level, Presidents were 27, Vice Presidents were 8, Taluka Party Secretaries were 9. However, these were office bearers from 1965 to 1974, 1975-1984, 1985 to 1990.

These political party leaders entered the political life for different reasons. The reason why many of them entered political party was for the ideological goal,

(51) under the influence of leaders like Indira Gandhi, Devaraj Urs, Ramakrishna Hegde, Gandhiji, Nehruji, Jaya Prakash Narain, B.R.Ambedkar, Ram Manohar Lohiya etc. For some others, it was the family background, i.e., their fathers or forefathers had worked in the freedom struggle (3 members) and that is why they continued the family service (19). Those who were in B.J.P., were influenced by Shyam Prasad Mukherji and had worked in R.S.S. and that is why they entered the political life through Bharatiya Janata Party.

Six of the leaders were in politics because people wanted them to be in the factions and political parties. Factional leaders like S.Bangarappa, J.H.Patel etc., organised their followers for bringing them into political life in order to strengthen their factions.

The question was put to our political leaders whether they were the active politicians. As many as 101 out of 107 stated that they were the active political leaders and were taking part in the activities and attending meetings in different levels. Out of these 107 political leaders, 38 have attended the meetings at national level in Delhi, 96 at Bangalore at state level, 100 at district level, 102 at taluka level, 88 at their native places and some of them (31) have gone outside the state to attend the political

meetings. The frequency of attending meetings starts from one at Delhi to ten times in district level.

They have also given reasons as to why they attended these political meetings. For some, it is because they were the office bearers of the political parties. To some, they had to organise the political parties and factions. For some others, it is simply the election purpose. Sometimes they had to attend party meetings such as general body meetings. Sometimes training programmes are organised for the political activists to organise their parties. Sometimes, meetings are organised by the factional leaders to organise the new parties. At that time, they have to attend such occasions. Certain traditional methods are used like the 'Janotsava' in 1988 by the Janata Party. In the same year foundation conference was also organised by the Janata party to form Janata Dal.

The meetings are called by the party organisation to chalk out the programmes and review and plan the development of party in the state.

Whenever the political party leaders contest for elections, they have to face other parties in such elections. Sometimes there are only two parties which are involved in straight fights. At some other times, they have to face triangular fights. Many times, there are four or

five parties involved in only one constituency. However, in the beginning, the Congress party had to face mainly independent candidates but from 1977, the party like Janata Party came to give straight fight with the Congress. However, in some constituencies, B.J.P., Muslim League, Raith Sangh, M.E.S., etc., came into the picture. When Janata Party was split into Janata and Janata Dal or Congress split into Congress (O) and Congress (R), they had to face their own men. However, in the background, whenever the tickets are distributed the factional leaders and party leaders take active lead in the political scenario. Whenever the tickets are not given to some aspirants, there is a tendency of becoming dissidents in the party, who may follow their factional leaders. Sometimes these factions are organised as separate parties.

For having won the elections, some have held the party as responsible and for some it was their popularity in the constituency to win the election.

Congress (I) is believed by some as only the solid party. Some thought that it was their hard work in the election and their personal background which brought victory for them.

Whenever they were elected they believed that people had faith in them. It was the party policy and decentra-

lisation of powers by Janata party that was the main cause for victory in the election. If the political parties served the people they are confident of winning the election. It was believed by the political leaders that result of the election is the people's wish or mandate. According to them, it may be also due to negative votes that the person may come out from the election victorious. However, it was the party image and personal image of the candidate that matters much during election.

It was also said by some that factors like caste, and cash spent for the elections play their role in the elections.

In 1989 there were Hindu-Muslim riots in the State. At that time, the factional leaders took this opportunity to win the elections. In 1983, it was believed that people gave sympathy votes to Janata Party. For M.E.S. candidate from 1983 to 1989 from the border district (Belgaum) of Karnataka, the candidate was elected only on the question of language.

Because of the factional conflicts in Janata Party, Congress (I) won the election in 1989, for Karnataka state legislative Assembly.

Some political leaders do developmental work, in their

constituency. That is why they are elected in the elections. For this purpose of winning the elections, the construction of school buildings, bridges, roads, etc. are undertaken by the candidates so that they can attract the voters in their constituencies.

III. Political Activities in Relation to Factions:

In our field work the political leaders have mentioned their changing factions and their changing parties from 1969 onwards. According to our observations in 1969 as many as 36 of our political leaders changed their party from Congress to Congress (O) which was the faction of Nijalingappa. In the same year 1969, 4 leaders who were in the National Congress joined Congress (R). However, in 1971 those who were in Congress (O) joined Congress (R).

In 1978 again one person who was in K.H.Patil group (Reddy Congress) joined Congress (R) of D.K.Naikar group. In 1977 Socialist party merged with Janata and two political leaders from Socialist party joined Janata party. Again in 1978, one political leader from Congress (O) changed to Congress (R). In 1982 one person of Congress (I) joined Karnataka Kranti Ranga Party of S.Bangarappa. In 1986, 6 political leaders of Janata Party joined Devegowda faction. Again in 1988, leaders from H.D.Devegowda faction in Janata party

joined Ramakrishna Hegde faction. In the same year 13 political leaders of Janata party changed to Janata Dal. However, in some parties like M.E.S., B.J.P., C.P.I., AIADMK, they did not find any faction at that time.

Our political party leaders were asked as to whether they joined any faction in the political party. Their answer was that 37 agreed to have joined faction, 50 leaders denied their connections with the factions. However, 22 leaders did not mention anything. Those who had joined the factions answered in the following manner. One political leader had joined the H.D.Devegowda faction because they were fighting for the same issues. In 1969 and 1970, there were differences between Indira Gandhi and S.Nijalingappa. Therefore, factional conflict started between these two groups. This was referred to the Supreme Court as to which one was the real Congress. The Supreme Court order came in favour of Indira Gandhi. Then on the same day, many political leaders joined Indira Congress. However, a few in Karnataka remained with S.Nijalingappa's Congress which was called as Congress (O) led by Veerendra Patil. When there was split in Congress in 1969, many joined Congress (O). However, in 1979, Veerendra Patil joined Congress (I) after the Chickmaglore election. Again in 1980, Devaraj Urs faction was started in Indira Congress, at that time some



sided with Indira Gandhi and some others with Devaraj Urs.

In 1972 when Devaraj Urs was Chief Minister in Karnataka many joined opposition groups by becoming dissidents in the Devaraj Urs's group.

In 1975-1976 when K.H.Patil started opposing the Devaraj Urs group many sided with K.H.Patil group.

When the leaders were asked as to who was the leader of the factional group in their political parties, they mentioned the following names of the factional leaders.

| | <u>Factional Leaders</u> | <u>Year</u> | <u>Party</u> |
|-----|--|-------------|------------------------|
| 1) | S.Nijalingappa Faction | - 1970 | Congress (O) |
| 2) | Veerendra Patil faction | - 1970 | Congress (O) |
| 3) | Gundu Rao faction | - 1972 | Congress (R) |
| 4) | D.Devaraj Urs faction | - 1978 | Congress (I) |
| 5) | Veerendra Patil faction | - 1979 | Janata Party |
| 6) | S.Bangarappa faction | - 1980 | Congress (I) |
| 7) | Indira Gandhi faction | - 1980 | Congress (I) |
| 8) | K.H.Patil faction | - 1983 | Congress (I) |
| 9) | Ramakrishna Hegde faction | - 1986 | Janata |
| 10) | H.D.Devegowda V/s Ramakrishna Hegde faction | 1986-1989 | Janata |
| 11) | Ramakrishna Hegde and S.R.Bomma factions | 1986-1989 | Janata & Janata Dal |
| 12) | Ramakrishna Hegde V/s Bomma faction | 1989-1990 | Janata Dal |

They have also mentioned district level leaders factions like;

| | <u>Factional Leaders</u> | <u>Year</u> | <u>Party</u> |
|----|--|-------------|--------------|
| 1) | S.Nijalingappa faction | - 1969 | Cong.(O) |
| 2) | K.H.Patil faction | - 1983 | Cong.(I) |
| 3) | H.D.Devegowda faction | 1985-1989 | Janata |
| 4) | Kadapatti (MLA) faction | - 1986 | Janata |
| 5) | Ramakrishna Hegde V/s Devegowda faction | 1986-1989 | Janata Dal |
| 6) | S.I.Settar faction | 1986-1989 | Janata Dal |
| 7) | B.M.Mujahid faction | - 1989 | Cong.(I) |

We enquired of the political party leaders to mention the media used by them to canvass for their faction. The answer was as follows:

| | | | |
|-----|---|----|----|
| 1. | Pamphlets | .. | 8 |
| 2. | Meetings | .. | 33 |
| 3. | Telephonic talks | .. | 20 |
| 4. | Newspapers | .. | 22 |
| 5. | press meetings | .. | 26 |
| 6. | Confidential meetings | .. | 22 |
| 7. | Lobbying | .. | 32 |
| 8. | Door to door canvassing and Conferences. | .. | 9 |
| 9. | Not using any media | .. | 50 |
| 10. | Many types of media used | .. | 15 |

From the above list, we find that mostly the media like meetings, lobbying, telephonic talks, press meetings, newspapers, confidential meetings are used to canvass in favour of their factions.

They were also asked as to whether they boycotted the meetings of the political parties that they belong to strengthen a particular faction. As many as 20 agreed and 87 did not agree. Once Janata Dal meeting was held headed by Ramakrishna Hegde in order to strengthen Janata Dal and to weaken Janata Party. Therefore, many boycotted the meeting, and they continued their alliance with Janata Party headed by H.D. Devegowda.

Some other time Congress (I) party meeting was boycotted. This has been already quoted from the Link (January 26, 1986:6) when meeting of the Janata Ranga was held in 1983 at Vidhana Soudha, Bangalore to elect the New Legislative Party leader. This meeting was boycotted by S.Bangarappa and his factional followers.

After the election of Ramakrishna Hegde as the leader of Janata Ranga the party was renamed as Janata party. Followers of S.Bangarappa faction rejoined Karnataka Kranti Ranga party to which they belonged earlier.

Some party members were aware that the factions existed in all the political parties where internal

conflicts take place. However, they do not like to reveal them openly.

The researcher enquired of the political party leaders to mention the reasons for having come out from the main party and joining the faction. Some of the reasons are discussed as below. In the year 1972 those who were in the Devaraj Urs Government went on opposing the style of functioning of Devaraj Urs Government. But in 1980, they left Urs Congress and joined Indira Congress.

Those who changed their party from Janata to Janata Dal were of the opinion that the National Front was formed in order to have an opposition party in the national level against the Congress (I). And that is why, they were of the opinion that they changed from Janata to Janata Dal which was part of the National Front. But those who remained in Janata with H.D.Devegowda, they called the leaders who joined Janata Dal as communal. That is why they did not like to join Janata Dal and remained in Janata party with H.D.Devegowda.

Some felt that they were neglected in the Janata Dal by the top leaders like Ramakrishna Hegde, S.R.Bommaai etc. and that is why they remained in Janata party of H.D.Devegowda. In course of time, Janata Dal became the main party and H.D.Devegowda faction (Janata Party) became the minor party in 1988.

However, some believed that from Janata party Janata Dal was formed. Though, it became a major party, some held that Janata party was the original party.

It is interesting to note that those who remained in original Janata Party were called as dissidents by the Janata Dal leaders.

When the researcher liked to know whether there were factions in the political parties, 44 leaders agreed they had factions in their party and 63 leaders denied the existence of the factions in their parties.

Some of the leaders admitted that factions are found in all parties. Even in the parties like M.E.S. (Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti) there are factions even upto district level. For example, they have mentioned Raja Bhau Mane faction and Dalvi faction. In M.E.S. many were aware about the factions of Ramakrishna Hegde and H.D.Devegowda in 1988. They also knew that this faction disappeared later. Some have expressed the opinion that because of the personality cults the factions emerge within and outside parties. They hold the opinion that these factions were the result of personal groupism, but not faction based on ideological groupism. Many a time, factions in the political parties are very vivid to the political leaders. However, they are not aware of the factions that grow out

of the political parties on the grounds of political ideology.

Further the researcher asked the political leaders about the political factions that they know in the Political parties of Karnataka. The political parties mentioned by them were Congress (I), Janata Dal, Janata, B.J.P., M.E.S., C.P.I., AIADMK, Raith Sangh, C.P.I.(M) etc. Among these they mentioned as having political factions in all except B.J.P., C.P.I. and Raith Sangh. They mentioned Ramakrishna Hegde and H.D.Devegowda factions in Janata. In Congress (I) they mentioned Nagarathnamma faction, S.Bangarappa faction, Gundu Rao faction, Veerendra Patil faction and K.H.Patil faction. In Janata Dal they mentioned Ramakrishna Hegde faction and S.R.Bomma faction. It is true that factions are not there in B.J.P. and C.P.I.(M). However, it may be noted that A.K.Subbaiah of B.J.P. formed the 'Kannada Nadu' Party by coming out of B.J.P. Many felt that factions are more in Congress (I). It was held that B.J.P. and Muslim League were communal parties based on religion. In many parties, it has been said that factions are not recognised and not permitted to function. However, they are only observed and it may be remembered here that in democracy the working of factions cannot be stopped. In that way in all parties at least two-three factions were functioning. There is no party without factions. However, it was held that



when they are defeated in the elections, factions disappear. Whenever they are victorious, the factions come to be prominent.

In the district level also many factions were mentioned. In Dharwad district, in Congress (I), the factions like D.K.Naikar V/s K.H.Patil, S.R.Morey faction and Agnihotri faction were mentioned. In the same district, in Janata party N.S.Humberwadi V/s S.R.Bomma and S.I.Settar V/s Chandrakant Bellad were mentioned.

In Bidar district, Basawaraj Patil Attur V/s Molakeri and Gurupadappa Nagarpalli faction in Janata Dal were mentioned.

In Gulbarga district in Janata Dal, there were factions of S.K.Kanta V/s B.R.Patil.

In Kolar district C.Bairegowda and Venkatesh in Janata party formed separate factions. In Belgaum district there are factions of Mane V/s Dalvi in M.E.S.

In Shimoga district in Congress (I) Party S.Bangarappa V/s T.V.Chandrashekharappa factions were seen.

In Bijapur district in Janata Dal party, J.S.Deshmukh V/s Kadapatti faction were seen and Ramesh Jigajinagi V/s Guraddi factions were seen.

In this way we see political factions in the district level also in different parties.

It was asserted by many political party leaders that the regional parties come in the way of national integration. For example, National Front was believed by many as congregation of many parties, including the regional parties like Telugu Desham and D.M.K. It was believed that the regional parties were formed with the vested interests and they do not have any philosophy.

Further, they gave the reasons for the genesis of factions in their political parties. As many as 30 believed that it was the power hunger and not the ideology that makes them to form factions. They gave an analogy that even the families are divided and then what to talk of the political parties! Necessarily, they will have factions. The political jealousy is the main cause for forming the factions. Sometimes, it is the political ideology that makes them to form the factions. Sometimes casteism makes them to form factions or whenever their goals are not achieved in the party as a matter of prestige, they form different parties. Sometimes, it is the power and money that makes the leader to form different factions. When the leaders have their own followers, they form factions. It was believed that the parties were divided in Karnataka because they were power mongers and selfish. It was held

that sometimes, the followers of the leaders bring pressures to form factions. Moreover, the leaders are hungry for popularity, benefits and prestige.

The leaders were asked as to whether the power politics has any influence in the elections. For this, 80 of them agreed that there is power politics influence in the elections. But others did not agree. The reasons given by the leaders were that the power politics attracts the voters. It gives benefits to the people. It may happen that officially the local leaders may be threatened of grave consequences. The mentality of the people is mostly to follow the power politics. The power politics enables to spend large amount of money. It is also seen that many times government machinery is used for the purpose of winning the elections.

If the party is in power, they can make popular schemes like digging borewells, irrigation facilities, rural welfare programmes, etc. Thus, the government can attract the voters in the election. Those who believed that the power politics does not influence the voters say that the voters are matured now. They can very well understand the parties and programmes. That is why the power politics cannot influence the voters.

For example, in 1983 Assembly election in Karnataka,

R.Gundu Rao was the Chief Minister of the State from Congress (I) party. However, he could not survive only because he was in power at that time. Janata party was favoured by the people and there was a Congress doom in Karnataka.

According to some, if the candidate has done something for the constituency, then the people vote for him and absolutely there is no power politics in this.

Fifty leaders were aware of the working of the faction in their parties. They said that whenever the leadership is equal between two persons, naturally the factions begin to work or it may be due to the differences of opinion towards decision making in the party or in the government. Sometimes, it is the personal benefits that make them to form the factions. However, the factors like caste and money could not be ruled out. Many (13) have sighted political rivalry as the root cause for the working of factions. For example, H.D.Devegowda wanted to be the Chief Minister but when it was not possible for him, his faction began to work against Ramakrishna Hegde. For 23, it was the position in the party and in cabinet that makes them to work with different factions. However, there are certain factions working on the basis of language like M.E.S. It may be that the dissatisfaction towards the implementation of programmes or their selfish motives which may lead them

to work with different factions. It was believed by some that the working of factions in the party destroy the party.

It is said that during 1985-1988, Janata Party separated from Janata Dal on the question of leadership. Factions begin to work in the parties when critical situation arises within the party. It was cited by many that it was due to the faction that the government fell in Karnataka. For example, the Ramakrishna Hegde government as well as S.R.Bomma government in Karnataka had fallen due to the factions in the parties like H.D.Devegowda who was responsible for the fall of both the governments. These factions within the party begin to work as dissidents and hence they are responsible for the failure of governments.

When the factions begin to work within the party, the leaders have to consolidate their parties and they spend much of their time in this work and hence, they neglect the implementation of welfare programmes.

It is observed that whenever the party tickets are given for contesting the elections, they do not like to consider the fitness of the candidates rather they like to consider the faction to which the candidate belongs. In this way good candidates do not get tickets. Not only this but during the elections the candidate of the same party begins to work against the contesting candidate.

It was observed that by doing social work like constructing roads, Samudaya Bhawans, Samaj Mandirs, Janata houses, providing Bhagyajyoti lighting programme and providing IDBI loans, the political offices were used by the factional leaders to get support from the people.

By using the influence of their political offices they call upon the community leaders and use them as vote banks. Not only this but also publicity is made because they are in power. Now they are in a position to spend money and give status to different persons to strengthen their factions.

Many people are appointed to the Boards and Corporations and Committees to get their favours.

A majority of the political leaders (57) were of the opinion that the political power is acquired and retained within the same faction in many ways.

Generally this happens if the ruling faction gives attention to the demands of people and factional followers. However, it was held that the fall of S.R.Bomma government in 1989 was due to the negligence of the rival factions. When S.R.Bomma neglected the factions within his own party, the factional leaders rebelled against him and went to the Governor of Karnataka State saying that they were not

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supporting the Government now and hence S.R.Bomma has to resign from the Chief Ministership and President's rule was imposed in Karnataka from 21.4.1989 to 30.11.89. Enquiry was made with the political leaders as to how they recruit and reward the members of their faction to strengthen the faction. They were given options of the methods of recruiting like:

| | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|---|----|
| 1. | By giving party | - | 49 |
| 2. | By giving place in the boards | - | 36 |
| 3. | By giving place in the Corporations. | - | 34 |
| 4. | By giving place in the Committees | - | 35 |
| 5. | By giving offices | - | 32 |
| 6. | By nominating to the elections. | - | 33 |
| 7. | By giving party tickets | - | 28 |

For these positions they mentioned their answer as given against the items.

Besides these there were certain other methods used. In the parties like B.J.P. they say that party tickets and positions are given only on their merit of work.

In other parties, it was observed that even the members asked money for their marriages and building houses.



It was observed that those who enrol ordinary members and active members are given position in their parties and governments.

In Karnataka there are only a few prominent parties. Among these parties factions come up and new parties are formed or sometimes these factions or parties merge with the other parties.

The political leaders were asked to identify their party on the basis of its characters and they gave answers as follows:

| | | | |
|----|---------------|---|-----|
| 1. | Messianic | - | 4 |
| 2. | Nativistic | - | 3 |
| 3. | Nationalistic | - | 103 |
| 4. | Radical | - | 61 |
| 5. | Revolutionary | - | 30 |
| 6. | Reactionary | - | 2 |
| 7. | Linguistic | - | 3 |

From the above list, we find that the leaders mostly mentioned their party characteristics as Nationalistic. Some others, held that their party was radical and revolutionary. Only the party like M.E.S. was of the character of linguistic as it was formed to solve the

boundary problem between Maharashtra and Karnataka states.

We enquired the political leaders to mention some of the political intrigues took place in their political factions. Sixty-two of the political leaders out of 107 political leaders, have mentioned political intrigues that have taken place in their political factions. Some of the main features of the political intrigues are discussed below:

It has been observed that the party workers do not work properly. Instead they spoil the electioneering. They take up adverse activities in the election. This was observed in almost all parties, whenever such intrigue takes place. That becomes a handicap in winning the election.

Whenever the party is in clear majority, the political intrigues do not appear prominently but when there is no clear majority the political intrigues play a very important role.

Some instances may be given of the political intrigues that took place. Ramakrishna Hegde was to become the President of All India Janata Dal. At that time many politicians resorted to political intrigue to bring him down. That is why S.R.Bomma was made interim President of All India Janata Dal and later he became President of Janata

Dal. At the national level, in 1978, there were differences between Devaraj Urs and Indira Gandhi because R.Gundu Rao and S.Bangarappa created political intrigues and that was how Devaraj Urs was not liked by Indira Gandhi later. Such things are created to come to power and because of such political intrigues, the party splits. Such persons make allegations against their political rivals and thus they spoil the image of political leaders.

In 1979, the Janata government of Morarji Desai in the centre was a failure because of the political intrigue that took place in the political factions of Charan Singh, Raj Narayan, Y.B.Chavan, Jagjivan Ram and others. At that time Indira Congress supported Charan Singh and thus Charan Singh became the Prime Minister. However, later Indira Gandhi withdrew her support to Charan Singh and thus it led to the fall of the Janata Party government in the centre. In 1983, S.Bangarappa worked hard and brought the success for Janata Ranga in Karnataka. In the history of Karnataka this was going to be the first non-Congress ministry; but due to the political intrigue created, made by H.D.Devegowda, S.R.Bomma, S.Nijalingappa and Chandrashekhar, it was Ramakrishna Hegde who was member of the Rajya Sabha was made the leader of the party at that time. Actually, Chandrashekhar talked to H.D.Devegowda saying that he knew

that injustice was being done to him and in the interest of Janata party he will have to accept the leadership of Ramakrishna Hegde. This has been already quoted from "Sanketa" (30th December 1990:4-5). This statement agrees with the statement that we find in the interviews of the leaders. For the movement H.D.Devegowda accepted this and became minister of public works department in the ministry of Ramakrishna Hegde government. But in due course of time he resigned and came out of Ramakrishna Hegde ministry on 28th March 1988.

Generally, in all the political parties in order to prevent the opposition faction to come to power, the political intrigue takes place and generally the caste, money and power are the main reasons for such political intrigue that take place.

The instances of bribery in the political factions were recorded by the researcher and according to this 72 out of 107 did know the instances of bribery in the political factions.

In 1983, Janata leaders gave positions to the Congress (I) Legislators in order to strengthen their party. Basawaraj Patil Anwari from Koppal, Muttinpendimath from Gadag, Raja Amarappa Naik from Raichur and Shantamurthy from

Mysore were in Congress. Among them Basavaraj Patil Anwari was made minister in Janata government. Muttinpendimath and Shantamurthy were given chairmanship of boards and corporations. Raja Amarappa Naik was given Lok Sabha ticket from Janata party. In this way by giving the positions, they were taken into Janata party. On November, 1983, M.Veerappa Moiley (Congress I) leader of opposition in the Assembly, gave three lakhs of rupees to C.Byregowda who had supported Janata Party from Kolar district. This incident was taped by C.Byregowda and he produced the money and the tape in the Legislative Assembly itself. The inquiry committee was appointed by the Legislative Assembly. However the case was not proved. This was also published in the journal Economic and Political Weekly (November 1983: 3). When Janata Party was in power in the year 1988 and the Congress (I) was in opposition the Rajyasabha biennial election was held on 28th March, 1988. Elections were going on and Janata party candidate for Rajya Sabha in order to get votes from the Congress (I) Legislators like B.A.Umarabba and N.M.Adyanthaya bribed Rs.75,000/- each by giving it to Congress (I) M.L.As, education minister Jeevraj Alva and Transport Minister P.G.R.Sindhia got to work and allegedly spent the entire night trying to induce Congress(I) M.L.As to vote for them. Indeed the next morning, the Congress (I) M.L.As brought this to the notice

of the opposition leader K.S.Nagarathnamma and speaker B.G.Banakar. And now the leader of the opposition produced this amount before the Legislative Assembly. The Enquiry Committee was appointed. The amount was credited to the government treasury. These are some of the important cases. This was also published in India Today (1988:30th April: 30-31).

Our political leaders mentioned many other cases of bribes not only in money, but in kind by giving house sites, party tickets, irrigation lands, favour in the transfers, Chairmanships of Corporations Ministerships, etc., etc.

Instances of alcoholism to gain votes from factional leaders, slum dwellers and other vote banks and also at the time of defecting from one party to another and from one faction to another were mentioned at the time of interview. To get favours from other faction alcoholic beverages were supplied. Especially, the candidates of the weaker sections are taken into their faction by resorting to supply of alcohol. Even in the government, parties and factions, it is said that liquor lobbies dominate in the political affairs.

Whenever the governments are toppled or destabilised alcoholic practices go on as mentioned by the political leaders themselves. Seventy political leaders among the 107 have admitted about the prevalence of alcoholism to gain political power.

Not only alcoholism but there are instances where the flattery takes place in the political factions. This has been admitted as being practised from ancient period. Especially during election time flattery takes place. It is said that around Rajiv Gandhi, there were many who used to indulge in his flattery. There were instances of such flattery around Ramakrishna Hegde, Devaraj Urs etc. They used to praise Ramakrishna Hegde for his wisdom and Devaraj Urs for being born in a royal family. It is also said that Indira Gandhi always liked flattery. That is why they used to make slogans like "India is Indira" and "Indira is India" etc. S.Bangarappa was being described as "Brother of the poor". Among our political leaders, 78 have admitted about the existence of flattery in the political factions. It is said that always political leaders like such flattery.

To our question to mention the instances where the ingratitude took place in the political factions, 74 out of 107 admitted about such ingratitude having taken place.

In 1978, Veerendra Patil contested the Lok Sabha Bye-election from Chickmagalore against Indira Gandhi and he was defeated. But in 1980 he was given the Congress (I) ticket to contest for Lok Sabha from Karnataka. This is nothing but ingratitude to Janata Party done by Veerendra Patil. In 1983, those who were with S.Bangarappa (25) left

him and joined Janata government by becoming ministers. Only five remained with S.Bangarappa. However, when S.Bangarappa became Chief Minister in 1990, these five also remained with him. This is another instance where many politicians make ingratitude.

In 1989, the government of S.R.Bommai in Karnataka was a failure. For this, many (19) legislators became ingratitude to S.R.Bommai and that is why the government was a failure.

There is an instance of how Devaraj Urs became the object of ingratiude by his own people. The faction of Devaraj Urs was named as Congress (U). When Indira Gandhi became ungrateful to Devaraj Urs, one after another began to leave Devaraj Urs. That was why Devaraj Urs resigned from the Presidentship of Congress (U) and Sharad Pawar became the president of Congress (S) in national level. In Karnataka D.B.Chandregowda became the President of that party. Many a time, Devaraj Urs used to call him "Brutus" and himself as "Caesar". At last Congress (U) decided to merge in Congress (I) and by that time Devaraj Urs had died on June 6, 1982, and D.B.Chandregowda joined Karnataka Kranti Ranga and he was elected to Karnataka Legislative Assembly from Tirthahalli constituency of Shimoga district and he became the speaker of the Legislative Assembly



(1983). And this instance has been published in the book "Parivarthaneya Harikara" (Konandur:1985:85). Among our 107 political leaders 67 agreed as having used propaganda and publicity in favour of their parties and factions. For example, in the regime of Devaraj Urs, Information and Publicity Department took more interest to carry on propaganda and publicity of Devaraj Urs. The activities and programmes of government were shown to the people with the help of projectors, journals, posters, banners, advertisements, etc. The political parties organised conferences and Janotsava, in 1986, and also the conferences of Zilla Parishad and Mandal Panchayats. A conference of the elected members was held in the palace ground of Bangalore, on January 31st 1987. Thousands of party men gathered there. And they were served with vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. Padayatras were organised, loud speakers were used. Processions were organised colourfully in the conferences. They criticise other factions and in these conferences press men are invited and lobbying takes place, telephonic talks are held. Audio-visual aids are used in these conferences. They boast themselves as having close contacts with top leaders. Not only this, the anti-propaganda is also made about the rival factions. For this they make many false statements and give wrong notions to the people. These kinds of propaganda and publicity are organised in all parties and factions.

The researcher tried to know from the political leaders about how the political parties and factions try to acquire and retain the political power. To this question, among 107 political leaders, 72 have agreed that the political parties and factions try to acquire and retain the political power.

Even at the Panchayat level, in order to retain their factions and power the members of the Panchayat are given expenses of the elections, House taxes, land taxes are also paid by them. They are given positions in the Panchayat. In this way, even at the Panchayat level in order to retain their power and faction leaders resort to unfair means. Then what to talk of about the leaders at the state level!

At the State level, corruption, favouritism, booth capturing etc. are done to retain the factions and power. Besides they bring pressure from the High Command to retain their power and faction. To the poor, they say, they give rice at cheap rate. They also promise food-grains at cheap rates in the ration shops. By way of explaining their popular programmes, manifestos and doctrines, they try to acquire and retain their political power.

iv. Case Studies of Political Leaders and Factions:

Now let us examine some of the case studies of leaders in connection with their factions. As S.Nijalingappa played

a very important role as Chief Minister of Karnataka for twenty years. We shall start with his connections with factional politics in Karnataka.

1. S.Nijalingappa (1902):

Siddavanahalli Nijalingappa was born on 10th December 1902 in a middle class Hindu Lingayat family of Haluvagalu, a small village in Bellary district of Karnataka. His father was a small businessman and mother was a devoted worshipper of Shiva. He completed his primary education in English medium in Davanagere. He completed High school education in Chitradurga and graduated from Central College, Bangalore in 1924. He got his law degree from the Law College, Pune in 1926. He was married in 1927. He practised law both in Davanagere and Chitradurga. He was attracted by Mahatma Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad. He used to attend the Congress sessions. When he came in contact with N.S.Hardikar in 1936, he was chosen as the President of Chitradurga District Congress Committee. Then he began to take active part in India's freedom movement. He participated in Satyagraha and was imprisoned several times. He toured the whole of Karnataka and tried to evoke political consciousness among the Kannadigas. He was a good orator. S.Nijalingappa was elected to parliament in 1952. He was the President of Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee from 1946-1954. This position helped him to



organise the movement to unite all five parts of Karnataka into one united Karnataka in 1956. That is why he could capture the state power in 1956. His competitors were: K.Hanumanthaiah, Chief Minister of Princely State in 1952 was a Vakkaliga, and B.D.Jatti a Lingayat who had been the Prime Minister of the tiny princely Jamakhandi State. He captured power in Karnataka by ousting K.Hanumanthaiah. Only during 1958-1962, B.D.Jatti was able to capture power from S.Nijalingappa. In the struggle with S.Nijalingappa, there were occasional defections from the party and his (Jatti's) dissident group from princely Mysore State formed the local party called as "Janata Paksha".

S.Nijalingappa, after he relinquished the office of the Chief Minister diverted his attention towards the party organisation. The faction led by B.D.Jatti was planning to snatch away the control of the organisation in 1962 and a compromise was brought about. He became the President of All India Congress Committee in 1968. There were differences, of opinion between Indira Gandhi and S.Nijalingappa. Though she had asked Neelam Sanjiva Reddy to file the nomination for the Presidentship of India, she supported V.V.Giri for this post. Therefore, S.Nijalingappa could not tolerate such activities and decisions of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Therefore, S.Nijalingappa supported Neelam Sanjiva Reddy. In this divided opinion the

Congress itself was divided on November 12, 1969. However, V.V.Giri was elected to the post of President of India and Indira Gandhi started her own Congress called as Congress (I). S.Nijalingappa's Congress remained upto 1977 called as Congress (O). But in 1977, it merged with Janata party formed by Jayaprakash Narain. S.Nijalingappa remained in Janata party upto 1983. In this way, S.Nijalingappa was leader of many factions in Karnataka and in the centre and he played an important role in opposing the other factions and remaining in Congress (O) (Sen:1974:268: Iqbal Narain 1976:132 and interview with S.Nijalingappa on October 7th 1989).

2. B.D.Jatti (1912):

B.D.Jatti was born in the tiny State of Jamakhandi in Savalgi of Bijapur district, Karnataka, on 10th September, 1912. He graduated in 1934 in Kolhapur. He started his career by starting a Panchayati in his village and by participating in it. Then he took to some social work to solve the problems of Raiths. i.e., agriculturist s. He was made to enter into the legal profession. He passed his law examination in 1940. He became the Chairman of Jamkhandi Municipality in 1943. He had already entered the Quit India movement in 1942. In 1945, there were elections in the princely state of Jamkhandi. He participated in that

election and he sensed defections in the party at that time. He became Prime Minister in the Jamakhandi Princely State in 1945. He was responsible for the merger of Jamkhandi Princely State in Bombay Province. Later he was elected as a Parliamentary Secretary in the cabinet of Bombay Provincial Government. He became the member of the Legislative Assembly. Then he became a Deputy Minister. He was tipped to cabinet ministership. He participated actively in the unification of Karnataka. After the formation of Karnataka, he entered as an active politician when S.Nijalingappa was Chief Minister of Karnataka. He built up his faction against S.Nijalingappa. S.Nijalingappa who had sufficient support in the United Karnataka had to face a person like B.D.Jatti to whom he had to lose many things. However, to avoid this conflict between S.Nijalingappa and B.D.Jatti the latter was sent to Pondicherry as Lieutenant Governor in 1968-72. B.D.Jatti who was a very intelligent man could now become Governor of Orissa between 1972 and 1974. There also, he played a very important role. He was made Vice-President of India on 31.8.1974. He was also the Acting President of India when the then President of India Fakruddin Ali Ahmed died suddenly in 1977. In this way B.D.Jatti as an administrator, as a minister, and as a successful lawyer has played a very important role not only in Karnataka, but also in Indian politics. His contacts were many sided. He used

to mingle with the poor, the religious personalities, magicians and politicians (B.D.Jatti's 1989:1; Gurmeet Singh:1977-78:21 and Iqbal Narain :1976:133).

It may be remembered here that on the eve of the 4th general elections, the rival factions of S.Nijalingappa and B.D.Jatti became very active. Realising that they would be able to regain control over the organisation of the Congress, many members of B.D.Jatti faction thought of forming a separate state level political party. Although B.D.Jatti kept himself away from the move, his informal encouragement to it can not be ruled out. This resulted in the formation of the Janata Paksha. In this way, B.D.Jatti has been thought as a shrewd man in politics. This is why, he became very intimate with Indira Gandhi. This type of organising rival faction B.D.Jatti against S.Nijalingappa brought him to the highest position in India (Iqbal Narain: 133).

3. Devaraj Urs (1915):

Devaraj Urs was born on 20th August 1915 in Kallahalli of Mysore district in Karnataka in the family of Urs who belong to the royal family of Princely State of Mysore. He graduated in Science from Mysore University. He became an agriculturist after his education. He was a member of the Mysore Representative Assembly from 1941 to 1948. He

participated in the Quit India movement in 1942. He also participated in "Mysore Challo" struggle for responsible government in 1947. From 1952 until his death on 6th June 1982, he was a member of the State Legislative Assembly. He was minister in the cabinet of S.Nijalingappa from 1962 to 1967. He became Chief Minister in 1972 and continued upto 1980.

After the Congress party split in 1969, during the historic All India Congress Committee session in Bangalore, Devaraj Urs was one of the first to support Indira Gandhi. He was appointed convener of the State adhoc Committee of Congress (R). He supported Indira Gandhi. He was successful when Congress (R) won all the 27 Lok Sabha seats in the State in 1971. Again in 1972 the majority of the seats were won by the Congress in the State Assembly when the Congress party lost power at the Centre in 1977. Devaraj Urs supported and helped Indira Gandhi to win the bye-election from the Chickmagalore Lok Sabha constituency in 1978 when Veerendra Patil contested the same seat from Janata party. This contest attracted not only Indian politicians but also the world politicians. It is here that Devaraj Urs became one of the top leaders. Later on, however, he severed his connections with Indira Gandhi and Congress (I) in June 1979. For this the pressure that were being brought on Devaraj Urs by Sanjay Gandhi were the main reasons. He began to build his own Congress with his factional

followers. He made Swarna Singh as the President of Congress (U). In 1980 Lok Sabha elections his party lost all seats but one. In this way he was the only person elected from his faction and that was how the Indira faction became prominent in Karnataka. A few months before his death in 1982, he founded a regional party called as Karnataka Kranti Ranga. After his death S.Bangarappa who was in the faction of Gundu Rao left the government as a member of the cabinet and restarted Karnataka Kranti Ranga party which was about to fade away. For sometime, S.Bangarappa was also called as founder of Karnataka Kranti Ranga. D.Devaraj Urs, before his death resigned from the Presidentship of Congress (U) and made Sharad Pawar as the President of Congress (U). In this way Devaraj Urs grew in status from State politics to national level politics.

Devaraj Urs himself belonged to an elite but minority caste. In his regime the dominant castes of Lingayats and Vakkaligas lost their importance. It was Devaraj Urs who was responsible for bringing up the backward and weaker sections of the society. Vakkaligas in south Karnataka tended to support specific Congress faction. The reasons for the rich of the dominant caste supporting a faction were not the same as those of the poor (Kohil:1987:144 and Mathew:1984:8).



4. Ramakrishna Hegde (1927):

Ramakrishna Hegde was born on 29th August, 1927 at Sidapur, North Kanara district of Karnataka, in a Brahmin family which had fought for independence. Ramakrishna Hegde was educated in Banaras and Lucknow University. He speaks Hindi eloquently. He started his career as a congress man. He was a member of All India Congress Committee from 1957-1969. Ramakrishna Hegde was cabinet minister in the cabinet of S.Nijalingappa. After the Congress split he joined Congress (O). Ramakrishna Hegde was Deputy Minister in the Karnataka Government during 1957-1958. Then he was raised to the status of cabinet minister incharge of finance, planning, excise, industries etc. From 1962 to 1971, when S.Nijalingappa was Chief Minister, he worked as minister for rural development and Panchayat Raj. He was a devoted man of Congress (O). He was also minister in the ministry of Veerendra Patil. When the ministry of Veerendra Patil fall in 1971 March, Ramakrishna Hegde was not an active politician for sometime. After emergency was imposed on the country by Indira Gandhi, Ramakrishna Hegde came in contact with Madhu Dandavate, L.K.Advani etc. in the jail. When Janata party came into power in the centre (1977), Ramakrishna Hegde became one of the General Secretaries of the Janata Party. In course of time, Janata Party was ousted in the centre in 1979 and Ramakrishna Hegde continued

his alliance with the party and party President Chandrashekhar. For five years from 1972, he was leader of the opposition in the Karnataka Legislative Council. He became Chief Minister of Karnataka on 10th January 1983. He resigned from the Rajyasabha after he was elected with an overwhelming majority to the Assembly on 15th May 1983 from Kanakpur constituency in Bangalore district. After the victory in election Ramakrishna Hegde declared that his victory was the triumph of value based politics.

Ramakrishna Hegde is a lawyer by profession and he writes in Kannada and he is a lover of agriculture. He entered politics at the age of 15 when he stopped his studies to participate in the Quit India movement. He courted arrest twice. His family property was confiscated and seven members of his family including his mother, were jailed. He was again imprisoned during the political emergency in 1975-1977 and put in Belgaum and Bangalore Central Jails. He was an object of ridicule by being called as Prime Minister of India. Later in his career Ramakrishna Hegde became the target of allegations against his ministry and he had to resign the Deputy Chairmanship of Planning Commission of India. So many allegations like Arrack bottling case, telephone tapping of leaders, misuse of government machinery etc. were levelled against him by his opponents to bring political doom for him. However,

Ramakrishna Hegde has proved to be an intelligent politician. (Mathew:1984:9 and Samyukta Karnataka Daily: 29th April 1991:4).

Ramakrishna Hegde is committed to the principle of decentralization of administration. The Hegde ministry passed the Zilla Parishad and Mandal Panchayat Act in 1983, abolishing former TDBs, DDCs. For this Ramakrishna Hegde was praised throughout the country for introducing the system of transferring of power to the local bodies (Government of Karnataka:1989:9).

5. S.Bangarappa (1933):

S.Bangarappa was born on 26th October, 1933, at Kubtoor village, Sorab taluk, Shimoga district in Karnataka. He graduated and later did Bachelor of Law Degree. He has also completed a Diploma Course in Social Sciences. By profession he is an advocate and an agriculturist. He married Ms.Shakuntala and has two sons and three daughters. He took keen interest in the upliftment of the downtrodden and weaker sections of the society. He was elected as a member of the 4th and 5th Legislative Assembly on Samyukta Socialist Party-ticket. He was elected to the sixth Legislative Assembly from Congress (I). He formed a new regional party called as Karnataka Krantikari Paksha of which he was a member till he joined the Congress in the

year 1977. He was the minister of State for Home in 1977. He was appointed as minister of Public Works in March 1978. He tried three times to become the leader of the party in the Legislative Assembly from Congress (I). He was not successful for the first time when he tried in 1980 when Indira Gandhi had differences with Devaraj Urs. At that time, Bangarappa was appointed as the President of the K.P.C.C.(I). Therefore, he was dropped from the ministry. In the same year, Devaraj Urs lost in the Lok Sabha election. Being the leader of the Ruling Congress Devaraj Urs resigned as Chief Minister making way for and Gundu Rao who became the Chief Minister of Karnataka. Hence, S.Bangarappa was not successful in succeeding Devaraj Urs. Therefore, he resigned from the ministry of R.Gundu Rao and he rebuilt the Karnataka Kranti Ranga party started by Devaraj Urs. In 1983 S.Bangarappa merged the Karnataka Kranti Ranga party with Janata Party in order to win the Legislative Assembly elections. Though the party was successful S.Bangarappa was not successful to become leader of the party. It was Ramakrishna Hegde who became the Chief Minister of Karnataka. Therefore, S.Bangarappa remained as a dissident member of the Janata Party and tried to rebuild his Karnataka Kranti Ranga Party separately from Janata Party. In 1985, he fought the mid-term Assembly elections by joining the Congress (I) and became the leader of the opposition in the Legislative Assembly. However, because of

the techniques used by Ramakrishna Hegde he had to leave that position in course of time. In 1989 General elections, he fought with Congress (I) and secured 178 seats out of 224 seats. In the Legislative Assembly again S.Bangarappa was not successful in getting Chief Ministership. At that time Veerendra Patil who was brought back to the State politics by the Congress High Command in the centre, became the Chief Minister of Karnataka. However, in October 1990, Veerendra Patil was ill and there were communal riots in Karnataka. Therefore, Rajiv Gandhi President of A.I.C.C.(I) toured Karnataka. Rajiv Gandhi wanted change in the leadership of Karnataka in Congress (I) party. Therefore, he suggested to elect a new leader in place of Veerendra Patil. According to the will of the party High Command S.Bangarappa was elected as the Leader of the Congress (I) Legislative party of Karnataka. Therefore, he assumed Chief Ministership of Karnataka on 17th October 1990, after a brief struggle with the people in his own party and facing the constitutional crisis that arose because Veerendra Patil was not ready to leave the Chief Ministership.

S.Bangarappa comes from the O.B.Cs belonging to Idiga caste. He has been elected to the State Legislative Assembly for six times from his native constituency of Sorab. In the 1983 elections he did not even visit his constituency. Eventhen he was elected. This shows his popularity in his own constituency.

S.Bangarappa believed in the political ideologies of Ram Manohar Lohiya (Karnataka Legislative Council 1979:17 and Samyukta Karnataka Daily, 14th October 1990:1). Until now the Chief Ministership in Karnataka had been held by Lingayats, Vakkaligas, Brahmins and a Kshatriya but for the first time, S.Bangarappa who is from the backward caste of Idiga has become Chief Minister of Karnataka.

In our case studies we have included five top leaders who were heads of the government of Karnataka. After studying the political career of these political leaders, we came to know that they also were the factional leaders. These factional leaders were trying to get their followers from the other factions. Therefore, there were a large number of defections both in the Congress and Janata parties. The political followers used to change from one party to another party by way of defection. To stop this the political leaders of our country intended to introduce Anti-Defection Bill. This idea was there during the regime of Indira Gandhi and Morarji Desai also. However, it was not put into practice. It was Rajiv Gandhi who introduced this Anti-Defection Bill in the Parliament and got it passed in March 1984. So from then onwards the changing of parties by the individuals has been reduced to a greater extent. As this Anti-Defection Bill is connected with the factions and parties we would like to deal with it to a certain extent.

On 30th January 1984 the Lok Sabha for the first time, unanimously passed a constitution amendment Bill banning defections. This Bill limited the defiance of the party whip on the floor of both the houses of Parliament, or any State Legislature.

The Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, while intervening in the debate on the Bill, told the House that this was the first step towards the cleaning of public life, as he had promised to the people.

The final shape to this Bill was given after a meeting of the Congress parliamentary party and a round of discussions with opposition leaders.

Members on both of the Lok Sabha agreed that the adoption of the measure was a historic occasion and represented the beginning of a new era in the political life of the country. Therefore, they congratulated the young and dynamic Prime Minister for sponsoring the Bill.

The sailient features of the Bill are as follows:

1. A member of Parliament or State Legislature belonging to any political party shall be disqualified from being a member of that House, if he has voluntarily given up his membership of such political party, or if he votes or abstains from voting in the House

contrary to the direction issued by the political party.

2. An elected member of a house who has been elected as such, otherwise than as a candidate set up by any political party shall be disqualified from being a member of the house if he joins any political party after such elections.
3. A nominated member of a House shall be qualified to be a member of the house if he joins any political party after the expiry of six months from the date on which he takes his seat after compliance with the requirements.

Disqualification on the ground of defection is not applicable in case of splits in the party. Disqualification on the ground of defection is not applicable in the case of mergers of political parties.

By passing this Bill the defections from parties individually have been checked. But however, factions in the political parties as a group are not disqualified. That is why this kind of Anti-Defection Bill (No.25) has encouraged the working of factions in the political parties. However, this has been held as good thing in the democratic set up of the country. (Asian Recorder:5th March, 1985: 18203; The Gazette of India:Extraordinary: Part II Section 2: March 23rd, 1984:23).