CHAPTER No. - VI
CHAPTER VI

BACKGROUND OF THE FIFTH GENERAL ELECTION

It is clear that before the fourth Lok Sabha Elections there was domination of the Congress Party in India, in the States and also at the Centre. Thus in the true sense the Congress was the ruling party and it monopolized the government in India. Consequently, in order to end its monopoly opposition parties of India were united. Different opposition parties made herculean efforts in this connection between 1952 to 1957 in various general elections but they failed because the voters had great faith in the Congress Party. They believed that it would definitely fulfil its promises and solve the problems of the masses. When the public realised that the promises even after 20 years of freedom could not be fulfilled the idea gained ground that the single claim on the rule of the Congress should come to an end and whenever it is possible in the states governments of opposition parties should be formed. After the General Elections of 1967 there were nine states where governments of opposition parties were formed, in which rightist and leftist parties came into force. However, they could not be successful because there was much difference in their theory and practice.

In the Lok Sabha election a great change was found. There was some party conflict in the Congress and hence, in the Lok Sabha out of 522 candidates only 228 could get their place and opposition parties came in majority for the first time. The Fourth Lok Sabha was dissolved on December 27, 1970, and the Prime Minister in her
broadcast to the nation observed 'We feel we cannot go ahead with our proclaimed programme and keep our pledges to our people'\(^1\). In a democratic system of government political parties put forth their competitive promises which attract the voters.

It is obvious that there was a sea-change in the fortunes of the Congress. The party was returned to power intruncated majority. For long many foreign observers had expressed serious doubts about the suitability of parliamentary democracy for India. After the General Election, 1967, Neville Maxwell had rashly predicted that "India's Fourth General Election would be her last". He also believed that "great experiment of developing India within a democratic framework", had failed in the country.\(^2\) However the mid-term Lok Sabha elections proved that there were many cynics and pessimists who could not think of the Indian voters properly.

The mid-term Lok Sabha poll of 1971 brought a tremendous change in the voting behaviour of the Indian electorate. This change in the attitude of the voters had two aspects. It may be taken into account that first of all anti-congress sentiments were generated in 1966-'67 in the wake of the two wars, devaluation and also two bad harvests had by now lost their edge. Secondly, it is obvious that the base of the Congress(R) shifted significantly in this election. Rajni Kothari, Director, Centre for the study of developing societies, in a talk by the A.I.Radio said:

\(^1\) - Indian Express, New Delhi, December 28, 1970
"The old Congress party operated within the prevailing social structure. It has survived essentially by coming to terms with entrenched social interest - dominant castes, landed families, influential leaders and so forth - rather than changing the effective balance of power in society. The new party has come to power following a process that challenges this structure and mobilized hitherto ignored groups and gave them a sense of direct involvement - such as the small farmers and the landless, the scheduled castes and tribes, urban lower middle classes, and the aspiring youth and intelligentsia. Now it is not for the first time that these groups have voted for the Congress, the Congress has all along drawn support from the underprivileged. What is new is the consciousness with which this was done this time, a consciousness in which slogan of "GARIBI HATAO" played an important part".

In the eyes of the political observers of the world the result of 1971 elections was surprising. The mid-term poll once again re-established a strong centre and a powerful executive while the fifth parliament was too weak to take any important decision and was interfering in the day to day task of the administration. Therefore, there was a great need in the country for an important leader who could impress upon the voters and this was possible only when voting behaviour changed.

In the mid-term election of Lok Sabha massive victory of Congress(R) would mean an end of the "Politics of manipulations"

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which had been practised for long in the states. In the past, they had played a decisive role in determining the succession and maintaining the balance of power at the centre through their states contingence in Parliament. Owing to personal popularity of the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi there were leaders who were bound to keep their ambition within the limits. It would, in turn, alter the power equations within the ruling Congress and also facilitate the implementation of policies which might not be entirely to their thinking.

POSITION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN LOK SABHA ELECTION 1971-72

The mid-term poll 1971 brought an unexpected sea-change in the complexion of political parties of India. The voters badly ignored the opportunistic attitude and interest of leaders who had been enjoying power since Lok Sabha election of 1967. The S.V.D. Governments that were engaged in keeping themselves in power through unprincipled coalitions and contradictory or factional ideologies, lost their image in the states. The regional parties, B.K.D., in U.P., Haryana and Rajasthan, the Akali Dal in Punjab, the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra and Utkal Congress in Orissa, were keeping their place in the states but at the national level these were not significant. Besides, a great change was observed in the attitude of opposition parties. As a matter of fact the opposition parties expressed their great annoyance and tried to appear much more different from the ruling Congress Party than even before. There was a problem before the small parties also. The regional and smaller parties had to make up their minds as to where they wished to be because their separate identity and existing was not possible any more.¹

It is important to note that the election of 1971 destroyed many social evils at one stroke. It made it abundantly clear that in future, caste, religion, feudal influence or even "Money Power" would not affect the pattern of voting behaviour in a big way as they had been doing in the last four general elections of the Lok Sabha. There was a total defeat of parties like BKD, Jansangh, Hindu Mahasabha or the Muslim league which made it apparent that the influence of caste loyalties or religion was on the decline. There was some strong-hold parties in the various states like Rajasthan, Gujrat, M.P. or even Orissa because there was feudal hold and in these states the princes were badly defeated by a great majority of votes.

PARTY ALLIANCE:

Since the Congress was the most dominating party at the national level and was keeping its control on administration since independence, it caused jealousy to other rival parties. After the death of Pt. Nehru, Jansangh and SSP were seeking a chance to have a show down with the Congress Party. Due to this reason in the general election of 1971 a grand alliance was arrived at by different parties. It was clear in the vision of Ch. Charan Singh, Atal Bihari Bajpayee that Congress(R) would not get its majority in the Lok Sabha. This gave a major set back to the nationalist and democratic forces in the country. All efforts to persuade Ch. Charan Singh to reconsider the decision about BKD going alone having failed, the leaders of the Congress(D), the Jansangh and the Swatantra party decided to go ahead for a United Nationalist

1 - L.M. Singhvi, Indian Parties and Politics, Dr. Subhash C. Kashyap (Ed.) The Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary studies New Delhi, Research Publication, P. 12.
and democratic front to contest the elections against the Congress (R), Communist combined and the Jansangh wanted to bring SSP also to give the proposed alliance a leftist image. But SSP leadership was divided and its dominant section wanted to go alone or seek adjustment with the CPI and the PSP wherever possible. However, in the last stages the SSP, changed its mind.¹

Before the general election of 1971 Congress (O) Swatntra-Jansangh alliance was declared formally and consequently common statement of objectives was announced. Later on the Swatntra Party persuaded the SSP leaders to join the proposed alliance. The SSP leaders agreed to join it on the condition that there would be no joint programme or statement of objectives of the alliance - parties and that all parties were free to chalk out their own course of action after the election were over. On the concurrence of A.B. Bejpayee the President of Bhartiya Jansangh, it was decided to have a loose alliance of Congress(O), Jansangh and the SSP to put up joint candidates against the Congress (R) CPI-Muslim League. In this way efforts were made so that votes should not be split and the trend of voters may not favour the Congress(R) alliance. However, in the end Swatntra Party also joined the alliance of Jansangh.

The Congress(R) won the election. The electorate found that "Indira Gandhi combines courage with dynamic progressive radicalism with responsible idealism. The picture in the minds of the electorate was that, "A vote for Indira Gandhi is a vote for a strong, united India".²

¹ - Ibid pp 11-12
It would not be out of place to mention that although there had been an alliance of Jansangh-Congress(O)-Swatantra and SSP but their objectives were quite different. The Swatantra stood for property-owing democracy, free trade and enterprise and for less investment in the public sector. The Congress organisation held the views of the undivided Congress which were not approved by its three allied parties. The SSP wanted the deletion of right to property and lowering the ceiling on land holdings which was opposed by the Jansangh.¹ In this way there were many contradictions among the allied parties which did not leave a sound impression upon the mind and heart of electorate and did not inspire faith. The Swatantra leader M.R. Masani himself admitted the truth that "the formation of electoral fronts had not, as hoped, led to polarisation of political parties into clearly defined right and left groupings."² On this important occasion Patil said "the election has proved that Congress is a great party. Split or not it is irreplaceable. In this hour of triumph why should we not all get together and get cozy. There is a time for recrimination and another time for reconciliation."³ On the same occasion, acknowledging the attitude of Indian electorate Mr. S.Nijlangeppa also said that our voters have shown that they are mature enough to distinguish democracy from dictatorship.⁴

If considering the need of social and educational values, the nationalist parties stand together it is sure that the electors would be impressed sooner or later. Therefore, education should be

2 - Northern India Patrika(Sunday, Febr. 14, 1971), P.5
3 - Shanker's Weekly, 'What went wrong', Vol 23, No. 43, March 1971
given greater importance than hitherto, for uniting the parties.

It is rather difficult that different political parties will agree on one point and proper understanding will be developed without any vested interests. But it is possible and an ideal stage in the political atmosphere can be created, the opposition parties can play an excellent role in the interest of the welfare of the people. It should be hoped that polarisation of thought and parties will take place in India in the days to come. That is essential, if multiplicity of parties in the country is to be removed and ground cleared for the success of democracy. But this process will definitely take more time. Therefore, it would be better if such parties take lead before it is too late and in this way benefit the country.

CAUSES OF OVERWHELMING VICTORY OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IN 1971

The mid-term election to the Lok Sabha was ordered by the President of India soon after the dissolution of the old Lok Sabha on Decr. 27, 1970 and it took place in the country by March, 10, 1971. In this mid-term fifth Lok Sabha election a total electorate of about 272,735,000 were entitled to vote and total votes polled were 150,734,512 about 55.27%, whereas in 1967 out of an approximate total electorate of 250,000,000 as much as 162,696,970 votes were polled which was about 61.32%. There were 3.24% invalid votes in 1971 and 4.68% in 1967.

The Congress was already split before the mid-term Lok Sabha elections as has already been illustrated. It was expected that it would be very difficult for the congress(R) to manage solid majority

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1 - S.S. Sahota, Indira Gandhi, A Political biography, Jullunder, New Academic publishing Co. 1972, p.81
in the Lok Sabha due to the general condition prevailing in the country.

Inflationary tendencies had already prevailed in the country and the problem of lower food production was also creating disturbance in the minds of the people of India. On the problem of privy-purses, the princess of the former states had been annoyed with the Congress(R) and they formed independent Swatantra Party. On Decr.15,1970, The Supreme Court by a nine-one majority struck down the Presidential order derecognising the Princess and thus restored to them their Privy-purses and privileges.¹ Unemployment and poverty were increasing day by day and an immediate solution was not possible. In this way there were great problems facing the Government. It was very important for the ruling Congress to gain absolute majority in the states and at the centre after the election so that solution to these problems could be found.

The Prime Minister said while launching her election programme that Bank Nationalisation had already been done. The objectives of nationalising the bigger banks were removal of control by a few, provision of adequate credit for agriculture, small industry and exports. Bank management was to become a profession and there was to be a new class of entrepreneurs to whom credit would be extended. This was now controlled by the big commercial houses owning the banks so that the little men got no chance to start small scale industries. The present situation, the Prime Minister commented "Leaves much to be desired. Nationalisation is necessary for the speedy achievement of these objectives".² Thus a bill for the nationalisation of

¹ - Nirmal Kumar Basu, Indira of India, Calcutta, Sanskrit Pustak Bhander, 1972, p.148  
fourteen of seventy four scheduled banks was introduced in Parliament in July 1969 as the 'Acquisition and Transfer of understanding Bill'. This was a step towards socialism which was appreciated by the common man and influenced the electorate.

GREEN REVOLUTION:

Great importance was attached to this programme in order to make India self-sufficient in food. The Prime Minister mentioned that India was independent on her monsoons for the success of crops, but 1968 to 1970 were good years and wheat was almost in surplus and there was enough to meet scarcity in future and buffer stocks were built up. Rice was still short in some predominantly rice-eating states but high yielding grains had been imported from Japan and were expected to make an impact on the rice shortfall. Various incentives were given to farmers such as Tax relief and facility of providing them fertilisers. They were helped by loaning of tractors and the channeling of water from canals for irrigation. The Green Revolution was on its way. Moreover, ceiling had been put on the possession of agricultural land against those whose were misusing the land they possessed. The mind of the Prime Minister was clear that the output of food should be increased.

GARIBI HATAO

Having announced a mid-term poll for Lok Sabha Smt. Indira Gandhi announced a slogan that there should be ban on poverty in India. It is a curse for the nation, hence it should be abolished. She said "the Constitution is there to protect the people's right. Now when there is conflict between a few people and the mass of people, some

1 - Ibid p.109
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way has to be found. We want to find a democratic and constitutional way .......... If the constitution needs changing, then that has to be explored and ways found to be changed." Mrs. Indira Gandhi further added that we are not in favour of removing all the fundamental rights nor are we even against right to property, but we believe in having certain ceiling on property whether urban or rural.¹ Looking to the socio-economic condition of the country Smt. Indira Gandhi explained while launching the election programme of the Congress(R) that in our country there is inequality between the rich and the poor and the extent to which poverty prevailed in India, it must be understood that things could not be corrected overnight. Definitely it was a hard task but she would not leave any stone unturned to remove the social and economic disparity in the country but let us hope that some or the other day we would achieve our goal.

Further, she said that under the provisions of the fourth five Year plan there is scope for the young peoples' employment. They were encouraged to try out various projects as well as schemes for self-employment. There were concrete plans to provide employment to a minimum of 1000 persons in each district. In this respect a start had been given.

On the occasion of the mid-term election programme of 1971 the Prime Minister laid emphasis on the issue of property in India and politics. She added "the election should not be demanded as merely a tussle for leadership nor a fight to right the triumph of any

¹ - Ele Sen : Indir Gandhi A biography, Bombay Rupa & Co.1973 p.119
political party. It involved deeper issues of basic principles and ideas having a bearing on the destiny of country's millions, specially the poor section of the society. "We oppose Capitalism" she averred, both in form and content and all that issues from it and prevents us from taking appropriate steps for the economic emancipation of poor millions.¹

But the Prime Minister was everywhere with her slogan of "Garibi Hatao", making the rich feel self conscious, perhaps temporarily guilty. To the poor she brought hope, she told them of the measures that would be undertaken to ease their burden. People were also warned that they must not expect miracles but promised that they would certainly see changes. The Indian electorate is a conscious electorate. In the past they extended their cooperation to acquire freedom and in future they might do the same to help Indira Gandhi to better their condition as she had inspired their faith.²

**EMPLOYMENT**

In fulfilment of the commitments made by the Congress(R) Election 1971 of the Lok Sabha, the Union Government initiated several special programmes of high priority to provide additional employment and to promote greater opportunities for the weaker sections.³ These included programmes for rural works in drought areas, the crash scheme for rural employment and special schemes for the benefit of the small farmers, marginal farmers and

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¹ - Speech delivered by Smt. Indira Gandhi, on Febr. 2, 1971 at Kharagpur (West Bengal).
³ - Congress(R) Election manifesto, 1971.
agricultural labourers. A special provision was also made in the Central Budget of 1971-72 for schemes, many of which have been sanctioned for absorbing the educated unemployed in general and engineers and technicians in particular.¹ There were various schemes of the Congress(R) party and were financed by the Central Government; the state governments were also fully responsible for their efficiency and timely implementation. It left a deep influence on the mind of the voters, specially the younger generation of the country and the result was that Congress(R) could win with a strong and solid majority.

While planning for the nation the Prime Minister with her foresightedness marked the need of the time and it was necessary for her victory. Her strategy was to identify herself with the teeming millions, the poor and the unemployed, the young and the minorities. Since, the split in the Congress Party, she had been attempting to radicalise Indian Politics by giving slogans of change and promises of radical programmes. Mrs. Gandhi in her election programme had been trying to reduce the number of her opponents through defensive postures by describing them as "backward looking people" who were old and did not understand the aspirations of the new generations.² In the manifesto of Congress(R) clear light was thrown maintaining that the Congress(R) was gravely concerned with the hardship caused to our people by prevailing unemployment.³ In this way she appealed to the hearts of the people. Regarding employment the Prime Minister mentioned

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1 - Shiv Lal(Ed.) Election Archives - Since Independence and Before, No. 9, New Delhi, Election Archives 1972, p.109.
2 - Dr. C.P. Bhambhari, Fifth Lok Sabha elections-Ideas and Issues; Indian Parties and Politics, Dr. Subhash C.Kashyap(ed) Indian Institute of Parliamentary Studies, p.67.
that certain schemes were already in operation under the special budget provision of Rs. 25 crores made for providing additional employment for arts and science graduates and diploma holders.¹

The Congress recognises that much more remains to be done and is determined to do it with the priority that the problem merits. It was also clearly indicated in the speeches of the Prime Minister that within time bound programmes for providing productive employment facilities would be extended on an adequate scale for different categories of educated persons. Assurance was given to the engineering graduates that within the limit of a few years it is guaranteed that they will be employed. The Congress(R) also promised that massive research would be conducted to control floods and to exploit mineral resources in the country. Irrigational resources will be developed and the fruits of such development should be equitably spread out, particularly aimed to benefit the small and marginal farmers, the landless and the agricultural development.

In short, the Congress party led by Smt. Indira Gandhi projected its programme of "left the centre" and picked up problems of unemployment, poverty and social inequalities to fight the election.²

There were many more obstacles and hindrances in fulfilling all these promises in the year 1971-72. During the year 1971 Bangladesh crisis came before the country and hence to implement 'Garibi Hatao' and in order to solve the unemployment problem of


² - Ibid, P. 391.
of the nation, the 20-point economic programme was introduced in 1975.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT:

The major problem in India is of the rural industries. In the villages there are a large number of people unattached to land or any other work. At the time of the mid-term election of 1971 the Congress promised to provide them with new opportunities for gainful employment. The leader of the Congress (R) said that every village would be electrified and agro-industries on a large scale would be developed. The villages must get a better place and without it national development in a real sense will not be possible.

For a large country like India development ought to cover the public sector industries. The country has the right to demand of management and workers dedicated and disciplined work, in the fruits of which they should have their due share. There must be a proper wage policy which will give incentives to the workers to extend their services more sincerely to increase production. Moreover, it is also required to increase productivity so that there must be some reforms in the management. Apart from this private monopoly in the field of production should be discouraged and proper control over them should be kept so that there may not be exploitation of labour and production may be increased.

1 - Dilip Mukherjee wrote under the caption, "Mrs. Gandhi takes the Plunge" There is a high probability that she will in the next few days give her party's image a new shine by offering concrete indications that she plans to take the country a little further to the left. She may thus convert the election into a referendum on policy issues.
WOMEN VOTERS IN LOK SABHA ELECTIONS 1971:

The women voters of the country without any proper assessment on this account were also supposed to have tilted the balance in favour of the Congress(R) in both the parliamentary as well as in the assembly polls of 1972.¹

DEFLECTION AND UNSTABILITY IN STATE GOVERNMENTS:

Before the mid-term election of the Parliament in 1971 there were some political waves owing to various reasons. Some Congress leaders were hankering after power and hence they left the Congress and joined other parties. Hence in states like U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa etc., SVO Governments were established. It was the expectation of the public that they might do some thing better for them. The public had been constantly watching political activities and marked that they were motivated towards power politics and had their vested interests in every state. There had been inner conflicts in the SVO Governments and they could not pay heed towards the public welfare and their problems. As a result inflationary tendencies began to develop rapidly. Social and economic disparities increased more speedily. Hence, the faith of the public was shattered. Meanwhile the position of the undivided Congress was also week in the Lok Sabha, hence, it was also not in a position to improve the condition. Public riots on the basis of communalism, casteism and regionalism were started, therefore, peace disappeared from the life of the common man.

These were the reasons that inspite of the fact that Congress was

¹ - Shiv Lal, Election Archives, Part I, April 1975 CA-33
    New Delhi, Tagore Garden, p.36.
divided and Congress (R) contested General Elections independently it was fixed in the mind of the public that without establishing a strong Government at the centre their interest could not be protected as Smt. Indira Gandhi herself expressed. Therefore, the public contemplated deeply and cast vote in favour of the Congress (R) which had promised to protect the interest of the public in the party manifesto. The electorate was fed up with the defections and consequent fall of various state governments.

CENTRE AND STATE RELATIONSHIP:

Good Centre-State relation was also the need of the time for the purpose of public welfare. People were tired of the eer rendering complaints of some non-congress state and union territory governments that the Congress rulers at the centre were callous to their complaints.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT AND PUBLIC FAITH:

The Congress (R) manifesto of 1971 made quite apparent the ruling party's unhappiness over certain judicial pronouncements and emphasised the party's determination to see such constitutional remedies and amendments as were necessary to overcome the impediments in the path of social justice, equity and socialism. "The spirit of democracy", said the manifesto, "demands that the constitution should enable the fulfilment of the needs and the urges of the people" But it gave no indication regarding the

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1 - The Hindu (Madras); 29th December 1970.
2 - Shiv Lal (Ed.) Election Archives, Part I, April 1975, p.36
amendments which were being contemplated. The reference to the "Right to property" in the manifesto made it clear that the party's aim was not to expropriate all private property as had been deliberately misinterpreted by misleading and mischievous propaganda to confuse the minds of the owners who were possessing small and medium property holdings. In this way the electorate was promised peaceful but radical change.

NEW PHASE OF CONGRESS:

More than 24 years had passed since India achieved independence and during this long interval the political parties as well as electorate had been consensual. Though there were different causes for the overwhelming victory of the Congress(R) but more importance was given to it that it had changed its old political phase and pattern. Prof. W.K.R.V. Rao, an economist and member of Parliament had pointed out that the main reason for the victory of the Congress(R) was the leftist image of the centre and the results were an approval of the leftist policies of the present government. The Congress had been that party at the centre and it seems that the policies of the Congress Party represented the consensus of the Indian electorate. Actually speaking this was the recent origin in the Indian National Congress.

FAILURE OF ALLIANCE:

The Congress (O)-Jan Sangh - Swantantre-SSP made a joint front to contest the election of Lok Sabha but Mrs. Gandhi in her election tour through various parts of the country continued to concentrate

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1 - Times of India, (New Delhi); Dec. 26, 1970
2 - O.P. Goyal Politics of Consensus, Counter consensus and Ideological continuum - 1971; Parliament and Politics, Dr. Subhash E. Kashyap; (Ed.) New Delhi, Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary studies, 1972, P.76.
on projecting her radical image.¹ It was one of the persons that the grand alliance which was made by various parties could not go ahead with the policies and programmes accepted together by them. Though temporarily they formed their policies to win the election they still had their vested interests and hence, every one was intent on serving his own ends. This alliance was made with the aim of ousting the Congress(R) but neither they had mutual trust nor they could create faith in the electorate of the country. Besides there was no dominating political leader who could make proper adjustments.

Smt. Gandhi had been projecting her speeches on the basis of socio-economic issues. The other aspect, which was equally important was concerned with exposing the defects of her opponents.

Her opponents had no programme to meet the challenges before the country. They talked of negative things while she gave positive slogans like 'Garibi Hatao.' Her opponents replied with 'Indira Hatao.' In this way the opponents had been making a negative approach along with their selfish interest and, hence, their failure.

The opposition had formed a Grand Alliance comprising of the Congress(R), SSP, Jan Sangh and Swantantra. Smt. Gandhi criticised it and reminded her audience about the failure of coalition governments in the various states of India. During this period the country had passed through a great crisis and SD Governments could not protect the interests of the public. A coalition government at the centre would weaken the government and it would have adverse

¹ - Indian Express (New Delhi, Jan. 22, 1971.)
effects on the development of the country. If gigantic programmes of nation building were to be carried out a strong and stable government, at the centre was imperative and she wanted a mandate for this.\(^1\) It may be asked, as to how the uneducated rural electorate could respond to the principles and programmes communicated by Smt. Indira Gandhi. Also, even educated people could not be carried away by attractive slogans alone. The electorate was aware of the history of all the political parties since independence. Other political parties had also been given a chance at the centre after the general elections of 1967. The Congress was not in a solid majority. The total number of the opponents was higher yet all the opponents could do nothing concrete for the general welfare of the people. SVD's were also a failure in various states. This made it clear that only the Congress(R) could do something for the people. Many steps had been taken for the development of agriculture, industry, employment, education, socialism, secularism, etc., by the Congress government, since independence. These causes inspired rural voters in favour of Congress(R). They realised the importance of a strong centre and solid administration. In this way regionalism, casteism, communalism were also challenged. On Decr. 29, 1970, when Mrs. Indira Gandhi virtually, launched her election campaign at a news conference in New Delhi on Decr. 29, 1970 with the frontal attack on vested interests and business groups whom she charged with holding up investments to force the government to change its politics.\(^2\)

ELECTION PROGRAMME OF SMT INDIRA GANDHI AND ITS REACTION UPON THE VOTING BEHAVIOUR.

During the mid-term election period of 1971 Mrs. Indira Gandhi visited places all over the country. She was determined to convince

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1 - Ibid - p.66.
to the electorate of India about what she wanted to do and what were her main objectives. She decided to go everywhere important place of the states so that there should not remain any misunderstanding in the minds of the people in respect of the principles of Congress (R) party. During this period she also explained as to why the Congress was divided. Pointing out the objectives of Indian National Congress she said, "The object of Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India, by peaceful and constitutional means of a socialist state based on Parliamentary Democracy in which there is equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights and which aims at world peace and fellowship" before the split of the Congress there was a session of A.I.C.C. at Delhi in 1967 and a Ten-Point Programme was accepted there but due to obstacles it could not be implemented by the Congress Governments. Naturally people grew restive, and their faith began to shake; consequently, the Congress suffered set back in 1967 general elections. However, leaders of the party started heart searching and came to the inference that progressive policies only would serve the purpose of winning the people.

The Congress (R) declared its Twelve point programme at the time of mid-term election of 1971 and it was quite different from the other parties' manifesto. The goals were elaborated in a Twelve-point programme which the party sought to implement and on the basis

1 - Indian National Congress Constitution Art. No. 1
2 - The Ten Point Programme in 1967 by AICC includes the following points: (i) Social control of the Banking Institutions (ii) Nationalisation of general Insurance (iii) Commoditywise progress in the State trading in imports and exports (iv) State trading in food grains (v) Expansion of co-operatives (vi) Regulation growth of the monopolies (vii) Provision of minimum needs to the community (viii) unearned increments in Urban Land values (ix) Rural works programme, land reforms etc., (x) Privileges of ex-rulers.
3 - Ibid P.381.
of which sought a clear mandate from the electorate. The Twelve point programme incorporated some of the major items of the Ten points programmes adopted by the undivided Congress.

The election programmes chalked out on the basis of Congress(R) manifesto threw light upon the determination of the party to see such constitutional remedies and amendments as were necessary to overcome impediments in the path of social progress. It emphasized the Congress(R) commitments, such as imposing a ceiling on urban property, reduction of glaring disparities in incomes and opportunity, speedy reforms, abolition of the anachronistic privy-purses and privileges of princes and enlargement of the public sector.

The party assured that it would maintain the spirit of democracy which demanded "that the constitution should enable the fulfilment of the needs and urges of the people".

Mrs. Gandhi in her election programme emphasized that her party was committed to undertake a large scale housing programme for the lower and the middle-income groups, give high priority to slums clearance and provide proper houses, to slum dwellers. The provision was made in the manifesto of the Congress (R) to give houses sites free of cost to the landless in the rural areas and to undertake measures to improve rural housing.

The Congress(R) also accepted for itself the provisions of adequate nutrition to the free school children to improve the quality of the coming generation as an important national programme. There was also provision of primary school education which was, therefore, justified on economic as well as egalitarian consideration.

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On foreign policy, the manifesto pledged, "to remain faithful to the vision of Jawahar Lal Nehru who inspired and directed our foreign policy". In her programme of election it was referred that our non-alignment policy ultimately will be useful in establishing good relations with other countries. This is quite away from military blocks and alliances. She promised to "develop and consolidate friendly relations with all countries". It was also promised that relations with Pakistan would also be normalised and similar treatment would be given to China also on the basis of mutual respect for democracy and sovereignty. India would not like to interfere in the internal affairs and integrity of any country. It was very clearly explained in the manifesto that we rely upon patriotism of our people, their capacity for self-sacrifice, the strength of our economy and loyalty, devotion and strength of our defence forces which we shall continue to strength.¹

ELECTION STRATEGY OF CONGRESS (R) AND OTHER PROGRAMMES

Mrs. Indira Gandhi joined hands with DMK in Tamilnadu which surprised both the opposition and the workers of Congress(R). Prior to this it was understood that DMK had been creating trouble for the New Congress for Lok Sabha as well as assembly elections in the state. It was decided finally between DMK and Congress(R) that Mrs. Indira Gandhi would not put up her ten candidates for assembly elections and for Lok Sabha seat DMK would support her.² Though this alliance was broken at the time of assembly election in Tamilnadu in 1972.³ In this context it was concluded that the Prime Minister

¹ - Election Manifesto of Congress (R) 1971.
² - Dinman, 7th Feb., 1971, p. 13
³ - National Herald, Lucknow, dated 18.2.1972 (under the Arts, DMK Congress Alliance ends).
had tried to maintain her position. For the same purposes election programmes had been declared. On this some active workers of Congress (R) expressed their annoyance. Some young persons said that Congress (R) had yielded before DMK and consequently, it was decided by the young blood of Congress (R) that Mr. R. V. Swaminatha, the President of State Congress Committee surrendered before DMK and appended his signature on the agreement. He was also asked not to contest election for Lok Sabha seat. This caused great disappointment among the members of Congress(R) in Tamilnadu.

In its programme the Congress(R) adopted a new strategy. The main aim of the Congress during the mid-term poll was to keep with the limits of politics and to reduce friction with the parties with which it was associated. For instance they were with DMK in Tamilnadu, Muslim League in Kerala and with Muslim Majlis and Communists in the other states of the country.

At the time of mid-term elections of Lok Sabha a short period was given for election campaign to the opponents by Smt, Indira Gandhi. In this way it was difficult for the opponents to create such problems which might affect the election results unexpectedly, inspite of the various regional, social, local problems, for example in U.P. there was the problem of Uttarakhand; in Bihor of Jharkhand and Mysore and Maharashtra were quarrelling over the boundary lines and the same was true of Haryana. 2

After the decision of the Supreme Court of India the old symbol of undivided Congress was given to Congress(R) but on the occasion of Fifth Lok Sabha election the second symbol Cow with a calf allotted to Congress(R) was accepted by it. It may be said

1 - Dinman 7th Febr., 1971 pp. 12-13;
that it was proved appealing to the Indian people and made Congress (R) victorious.

The Ex-Chief Minister Mr. Charan Singh from U.P. once said that ladies were unfit, for any high official work. They were fit for the purpose of teaching or medical profession. The comment had been after a lady _was officer in U.P. had been kidnapped. Mrs. Gandhi exploited this for election propaganda. Without any publicity she had been representing the female community who were nearly 13 crores and 50 lakh voters in India. In her election programme she insisted that she was a lady and some times she appealed to ladies for support. It was expected that women in India would vote for her in large numbers.¹

ELECTION PROGRAMME OF CONGRESS (R) AND MUSLIM MAJLIS;

The Congress (R) decided to support Muslim Majlis which did not openly declare to support Congress(R) but said that it would support those who were following secularism and progressive ideas² and that those who were responsible fully for the grand alliance in the election should be defeated.

This clearly explains that Smt. Indira Gandhi decided to associate with the Muslim Majlis. The reason was that in U.P. there were 13 percent Muslim voters who were expected to go with the Congress(R). It can not be denied that Muslim voters had their own importance. They were in a position to affect the election results of Lok Sabha. In the previous elections of Lok Sabha, in 1967 these votes were divided. They were inclined to cast their

¹ - Dinman 28th Febr, 1971 p. 21
vote for the Congress or any other progressive political party of India. But during mid-term election they did not have faith in the grand alliance of the political parties because it could not satisfy them. However, in 1971 they had a mind to with the Congress(R) though in the previous election they opposed Congress party.2

**CONGRESS (R) CPI ACCORD:**

The CPI and the Congress (R) came to an understanding in respect of Sixth Lok Sabha constituencies which returned CPI candidates in the election of 1967 according to Mr. Ramesh Sinha, Secretary of the State Parliamentary Board of the CPI.

The CPI had set up candidates in Gazipur, Ghosi, Kanpur, Banda, Almora and Muzzafarnagar constituencies. As regards these six constituencies Congress(R) did not declare its candidates up to the end of January 1971. Neither did it indicate its alliance with them. The Congress(R) which released the list of candidates for the Lok Sabha on 30.1.71 had left these six constituencies undecided.

**CONGRESS (R) PROGRAMME AND ITS REACTION UPON THE ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR**

The Congress(R) chalked out its programmes at the time of mid-term Lok Sabha elections framing its policy on the principles of secularism, socialism, and progressive objectives so that maximum number of persons in the country could be benefitted, as it has already been illustrated. This was why a large number of persons

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1 - Dinman 7th March 1971, p. 22.
2 - Ibid, p. 22.
3 - The Times of India (Sunday), New Delhi, Jan. 31, p. 11
were influenced by it. Electoral behaviour consists of the social dimension, education, caste, religion, choice of occupation, income, land ownership, membership of association, age group etc. Besides there are also some other factors such as psychological variables, sense of political efficacy, political awareness, disgust at the politic of violence.

Moreover, economic variables are also important. They made the voters in mid-term election 1971 make up their mind. The attitude towards coalition also counts much. The social welfare schemes also count; These are the variables which become the deciding factor of the behavioural study.

SOCIAL DIMENSION:

The Congress(R) emphasised its concern for the minorities by devoting a section of the manifesto to them and promised the protection of their rights and interests in matters of employment, they were given assurance that on the basis of non-discrimination participation in the various services would be available to them and they will have the freedom to establish and run their educational institutions. But Congress (O) also gave thought to the problem of the improvement, development and upgrading of the depressed classes and also to the socio-economic problems faced by Muslims, Christians and other religions and linguistic minorities.

The SSP was also in favor of the Muslims being given preference. Simultaneously, they were also strictly warned by it, not to be communal in the country. These were the important issues which affected the minorities group of the society and consequently it was natural that the mind of the electorate was diverted away from the SSP which was an important party in the grand alliance. Congress (0) had also been similarly affected.

For the same reason the Congress (0) was closely associated with SSP in the mid-term-election of 1971. Kerala was a state when there was domination of Muslim Community and they were charged with communal feelings created in the nation by SSP and its other associated parties. The result was that they very badly lost their position in the election. The following result of the Lok Sabha election makes clear the position of the other parties and the votes they secured:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTY POSITION</th>
<th>ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE OF VOTES POLLED BY ELECTORAL CANDIDATES</th>
<th>TOTAL NO. OF SEATS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STATE OF KERALA</td>
<td>TOTAL NO. OF SEATS 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inc(J) Inc(N) BIS SWA SSP PSP CPI CMM OTHERS Ind Seat party Total Own</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethan</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>FBL 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10%</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CASTEISM AND MID-TERM ELECTION 1971:

The elections casteism is one of the important variables. Therefore, this concept of dominant caste must be clearly differentiated from the traditional concept of the high castes. This is quite a fact that one or more than one castes can be dominant in a particular situation at the same time. There is nothing like the dominant caste or castes at the national level. Actually the concept of dominant caste has relevance only at the state level and in the state politics or regional politics which can be either inter-state or in the nature of different regions within a single state.¹ The development of means of communication in the country gradually has been breaking the boundaries. Social communications of which the marriage belt constitutes the principal component, is the key to understanding the jurisdiction of the caste in its interaction with politics.

Dominant castes are only considered on the basis of economic and financial position. It is also associated with the land-ownership in the rural area while in the urban areas, it is closely related with the ownership of the means of production. Casteism in the rural areas is in the class of either agricultural or feudal levels of society. Apart from the rural area it is also present in urban areas. In urban areas it coincides with the modern notion of class. Ownership of land or the means of production is the principal component of the dominant castes but it is not the single or the exclusive criterion. In this way it becomes apparent that dominating castes may differ from one village to another or there may

some regional differences. Therefore, the present shape of domination of castes in India is changing. The dominant caste or castes do out of necessity, enter into politics, as a caste category and block voting on caste-lines is quite evident among the dominant castes. They do not necessarily enter in politics as a pure caste category. In this way in a nut shell it may be mentioned that caste consciousness is more relevant to caste voting than caste affiliation.

Actually speaking middle caste is not a single caste. It is a combination of castes. It is in the political field that they have built up identity with their group of castes. However, the word 'backward' is only applicable on the basis of purely economic grounds in the modern sense (1) on the basis of experience it can be laid down that middle class voters in the rural area play more important role in election than in the urban area. This middle class is not a caste category but it is a combination of castes on the basis of economic condition. What has now come to our realisation is that still more significant is the fact that voting behaviour is not so purely a result of the caste decision. There is no doubt that economic issues have great significance in the determination of both the caste decisions and votes of the members of the middle castes. In the independent India SSP was supposed to make appeal to the middle class voters on the basis of economic issues, and this was the reason that its position was a little better in 1952 general election. While in the parliament election of 1971 the Congress(R) was behind it and unconsciously directed its appeal which was mostly based on economic issues and issues of social change to
the middle class voters. It becomes rather more obvious from the result of the parliamentary election of 1971 that the middle caste votes were to be lumped together in the election and were diverted from the SAP towards the Congress(R). Though it was not the single issue of solid majority but this had a good reaction on the minds of the voters and voting pattern. This is because the middle castes contained a significant proportion of the Indian population around 15% both in rural as well as in the Urban India. They are not regional in character and are spread all over the country.

Particularly in rural areas caste as a determinant of voting behaviour in India is no longer a pure category. It is mixed up with other common economic interests. The principal reason as to why dominant castes resort to block voting is the feeling of the common economic interests. In the recent election the block voting of the dominant castes can be explained in the terms of a feeling of insecurity from any position radical changes in the ownership of land. Casteism lost its significance in the parliamentary election of 1971 because for the first time in the election history of India, a conscious attempt was made to delink the parliamentary elections from the assembly elections and other local elections in most of the Indian states. Jan Sangh could not maintain its old position of 1967 election when mid-term poll was organised due to the reason that this was the party having the base of Hinduism and a vested interest in upper middle class.

However, the swing of voters to Congress(R) among Muslim and scheduled castes does not appear to have been significantly higher.

1 - Ibid, p. 43
than the swing to Congress(R) among the general population. Muslims and Scheduled castes may have voted heavily for the Congress(R) but shifts in the voting behaviour explain less than 3% of the total swing to the party.¹

Casteism had been discouraged by the Congress(R) in mid-term elections of 1971 but it could win the election on account of it. Besides it can not be fully denied that the concept of casteism is a fact in the country. It has its own importance in villages and to a lesser degree it is there in the urban areas. Caste politics in Andhra Pradesh exhibits itself like a game of cockfighting between Kammas (dominant in the Krishna Godavari delta also known by the nick name of Kamma Shastra) and Reddy's (dominant in other areas also known by the nick name of Rayalseema) from which the Brahmans (comparatively a very small community but well educated on the western lines) reaped advantages until the two dominant castes forgetting their centuries old rivalries joined hands for some time to throw them beyond the pale of economic power in the countryside by virtue of their strong feudal agrarian position. Still the two castes cultivated feelings of jealousy and rivalry as a result of which while the Reddies joined the Congress party, the Kammas lent their support to the communists.² In this respect it can be mentioned that in the first general elections of 1952 it became alarmingly noticeable and the Congress had to take note of this fact on the eve of the second general elections of 1957 when official High command nominees K. Patil tactfully requisitioned the support of


kamma leader Prof. N.G. Ranga and "matched caste with caste in the choice of the candidates" and thereby ensured that the communist candidates did not have the advantage against his caste rival.

In short, casteism has played its role in the election activities. Though its effects were reduced in mid-term elections of 1971 with the development of consciousness, education and corrective sense of democracy in the citizens of the country.

**Socio-Economic Variable**

In comparison to all other variables which decide the electoral behaviour, socio-economic factor plays its own role. "The partisan stability of voting behaviour tends to accumulate quite notably over the adult years of participation in the electoral process. It is little wonder that with monotonous regularity in country after country, major shifts in electoral out comes are found to have arisen very disproportionately in the youngest cohorts of the electorate, New voters are flexible unstable, and much more responsible to new events than are other voting cohorts".

While taking into account the above statement in connection with the socio-economic variable for the study of voting behaviour it is realised that the new and young generation of society played an important role during mid-term poll of 1971. There was no equilibrium of income in the society and to achieve this the land liberation movement and civil disobedience on the basis of the 8-point charter of demands began. The Congress was split on the

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fundamental difference of economic policies of India implemented in the country for the public welfare. The Congress(R) included in its election programme the socio-economic variables as has already been explained.

There must be a call for mass approach to the basic problems of the people. What has to be recognised in India today is that goals of economic growth and social justice are largely complementary and not competitive. In fact, our pursuit of economic growth is likely to be disrupted in the absence of advance in social justice.

This was the reason that the Congress came to the people with the urgent economic development and comprehensive social reforms. Unlike the other parties which enjoy the freedom to make promises that they know that they would not be called upon to redeem, the Congress presented its programme after taking meticulous care not to make promises which it was not possible to fulfil.¹

Before 1971 economic disparities were growing speedily. At that time there was need of such a political party that could run the administration successfully, enjoying the faith of the people. In order to control this adverse economic situation it was essential that the prices which were shooting up, unemployment, production problem and under development of industry, inflationary tendencies prevailing in the society were to be controlled. In this context Mrs. Indira Gandhi while delivering a lecture on 26 Febr. 1971 at Bakhabyapur spoke that Bank nationalisation had already been done and consequently the small farmers would be given loans worth

¹ - Seminar, Rajthaper(Ed.) New Delhi, Malhotra Building, Janpath No. 138, Feb. 1971 'Your Vote'; P. 43.
On that very day she explained to Ranchi that vote for Congress(R) will lead to an increase in constant prosperity. Constantly she laid emphasis on this point that there was no harm if the common person only was allowed to get economic advantages.

As regards peace and justice in the society these have got no meaning if economic disparity is not removed from the depressed and backward classes. Smt. Indira Gandhi appointed Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, President who was representing the depressed class and gained his sympathies. In this way a big community favoured her because all kinds of assurances were already given for the economic betterment.

**INFLUENCE OF FIVE YEAR PLAN ON ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR:**

Four Five Years plans were organised for the development of income and production of the country. The provision was made for employment of the people. Looking towards the need of the community in the First Five Year Plan priority was given to agriculture and to increase grain production which was most essential for the country. In the Second Five Year Plan the Congress made efforts to give priority to the industrial development because in this way production

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1 - Times of India, New Delhi, 1971
2 - Search Light, Febr. 22, 1971.
3 - लौकिक तत्त्व संदर्भ, धार्मिक तथा संस्कृति विज्ञान संस्थान, 1971 लौकिक समाज के चुनाव, तांत्रिक जीवन संस्थान, वर्ष 2, वर्ष 4, अक्टूबर-दिसंबर 1971, पृ 110
could be increased and people would get employment in the factories. After that there was a gap of three years owing to financial crisis in the country and wars with China and Pakistan. In the Third Five Year Plan agriculture and industry both were given equal importance together and owing to these various plans there had been tremendous development in the country and people could get equal advantages from both, agriculture and industry.

In formulating the Fourth Five Year Plan which commenced in the year 1969 and ended in 1974, note was to be taken of the success and failures so far, the observed continuing trends in the economy and the specific experience of recent years. On 15th March 1950 the Planning Commission was set up on the following basis having the aim of social development:

"The state shall strive to provide the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, social order in which justice, social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of national life."  

The state shall in particular, direct its policy towards securing:

(a) that the citizens, men and women, equally have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;

(b) that the ownership and the control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;

1 - Indian Constitution Act 38.
that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.\(^1\)

In this plan the provision was made to accelerate the tempo of development in conditions of stability and reduced uncertainties. It is proposed to introduce safeguards against the fluctuations of agricultural production as well as the uncertainties of foreign aid in the period of this plan.\(^2\)

In this way emphasis was laid by Smt. Indira Gandhi in her election programme that there should be an end of poverty, economic disparities and social injustice should come to an end.\(^3\) These were the programmes having economic base and were not showy and virtually they were also followed by CPI. The aims which were given shape in the fourth Five Year Plan were tried to be implemented at the time of Lok Sabha General Election in 1971. The labour class was also given assurance that it would be given share in the arrangement of the industry.\(^4\) Due to these reasons the electoral behaviour was changed much in 1971. Also because these people were frustrated and depressed due to rising prices, uncertainty of employment and danger to life specially in Bihar, West Bengal and Kerala etc.,

In true sense the objectives and programmes which were chalked out by the Swatantra Committee at the time of mid-term election had traditional, not liberal, programmes and the election pattern which was adopted by the BJS Party was only a criticism of Smt. Indira Gandhi. She was levelled charges as anti democratic

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1 - Ibid Act 39.
3 - Election Manifesto of Congress(R) Para 17.
for the nation. The entire scheme of nationalisation was badly criticised by BJS. So they could not influence the mind of the electorute of the country. BJKU laid emphasis in its manifesto.

In short, this was a pragmatic approach towards socialism made by Smt. Indira Gandhi at the time of mid-term election 1971 started by Jawahar Lal Nehru reflected in his various speeches between 1948 and 1957 before the business community and in Parliament. "It is not a question of theory he said in 1949, of communism or socialism or Capitalism. It is a question of hard fact. There is much resemblance in the thinking of Smt. Indira Gandhi and her great father Pt. Nehru. She always laid stress during her election period that first production was to be raised before equitable distribution was considered, for unless something was produced, there was little to distribute. Second, nationalisation, i.e. state ownership and control of the means of production was essential in defence and key industries such as power, and in respect of other essential projects such as river valley projects in which private enterprise could not be expected to enter an account of the very large expenditure involved. In this way during mid-term election of 1971 much importance was attached to the socialistic pattern of the society, to increase in national income and the welfare of the society.

EDUCATION AND LITERACY

Education is an important aspect which might to be taken into account to acknowledge the reaction and influence upon the
voting behaviour. The simple question comes to mind whether the illiterate teeming millions understand the real importance and significance of this issue. India is a big country and within 25 years of freedom of the country education could not be properly developed in every state while it is the backbone of democracy in every country. It may be argued that only an educated electorate may think for the betterment of the community and decide to which political party could better serve the nation.

It is only education which may bring consciousness in the masses at the time of general election and may react upon the people to move with the times. It is assumed that issue-oriented politics is a feature of developed western democratic societies which have achieved high percentage of literacy and where people are socialised in the act of participatory democracy. We can observe the position and development of education in India from following table:

**TABLE 612**

"EXAMINATION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. Age Group</td>
<td>Enrol-% age</td>
<td>Enrol-% age</td>
<td>Enrol-% age</td>
<td>Enrol-% age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Total</td>
<td>34.99</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>49.27</td>
<td>74.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Boys</td>
<td>23.59</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>31.60</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Girls</td>
<td>11.40</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>17.67</td>
<td>54.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PRIMARY (6 - 11)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class I - V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Girls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 6:1 (CONTD.)

**EXAMINATION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (CONTO.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. Stage</th>
<th>1960-'61</th>
<th>1965-'66</th>
<th>1968-'69</th>
<th>1973-'74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. Age Group</td>
<td>Enrollment of age group</td>
<td>Enrollment of age group</td>
<td>Enrollment of age group</td>
<td>Enrollment of age group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIMARY (6-14)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Total</td>
<td>41.69</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>59.60</td>
<td>69.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Boys</td>
<td>28.65</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>39.17</td>
<td>77.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Girls</td>
<td>13.03</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>20.43</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 6:2 (CONTD.)

**GROWTH OF ENROLMENT IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES 1960-'61 to 1973-'74**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage Age Group</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Boys/ Girls</th>
<th>1960-'61</th>
<th>1965-'66</th>
<th>1968-'69</th>
<th>1973-'74 Estimated Target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRIMARY (6-11)</td>
<td>Million</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34.99</td>
<td>49.27</td>
<td>55.93</td>
<td>68.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class I - V</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>(62.4)</td>
<td>(74.9)</td>
<td>(77.9)</td>
<td>(85.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolment</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>(41.4)</td>
<td>(54.6)</td>
<td>(59.4)</td>
<td>(71.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE (11-14)</td>
<td>Million</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6.70</td>
<td>10.33</td>
<td>12.23</td>
<td>18.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class VI-VIII</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>(22.5)</td>
<td>(30.3)</td>
<td>(33.5)</td>
<td>(42.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolment</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>(5.07)</td>
<td>(7.57)</td>
<td>(9.00)</td>
<td>(12.26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECONDARY (14-17)</td>
<td>Million</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>6.59</td>
<td>10.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class IX-XI</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>(11.1)</td>
<td>(16.7)</td>
<td>(19.4)</td>
<td>(26.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolment</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>(1.63)</td>
<td>(2.76)</td>
<td>(3.72)</td>
<td>(6.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (17-23)(Arts,Science, Commerce)Enrolment</td>
<td>Million</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8.74</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>2.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TECHNICAL EDUCATION (Admission Capacity)</td>
<td>Diploma Numbers</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25801</td>
<td>48048</td>
<td>48600</td>
<td>48600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree Numbers</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13824</td>
<td>24695</td>
<td>25000</td>
<td>25000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Fourth Five Year Plan, Government of India, Planning Commission Report, PP 293-94.
It has been observed in the western countries where democracy is more successful comparatively, that the educated people are more likely to vote than the uneducated persons. In India, while studying electoral behaviour survey has been made of the different states by different scholars and the difference found. The following table has been drawn on the basis of West Bengal. Education in electoral behaviour has been found there rather more different than in Bardoda constituency. In the same way much difference is found in voting behaviour of Rajasthan and U.P. in all the five general elections of the country. In West Bengal, Assembly elections took place in 1972 and on the basis of the same the following result has been drawn. The chi-square value is 6.31 and \( p \) lies between 0.3 and 0.5. The null hypothesis is therefore, has to be retained. Yet abstention was highest among the literate people. It is found that among 81.39 voted while the figure rose to 87.93\% in the next group comprising those who are just literate. The attainment of the literacy has made all the differences. But voting figures did not necessarily rise at a steady rate with a rise in the level of education. The rate of voting was more or less similar among those who had primary education (83.63\%) and those who had reached the next higher level of having some middle education (84.12\%). It was decided by higher 90\% among those who had attended high school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Region A</th>
<th>Region B</th>
<th>Region C</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Did not vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Primary</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 6.4
RELATION OF EDUCATION TO VOTING BEHAVIOUR
## TABLE 6.4 (Contd.)

**RELATION OF EDUCATION TO VOTING BEHAVIOUR (Contd.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Region 'A'</th>
<th>Region 'B'</th>
<th>Region 'C'</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Did not vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voted</td>
<td>did not vote</td>
<td>Voted</td>
<td>did not vote</td>
<td>Voted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Middle</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High school</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College no Degree</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Degree and above</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 8.310 \]
\[ df = 7 \]
\[ p \text{ lies between } 0.30 \text{ and } 0.50 \]
\[ c = 0.12862 \]


However, there would not have been much difference as regards turn out and between attending high school and completing it. It may be observed that the voting figure in the later group was lower by 88.8%. College education again appears to make quite a lot of difference. There was not a single case of abstention.

It becomes apparent in this way that various levels of education create difference in degrees from region to region and state to state. If we rely upon the index of hundred percent voting, we find that at two levels in each region all the respondents turned up for recording their votes. In a region A,
all the respondents having some primary education and all those having some college education voted. In Region B voters had completed high school and college education. In Region C voters in two highest educational levels behaved in the same way, as the survey work of Mr. Ganguly illustrates.

**SEX TURN OUT**

It is a general truth that everywhere the percentage of nonvoters is higher among women than men. This fact has also been established by many research scholars of the west. In Norway it was found that at the four starting erasions since the second World War the average turn out was 82% of men against 76% for women and in four communal elections 74 percent for men and 69% for women. In U.S.A. a study based in 1952 and 1956 revealed that the rate of voting among women was on an overall estimate consistently 10% below that of men. In fact it has been found that at every social level in Europe and the U.S.A. Women vote less than men.

Through a Survey in West Bengal in India to study the electoral behaviour efforts were made, and consequently the result was drawn. Out of 182 women interviewed by us 33(18.02%) did not vote while out of 322 male respondents only 39(12.11%) abstained. For every non-voter there were only 4.5 voters among women while among men there were 7.2 voters. A regionwise

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2 - Ibid PP. 90 - 102.

3 - A, Cembell (Ed.) 'The American Voter' (An Abridgement); New York, John Wiley, 1964, PP 255-56
analysis also bears out this disparity. In region A 18.00% women against 11.22% men did not vote. The corresponding figures are 23.07% women and 17.33% men in region 'B' and 26.47% women and 13.63% men in region 'C'. The survey data reveal that the rate of obstruction among women and economic development vary inversely. But it was observed that the rate among men is highest in region 'B' and lowest in region 'A'.

The following table explains the position of women and men electorates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION 'A'</th>
<th>REGION 'B'</th>
<th>REGION 'C'</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did not vote</td>
<td>Did voted</td>
<td>Did not vote</td>
<td>Did voted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 3.441 \quad df = 1 \quad P = \text{lies between} \, 0.05 \, \text{&} \, 0.10 \]

Source: Ibid p. 41

On the basis of Survey Report and experiences it is worthwhile to mention that some of the men and women did not visit the polling station due to their carelessness and specially they were from the rural area and were uneducated. There was another category of the voters who could not cast their vote owing to their inability they were sick, blind or were busy in the affairs of their life to earn their livelihood.

**LAND OWNERSHIP:**

In the Fifth Lok Sabha General Election of 1971 land ownership was an important factor and on its basis people exercised
their votes, specially in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat where alliance of the four political parties was strong and the voters were influenced by the state rulers. Consequently in Jodhpur, Ajmer, Jaipur and Udaipur states the electorate exercised their vote for the Swantantra Party and the same was the position in Gwalior and Bhind constituencies. The Maharaja of Rewa, (M.P.) could be successful on account of the same reason. In his old state he was influential therefore he became victorious in 1971.

Income
Income disparities also influence the voting behaviour in any society of a country. During mid-term Lok Sabha election 1971 the lower income group and ordinary middle class made up their mind to vote for the Congress(R). There were reasons behind it and they have been specified previously. Several plans were chalked out by Congress(R) for their benefit specially for the labour and farmer class. There were schemes also made by the Congress(R) for the higher middle class of persons and they were included in the party manifesto of Congress(R) and other political parties as explained previously. As regards the upper class of society and those who have higher income through business, there was nothing so attractive in the election manifesto for them. They were definitely influenced by the big businessmen and industrialists. On account of this reason where they were established it was difficult for any one to win the election specially in Bombay, Bihar and Rajasthan. The percentage of poor class of voters is high in the country therefore whomsoever they favoured won the election.
All the different consisting variables of electoral behaviour in parliamentary election of 1971 were much influenced by the election propaganda of the various political parties. In election propaganda and programmes there was not much difference between Swatantra-SSP-Janata and Congress(O) even then they could not get proper place in the Lok Sabha. This grand alliance was personally aimed against Smt. Indira Gandhi. The main slogan was (in reply to 'Garibi Hatao') 'Indira Hatao' started by the opposition parties. Actually it was a step towards 'Power Grab' and later on the consequences were observed in the whole of the country and specially in Gujrat and Mysore for which the Opponents were proud. Both in Gujrat and Mysore, the party lost prestige and public confidence eroded. There is more to socialism and the "Garibi Hatao" campaign than a hasty scramble for power. The people having demonstrated that they are with the party feel let down by such antics. Considering the need of the nation and to make democracy successful by establishing one party stable government and human welfare the programmes. Smt. Indira Gandhi started in her election campaign would have very good reaction upon the electorates.

VARIANCE IN VOTING TRENDS IN RURAL AND URBAN AREA:

While contemplating deeply about the Lok Sabha election pattern it is concluded that it was altogether changed after 1967. There were the reason and they were the new problems in the country. Inflationary tendencies prevailed in the country and prices were rising. Social pattern was changing and the number of crimes began to increase; specially in Bengal, Bihar, Kerla and in Maharashtra.

1 - Blitz; 17th April 1971, P. 17
Naxalities started butchery and consequently posters were pasted on the walls of the various states. Apart from this some inner conflict started in the Congress Party. One wing was in favour of capitalistic pattern of society influenced by the foreign elements. At the same time some poisonous elements were injected among the student community and simultaneously exploitation increased within a short period. The objectives adopted by the Congress before 1969 could not be implemented because of different obstacles. People began taking law in their own hands. Under such circumstances it was essential to go for dissolution of the old parliament and elect a new one, with a thumping majority which could led to sound decision without support from any other party in the Lok Sabha.

Looking at the variance of voting trends in rural and urban areas it is clear that electorate living in rural areas are not much aware of political awakening in the country while their number is much more larger in the country. There is much relevance in it that still they are not well educated in comparison to the city voters and neither they can collect important political information which is important before casting their vote. Different political parties approach them and since they are not much logical they are influenced by a sentimental approach. In Parliamentary elections of 1971 the Congress(R) secured 43.06 percent of the total valid votes polled. In this respect there can be one point of view that the substance of the voters secured by the

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Indian National Congress(R) were the votes for the consensus that it represented. The consensus of the Congress(R) represented mainly four values and they were nationalisation, democracy, secularism and socialism.

It was also assumed that the voters were able to measure distances between their own positions and those of the competing parties on the continuum. It is also assumed that the voters cast a vote for the party which is perceived to be closest to their own positions. There are the voters who could not vote if the party had not put up any candidate in their constituency. This has much relevance in the context of Indian Parliamentary Election. ¹

Before the division of the Congress Party the Congress had survived essentially by coming to terms with entrenched social interests - dominant castes, landed families, influential leaders in the urban as well as from the rural areas, and so forth - rather than changing the effective balance of power in the society. The new party came to power following a process that challenged this structure and mobilised hitherto ignored groups and gave them a sense of direct involvement, such as the small farmers and landless, the Scheduled Castes, and Tribes, the urban lower middle class and the aspiring youth and intelligentsia. Now it is not for the first time that these groups voted for the Congress(R). The Congress could all along draw support from poor and the underprivileged class most by residing in rural areas. What is new is the conscientiousness with which this was

¹ - The conclusion is drawn on the basis of French Election data collected by Prof. Philip E. Converse.
done this time, a conscientiousness in which the slogan of 'Garibi Hatao' played an important part.¹

In connection with the study of electoral behaviour in India it cannot be still denied that after 28 years of freedom people do not vote purely on the basis of politics, economic welfare and political objectives as well as programmes. Specially, in rural area people make use of their vote on the pattern of casteism, regionalism, language, religion etc. In the same way in Urban areas the voters are influenced by the big industrialists and their pressure groups. All this happened in the fourth general elections of Lok Sabha. When such tendencies prevailed in the country it is obvious that political parties which sought their recognition on all India level did not win. It will not be out of place to mention that on account of this reason many regional political parties develop.

Before this election it was understood that the Muslims were with the Congress and on this basis Congress should have been victorious from the constituencies where they were in majority. But in this particular election Islamism again developed in the country and consequently they could secure more seats in the Lok Sabha Election of 1971. To clarify the idea the following table is given where Muslims contested Lok Sabha Election:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Places of election</th>
<th>No. of contestants</th>
<th>Elected candidate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dinman, 31st January, 1971, P. 30

¹ - Rajni Kothari 1971, Election An Interpretation II, Spotlight All India Radio, News Service Division 20th March 7
In this way it is proved that the Muslims contested election for 17.3 percent seats but could win only 5.3 percent. Likewise from Bihar where Brahmins are in majority and in U.P. Brahmans, Kshatriya or Banias they mostly contest election from the region. This can be said for any particular party and is a general fact.

In the rural area electorate give more importance to the local problems and do not attach importance to the national problems.

The result of such tendencies had already been seen. The urban voters had broken the chain of casteism to a great degree in the Fifth Mid-Term poll but in comparison the rural electorate are still under its chains because of their associations.

CAUSES OF VARIOUS VOTING TRENDS IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS:

A programme was chalked out by the Congress(R) that land-ceiling-act would be passed and surplus land would be provided to the landless poor scheduled class and tribal community in the villages. It also influenced these communities in the rural area and on account of this the backward community favoured the Congress(R) in the election.

During the regime of SVD Governments in most states politicians began to hanker after power. They were opportunists. Now the conscious voters decided to end this tendency from the rural and urban areas.1 This was most essential in the interest of the country.

The traditional trend of voting behaviour i.e. prevalence of casteism, regionalism, religion etc., in every democratic and developing society ended to a great extent in the Parliamentary

election of 1971. Some of our social scientists who have learnt about the caste system from American and British scholars would do well to ponder over the results of the 1971 poll. Do Varnas and Jatis explain any thing worthwhile regarding that is significant. On the basis of that model one could not understand any thing worthwhile regarding the enormously important result. Certainly, the special character of Indian consciousness has to be taken into account and in this context the full note has to be taken of the role of religion and the caste. But these are not the determining factors. They filter and refract the changes that are reflected in the conscience of the millions. It would appear that our masses are more modern than the social scientists believe.

It is worthwhile to mention and should not escape from the mind that the Indian masses in rural as well as in urban areas took the election very seriously and essentially. In Srikakulam, supposed yenan of the Naxalites, the Congress(R) was able to simply sweep away the Swantantic party. There was no question of the tribals keeping away from the polls as a mark of their loyalty to the Naxalite martyrs. One hopes that this point would be pondered over by those who have been so gravely misled by limitations and by desire for instant revolution.

Regionalism as narrow political thinking was crumbled into dust when Chaudhri Charan Singh, the Chief Minister was defeated from Muzaffarnagar(U.P.) Constituency where people mostly belong to his caste and creed. In the same way in the urban area of

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Maharashtra Shiva Sena and Bhim Sena were having great influence upon the electorate. But the mid-term poll of 1971 gave a decent burial to them, and they could not do well in the parliamentary Elections. In the same context it may be noted that BKD also disappeared after the mid-term election. This proves that Indian electorate did not allow, such political elements which could harmful the future of democracy in India to grow.

In short it is well to recount briefly the pre-mid-term political condition of the country on account of which Lok Sabha was dissolved. There were the tendencies prevailing in the country which created terror in the minds of the people. Secondly rising prices, shortage of agricultural production, unemployment, student agitation, development of Fascist elements compelled the Indian electorate to change the electoral pattern which was an old one and in place of it new values were established. It was one of the main causes that the economic structure of the society was very badly disturbed and on account of the same all classes of persons were affected. The main motive with all classes of people was to establish peace, hence Congress was split and the Congress(R) came before the society keeping new objectives. These were the various causes due to which regionalism, castelism vested interests, capitalism were minimised and a stable government was established in 1971 that could protect the interest of the rural and urban voters.

**MAJOR FACTORS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON VOTING BEHAVIOUR AND REACTION ON VOTING TRENDS.**

The major factors of Fifth Lok Sabha Election 1971 have already been examined along with the election programmes of
Congress (R) and other political parties of India in the beginning of this chapter and simultaneously their influence upon the electorate has been illustrated. However, some more relevant factors should be noted which influenced voting trends.

Indians have been engaged in a constant struggle for establishing an ideal democratic republic. And with their continuous efforts, they have creditably succeeded in bringing forth a series of desired socio-economic transformations that could prepare necessary background for reinforcing the existing relevant institutions whose growth was adversely hampered because of their deliberate denial by the vested interest of persons and their inherent cultural contradictions of the society itself. In this way economic disparities were all the more increasing to remove which enlightened public opinion was required at different levels of decision making. Before 1971 general election banknationalisation, abolition of privy purse were most essential in the public interest. Because the benefit of these were in the hands of only upper class while privy purses were against the democratic socialism. To root out the economic evils spread in the society the first decisive factor in this direction would be enhancing political conscience of the people so that a healthy and rational leadership may dispel the localistic, tradition oriented and too radical tendencies and infuse rationality and cosmopolitan values.

There are some political factors coming since 1952, parliamentary elections. The top ranking leaders had given privileges to their own constituencies for development while others could not do so. There are definitely underdeveloped regions and states in India and they required more attention from their development. But this was possible only when at the centre there were a stable government and a leader of progressive and balanced mind. Hence at the centre such a strong party was needed which could look after these affairs and establish social, economic and political equality. For this there was nothing with the opposition parties in India except empty promises\(^1\) and assurances hence, congress(R) took advantage of these weaknesses of the opposition parties in the mid-term election of 1971.

The Congress (R) felt the need for an amendment in the constitution regarding fundamental rights\(^2\). It was put forth by it and the result was that old princes and industrialists expressed their annoyance and consequently Swabandrita, Jan Sangh SSP, Congress(O) made a plan for "Grand Alliance."

Before the mid-term election some communal riots started in Allahabad, Gwalior and in Punjab. This created more perplexity in the minds of the electorate. They wanted peace in life and progressive principles. These could be achieved only by a government formed by a truely democratic party.

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1 - Dinman, 7th March 1971, P. 20.
However, the fifth Lok Sabha Election was a landmark in the political history of India. The Congress was split and some reactionary powers which were with the Congress before its split were defeated. To make it more obvious it may be mentioned that the pattern of candidacy of Lok Sabha election was different in the two elections. It was observed that the percentage of Jan Sangh candidates dropped from 10.5% in 1967 to 5.6 in 1971. There was also deterioration in the party's share of votes from 9.3% to 7.5%. At the time of fifth Lok Sabha poll the pioneer of Congress Party Smt. Indira Gandhi coolly realised the political position of the country and took a decision for the fifth Lok Sabha Election. It was a time when protection was most essential in the different states of the country such as West Bengal, Bihar, Maharashtra and some southern states like Madras and Kerala. Prices were shooting up the country and comparatively production was not increasing; black marketing and capitalistic ideology of some Indian leaders compelled Smt. Indira Gandhi to take a bold step for the new election and in her party's election campaign she convinced the people of India regarding the promise to fulfill their demands as already explained. Due to these causes the electoral behaviour of 1971 of Lok Sabha was very different from what it was in 1967.