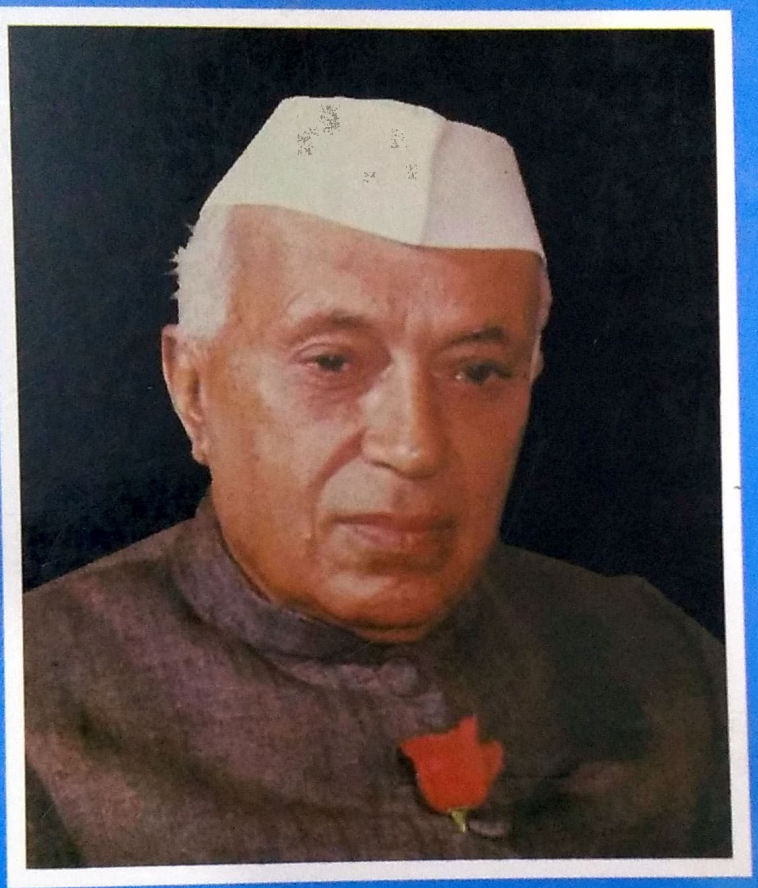
ISSN NO. 0019-5510

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Volume LXX, No. 4 OCT. - DEC., 2009

Editor *Sanjeev Kumar Sharma*



निर्मानमोहा जितसघ्सदोषा द्वन्द्वैर्विमुक्ता सुखदःख संज्ञैः ।
अध्यात्मनित्याः विनिवृत्तकामाः गच्छन्त्यमूढाः पदमव्ययंतत्।।

IJPS

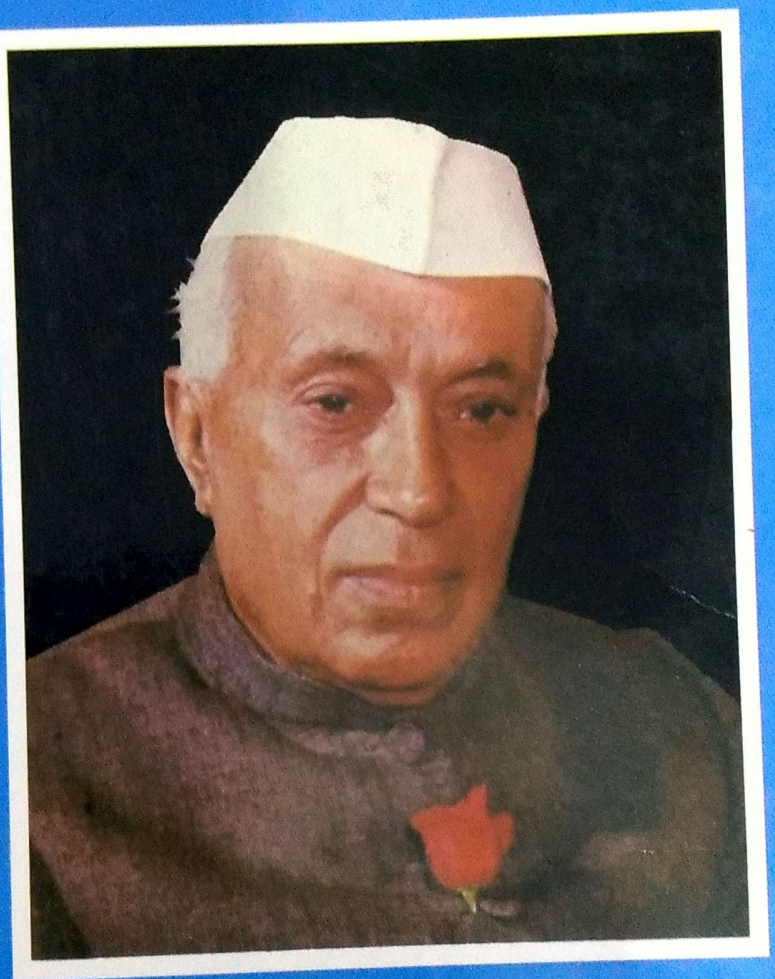
The Quarterly Journal of Indian Political Science Association

ISSN NO. 0019-5510

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Volume LXX, No. 4 OCT. - DEC., 2009

Editor *Sanjeev Kumar Sharma*



निर्मानमोहा जितसघ्सदोषा द्वन्द्वैर्विमुक्ता सुखदःख संज्ञैः ।
अध्यात्मनित्याः विनिवृत्तकामाः गच्छन्त्यमूढाः पदमव्ययंतत्।।

IJPS

The Quarterly Journal of Indian Political Science Association

IJPS | The Indian Journal of Political Science
(The Quarterly Journal of Indian Political Science Association)
ISSN 0019-5510

Editor
Sanjeev Kumar Sharma

Editorial Board

Dr. R. Thangaraj (Chennai)
Dr. Jitendra Narayan (Darbhanga)
Dr. Jugul Kishore Mishra (Bhubaneswar)
Dr. Muzaffar Assadi (Mysore)
Dr. B. L. Saini (Bundi)

About IJPS :

The Indian Journal of Political Science (IJPS) is the quarterly journal of Indian Political Science Association (IPSA), IJPS is (since 1939) one of the most reputed referred journals of Political Science at international level and in fact, the foremost journal of the discipline at national level. IPSA publishes the IJPS quarterly in March, June, September, and December. IJPS reflects the aims and intellectual tradition of its parent body, the IPSA the advancement of political science, scientific study of politics and dissemination of knowledge through rigorous political inquiry. Founded in the year 1939, the journal has evolved over the years as a major forum for publication of scholarly work on ideas and issues important to the study of politics. It seeks to promote greater collaborations and exchange of ideas among political scientists in India and Abroad. Quality papers/articles are invited from the faculty members, social scientists, scholars and academicians.

Editorial Office

Editor, The Indian Journal of Political Science,
Department of Political Science, Ch. Charan Singh University,
Meerut- (India) Pin-250 005
E-mail : ijpseditor@yahoo.co.in, sanjeevaji@yahoo.co.in
website : www.ijps.net

Copyright @ 2009

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, electronic, photocopying or otherwise, without permission in writing from Editor, IJPS.

Views expressed in the article are the personal opinions of the contributors and are in no sense official. Neither the Indian Political Science Association nor the Editor is responsible for them.

The Indian Journal of Political Science
Vol. LXX No. 4, Oct. - Dec., 2009

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial Note :

1. *Runa Das*
Critical Social Constructivism 961-982

2. *V. Anil Kumar*
Social Power and Political Movements : The quest for Rights 983-992

3. *Vinod Khobragade*
Political Dysfunctionalism : The problem of Nation Building in India 993-1006

4. *Vanita Banjan*
Illegal Bangladeshi Migrants in Mumbai 1007-1020

5. *Dhananjay Vasudeo Dwivedi*
Thoughts for Human Rights in Vedic Tradition 1021-1034

6. *Mridula Bhatnagar*
Gender Politics : In the Context of Social Structure and Development 1035-1045

7. *S. K. Chaturvedi*
Communal Harmony : Philosophical Perspective 1047-1052

8. *Md. Ayub Mallick*
Development Programmes Involving the Tribes : A Case Study 1053-1084

9. *Harpreet Kaur*
Diasporic Sikh Organisations 1085-1098

10. *Ranjita Chakraborty*
Managing Public Morality : The Politics of Public Policy in India 1099-1108

11. *Deepali Singh, Nafees A. Ansari, Shaifali Singh*
Good Governance & Implementation in Era of Globalization 1109-1120

12. *Nirmal Singh*
Bhagat Singh and his Ideas 1121-1129

13. *Valmiki Rama Krishna*
Poverty Alleviation Policies 1131-1143

14. *B. R. Dugar*
Towards Perpetual Peace 1145-1151

15. *Badri Narayan Singh, Laldeo Yadav*
Role of Public Account Committee in Bihar 1153-1162

16. *S. S. Bindra*
Chinese Strategy in South Asia 1163-1178

17. *Sanjay Gupta*
Indo-French Relations in the Post-Cold War Period 1179-1199

18. *Sanjeeb K. Mohanty*
South Asian Conflicts : Potent Sources and their Significance 1201-1211

19. *Surander Singh*
Nam in the Contemporary World Order : An Analysis 1213-1226

20. *Ramesh Kumar*
Political Parties in India and the United States : A Comparative Analysis 1227-1240

21. *Arvind Singh*
America-Pak Geosttategic Relations Post 9/11 1241-1248

22. *Amandeep Kaur*
Recent Trends in Legislative Leadership of Shiromani Akalidal in Punjab 1249-1259

Book-Reviews :

23. *Triranjan Raj*
Terrorism Challenge Diplomacy by H.M.Virupakshiah, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 184, Price: Rs.400/- 1261-1262

24. *Uma Sharma*
Emerging Africa- Potential and Challenges: Africa in the New Millennium, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2008, pp. 400, Price: Rs.750/- 1263-1264

25. *I. Ramabrahmam*
Colin Hay : Why We Hate Politics Polity Press: Cambridge, UK, 2007 pp. ix + 187, Price: £ 15.99 1265-1266

26. *Nidhi Yadav*
District Administration in India : In the Era of Globalization Edited by S.S.Chahar, Concept Publishing company, NewDelhi, 2009, pp. 407.Price Rs.1000/-. 1267-1268

27. *Madhurendra Kumar*
Rajiv Gandhi's Vision on Local governance by G.Palanithurai, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 188, Price: Rs.450/- 1269-1270

28. *A V Satish Chandra*
International and National Politics by B.Vivekanandan, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 441, Price: Rs.950/- 1271-1273

29. *Naresh Kumar*
Yadav R.S., and Dhanda Suresh (ed). India's Foreign Policy, Contemporary Trends, Delhi. Shipra Publications, 2009, pages 280. Rs- 800/- 1273-1274

30. *Sanjeev K. Sharma*
Looking from a Distance
The State of India's Democracy – Sumit Ganguly, Larry Diamond, and Marc, F. Plattner (eds.) Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2009, pp 231, Price Rs.675 1275-1278

The Indian Journal of Political Science
Vol. LXX, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 2009, pp. 1227-1240

POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES : A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Ramesh Kumar

This paper attempts to provide structural and functional aspects of the political parties in India and the United States that operate under their own peculiar democratic traditions, social mores and political ethos prevalent in two countries. India has a parliamentary form of government while US is a federal polity, hence these differences impact on the political parties of the two countries because in the United States there prevails a two-party system and in india there is a multi-party system. Political parties in US have loose organizational structures while national political parties in India possess well-knit organizational set-up from national to district and even village level. It also highlights the presence of special interest groups in the United States which seek to curry favours from political parties, while such groups have yet to make their presence felt in India. While asserting that there are more differences than commonalities between the Indian and Americal political parties, a plea is made for increased interaction between the political parties of the two countries for mutual advantage and strengthening the democratic institutions in other parts of the globe.

Democracy seems to be the order of the day, particularly when the United States, while inaugurating its version of New World Order, had called upon the non-democratic developing countries to switch over to democratic form of government by introducing political reforms along with economic reforms, to be able to receive international economic assistance. In the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States, emphasis on democracy again became the idiom of American foreign policy. The wave of democracy swept across many developing countries in the post-Cold War period, which has been termed as 'third wave' of democratic transition,1 which encompassed within its fold 81 countries during the period, thereby raising the number of countries practicing multi-party elections to 140 out of a total of 200.

However, the phenomenon of 'deepening democracy' seems to have cast a much wider net wherein not only the newer but also the older democracies have been experiencing what could be termed an 'inner wave' in favour of the deepening of democracy and good governance in their local arenas.2 More remarkably, even the non-democratic countries, the classic case being China, and some Arab countries, have made moves to foster forms of democratic participation in local arenas, while maintaining non-democratic regimes at the national level. The different waves of democratization of developing countries have received serious academic as well political attention and have been subjected to analysis as a macro-historical phenomenon. In other words, democracy as a form of government, with multi-party system, has come to stay as a global phenomenon and United States and European Union are encouraging these countries by providing adequate economic and other types of assistance to help them sustain democracy.

With the spread of democracy, the role of national as well as regional parties has also assumed immense significance for participation in the elections, formation of the government and discharge their functions as responsible opposition parties for the success and smooth

functioning of democracy and its institutions like parliament, state legislatures etc. There is denying the fact political parties constitute the raison d'être of successful democracies. They serve as a link between the ruler and the ruled. The party in power is entrusted with the task of running the government in accordance with the programmes and policies envisaged in its Manifesto and the opposition parties serve as a watchdog on the actions of the government to find out its shortfalls and make the people aware about them. The opposition party is always in look out for an opportunity to dislodge the ruling party from the seat of power through the electoral process, whereas the ruling party becomes conscious about its rivals' tactics and tries to rectify its policies to retain power. In this manner political parties play significant role in strengthening the process of democracy and consolidating the foundations of democracy. It is against this backdrop that an attempt has been made in this paper to provide a comparative analysis of political parties in India and United States.

Political Parties in India

The Indian political parties are categorized into two main types – national level parties and state level parties. The national parties are those political parties, which participate in different elections all over India. For example, Indian National Congress, Bhartiya Janata Party, Bahujan Samaj Party, Samajwadi Party, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist) and some other parties. State parties or regional parties are political parties, which take part in different elections but only within one or two states. For example Shiv Sena participates only in Maharashtra, Telegu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, Akali Dal in Punjab, Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (DMK) in Tamil Nadu and there are other such state parties. There are some small communist parties who participate only within one state. Some states have more than one state party.

Some of the political parties have their origin from before India's independence, for example, Indian National Congress, Forward Bloc, Akali Dal, National Conference and some other parties. Some of these parties were either social or political organization before India's independence and they became political parties after India's independence. But many of the present parties were established after India's independence. Members, who split from larger parties, established some of these parties. For example split in the Indian National Congress in late 1960s led to the formation of Congress (O) and in 1978 to the emergence of Congress (S), and Communist Party of India (Marxist) was established after the split in Communist Party of India in 1964 and there are other such examples.

A glance at the Indian political system, since the inauguration of its republican constitution in 1950, presents an exciting scenario of party system in a developing democratic polity. It was a conscious experiment to opt for adult franchise in a society which was not only illiterate but also abysmally poor. The country has seen more or less orderly electoral process covering 14 Lok Sabha elections. Barring a few aberrations, the elections have, by and large, been conducted

peacefully with active political participation. There is no denying that a major period of the post-independence decades has seen the political supremacy of the Congress at the Centre. However-twice in 1977 and 1989-non-Congress opposition too has been voted to power.

The party system in India has varied from time to time. In the beginning it was a one-party dominant system, briefly a two-party system and subsequently a multi-party system moving towards chaos with no semblance of a 'system'. Party politics in India has passed through different phases of development characterized as follows: (a) One-Party-Dominance System (1952-1977), (b) Coalition Model at Centre (1977-79), (c) Revival of One-Party-Dominance System (1980-1989) and (d) Multi-party system (1989 onwards).

(a) One-Party-Dominance System (1952-77)

From 1952 to 1967, the peculiar party system generally described as the one-party dominant system prevailed in India as only the Congress was voted time and again with an overwhelming parliamentary majority on plurality of votes in democratically contested elections. It coincided with the premierships of Nehru, Shastri and Pre-1969 Indira Gandhi.

The first general elections, under Nehru's leadership, attracted worldwide interest. The Congress, by virtue of being a pioneer in the freedom struggle, became an increasingly effective election winning machine. In 18 out of 22 state assemblies the Congress had absolute majority. The second general elections in 1957 came at a time when Nehru's influence and power was at its zenith and before various economic political and internal troubles could assume critical proportions. The Congress occupied 365 seats in the Lok Sabha whereas the next largest party, the Communists occupied only 34 and the independents numbered only 135. This impregnable position of the Congress was largely attributed to Nehru's immense popularity among the masses.

The third Lok Sabha elections in 1962 came at a time when India's relations with China deteriorated abruptly and the country faced serious economic difficulties. The post-Nehru elections took on a different character because the great leader, who had lost public esteem because of defeat in Sino-Indian war, was no longer at the helm. Lal Bahadur Shastri succeeded Nehru. In January 1966, within two years after he had assumed the office, Shastri died and Mrs. Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister.

The first three general elections were won by the Congress party with massive mandates because of the following reasons: First, there was the charismatic leadership of Nehru which acquired the form of personality cult. Secondly, the Congress had organizations at the grassroots level which helped in assessing the interests and requirement of the masses. Thirdly, during the first three elections, the success of the Congress was partly explained by the splitting of the opposition votes.

Anti-Congress wave swept the 1967 election for the first time in the post- independence period. The dominant party's strength in Parliament too was reduced. Added to this, the formation of non-Congress coalition governments in some north Indian states had a considerable impact on the nature of the federation. The coalition experiment came in progress in different Indian states, like in West Bengal under the leadership of Ajoy Mukherjee on 25 February, 19673 in Orissa under the leadership of R.N. Singh Deo on 8 March, 19674, in Haryana under the leadership of Rao Birendra Singh on 24 March 19765, in U.P. under the leadership of Ch. Charan Singh in April 1967 and in Bihar under the leadership of Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, B.P. Shashtri, Daroga Prasad Rai and on 18 December 1970 under the leadership of Karpoori Thakur.[6]

Above all, the Congress was faced with leadership problems during the period 1967-69, in the absence of a leader who could command undisputed loyalty. In order to attain her objective of retaining power as well as reasserting her authority within the Congress Party, Indira Gandhi used Machiavellian strategy and tactics. She did not hesitate to take populist measures like nationalization of fourteen private banks, abolition of the privy purses which were being paid to the former princes, and nationalization of coal mines etc. These steps went a long way in projecting Indira Gandhi as a dynamic leader. It led to refurbishment of the image of the new Congress and emergence of Indira Gandhi as the saviour of the poor.

With the 1971 parliamentary elections, Mrs. Indira Gandhi was able to assert her authority, encompassing many features of the pre-1967 era. However, it also included some notable differences or significant modifications of the first phase. A major difference in the new model was the collapse of the competitive mechanism within the dominant party. The Congress split and the emergence of Indira Gandhi's leadership destroyed the balance of internal factional competition. Factional bosses were suppressed and crushed. Such a combination of the monopolistic dominance of the Congress led to a steady erosion of the 'openness' of the system and there emerged an authoritarian concentration of power, resulting ultimately in the imposition of emergency.

(b) Coalition Model at Centre (1977-79)

In the post-Emergency period in early 1977, Indian politics underwent fundamental changes when different national political parties, i.e., non-Congress (I) parties like Bhartiya Jansangh, Bhartiya Lok Dal, Socialist Party and Congress for Democracy fought election under the umbrella of Janta Party and formed a National Coalition Government under the leadership of Morarji Desai on 24 March, 1977.[7] For the first time in India, a two-party system seemed to gain salience and it was in existence from 1977 to 1979 when only two parties – the Janata and the Congress accounted for over 80 percent of votes and seats. Had this trend continued, the two-party system would have prevailed in India. But the developments of 1979

put a curb on it. The emergence of two-party system was merely an outcome of specific circumstances and a matter of mutual convenience.

The coalition could not continue more than 28 months due to tug-of-war among the different leaders of the Janta Party and the country was left to have fresh mandate. "This way, coalition Government became a game of selfish, opportunist power hungry and unscrupulous politicians who had to look after nothing but their personal interests.[8] This scenario gave rise to the notion that parliamentary government and coalition arrangement could not go hand in hand.[9]

(c) Revival of One-Party Dominance (1980-89)

The fall of the Janata government paved the way for an astounding victory for the Congress at the 1980 polls and the return of Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister. Having assumed office, she adopted the same old style –placing total reliance on small coterie, extensive use of media for personality projection, and deferring of organizational elections in the party. Her action now seemed to be calculated one, aiming at presenting her as a leader who was genuinely concerned about the welfare of the Hindus.

In the 1980s, there was an increasing tendency towards a multi-party system, which became evident from the fact despite the rule of Congress at the Centre, new opposition parties were being established in the states. Towards the closing years of 1980s, nearly half of the states of Indian Union slipped out of the hands of the Congress. And finally, in the 1984 elections, Rajiv Gandhi got unprecedented mandate mainly on account of what is known as 'sympathy vote.'

He had earned considerable goodwill by initiating peace processes of political disputes through negotiations. But his honeymoon with democratic functioning was brief, he was soon overwhelmed by the establishment and slipped into authoritarian grooves. His peace initiatives had backfired. The Punjab accord was violated for securing electoral gains in Haryana but the Congress lost credibility in both the states. Apart from the enduring Sikh insurgency, which defied with impunity, the two-year old President's rule in Punjab was imposed by Rajiv Gandhi to 'combat terrorism.' In terms of electoral politics, the Sikhs in Punjab and the Kashmiri Muslims were not to be a significant factor, but Rajiv government's inability to restore normalcy in these two trouble spots was a fall out on national politics.

(d) Multi -Party System or Coalition System (1989 onwards)

The elections of 1989 were held in an environment charged with emotions variously aroused by the anti-corruption campaign, anti – Sikh riots, murder of Mrs. Gandhi and terrorist threats to national unity and integrity. In spite of the disturbed atmosphere, imposition of emergency was totally ruled out because of bitter experience in the past which resulted in the

overthrow of Indira Gandhi's government. However, restlessness among the people was growing fast and factors like poor leadership, sycophancy and abuse of the media for highlighting the sacrifices of one family to the total negligence of other equally illustrious leaders aroused anti – government sentiments among the masses.

In the ninth General Elections no party get a majority and in 1989 V.P. Singh became the Prime Minister with this support of BJP and Left parties from outside. In August 1990, L.K. Advani said that he was withdrawing the support of BJP. V.P. was forced to resign in November 1990. Chandrashekhar became the new leader with the split in the party and he became Prime Minister on 6 March 1991 with Congress supporting it from outside. Withdrawal support by the Congress resulted in the ouster of Chandrashekhar government and in the subsequent Lok Sabha election in May-June 1991, P.V. Narshimha Rao became Prime Minister with the support of All India D.M.K. (AIAD MK), Muslim League, Kerala Congress (Mani), Janta Dal (Gujarat) and Sikkim Sangram Parishad. Rao lost credibility even though he also obtained support from Telugu Desam and Jharkhand Mukti Morcha and somehow pulled the Government to a full span of five years.[10]

In the 1996 General Elections, again no party got the absolute majority and the then Election Commissioner submitted a list of party-wise figures to the President of India on 15 May 1996. The President first invited Vajpayee to form the ministry. On 16 May Vajpayee was sworn in as Prime Minister. This Ministry failed within 13 days and on 27 May Vajpayee resigned. On 1 June 1996 Deve Gowda, belonging to Janta Dal, formed the government with the support of the Left Front and the Congress. Deve Gowda Ministry got the vote of confidence on 11 June 1996. He was overthrown and succeeded by I.K. Gujral.

But even Gujral could not last long. The Congress knew that the voters would be angry if it again withdrew support forcing on the nation another election in less than two years. Yet they had their own compulsion. Sitaram Kesri was responsible for bringing down Gujral Government on the issue of the Jain Commission Report and the alleged role of the DMK.[11]

After the 12th General Elections, the President had to make a choice and BJP was the single largest party and its pre-poll alliance also was the largest. The Sarkaria Commission had expressed itself in favour of an alliance of parties formed prior to the elections as against any alliance formed after the elections. The President invited Vajpayee to form the Government. Vajpayee Government had survived the confidence vote but it seemed that while the stands taken by parties like AIADMK, Trinamool Congress, Samata Party, TDP and NC could help the BJP led coalition government to prod along, the scenario was not congenial to provide the nation with a 'Cohesive Coalition.[12] In 1999 Prime Minister Vajpayee led a coalition government consisting of 22 constituent parties.[13]

The general elections of May 2004 saw a new set of power equations which had no

clear precedent in our political history. The NDA which had brought the poll date forward fell far short of the required number and for the first time since 1996, the BJP slipped to the second slot in the House of the People. Result was that Congress formed the coalition government followed by strong bloc Left, RJD, LJSP and a few other parties.[14] Viewed in broad perspective, the federal coalition governments have not only come of age, but taken deeper political roots as well in the Indian polity.[15] The ongoing success of coalition experience in India suggests that coalition government at the Centre is inevitable because return of one-party-rule is almost out of question as regional parties are more ambitious and strong enough to disallow re-emergence of such a phenomenon. Given a serious attempt and reform, coalition governments can, in fact, contribute to a more democratic and federal governance.

However, the immaturity of coalition system, particularly in India's context, is detrimental to the stability and national interests of the country, especially at a time when the coutry is surging ahead in race for becoming a reckonable force in the international community. The withdrawal of Left parties support to the UPA coalition has rendered the UPA to survive on crutches and it can collapse any moment thereby forcing an early elections on the people. However, it is for the first time in the annals of independent India's history that a foreign policy issue – Indo-US civil nuclear deal will be the main electoral plank for almost all political parties in the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections. Another salient outcome of these developments is that anti-Congress stance either of the Left Front or the BJP has diluted over all these years.[16]

Broadly speaking, formation of a coalition government takes place as a sequel to the inability of a single party to command a majority in the legislature. A combination of some political groups or parties is essential to command the majority. These political parties or groups join together to form a government. They do not lose their separate identity. They agree to a common minimum political economic and social programme and when differences arise, any group or party is free to withdraw from the coalition. The term 'coalition' is derived from the Latin word 'coalition' meaning to grow together. In the political system it implies that some political parties or groups will come together and form alliance or temporary union in order to exercise control over political power. In the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Prof. A. Ogg defines coalition as a "co-operative arrangement under which distinct political parties or at all events members of such parties unite to form a government or Ministry."[17]

A coalition is thus an alliance between two or more hitherto separate or even hostile groups or parties formed in order to carry on the government and share the principal affairs of the state. A coalition government is formed when more than one political party or group comes together on the basis of common understanding or agenda. This government can have a framework within which all the parties function. Coalition has four types: left dominated, right dominated, centre dominated and amorphous. In India the coalition system of government is the outcome of the failure of the Parliamentary system to satisfy the norm of getting the

absolute majority of seats in the Lower House to form the government. Therefore, the coalition system has emerged from the parliamentary system and is a different manifestation of the same. Prof. Rajni Kothari aptly sums up coalition is nothing but a marriage of convenience.[18]

Factionalism, defection, corruption, leadership conflicts, ideological ambiguity etc. continue to be the inherent weaknesses of almost all the parties in Indian political system. But they have also contributed to a definite change in the level of political socialization, interest articulation, interest's aggregation and political communication. However, there have been periods of political stagnation, uncertainly and instability in the political system. India is a developing democracy where democratic traditions are evolving with the passage of time and judicial verdicts. It will take some time for the political parties to mature and come to the level and political standard of their counterparts in the United States and Western Europe.

Political Parties in USA

After Britain, which is regarded as the home of democracy, United States is considered as the citadel of democracy where, though there are many political parties, but two-party system has come to rule the roost for about two centuries. It is interesting to observe that many of America's Founding Fathers detested the thought of political parties. They nursed the apprehension that such parties would be more interested in contending with each other than in working for the common good. They wanted individual citizens to vote for individual candidates, without the interference of organized groups — but this was not to be. By the closing part of the eighteenth century, there had developed different views for the country's proper political course. Those who held these opposing views tried to win support for their cause by comming together. The supporters of Alexander Hamilton, which took the name 'Federalist', favoured a strong central government that would support the interests of commerce and industry. On the other hand, the followers and supporters of Thomas Jefferson, who were 'anti-Federalists' assumed the name Democratic Republicans, who accorded preference to a decentralized agrarian republic in which the federal government had limited power.

By 1828, the disappearance of the Federalists paved way for emergence of the Whigs. The advent of presidency of Andrew Jackson in 1828 proved instrumental in spliting the Democratic-Republican party. Jacksonians became the Democratic Party and those following the leadership of John Qunicy Adams became the 'National Republicans.' Following the split in the Whigs Party during the civil war ofr the 1850s, the Republican Party got further boost. Assumption of presidency by Abraham Lincolon in 1860 provided legitimacy to the Republican Party as an alternative to the Democrats. By then, parties were well established as the country's dominant political organizations, and party allegiance had become an important part of most people's consciousness.

Two-Party System

Thus was born two-party system in United States, which is still in existence today. The Republican and Democratic have been the main two national parties in the United States. Many minor or third political parties appear from time to time. They tend to serve a means to advocate policies that eventually are adopted by the two major political parties, i.e. the abolishment of slavery, and child labor laws. Some of these third political parties such as the Socialist Party, the Farmer Labour Party and the Populist Party for a few years had considerable local strength, then faded away.

Most officials in America are elected from single-member districts and win office by beating out their opponents in a system for determining winners called first-past-the-post — the one who gets the plurality wins, (which is not the same thing as actually getting a majority of votes). This encourages the two-party system.

Another critical factor has been ballot access law. Originally voters went to the polls and publicly stated which candidate they supported. Later on, this developed into a process whereby each political party would create its own ballot and thus the voter would put the party's ballot into the voting box. In the late nineteenth century, states began to adopt the Australian Secret Ballot Method and it eventually became the national standard. The secret ballot method ensured that the privacy of voters would be protected (hence government jobs could no longer be awarded to loyal voters) and each state would be responsible for creating one official ballot. The fact that states legislators were dominated by Democrats and Republicans provided an opportunity to possible discriminatory laws against minor political parties, yet such laws did not start to arise until the first Red Scare that hit America after First World War. State legislators began to enact tough laws that made it harder for minor political parties to run candidates for office by requiring a high number of petition signatures from citizens and decreasing the length of time that such a petition could legally be circulated.[19]

Another factor is the parliamentary system. Third parties thrive under the parliamentary system in which governing coalitions are formed after elections. The United States is not a parliamentary system, and indeed, in the United States, it could be said that coalitions are formed before elections under the umbrella of party organizations

It should also be noted that while the overwhelming majority of elected officials do identify with a political party, the political parties of the United States are much more individualistic than in other political systems (i.e. in a parliamentary system). More often than not, party members will "toe the line" and support their party's policies, but it is important to note that they are free to vote against their own party and vote with the opposition ("cross the aisle") if a particular policy is counter to the priorities and interests of their constituents. Recent examples of this can be seen in such highly controversial matters as Social Security

reform, the federal budget, and some environmental policies.

"In America the same political labels — Democratic and Republican — cover virtually all public officeholders, and therefore most voters are everywhere mobilized in the name of these two parties," says Nelson W. Polsby, professor of political science, "Yet Democrats and Republicans are not everywhere the same. Variations — sometimes subtle, sometimes blatant — in the 50 political cultures of the states yield considerable differences overall in what it means to be, or to vote, Democratic or Republican. These differences suggest that one may be justified in referring to the American two-party system as masking something more like a hundred-party system."[20]

During the second half of the 20th century the overall political philosophy of both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party underwent a dramatic shift from their earlier philosophies. From the 1860s to the 1950s the Republican Party was considered to be the more classically liberal of the two major parties and the Democratic Party the more classically conservative/populist of the two.

This changed a great deal with the presidency of F. D. Roosevelt, whose New Deal included the founding of Social Security as well as a variety of other federal services and public works projects, which helped to revitalize the country following the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. Roosevelt's success in the twin crises of the Depression and Second World War led to a sort of polarization in national politics, centered around him; this combined with his increasingly liberal policies to turn FDR's Democrats to the left and (to a lesser extent) the Republican Party further rightward.

During the 1950s and the early 1960s both parties essentially expressed a more centrist approach to politics on the national level and had their liberal, moderate, and conservative wings equally influential within both parties. From the early 1960s, the conservative wing became more dominant in the Republican Party, and the liberal wing became more dominant in the Democratic Party.[21] 1964 presidential election heralded the rise of the conservative wing among Republicans. The liberal and conservative wings within the Democratic Party were competitive until 1972, when George McGovern's candidacy marked the triumph of the liberal wing. This similarly happened in the Republican Party with the candidacy and later landslide election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, which marked the triumph of the conservative wing.

By the1980 election, each major party had largely become identified by its dominant political orientation. Although strong showings in the 1990s by reformist independent Ross Perot pushed the major parties to put forth more centrist presidential candidates like Bill Clinton and Bob Dole, polarization in the congress was cemented by the Republican takeover of 1994.

Liberals within the Republican Party and conservatives within the Democratic Party and the Democratic Leadership Council neoliberals have typically fulfilled the roles of so-called political

mavericks, radical centrists, or brokers of compromise between the two major parties. They have also helped their respective parties gain in certain regions that might not ordinarily elect a member of that party; the Republican Party has used this approach with centrist Republicans. Elections of2006 sent many centrist or conservative Democrats to state and federal legislatures including several, notably in Kansas and Montana, who switched parties.

Organizational Structure

Unlike in some countries, American political parties are very loosely organized. The two major parties, in particular, have no formal organization at the national level that controls membership, activities, or policy positions, though some state affiliates do. Thus, for an American to say that he or she is a member of the Democratic or Republican party, is quite different from a Briton's stating that he or she is a member of the Labour party. In the United States, one can often become a "member" of a party, merely by stating that fact. In some U.S. states, a voter can register as a member of one or another party or vote in the primary election for one or another party, but such participation does not restrict one's choices in any way; nor does it give a person any particular rights or obligations with respect to the party. A person may choose to attend meetings of one local party committee one day and another party committee the next day. The sole factor that brings one "closer to the action" is the quantity and quality of participation in party activities and the ability to persuade others in attendance to give one responsibility.

Party identification becomes somewhat formalized when a person runs for partisan office. In most states, this means declaring oneself a candidate for the nomination of a particular party and intent to enter that party's primary election for an office. A party committee may choose to endorse one or another of those who is seeking the nomination, but in the end the choice is up to those who choose to vote in the primary, and it is often difficult to tell who is going to do the voting.

The result is that American political parties have weak central organizations and little central ideology, except by consensus. A party really cannot prevent a person who disagrees with the majority of positions of the party or actively works against the party's aims from claiming party membership, so long as the voters who choose to vote in the primary elections elect that person. Once in office, an elected official may change parties simply by declaring such intent.

At the federal level, each of the two major parties has a national committee, Democratic National Committee and Republican National Committee, that acts as the hub for much fund-raising and campaign activities, particularly in presidential campaigns. The exact composition of these committees is different for each party, but they are made up primarily of representatives from state parties, affiliated organizations, and other individuals important to the party. However, the national committees do not have the power to direct the activities of individual members of the party. When a party controls the White House the President is party leader and controls

the national committee. Otherwise the leadership is diffuse.

Both parties also have separate campaign committees which work to elect candidates at a specific level. The most significant of these are the Hill committees, which work to elect candidates to each house of Congress. State parties exist in all fifty states, though their structures differ according to state law, as well as party rules at both the national and the state level.

Political Pressure Groups

Special interest groups comprise business organizations which favor low corporate taxes and restrictions of the right to strike, whereas labour unions will support minimum wage legislation and protection for collective bargaining. Other private interest groups — such as churches and ethnic groups — are more concerned about broader issues of policy that can affect their organizations or their beliefs.

One type of private interest group that has grown in number and influence in recent years is the political action committee or PAC. These are independent groups, organized around a single issue or set of issues, that contribute money to political campaigns for U.S. Congress or the presidency. PACs are limited in the amounts they can contribute directly to candidates in federal elections. There are no restrictions, however, on the amounts PACs can spend independently to advocate a point of view or to urge the election of candidates to office. PACs today number in the thousands.

According to Michael Schudson: "The number of interest groups has mushroomed, with more and more of them operating offices in Washington, D.C., and representing themselves directly to Congress and federal agencies, many organizations that keep an eye on Washington seek financial and moral support from ordinary citizens. Since many of them focus on a narrow set of concerns or even on a single issue, and often a single issue of enormous emotional weight, they compete with the parties for citizens' dollars, time, and passion."[22] The amount of money spent by these special interests continues to grow, as campaigns become more and more expensive. Many Americans have the feeling that these wealthy interests — whether corporations or unions or PACs organized to promote a particular point of view — are so powerful that ordinary citizens can do little to counteract their influence.

Comparative Analysis

The political parties in India and the United States operate under their own peculiar democratic traditions, social mores and political ethos prevalent in two countries. Unlike India, United States does not have a parliamentary form of government. Rather it is a federal polity. Thus, political parties in both countries are different from each other. There has been two-party system prevalent in the United States for about two centuries and it is well-entrenched

in the US polity. On the other hand, political system in India has oscilated between one-party-rule to multi-party coalition system. Under the coalition culture that has come to rule the political roost in India, the regional parties can hold national parties to ransom by issuing threat of withdrawal of support. However, there is no such case with the political parties in United States. The political parties in the United States have loose organizational structure, while national political parties in india have well-knit organizational structure from top to bottom. There are known interest groups in the United States who seek to curry favours from the political parties and these interest groups operate openly. However, in India no such culture has evolved as yet. National and regional parties have their front organizations that serve as link between the business organizations, religious groups and other segments. Recent developments in India have demonstrated that like the US, foreign policy issues have also strated assuming added importance and entail te potential of pushing the coalition government at the Centre on the verge of collapse. This is amply clear from the ongoing developments between the UPA aliance and the Left parties on the issue of Indo-US civil nuclear deal.

Undoubtedly, there are more differences than commonalities between the political parties of India and the United States, but the issues that are emerging in India are non-traditional keeping in consonance with India's growing international stature where foreign policy issues are prone to have salience over domestic issues. Political parties in the United States are acustomed to this type of political scenarion but it is a new experiment for the Indian polity qand it may take some time for the Indian political parties to adapt to the emerging trends and become adept in handling them. Such a scenario taking place in the Indian polity will bear a sort of semblance with the US polity.

Conclusion

India and United States are world's largest democracies and both are committed to strengthen democratic traditions and consolidating democratic institutions so that there prevails peace, stability and prosperity in the world. As more and more countries are opting for democratic form of government, these countries require assistance to carry on their task of building democratic institutions. Besides, United States has assumed unto itself the task of ushering in democracy in Iraq and Afghanistan. It is in this field that national political parties of india can play important role by establishing party-level relations with their American counterparts and learn from each other through encouraging exchange of visits by party functionaries, scholars, and holding jointly seminars and colloquims etc. to promote cooperation among the political parties of the two countries. Academicians drawn from educational institutions and concerned NGOs can also play significant role in this regard.

Notes :

1. The term 'third wave' here is borrowed from Samuel P. Huntington (1992), The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press. See also, Samuel P. Huntington

(1991), "How Countries Democratize?", Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 106, No. 4: 579-616. For a subsequent detailed review of research on this theme see Doh Chull Shin (1994), "On the Third Wave of Democratization: A Synthesis and Evaluation of Recent Theory and Research", World Politics, Vol. 47, No.1 : 135-170.

2. According to Dillinger, of 75 developing and transitional countries with population in excess of five million, all but twelve were engaged in the early 1990s with decentralising administrative authority to units of local government (William Dillinger (1994), Decentralisation and Its Implications for Urban Service Delivery, Washington, D. C.: The World Bank. See also Harry Blair (2000), "Participation and Accountability at the Periphery: Democratic Local Governance in Six Countries", World Development, Vol. 28, No.1: 21-39; and James Manor (2003), "Democratisation with Inclusion: Political Reforms and People's Empowerment at the Grassroots", Background Paper Human Development Report 2003, (Sussex. U.K.: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex: 1-56.

3. Times of India, 14 January 1971.

4. For more details see, A.S. Narang (1985), Indian Government and Politics, New Delhi: Gitanjali Publishing House.

5. B. L. Fadia (2000), Indian Government and Politics, Agra: Sahitya Bhawan Publications: 536.

6. Ibid., pp. 537-538.

7. D. C. Gupta (1985), Indian Government and Politics, Delhi: Discovery Publishing House: 372.

8. For details see, Rajesh Paliwal (1985), Janta Experiment in Indian Politics, New Delhi: Raj Publishers.

9. Ibid, pp. 150-156.

10. Jawahar Pandey (1992), State Politics in India, New Delhi: Jawahar Publishing House: 30-37.

11. Politics India, Vol. 2, No. 11, May 1998, p. 22.

12. Cited in Ibid., p. 7.

13. Mahesh Rang Rajan (2005), "Congress in Coalition", Seminar, No. 545, January: 30.

14. Cited in Pandey, n. 10, p. 30.

15. For details see, Ramesh Kumar(2004), "Party System in India: From One-Party Dominance to Coalition Era", Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1-4, January-December.

16. For additional information in this regard, see Ramesh Kumar(1994), Congress and Congressism in India, New Delhi: Deep & Deep.

17. Rajni Kothari (1970), Politics in India, New Delhi: Orient Longman: 201.

18. Hazel Gaudet (ed.) (1956), The People's Choice, New York: Free Press.

19. Nelson W. Polsby (1990), New Federalist Papers: Essays in Defense of the Constitution, New York: University of Ithaca Press.

20. Angus Cambell, Phillip Converse, Donald Stokes and Warren Miller (1970), The American Voter, New York: Praeger.

21. For more details see, Michael Schudson (1998), The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life, New York .