CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE ELECTION MACHINE
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The Role of Political Parties:

Successful working of democracy demands that there should be continuous contact between the people and their representatives and frequent opportunities of consultation between them. But the past experience has shown that there has been practically very little contact between the two; excepting a few months before the elections, people hardly come into the picture. Political parties play a very important role in all stages of the process of elections. The party machinery undertakes the electoral process connected with the selection of candidates, organisation of election campaign and formation of the Government. During the four general elections in India, the participation of political parties at the stage of the preparation and finalisation of the electoral rolls was very little. Government in Great Britain does not provide any machinery in the constituencies
to organise house to house enquiries regarding the amendments and additions of names for registration in electoral rolls during annual revision, but political parties undertake the responsibility of doing all these things. It is believed that if the political parties start doing this sort of work in our country also Government will be relieved from the task of preparation and revision of electoral rolls. Further, political parties discharge this duty more efficiently than the Government servants. It has already been mentioned earlier that the political parties did extend enough cooperation during all these general elections held in India.

India is a very vast country and the cooperation extended by the political parties determines the success of the election. The election authorities had always given full opportunity to the political parties for consultation and from the First General Election a procedure was developed for the election officers to meet the local representatives of the political parties for mutual consultations and exchange of ideas and informations.

During the four general elections in India, political parties were taken into confidence at every stage by the election authorities. Difficult problems cropped up before the election authorities during the election time and to find solutions to the problems, views of the political parties were sought and given due weight. Their opinions and views were taken into considerations specially in the spheres of suitability of periods and dates for holding the polls. Programmes for the elections were always fixed in consultation with the political parties. Political parties were also given the opportunity to tender their advice on the amendments proposed to be made in the election law. In short the political parties were given ample opportunities to extend their hearty cooperation for the cause of the country.

In the State of Uttar Pradesh similar steps, as mentioned above, were taken by the Chief Electoral Officer to enlist the cooperation of the political parties for the smooth running of the election. In the meetings difficulties and problems were discussed, different points of view were expressed and final decisions were arrived at. In the State at constituency level too, representatives of the political parties and the candidates from time to
time were consulted in the meetings called by the Returning Officers.

In order to maintain law and order and reductions of election offences and irregularities, appeals and requests for cooperation were made by the political parties for the successful conduct of the election. They were provided with the copies of the press notes and instructions and circulars of general interests, issued by the Commission from time to time.

Associate members for the Delimitation Commission picked up from the legislature, were selected from two different objectives — firstly, to assist and help the Delimitation Commission and secondly, to represent the different political parties. A great deal of contribution in the task of delimitation of constituencies was made by the political parties. Other prominent members of the political parties also took the trouble to help the Commission in the task of delimiting constituencies and offered valuable alternative proposals in case of difficulties by discussing the problems at the public hearings.

Thus, the change in the political map of India which took place during the five years from 1957 to 1961 did not make any great difference to the number and extent
of parliamentary and assembly constituencies. They certainly did not create any such serious administrative problems on the eve of the third general elections as the sweeping changes brought about by the reorganisation of the States in 1956 had done immediately before the second general elections. It was, however, the decision to abolish all two-member constituencies for the House of the People as well as the State Legislative Assemblies and to have each of them divided into two single-member constituencies that altered the shape of a large number of constituencies and also the pattern of elections for filling the reserved seats in the legislatures.¹

Between 1962 and 1967, the number of constituencies, parliamentary as well assembly, underwent a considerable increase. The total number of parliamentary constituencies in existence at the time of the third general election to the House of the People was 494; at the fourth general election, 520 constituencies were called upon to elect their representatives to the House. While in 1962 the total number of assembly constituencies was 3196, it increased to 3563 in 1967.²

Articles 82 and 170(3) of the Constitution provide that, upon the completion of each decennial census, the allocation of seats in the House of the People

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to the several States, the total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly of each State and the parliamentary and assembly constituencies into which each State is divided shall be readjusted by such authority and in such manner as may be determined by an Act of Parliament.

Although the decennial census had been taken on March 1, 1961, detailed population figures were only published in September, 1962, by the Registrar General. Immediately thereafter, the Delimitation Commission Act of 1962 was enacted by Parliament.

This Act was on the same lines as the Act of 1952 but with a few important differences:

(i) First, it was laid down in the Act itself that all constituencies, including those in which seats had to be reserved for the scheduled castes or the scheduled tribes in accordance with the Constitution should be single-member constituencies. This principle had already been accepted by Parliament in passing the Two-Member Constituencies (Abolition) Act, 1960 and even for the third general elections, all constituencies were single-member constituencies.

(ii) Secondly, it was expressly provided that every assembly constituency should be so limited as to fall

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2. Ibid., Govt. Pub.
within one parliamentary constituency, or, in other words, each parliamentary constituency should comprise an integral number of assembly constituencies.

(iii) The third main difference was in regard to the principles for locating the constituencies in which seats were to be reserved for the scheduled castes and for the scheduled tribes.

The composition of the Delimitation Commission as provided in the Act was the same as in 1952. It was to consist of three members, the Chief Election Commissioner ex-officio being one and each of the other two members being a sitting or retired Judge of the Supreme Court or of a High Court appointed by the Central Government. The Act provided for the appointment of nine associate members in respect of each State, four being members of the House of the People representing that State and five being members of the Legislative Assembly of that State. They were nominated, respectively, by the Speaker of the House of the People and by the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, having regard to the composition of the House or, as the case may be, of the Assembly. The jurisdiction of the Delimitation Commission initially did not extend to the States of Jammu and Kashmir and Nagaland.¹

The Central Government on January 29, 1962,

notified the constitution of the Delimitation Commission. It consisted of:

- Shri J.L. Kapur, formerly Judge of the Supreme Court - Chairman
- Shri C.P. Sinha, formerly Chief Justice of the Assam High Court - Member
- Shri V.K. Sundaram, Chief Election Commissioner - Member
- Shri P.S. Subramanian, Deputy Election Commissioner - Secretary

The Delimitation Commission notified on August 24, 1963, its Order No. 2 determining the number of seats to be assigned to the Legislative Assembly of each State and the number of seats to be reserved for the scheduled castes and for the scheduled tribes of the State. These numbers, together with the "multiple" adopted for Uttar Pradesh are set out in the Table 28 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>No. of seats in the House of the People</th>
<th>Multiple</th>
<th>No. of seats in the Legislative Assembly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Ibid, pp. 5, Table No. 2, Govt. Pub.
Immediately after the task originally assigned to the Delimitation Commission was finished in July, 1966, Shri Justice C. P. Sinha resigned from the membership of the Commission and the Govt. of India appointed in his place Shri Justice R. C. Soni, retired Judge of the Punjab High Court. The Commission, as so reconstituted, completed the delimitation of constituencies in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh within four months.

An amendment of the Representation of the People Act, 1950, made towards the end of 1966 provided that, as soon as may be after all the delimitation orders had been made by the Delimitation Commission, or as the case may be, by the Election Commission, the Election Commission should, after making such amendments as appear to be necessary for bringing up to date the description of the extent of the constituencies as given in those orders, consolidate them into one single order to be known as the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1966. This consolidated Order was made by the Election Commission on September 30, 1967, and as required by section 8 of the afore-mentioned Act, authentic copies of the Order were sent forthwith to the Central Government and to all the State Governments.

2. Ibid.
The tables 29 and 30 below set out for purpose of comparison the number of parliamentary and assembly constituencies in Uttar Pradesh at the time of general elections in 1962 and in 1967.

**TABLE - 29**

**PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Parliamentary Constituencies</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1967</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Reserved for S.C.</td>
<td>Reserved for S.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE - 30**

**ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Assembly Constituencies</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1967</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Reserved for S.C.</td>
<td>Reserved for S.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Code of conduct for Political Parties.

A New Evolution.

A seminar, on the evolution of a code of conduct, was held on 20th August, 1961, at Lucknow. Political parties participated in the seminar, and discussed the objectives and principles, differed in their interpretations and finally unanimously agreed and affirmed their faith in the objectives and embodied in the preamble and the directive principles embodied in the constitution.

2. Representatives of Political Parties in the Seminar:
   (a) Mr. Tirloki Singh (P.S.P.
   (b) Mr. A.P. Jain (Congress)
   (c) Mr. Pitamber Das (Jan Sangh)
   (d) Mr. Basudev Singh (Socialist)
   (e) Mr. Kali Shanker Shukla (Communist)
   (f) Mr. Wahidurahman (Swatantra Party)
   (g) Mr. Shanker Rao Deo
   (h) Mr. Raj Narain
   (i) Mr. C.B. Gupta
   (j) Mr. B.D. Bajpai
   (k) Mr. A.K. Karan
   (l) Mr. Khalilul Rahman.
The following conventions were agreed upon:

(1) "While criticising other political parties in the course of political agitation, criticism should be confined mainly to their principles, policies and programmes. So also, it is necessary to eschew criticism of the aspects of private life, not connected with the public activities, of leaders or workers of other parties. Further, no criticism of the parties or their workers, based on falsehood or distortion, should be indulged in.

(2) No party should indulge in any activity which would create mutual hatred or increase tension between different castes and religious communities.

(3) Political parties should desist from creating obstructions in or breaking up of meetings, processions etcetera organised by other parties.

(4) Political power at any level should not be used for furthering the interests of the members of one's own party or to harm the interests of others.

(5) Parties either dominating or holding power in cooperative institutions should not use it for furthering the interests of the members of one's own party or to discriminate against the members of their parties.

(6) Local bodies shall not be discriminated against by the State in the allocation of grant-in-aid, sanctioning schemes, superseding those bodies etc. Local bodies shall treat all citizens residing within their locality alike and offer full cooperation to the Government.

(7) No party should offer an electoral ticket for a particular election to a person, who has applied and has been refused the ticket by some other party for the same election."

Mr. S.P. Sen Varma, Chief Election Commissioner of India, observes in his communication of 26th September, 1968:

"Public discussions as to the issues involved in an election have always been regarded in a democracy as more important than even the vote itself. As has been observed by a well known author, Prof. Delisle Burns in his book "Democracy" at pp. 120-121:

"The actual voting is clearly less important, as Tocqueville showed, than the discussion which precedes the vote; for this discussion defines policy.

illuminates the situation and the forces available for dealing with it and should make all citizens more willing to live in peace with those who disagree with them. The vote then, in a democracy is an expression of an opinion right or wrong, wise or foolish, following upon free discussion. Public discussion between those of opposing opinion is assumed to have given the vote its quality of intelligent consent.

This free discussion of opposing views is an essential and inherent characteristic of democracy. As Prof. Ernest Barker observed in his book "The Citizen's Choice"—

"The thing I mean is government by discussion—government by the free competition of different political ideas by the process of debate between those ideas, by the method of adjusting competition and debate in a compromise which reconciles differences. My fundamental belief is a belief in government by discussion—free, patient, rational discussion. This is to me is the highest form of democracy, when a free people freely thinking its different thoughts, freely expresses them by different parties, freely debates them in a freely elected parliament, and freely reconciles them by the free inter-play and cooperation of parties—government
and opposition, cabinet and anticabinet - in such a parliament."

Thus, free discussion being the life-blood of a democracy it is absolutely necessary and essential that discussions during election campaign and propaganda should be carried on by candidates and political parties holding opposing views in a most peaceful and orderly manner. Therefore a code of conduct for observance by candidates and political parties was prepared by the Election Commission. I made a personal appeal to the representatives and leaders of the political parties in the meetings in which I met them in the various States and handed over to them the printed copies of the code of conduct entitled "Role and Responsibilities of Political Parties during Elections: An appeal to political parties for the observance of a minimum code of conduct during election propaganda and campaign. "The code is reproduced below:

"Election Commission of India"

Role and Responsibilities of Political Parties during Elections.

An Appeal to political parties for the observance of a minimum code of conduct during election propaganda and campaign.
Political parties are inevitable in the working of any system of representative government. No free large country has been without them.

In a large country with a vast population like India, if there were no party organizations, by whom would public opinion be roused and educated to certain specific purposes? Each party, no doubt, tries to present its own side of the case for or against any principle doctrine, or proposal, but the public, the electorate, cannot help learning something about the other side also, for even party spirit cannot separate the nation into water tight compartments; and the most artful or prejudiced party spell-binder or newspaper has to recognize the existence of the arguments he is trying to refute. Thus party strife is a sort of education for those willing to receive instruction. As Bryce observed in his 'Modern Democracies' - "The Parties keep a Nation's mind alive, as the rise and fall of the sweeping tide freshens the water of long ocean inlets." Hence the importance of election propaganda and campaign specially before a general election. But if the parties do not observe certain minimum standards of conduct and behaviour during election propaganda and campaign whereby they try to instruct, inform and educate the voters, then the value of election
propaganda and campaign as a democratic process of rousing public opinion may be reduced to nil.

The Election Commission of India, therefore, appeals to all political parties to observe the following rules of conduct in connection with the ensuing election, namely:

(1) As election means free choice after discussion, the procedure of violence is diametrically opposite to the democratic process which is a process of free discussion, therefore adjure violence and violent methods in any form in the course of election propaganda and campaign.

(2) Whether election propaganda or campaign is carried on by means of meetings and processions, speeches and slogans, posters and placards or by any other means—
   (a) make it a point not to use words or language which may incite others to violence;
   (b) do not by any means create mutual hatred or tension between different castes and communities, religious or linguistic;
   (c) confine your criticism of other political parties to their principles, policies and programmes; their past record and work, but eschew criticism of all aspects of private life, un-connected with the public activities, of the leaders and workers of other political parties. Do not indulge in
criticism of other parties and their leaders and workers based on unverified allegations and distortions;

(d) donot make any appeal to the electorate on the ground of religion, race, caste, community or language.

(3) Never use any temple, gurdwara, mosque, church or any other place of religious worship as a place for election propaganda and campaign.

(4) Avoid scrupulously all activities which are corrupt practices and offences under the election law, such as the bribing of voters, intimidation of voters, personation of voters, canvassing within 100 meters of a polling station, holding public meetings during the period of 48 hours ending with the hour fixed for the close of the poll, transport and conveyance of voters to and from polling stations.

(5) Let not your members, supporters, agents and employees create obstructions or disturbances in, or break up, meetings, processions, etc. organised by other parties or individual candidates. Donot lead any procession along, or hold any meeting in, places where processions and meetings are being led or held by any other party or individual candidate.
The observance of these minimum rules of conduct and behaviour will not only ensure free and fair election which is the half-mark of democracy but also greatly reduce the risk of the election of your candidate being declared void in election disputes."

The Role of Money in Elections.

The capacity of parties to mobilize support depends, among other factors, upon the financial resources available to them. The principal sources of party funds are private and company donations, purses presented to party leaders, regular contributions by party members and sympathizers and membership subscriptions.¹

The membership subscriptions account for only a small fraction of party funds. The All India Congress Committee, which is entitled under Congress constitution to one-eighth of the membership subscription of Re.1 per member per year, received from this source Rs. 554,646.52 P. between 1959 and 1963. The membership contributions received by the P.S.P.'s Central Office, theoretically 25 percent of the annual membership fee of 0.50 p. per member, amounted to Rs. 34,759.04 P. in 1959 and Rs. 386.52 in 1960, when the officially claimed membership stood at 251,052. The Communist Party, whose financial position

was described in the party's Organisational Report for 1964 as "deplorable", requires its members to pay an annual subscription of Re. 1 each of which 10 percent goes to the party headquarters. The Jan Sangh members pay 0.25 p. each per annum of which 10 percent goes to the central office. The Swatantra Party members pay an annual subscription of Re. 1 if they are town dwellers and 0.50 p. if they belong to rural areas; five percent of the membership dues go to the central office of the party. But information on receipts from this source is not available from any of these three parties. In no party do the subordinate units make financial contributions to the Central Organization; on the contrary they are subsidized by the latter from funds raised by the national leadership. 1

Apart from the routine expenditure on party offices, publications and maintenance of full-time workers, the largest items of party expenditure are for the periodic elections to the State Legislative Assemblies and Parliament. Most of the Parties depend upon financial support by business houses for their general as well as special election funds, though precise information is available only for the Congress and the Swatantra Party. The receipts of

these two parties over 1961-63 period from this source as disclosed by the balance sheets of 144 of the major registered companies with a total subscribed capital of over 348 crores of rupees in 1961-62, are shown in the following Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Congress Rs</th>
<th>Swatantra Rs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>7,904,197</td>
<td>2,076,151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>981,970</td>
<td>54,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>302,593</td>
<td>7,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>9,188,760</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,138,051</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The companies controlled by the house of Tata, Khatau Makanji, Martin Burn Ltd., and Birla provided 53.73 percent of the total contributions made by these 144 registered companies to political parties during 1961-63. They provided 48.34 percent of the Congress and 77.78 percent of the Swatantra Party funds raised from the corporate sector. The table below gives the

1. One Party Dominance - Party System and Election Studies, pp.41, Table 2, Allied Publishers, New Delhi.
details of party contributions by the four business groups.¹

**TABLE - 32**

Contributions to Congress and Swatantra Parties
by Four major Industrial Groups, 1961-63.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tata</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1,556,000</td>
<td>186,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>658,000</td>
<td>17,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatau Makanji</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>692,500</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>533,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Burn</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,070,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>455,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birla</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>778,238</td>
<td>59,023</td>
<td>60,117</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These and twentyseven more companies between them contributed a total sum of Rs. 6,874,571 to the Congress and Rs. 1,921,500 to Swatantra Party funds, accounting for 74.82 percent of the total collections from business sources by the former and 89.87 percent for the latter over the 1961-63 period.²

¹ One Party Dominance - Party System and Election Studies pp. 42, Table 2, Allied Publishers, New Delhi.
² Ibid.
The other recipients of business contributions were P.S.P. (Rs. 27,500), the Republican Party (Rs. 25,000) and unspecified political parties (Rs. 80,750\textdollar).\textsuperscript{1}

The above gives no more than a partial picture of party finances. The election expenses of the parties and of their nominees to the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies would give a better indication of the resources mobilized in the constituencies. But the parties do not disclose their election expenditure and the official returns filed by the candidates with the Election Commission are believed to understate the expenditure incurred in order to keep it well within the prescribed legal limit. Even so the expenditure figures as given by the candidates are not without interest for the partial estimate they provide of the resource capabilities of the parties. Table given below gives total election expenditure incurred during the Third general election in 1962 by candidates of different parties: \textsuperscript{2}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average per candidate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>15,853,231.01</td>
<td>4,862.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.I.</td>
<td>1,951,271.90</td>
<td>2,204.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1} One Party Dominance - Party System and Election Studies - pp.43, Table 4, Allied Pub., New Delhi.

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid

* Covers expenditure by 84.3 percent of all the candidates.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average per candidate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rs</td>
<td>Rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swantantra</td>
<td>3,631,875.16</td>
<td>3,416.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.S.P. . S.P.</td>
<td>3,110,051.31</td>
<td>1,874.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Sangh</td>
<td>2,126,347.80</td>
<td>1,870.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Parties</td>
<td>2,638,874.55</td>
<td>2,204.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>5,829,101.00</td>
<td>1,892.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is the power of patronage which permits the ruling party the luxury of abusing the rich while spending their money. The parties in the Opposition have to be a good deal more polite. In the desperate fight to the finish that this election has become, the opposition parties have had to succumb to Big Business pressure in a most humiliating manner. They have had to accept Big Business men themselves as their party candidates in return for the dollops thrown into their respective party coffers. ¹

It would be more interesting to speculate on the sudden inspiration to contest personally such an election that has taken hold of such a conspicuous trio of Big Business stars as Naval Tata, K.K. Birla and Ram Nath Goenka. Now, it has always been known that industry has a lobby.

as it quite properly should, among the Members of Parliament. But in the past, business men have always, as they properly should, financed other suitable candidates to project the interests of industry. This time they have taken to hustings themselves. Both Tata and Birla have explained that they seek Parliamentary seats to better present the interest of industry.¹

The Socialists in the Government are rolling in rupees by the grace of the goddess Lakshmi and the licence-permit quota racket. Richmen, their financiers, instead of fighting the Government on the issue of clean business relations with bureaucracy, are personally contesting from the Opposition. The poor men out of the Government perforce accept the hegemony of the rich to be themselves able to contest. Except the Communists, who have no financial problems as long as they continue to represent the interests of certain socialist countries.²

So while rich candidates represent their money, the poor candidates represent richmen. How many will represent the poor?³

The functioning of the political parties during the period of elections deserves to be observed

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² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
and studied in respect of certain aspects: (a) the financing of elections, (b) the selection of candidate, (c) the role of leadership, and (d) the activities of the 'militants'. With the present drive against corruption, the problem of political financing by Industrial and business concerns assumes a new significance. Thus it would be very revealing to know the ways adopted by the parties to finance the heavy election expenditure.

Caste and Voting behaviour.

V.M. Sirsikar has rightly observed:

"In India, Socio-economic Status has caste as a further complicating factor. Caste often overshadows other factors determining the socio-economic status. Education, income and occupation remaining the same, caste decides the status according to the traditional hierarchy. Thus in any income and occupation bracket, it could be said that the Brahman gets the higher status than other castes.

Professor W.H. Morris-Jones has remarked:

Caste (or sub-caste or community) is the core of traditional politics. To it belongs a complete social ethos. It embraces all and is all embracing. Every man is born into a particular communal or caste group and

2. Ibid, pp.56.
with it inherits a place and station in society from which his whole behaviour and outlook may be said, in idea at least, to be derived.

This does not mean that caste remains the sole determinant or socio-political behaviour in India. Political parties, pressure-groups, and political loyalties have cut across caste barriers to some extent. What has been sometimes overlooked is the sudden strengthening of caste loyalties vis-à-vis class and political loyalties. Without decrying this socio-political phenomenon which is affecting the democratic politics in India, it is necessary to analyse the factors responsible for it.

To believe that the third general elections were a take-off to a healthy democratic set-up appears to be a little too optimistic and over-simplified view of a complex situation. The pessimistic interpretation that caste has taken a complete and firm grip on Indian politics is equally an over-simplification. The truth lies somewhere between these two views. 'The increasing solidarity of caste over large geographical distances has led in some ways to a strengthening of the caste spirit, a spirit which has a new element in it; it is competitive. '1

Defections and Caste.

Defections plague the parties after every election; before every election it is caste that troubles them. No doubt, the old stratification based primarily on work into Brahmins (Priests), Kashtriyas (Warriors and rulers), Vaishyas (traders) and Shudras (servants) has been so eroded that it is hardly recognizable. A man's sub-caste (Jati - literally birth) intimately connected with his occupation has assumed more relevance than caste (Varna - literally colour). ¹

But sub-caste has become more rigid and disciplined than the caste itself. For example Kashtriya have got divided into the sub-castes of Rajputs and Thakurs. And at the time of elections, people tend to vote for the candidate of their sub-caste (also known as bradari) ignoring the pulls of the caste. There have been occasions when Rajputs or Thakurs joined hands with Brahmins to defeat a Kashtriya. ²

The real confrontation is between agriculturists and traders. Whether Patidars and Annavals in Gujarat, Mahisyas in West Bengal, Karmas and Reddis in Andhra Pradesh, Lingayats and Okkaligas in Mysore, Bhumidars in Bihar and

² Ibid, pp. 237.
Jats in U.P., the Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Haryana - they are all agriculturists who are trying to control politics to the exclusion of Banyas (traders) who have been ruling in their areas. 1

As a people we have a tremendous capacity for self-deception and delusion. We have removed caste from census enumeration in the (mis)belief that it will cease to disfigure our society. Ostrich-like we believe that we have exorcised its evil spirit; the fact is, it continues in social life and it has raised, its ugly head in politics. The factor of caste is kept very much in mind at the time of the selection of candidates caste and group leaders - dadas - come to the fore at election time and they deliver the votes for their candidates.2

Dominance of Congress Party.

Lack of internal cohesion is the most noticeable characteristic of all the major parties. Factions, inherent in a system of one party dominance where the dominant party draws into its fold divergent elements from a wide range of social groups and economic interests, have become pervasive in the Congress and the absence of a clear ideological bond and of belief in the significance

for a larger cause of what they do has caused decay among Congressmen of the sentiment of public purpose in the pursuit of power. To keep the factions under control and prevent them from destroying each other and disrupting the organisation has been one of the principal concern of the Congress High Command. No attempt has been made to make the Congress homogeneous by extinguishing all dissent because the diversity of the country, past history and compulsions of power in a democratic polity alike demand that the coalition character of the party be preserved. This has enabled it to admit into its fold, as and when it seemed necessary for preserving its ascendency in the States, a communal group such as the Akalis in Punjab, caste parties in Madras, a tribal party in Bihar, the leftist-oriented United Democratic Front in Andhra Pradesh, Jagirdars in Rajasthan, Indian Muslim League in Kerala and a large section of the Praja Socialist Party all over the country. Though this promiscuous accommodation has produced considerable strain in the organisation, the cementing element of power and the segacity of the High Command have enabled the Congress to absorb dissidence, except in Kerala where the strategy of weeding out dissent led to the party's eviction from power.¹

The Opposition parties, with the exception of the Jan Sangh have also demonstrated marked proveness to factional struggles. The left parties continue to strive for homogeneity that has eluded them throughout their history. Democratic centralism notwithstanding, the ideologically committed Communists have been violently divided among themselves since 1948 and openly split in 1964. Policy differences, though important, have been aggravated by personal feuds and the party has been shattered from top to bottom by the unrestrained reciprocal invective by the Left and the Right sections of the party: --- "factionalism, blatant lack of discipline and regional disregard for central authority" have become "permanent features of C.P.I. life, to a degree seen in few, if any, other Communist parties."¹ Factional disputes in the party are aggravated by the fierce controversies in the international communist movement, which have been the major cause of the 1964 split.²

The socialists too are acutely faction-ridden; every leader has a faction of his own and the party has suffered at least half a dozen major splits since 1947.³ Recently another attempt has been made to unite the

---

³ Ibid.
Praja Socialist Party, Samyukta Socialist Party and a few splinter groups into Socialist Party. But the cracks in the party unity have already developed. Praja Socialist Party members in some States are also not happy with this announcement and are still serving the local loyalties in their own States.

The Swatantra Party does not even strive to be cohesive.  

The other left parties, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Forward Bloc and the Peasants' and Workers' Party, have shown the tendency to split into factions characteristic of all the left parties.

The spirit of loyalty thus appears to have weakened in the Congress, has never existed in the Swatantra Party and barely survives to sustain the Socialists and Communists of all descriptions; the Jan Sangh perhaps commands it in the largest measures though it too has its factional tensions between those closely associated with the R.S.S. and the rest.

---


2. Ibid.

It may well be that by and large the voting act is devoid of political content and that there is no necessary correspondence between casting one's vote for a party and signifying a preference for it.¹

The ascendancy of the Congress Party is amply demonstrated by the results of the three general elections. Table 34 shows the proportion of valid votes polled and seats won by the major parties in the three elections.²

**TABLE - 34**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Per cent votes 1952</th>
<th>Per cent votes 1957</th>
<th>Per cent votes 1962</th>
<th>Per cent seats 1952</th>
<th>Per cent seats 1957</th>
<th>Per cent seats 1962</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Congress</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>75.1</td>
<td>73.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. C.P.I.</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. P.S.P. - S.P.</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Swatantra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Jan Sangh</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Other Parties</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Independents</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

². Ibid. pp.51; Table-7 (pp.52).
II. STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Congress</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>61.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. C.P.I.</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. P.S.P.-S.P.</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Swatantra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Jan Sangh</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Other Parties</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. independents</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A measure of stable party support in the capacity of a party to retain seats from one election to the next.

A comparison between the seats held in 1957 and retained in 1962 by the various parties is given in Table 35 below:

**TABLE - 35**

Party-wise distribution of seats held in 1957 and retained in 1962.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>LOK SABHA</th>
<th>State Assemblies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seats held 1957</td>
<td>Seats retained 1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Congress</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. C.P.I.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. P.S.P.-S.P.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Jan Sangh</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Other Parties</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Independents</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1962 the Congress lost 84 of its 371 seats held in the Lok Sabha in 1957; it gained 74 seats from the opposition. In the elections to the State Assemblies it lost 729 and gained 637 seats. The distribution of the Congress gains and losses is shown in the Table 36 below:1

The principal losses suffered by the Congress party have been to the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh while its gains have been made at the expense of the Independents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>LOK SABHA</th>
<th></th>
<th>STATE ASSEMBLIES</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>Gained</td>
<td>Net change</td>
<td>Lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.I.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.S.P.-S.P.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swatantra</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Sangh</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Parties</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>+9</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Seats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 84 74 -10 729 637 -92

The conclusions that emerge from an analysis of the electoral data are that the Congress party's position is still very strong, though under serious challenge in some of the States; that in the terms of distribution of electoral support it is still the only "national" party; and that in its support structure it is remarkably representative of the country as a whole.  

The most significant fact which emerges from an analysis of the previous four general elections is the dominant position of the Indian National Congress (except Kerala) under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. Until the fourth general elections, the Congress own such impressive majority that all the other parties put together could not challenge it. It was only after Nehru's death in 1964, followed 18 months later by the passing of Shashtri, that the Nation faced a major crisis of confidence, and the Congress barely managed to get a majority of 42 in the Lok Sabha. One of the main reasons for the eclipse of the Congress was the "Opposition alliances" made against it. As a result, though the Congress had secured more than 40 percent of the vote, it lost heavily to the combined Opposition candidates. This strategy, forged by the late Ram Manohar Lohia of the S.S.P., paid handsome dividends to the Opposition parties.  

Tables 37 and 38 give a clear picture of the continuous downfall of the Congress majority in four general elections held in Uttar Pradesh for Parliament and Legislative Assembly.

### TABLE - 37

**LOK SABHA RESULTS**

**HOW DID THE PEOPLE VOTE IN FOUR GENERAL ELECTIONS IN UTTAR PRADESH.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>31,770,309</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>34,901,603</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>36,250,445</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>42,145,681</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 38

**Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assemblies "Party Returns" in Four General Elections.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTY &amp; INDEPENDENTS</th>
<th>SEATS CONTESTED AND WON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Total Seats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Total Seats Contested &amp; Won</td>
<td>2,604 (430)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Congress</td>
<td>429 (390)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Communist</td>
<td>43 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Communist (Marxist)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Forward Bloc (Ruikar)</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kisan Mazdoor Praja</td>
<td>266 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Hindu Maha Sabha</td>
<td>61 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Jan Sangh</td>
<td>210 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Praja Socialist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Republican</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Scheduled Cast Federation</td>
<td>32 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Socialist</td>
<td>350 (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Swabhita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Ram Rajya Parishad</td>
<td>96 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Revolutionary Socialist</td>
<td>50 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Peoples' Party</td>
<td>58 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Revolutionary Communist</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Bolshevik Party of India</td>
<td>2 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Independents</td>
<td>1,005 (14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Table is comprised of the details given by R. Chandidas et al - INDIA VOTES - A source book of Indian Elections - pp. 700 to 711, Popular Prakashan, Bombay.*
Polarisation of Parties.

The split was apparently accidental but had an inevitability about it in the way the Syndicate was working from the time of the Faridabad Congress, especially from the foisting of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy as presidential candidate. The Congress cannot think of itself as a helpless instrument of an unknown destiny. It must work as a conscious instrument with certain direction and definite goals. The impulse behind the requisitioned session of the A.I.C.C. in Delhi and the Bombay session of the Congress is not lost and cannot be allowed to be lost.

There was a split in the Congress Party over the selection of the Presidential candidate. It resulted in the dissolution of the Lok Sabha and mid-term polls to establish a clear majority for the Congress (R).

In the mid-term elections this week the same strategy is sought to be repeated by the Congress led by Nijalingappa. His "Grand Alliance" consists of the Congress(O), the Jan Sangh, the Swatantra and the S.S.P. It has no common programme save one: to topple Indra Gandhi from power. Its slogan is clear: "Indra Hatao". The

Congress led by Jagjivan Ram has not entered into any alliance with any party on the national level but it has made adjustments of seats in some States with regional parties such as the D.M.K., the Muslim League and the C.P.I. The chief issue at the polls is a vote for or against Indra Gandhi.¹

The nationalization of Banks and the abolition of the privy purses of princes and such other radical changes proposed by the Congress led by Jagjivan Ram proved beneficial and they returned with great majority at centre and in Uttar Pradesh than before. The following Table 39 gives the latest position of the different political parties in the mid-term elections held in March, 1971. This table gives the party position in the new Lok Sabha on Monday, March 15, 1971, with one result outstanding:²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats declared</th>
<th>S.S.P.</th>
<th>R.S.P.</th>
<th>F.S.P.</th>
<th>Other parties</th>
<th>Independents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>514</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.(M)</td>
<td>518</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.I.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.M.K.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Sangh</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress(0)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telangana P.S.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swatantra</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, it was in her Red Fort speech, last year, that Mrs. Indra Gandhi first spoke of "Garibi Hatao" which later became a rallying slogan for the Congress at the mid-term poll. It was a fiery speech she paused to take "a pledge here and now to fight India's poverty with every ounce of my energy and strength". ¹

Addressing a conference of District Congress Presidents and Secretaries, in May last, Indra Gandhi had said that it was wrong to say that the forces of reaction and feudalism had been routed at the mid-term election. They had only been "silenced for the time being". ²

"It is not enough to defeat these factors at the polls. They should be eliminated." ³

Secrets of Congress(R) Success.

Congress(R) success depended mainly on the mustering of support from the youth and the women. The new blood was infused into the Congress and people like Chandrajeet Yadav and other Young-Turks were given opportunity to bring radical changes in the policies of the Congress and to implement them Chandrajeet Yadav, was elected 'a new type of A.I.C.C. Secretary, who was able

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
to project new ideas and thereby, bring out lakhs of people on the street in solidarity action.¹

Women participation in Uttar Pradesh politics.

S.M. Sayeed in a study of political attitudes and performance of the woman members of the U.P. Assembly mentions the following:²

In the U.P. Legislative Assembly the number of woman members has never been more than six percent of the total membership of the Assembly. There were eleven woman members in 1952; twenty-six in 1957, twenty in 1962; six in 1967 and eighteen in 1969. The following table 40 presents a detailed account of the women members elected from different political parties during the last Elections to the U.P. Legislative Assembly.³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Seats</td>
<td>429 430 429 425</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>11 25 19 6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Sangh</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.S.P.</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.K.D.</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.S.P.</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11 26 20 6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage against total strength of Assembly: 2.5% 6.0% 4.6% 14% 4.2%

1. A. Raghavan - Decks cleared for radical changes, Blitz Ind. Day Sp. 1971, p. 21
3. Ibid.
It is revealed from the Election Results that in the First General Elections there were only 34 women out of 2,604 candidates contesting in the Elections; in the Second General Elections 42 out of 1711; in the third General Elections 54 out of 2,620; in the Fourth General Elections 45 out of 3014 and in the Mid-term poll 60 women out of 2,871 candidates contested the Elections to the U.P. Assembly. This constituted 1.3, 2.4, 1.4 and 2.03 percent of the total contestants in the last four General Elections and Mid-term poll respectively.¹

It appears that most of the political parties, because of the consecutive defeat of their woman candidates, avoided setting up women in the Elections. It also shows that there has been acute shortage of suitable and strong women who could contest Elections successfully.²

As has already been pointed out, 610 woman contested the Mid-term poll, 25 from the Congress Party and the remaining from other political parties; but only 18 of them could succeed. Of the present 18 woman members of the Assembly, 14 belong to the Congress Party*, one to the S.S.P. and three to the Bhartiya Kranti Dal. It means, that the

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* Congress(O) 8, Congress(R) 6.
number of woman members belonging to the parties other than the Congress is only four which constituted 22.2 percent of the total women membership of the Assembly. The woman representation of the B.K.D. is 16.6 and of the S.S.P. is 5.5 percent of the present strength of the women in the U.P. Legislative Assembly. Thus, the Congress is the only party whose woman members in the Assembly have always constituted more than 75 percent of the total number of woman members of the Assembly. This study reveals that the majority of the woman members have been drawn from the rural constituencies. Out of the 18 sitting woman members, only three were elected from the city constituencies and remaining have been returned from the rural constituencies.