CHAPTER III

FORMATION OF 1ST TO 5TH LOKSABHA --

(a) Comparative study (A - strength of the parties from 1st to 5th Lok Sabha

(b) Strength of the beginning which is swelling now,

(c) Alliance of different parties during 1971 Lok Sabha Poll,

(d) Opposition of Communist party having alliance with Congress(R)
CHAPTER III

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF GENERAL ELECTIONS
ON PARTY BASIS

In addition to all other up-to-date features of democratic election system the provision for independent Election Commission has been made in our country. The Chief Election Commissioner has more or less the same kind of independence as a judge of a state High Court or Supreme Court of India. Owing to this there is no danger of rigging in Elections in favour of the party in office. All stages of the election, from preparation of electoral rolls to the actual polling and counting of votes, are entirely under the control of the Chief Election Commissioner. This has been included in the Indian Constitution clearly.

So far, Elections have been orderly and peaceful on the whole. Lok Sabha Elections 1-4 were held after completing the 5 years terms but the 5th Lok Sabha Election was a mid-term poll, and prior to it the Lok Sabha was dissolved. In election for the maintenance of peace police intervention was not required because voters showed real interest in election. They voted in large numbers the percentage of voting was as high as in some of the developed countries. Gradually, political climate of the country is changing and hence different kinds of activities have been observed in elections. In all the elections all shades of important opinions were found representing in legislatures. Voters have generally shown their antipathy to purely communal parties.

and upheld the principle of secularism which alone is an effective
guarantee of harmonious co-existence of different religious commu-
nities in a country like India. In a parliamentary Democracy,
an election may be said to yield good results if it returns any
party with a stable majority to the legislatures concerned and
enables stable ministries to be formed. All the three elections
have yielded this result so far as the Lok Sabha and the Assemblies
of most of the states are concerned. In the Fourth Lok Sabha
Election, the Congress could manage the majority but comparatively
its position was not sound hence, taking of any concrete decision
in national interest was difficult. It could occupy 284 seats out
of the total votes polled in 1967 got 40.82 percent of Votes. The
Fourth General Elections of 1967 brought in its train a wind of
tremendous change in the political atmosphere of the country. It
is a matter of chance that the same wind had been blowing the
country upto the end of 1970 and rapidly the political atmosphere
was changed. Perhaps in a developing democracy as ours, is, that
is not quite expected and may even be regarded as the teething
trouble of a healthy growing child. When the results of the Fourth
General Elections of 1967 were declared it was found that the
Indian National Congress which had till then been the dominant
political party through out India had lost its position in the
different states. However, it was a turning point in the political
life of the congress.

POSITION OF THE DIFFERENT PARTIES

In democratic India First General Election was held in
1951-52. In the Lok Sabha election the India National Congress

1 - Commerce Hand Book on Election Manifestos 1971 (A supplement
to Commerce at Febr. 1971.)
could get the crowning position in comparison to all other political parties. There were 489 members and another 10 were also included by nomination.¹ An overall idea of the success achieved by the important all India political parties in the elections may be obtained from the following tables and diagram:

**TABLE 3:1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Party</th>
<th>HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.of Contesting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian National Congress</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Party of India</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kisan Majdoor Praja Party</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Party of India</td>
<td>049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India Bhartiya Jan Sangh</td>
<td>039</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: India, Election Commission, Report on the First General Elections in India, 1952, P.95)

From the other parties including independent 85 members come in the 1st Lok Sabha Elections and this total number was to 404 + 85 = 489. In this way it can be mentioned that the Congress could occupy 45%, Socialist 11%, K.M.P. 6%, Communist 4%, Jansangh 3% and all other parties including independents occupied 31% of the seats in Lok Sabha. The total number of electorates who cast their votes were 17,3,213,635² in 1952 Lok Sabha Election.

¹ - The Times of India Directory & Year Book (Including Who's Who 1955-56; Frank Morais, Bombay, Times of India.

² - Election Commission India-report on the 1st General Elections 1951-52 P.95
PERCENTAGE OF VOTES ACQUIRED BY
DIFFERENT PARTIES IN LOKSABHA (1951)

CONGRESS
45%

P.S.P.
16.4%

C.P.I.
5%

S.A.I.
9%

OTHERS
31%
The members who were nominated in the House of the People were ten (10) and respectively 6 (six) were from Jammu and Kashmir; 1 (one) from Assam Tribes, Andaman and Nicobar 1 (one) and from Anglo Indian Community 2 (Two) were nominated.

As regards the number of votes they were a little over 193 million (193,129,924) and about 14,000 candidates contested election. The number of seats for which the elections took place were 494 for the Lok Sabha and 3,102 for the State Legislative Assemblies.

In the Second General Elections of Lok Sabha there were six candidates who were elected indirectly by Jammu and Kashmir Assembly. Thus it consisted of 500 members of which the remaining 76 represented the Scheduled Castes and 31 the Scheduled Tribes.

The entire country was divided into 403 Parliamentary Constituencies of which 312 were single member and 91 double member. The following Table and Diagram give the correct picture of the different parties and the voters who participated in the election:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats Contested</th>
<th>Seats Won</th>
<th>Votes Polled</th>
<th>Votes Polled</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>4,74,46,170</td>
<td>5,40,56,646</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.S.P.</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,73,29,199</td>
<td>1,16,59,225</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.I.</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>52,99,095</td>
<td>1,14,47,345</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jansangh</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31,94,059</td>
<td>67,31,098</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>3,22,62,927</td>
<td>3,05,96,260</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>486</td>
<td></td>
<td>10,59,31,440</td>
<td>11,44,90,57.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1 - The Times of India Directory and Who's Who - The Times of India Publication Bombay 1957-'58 P.957
There were other parties which participated in the election also and their position may be shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes Polled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Castes Federation</td>
<td>2,30,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialists</td>
<td>13,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gantantra (Orissa Parishad)</td>
<td>13,92,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu Mahasabha</td>
<td>10,43,094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forward Block</td>
<td>10,06,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jharkhand (Bihar)</td>
<td>8,99,835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolutionary Socialist Party</td>
<td>8,43,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants &amp; Workers Party (Bombay)</td>
<td>7,93,978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dravida Munetra Kazhgam (Madras)</td>
<td>7,44,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janta Party (Bihar)</td>
<td>5,02,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ram Rajya Parishad</td>
<td>4,28,183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congres Reforms Committee (Madras)</td>
<td>3,96,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>1,86,327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Times of India Directory & Who's who - Bombay The Times of India Press 1957-'58 p.957

While taking into consideration the Third Lok Sabha elections, it may be mentioned that all over the country elections were held, simultaneously for reconstituting the House of the People. The mammoth electorate consisting of 218 million adult citizens was called upon to go to the polls for the most part during the period of ten days between the 16th and the 25th February, 1962 and to choose the representatives in the legislatures. It may be
PERCENTAGE OF VOTES ACQUIRED BY
DIFFERENT PARTIES IN LOKSABHA (1957)

- CONGRESS 46.5%
- C.P.I. 9.8%
- P.S.P. 10%
- JAN. 5.7%
- OTHERS 28%
mentioned also that the elections took place in a peaceful and orderly way without any serious hinderance. It is a sufficient testimony, not only to the political stability of India and the efficiency of its administration, but even more significantly to the faith its has in the Parliamentary Democracy and free elections.

**CREATION OF NEW CONSTITUENCIES OF PARLIAMENT DUE TO FORMATION OF NEW STATES:**

The Second General Elections were held early in 1957 very soon after the large scale reorganisation of states had been completed and given effect to on the 1st November, 1956. In this way after reorganisation of states the map of the country was simplified. The number of states with independent legislatures was reduced to 14. Four of the former Part C States and the two groups of Islands, one to the east and the other to the West, were made into the Union Territories without legislatures of their own. The Second General Election to the House of the People covered all the states except Jammu and Kashmir and the Part B Tribal areas of Assam, and all the Union Territories except the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Island.¹

Reorganisation of the states was made on the basis of language hence, Bombay state was also newly reorganised. It was done on the basis of the States Reorganisation Act. It had a representation of 66 members in the House of the People and 27 members in the Council of States. The bifurcation effected by

¹ - Strictly, the Assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh were partial and not general. By virtue of a special provision made in the Constitution Act, 378 A and in Section 29 of the Reorganisation Act, 1956, the Assembly Elections of 1957 were confined to the area of transferred from the former Part B State of Hyderabad to Andhra Pradesh.
the Bombay Reorganisation Act 1960 divided the population between Maharashtra and Gujarat very nearly in the proportion of two to one. In this way by reorganisation of the States a few parliamentary and Assembly constituencies located near the new inter-state boundary were affected in their extent by the division.¹

Further, in place of one seat that was formerly allotted to the North East Frontier Tract and the Naga Tribal Area in the House of the People, two seats were allotted one to North East Frontier Tract and the other to the Naga Hills Tuensang Area, and both these seats were filled through nomination by the President.

There was a long - standing conflict between the States of Andhra Pradesh and Madras regarding the issue of boundary of the States. It was decided in 1959 on the basis of the award given by Shri H.V. Pataskar, the Governor of Mahara Pradesh, who had been requested by the Chief Ministers of both the States, to mediate in setting the boundaries.² As a result, readjustment and exchange of territories took place and consequently the inter-state boundaries were affected by the Andhra Pradesh and Madras Act, 1959, enacted by Parliament under the provisions of Article 3 of the Constitution. This Act came into force on the 1st April, 1960.

There was another transfer of territory from one state to another, but it was on a very small scale involving less than five square miles of land and population at all. A total area of 3085 acres lying in three different villages of Chittorgarh District of Rajasthan was transferred to Mahara Pradesh in the

¹ - Report on the Third General Elections in India (1962), India, Election Commission PP 3,4
² - Ibid P. 5
in the interest of the Gandhi Sagar dam project on the river Chambal. This transfer affected by Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh but as a matter of fact this was not an important change.

In the Indian Constitution Tenth and Twelfth Amendments were made on the 20th Decr., 1961 because Goa, Daman and Diu were included in the Indian territory. The occasion of the former Portuguese territories of Uadra and Nagar Haveli to the Union of India on 11th, August 1961 was also affected. Each of these areas was made a Union Territory and given representation in the House of the people provisionally through nomination by the President. This was really a notable change in the map of the country.

The Third General Election started on 16th February 1962 and ended on May 26, 1962. The first state to go to the polls was West Bengal and the last was the Leh Constituency of Jammu and Kashmir on May 26, 1962. The election at this Constituency could not be held earlier than this.

PARTIES FOR THE ELECTION:

All the political parties which secured 3 percent of the votes polled in the 1957 General Election were recognised for allotment of symbols and their position is discussed in the following paragraphs.

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2 - Report on the Third General Elections in India 1962, P. 6
During 3rd Lok Sabha Election 494 members were elected to the House of the People. The Indian National Congress could get nearly two thirds majority in the election and they occupied 361 seats and there was second position in the House of the Communist Party because 29 seats were secured by it and Swatantra Party could get the third place by occupying 22 seats. While Congress won 354 seats in 1951 and 366 in 1957. It may be stated that during the first Lok Sabha Election (1951) there was possession on 26 seats of C.P.I.; and in 1957 there was a little progress in its position because it secured 29 seats and P.S.P. possessed 20 seats in the First Lok Sabha Elections and 18 in the 2nd Election respectively by occupying third place.\(^1\) Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam was the only political party which contested for Lok Sabha from Madras only. The following Table shows the position of the parties and percentage of valid votes polled in 1962;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>No. of Seats Won</th>
<th>No. of Candidates put up</th>
<th>Percentage of Votes Pollled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>44.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>9.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swatantra</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>8.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Sangh</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>6.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praja Socialist</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>6.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>2.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Parties</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>6.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>11.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Times of Directory of India 1963, p. 598.
As it has already been mentioned that total 494 members were elected and out of them this time there were 35 women candidates.

CONSTITUENCIES AND POSITION OF PARTIES IN FOURTH GENERAL ELECTION OF LOK SABHA

There was a considerable change in the number of constituencies between 1962 and 1967 owing to increase of population in the country. In all there were 494 parliamentary constituencies in existence at the time of 3rd General Elections while 520 constituencies were called upon to elect their representatives to the House in 1967.¹

The Delimitation Commission Act was enacted in the year 1962 as it was in the year 1952. It was laid down in it that all constituencies including those in which seats had to be reserved for the Scheduled Castes or for the Scheduled Tribes in accordance with the Constitution, should be single member constituencies. This principle was already accepted by Parliament in passing the two member constituencies (Abolition) Act 1960 and the same was accepted for the 3rd General Election of the country regarding single member constituencies. It was also obviously mentioned in the above said Act that every assembly constituency should be so delimited as to fall wholly within one parliamentary constituencies, or in other words, each parliamentary Constituencies should comprise an integral assembly constituencies. There was also another major difference in respect of locating the constituencies in which seats were to be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and for the Scheduled Tribes. It was prementioned in the Act that in constituencies in which seats

¹ Source: [Ref 1]
were to be reserved for the Scheduled Castes should be distributed in different parts of the State and located, as far as practicable, in those areas where the proportion of this population to the total was comparatively large. There was a direction also given in the Act that Scheduled Tribes seats should be located, as far as possible where the proportion of their population to the total was the largest. ¹

Total number of Constituencies and the number of seats allotted for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Act for the Lok Sabha Elections can be seen from the Annexure No.1 given in the end of the Chapter.

In the 4th General Election of the House of People some new states were created.² Haryana and Nagaland, were also out of them. Therefore, separate seats were allotted to them for Lok Sabha. In the same way, Goa, Uman and Diu came in the Indian territory, hence two members were also included in it from the same. Pondicherry, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and from Chandigarh one seat from each union territory was allotted. Likewise, one seat was allotted from Dadra and Nagar Haveli, and one from Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands. Further, it is worth while to mention that when the reorganisation of Punjab was made, the allocation of seats in the House of the people to this region underwent a radical change. In place of 22 seats allotted to Punjab and 4 to Himachal Pradesh the two states of Punjab and Haryana were allotted 13 seats and nine seats respectively the enlarged Himachal Pradesh got 6 seats and Chandigarh in this way was made an independent constituency.

¹ - Two Member Constituencies (Abolition) Act 1960.
² - Reorganisation of Haryana Act Sept. 1966 and the delimitation of Constituencies in Punjab and Himachal Pradesh was completed in 1965.
POSITION OF THE PARTIES:

The Fourth General Election had been a landmark in the annals of Indian political system. The process of polarisation of political forces both in quantitative and qualitative terms (perhaps the latter more than the former) which was at work through the three General Elections in a slow, almost stealthy, none-two uniform but steady manner finds its logical, through some what its sudden, culmination in the break down of one party dominant system in eight states. It also affected the entire centre and congress had lost its previous position. As it has already been shown that the Congress acquired 364 seats in the First Lok Sabha Elections out of 471 (74%) seats, in the Second 371 out of 494 (76%) seats; in the third 358 seats out of 494 (74%) and in the Fourth 283 out of 521 (54%) seats. However, the position of the Congress was precarious and it was in the condition of going out but it gracefully accepted the verdict of the people and reconciled to the position of the opposition and that so far the political system had tended to survive the break down of the one party dominance.

1 - (a) Iqbal Narain, Ed. State Politics in India, Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan; P. 641
(b) The position of the Congress was weaker in the General Elections 1962. In several states the Congress lost its certain seats. It was on account of the reason that the promises given by it were not completed. There were commitments to professed goals and programme, primacy of national interest, international cohesion could not be maintained owing to 'Mis-rule'.
(c) The eight states may be mentioned Bihar, Madras, Rajasthan; Kerala, Orissa, Punjab, U.P. and West Bengal.

2 - David Easton (ed); varieties of Political Theory; Prentice Hall me, Engle Wood Cliffs, N.J. 1966, P. 83.
### TABLE - 3:5

**THE COMPARATIVE POSITION OF THE DIFFERENT PARTIES 1967**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>No. of seats won</th>
<th>No. of candidates set up</th>
<th>Percentage of valid votes Polled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Indian National Congress</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>44.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Swabhima</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bhartiya Jan Sangh</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dravid Munnetra Kazhegam</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Samyukta Socialist Party</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Communist Party of India</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. C.P.I.(Marxist)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Praja Socialist Party</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Republic Party of India</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Other Parties</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Independents</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** The Times, January 27, 1967, P.11

**PARTY ALLIANCE:**

It was the time when different parties took steps towards polarisation of politics to have a showdown with the ruling party. In states like Kerala, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Madras and Rajasthan electoral alliances started before commencing of the 4th Election. It was also hotly debated in the Congress circles whether Congress as a single largest party should enter into alliance with political parties or party and thus a coalescence government. Ultimately it was decided by the President of the Congress Party Mr. Kamraj that such a step should not be

1 - Iqbal Narain (Ed) *State Politics in India, Meerut, Minakshi Prakashan*, p. 643.
taken. In this way it can be said that the Indian Political system began to pass through an evolutionary process from the essentially transitional phase of the politics of one party dominance to another and this was the stage of political polarisation or coalitions. It was presumed, looking to the political conditions of the country that heterogeneous coalitions of the opposition parties in the various states of the country would be formed and that would show greater potential for survival. In respect of this the names of Haryana and U.P. can be mentioned for instance. The opposition parties were bound to suggest that the country was on the brink of disaster and that the ‘misrule’ of the Congress Party must be ended.

Unlike in the past there was no towering personality like Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru to guide the community. The entire community of voters was unduly perplexed at this juncture of 4th Elections. There was a great impact of party polarisation upon the voting behaviour during 4th Lok Sabha Elections. In most of the States Congress could get lesser number of votes in comparison to the past three General Elections. The Swatantra Party secured 44 seats and 8.68 votes while the Congress occupied 283 seats and 40.73 votes.

The voter had therefore, the additional task of assessing whether division in the Congress leadership would vitally affect the country’s march towards the greater economic progress or whether it was just that scramble for power not entirely unnatural in any civilized society and which had been witnessed in a number of States for so many years. 1

1 - K. Rangaswami, Voters can not Ignore, Tried and Experienced Men - The Hindu (Madras) February 1, 1967.
It was a greater task before the voter that he had to decide for himself whether the Congress organisation and its leadership had lost their character so completely in the last few months that he should now entrust his and the country's future to Range and Mezani of the Swatantra party or to Dange and Nambudiripad of the Communist Party or to Lohia and Limaye of the Samyuktha Socialist Party or to Madhok and Vejpayee of the Jan Sangh or to Duvedi and Kamath of the Praja Party.

The IV General Elections were largely fought on a negative, anti-ruling party, "change the Congress" plank. The peoples' verdict had been much more anti-Congress than pro this party or that. At the state level there was no ideological coalition in the various political parties barring only a few. There were quite a few coalitions ideologically committed dominant partners - the Left Communist in Kerala and West Bengal the Swatantra in Orissa, the Jan Sangh in U.P. and S.S.P. in Bihar. These dominant partners would try to give a pre-dominant stunt to the coalition programme towards their own ideological commitment and thereby ultimately to forge an independent identity for themselves. If this kind of ideological polarization of political party had continued on correct lines it would have been an important contribution to the political parties for the 5th General Election also.

1 - Even the Left Communist in their appraisal of IV General Elections have conceded that it would be wrong for any opposition party to claim that the votes that it has secured are a conscious endorsement of all that party's programme or election manifesto has put up forward", Statesman, April, 1967.

2 - Iqbal Narain (ed) state politics in India, (1967) PP 554-55
The key determinants of State politics still continued to be the infra-structure, intra and interparty factionalism and the role of the personality factor. Unfortunately still the same political transformation is continuing to decide the determinants. In fact the sweep of anti-Congress and understanding and the post-election coalescence can be taken as politicising agents vis-a-vis the triple key determinants identified here. In the different states of the country the stormy wind began to blow and consequently, quite in a few states two - party system appears and began to dominate their politics and share between themselves the electoral laurels. For example one could pair DMK and Congress in Madras Congress and Swatantra in Gujrat and Orissa, Congress and Jansangh in U.P. and Madhya Pradesh etc.,

Besides this there was multi-party or coalitional party system also developed. For example the names of Kerala with the rout of the Congress or Rajasthan and West Bengal with the Congress being reduced to the position or single largest group can be mentioned.

1 - The Shiv Sene movement in Maharashtra can be cited as an example of the aggressive assertion of the infra-structure in Indian Politics of today.

2 - The rivalry between Master Tara Singh and Sant Group in Akali politics, the cut throat competition between the two Communist Parties and the intra-party factionalism in the Congress can be cited as examples.

3 - Faction within the Congress had largely been weaved around personalities, C.B. Gupta vs. Kamlegati Tripathi had been the classic personality complex in U.P. around which factions have been nurtured. The factional leaders tried to manipulate in grant of congress ticket in a way so that their faction could dominate the newly elected legislature and they could on that basis claim the chief ministerships. Andhra and UP can be cited as examples.
Since there was party coalition in the different states at State level to pull on with the work hence, it affected the workings of the Lok Sabha and Union-State relations also. It has already been stated that the State Governments would need and imaginative handling by the Congress government at the centre; therefore, naturally the federal system in the country started breaking down. This would have been successful if there were one party dominance in the country. Further, there was poor majority of the Congress at the centre and problems were created by different political parties before the speaker in the Parliament. It was very difficulty for the ruling party to take a decision hence, 5th Lok Sabha Elections were to be held, necessarily in the interest of the nation. Owing to this mid-term Lok Sabha election had been essential.

POSITION OF OPPOSITION PARTY:

Since the 1st General Elections were held in 1951-152 the Indian National Congress Party got solid majority. During this period of five years C.P.I. (Communist Party of India) got 16 seats in the Lok Sabha while in the Second General Elections in 1957 it developed its power. During this period it had 27 seats in Lok Sabha while the position of Jan Sangh and P.S.P. and S.S.P. was much weaker. In the Third General Elections C.P.I. had 29 seats in Lok Sabha, being the main opposition party of India C.P.I. lost its position in the Fourth General Election and this time Swatantra Party was dominating being the opposition party of the Parliament. It has 44 seats in the House of the People in 1967. This proves that the position of the opposition parties in Lok Sabha was not so sound as it should be in a developing democratic country.
It was a sort of transitional period for the Congress. In other words, it was a kind of period of 'Dyarchy' in the form of coalition governments. On this basis, it can be imagined that the decade between 1967 and 1977 would be similar to the decade between 1937 and 1947. One Government was making way for another. The second Indian Revolution, the herald of which are displayed in the permanent sources of change in the electorate will be embedded in the end in a party or parties with popular appeals which the congress is losing, but which the other parties have not yet been able firmly to gain. Obviously, the quality of individual leadership will be far more important than the combined majorities which is the coalition governments in the Centre and the state command.

For young leadership is by no means conspicuous in the Congress, unlike the Jan Sangh and the DMK. Youth is still in the Congress a disqualification but moreover, congress would not be ready for long drawn battle in the Lok Sabha. Its image in the Fourth Lok Sabha election had been tried and found wanting, like its ideology. Of its opponents, at least it can be said that their philosophies had been not practicable therefore, it had lost its image which was prior to the Fourth General Elections. At all if it continued and it could not maintain its promises, there would be greater chances for losing its position in the Fifth General Elections of the country. Gradually the gulf began.

1 - Chandidas, R.(ed) The India Votes Vol I, Bombay, Popular Prakashan Ist (Ed) (1967); An article contributed by E.P.W. daCosta; Poll Results Herald Second Revolution; Youth and New literates React Against Congress (Published in the Statesman March 9, 1967), P.182.
to widen between the top-leaders of the Congress party on the basis of ideologies and it was predicted by different leaders of other political parties of the country that the Congress would be divided and after that Fifth Lok Sabha Elections would be the deciding factor for the congress.

In short Congress had established its monopoly in the states and at the centre from 1947 to 67 except in Kerala for a few years. India was truly a one-plus party system, comprising a massive majority party and a number of small opposition groups in the wilderness, that is, groups that could not reasonably except to assume authority in the foreseeable future. All this changed with the elections of 1967 from a rather static distribution of political power at the state and all India levels to a new dynamic equilibrium, from a hegemonial Congress position in Parliament to that of a bare majority; from a near-monopoly of Congress authority in the states to a fragmentation of control, dispersed among eight non-congress governments. During this election period, in nut-shell, India moved from a one-plus party system to an embryonic multiparty system. Really speaking the Fourth General Elections provided a valuable laboratory for behavioral research. Later on great emphasis was given on electoral attitudes opinions, and choices, particularly at the constituency level, but at the State and all India levels as well.

2 - The most comprehensive project of this type was carried out in Kerala before and after the elections the Centre for the study of Developing Societies in New Delhi.
GENESIS OF A NEW OPPOSITION PARTY BEFORE FIFTH LOK SABHA POLL

After Fourth General Elections of Parliament some inner differences began to be developed and intensified, on the basis of groupism there was one belonging to syndicate and the other to Indicate. In this game of power politics both the groups had been trying to acquire fame. The Congress President Mr. Nehling-aon came in the picture as opponent of the Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi and Morarji Bhai Desai also supported him tooth and nail. They were expecting that the Prime Minister will yield. The avaricious lust for power of the Syndicate bosses was matched by silent, confident and patient but committed attitude of the Prime Minister. She counselled reasonableness. She appealed for the correct evaluation of the causes of 1967 debacle. She made it clear that non-implementation of the declared policies and consequent disenchantment of the people and their angry verdict of 1967 led to one conclusion. She laid emphasis that vacillation must be stopped and politics of commitment must become the guiding star. Glaring inequalities must be curbed. There should be faith of common man in parliamentary democracy and it must be revived as a portent weapon for social and economic change. She also cautioned and argued that now congress should open its door to the new generation of the country and only then it will be an effective force in the affairs of the country.

Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India was sure that Syndicate was not even a good or healthy organisation. She had faith that organisation must be democratised. She warned that manipulated membership and democracy to ill go together.
While the differences were going on between the groups of Congress the Faridabad Congress session in April 1969 took place, Shri Niglingappa in his presidential address led a scathing attack on public sector. The Prime Minister challenged the statement made by the Congress President immediately after the Presidential address was over. She cautioned the Congress against the dangerous implications of the propositions contained therein.\(^1\) The economic panel presided over by Shri Morarji Desai could not produce any report, Congressmen were bewildered at the rigidity of Sri Morarji Bhai which resulted in the failure of the panel to produce any report.

The Faridabad session in short brought to the surface the basis approach of the Syndicate to social, political and economic affairs of the nation which in effect rejected the policy declarations of the Indian National Congress made by it from Karachi to Bhubaneswar plenary session.\(^2\) In short, there was a birth of a new opposition party known as Congress(O) against Congress ruling party in 1969. Besides all, there was a great impact upon the mind of the voters with the division of the Congress (Indicate & Syndicate). The literate and illiterate, rich and poor all were attracted towards Congress(Syndicate) in the Fifth General Election.

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2 - Ibid – P.XIV & XV
FIFTH LOK SABHA ELECTIONS:

It was a turning point in the political History of India. The Congress Party which secured landslide victory in the 1971 elections reversed a process of decline of the party which occurred even before 1967. It is true that after 1957 there was a trend towards increased competitiveness in the Indian polity but it should not be forgotten that the erosion of the Congress power took place earlier from 1952 till 1962 in the State Assembly elections which was evidenced from the decline in the percentage of votes polled by the Congress party. In the interest of the country Bank Nationalisation and Privy Purse Bills were passed and the Supreme Court of India's decisions on both the matters further checkmated Indira Gandhi and she found her position becoming untenable, to make her programmes and policies effective. She advised the President to dissolve the Lok Sabha because she did not deem it proper to depend on the support of uncertain elements. There had been four successive good harvests and she got this proper chance for the elections. If she had waited for the General Elections to be held in 1972 she would have confronted the food crisis and other troubles. The image of Indira Gandhi had improved in the eyes of voters due to some of her measures, particularly the Bank Nationalisation.

Smt. Gandhi adopted an electoral strategy to impress upon the electorate that she wanted to take the country a little further to the left. She converted the election into a referendum

1 - R.N.Mathur Mid Term Elections 1969; The Indian Political Science Review Vol. IV, No.2 1971, P.186 ed. by Harnam Singh, Published by the Pol.Science Deptt of University of Delhi
on the policy issues to cut through the maze of problems bedevilling her party at the state or constituency level. In this way opposition parties also supported her in making her image.

PARTY POSITION:

Let us see the party position in the Fifth Lok Sabha Elections and it will clarify the position of the different political parties in India participated in the General Elections for Lok Sabha. It will be far better if the position of the various parties is observed in the all Five General Elections of the Country as shown below.

TABLE No.3:6
TABLE SHOWING THE POSITION OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL PARTIES FROM 1952-'71 LOK SABHA ELECTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>First General Election</th>
<th>Second General Election 24.2.57 to 9.6.57</th>
<th>Third General Election 16.2.62 to 6.5.62</th>
<th>4th General Election 28.2.67 to 6.5.62</th>
<th>5th General Election 13.3.71 to 6.5.71</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cong. (R)</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>485</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSP</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>168</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Sangh</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others(IND)</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swatantra</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI(M)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSP</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akali Dal</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>119</td>
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<tr>
<td>VHP</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cong. (O)</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>League</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

POSITION OF POLITICAL PARTIES
From 1951 To 1971 LOKSABHA ELECTIONS.
PARTY ANALYSIS:

It is quite obvious from the above table that in the developing societies which have the democratic pattern people like to establish a strong and powerful government which can take independent and correct judgement on crucial moments in the interest of the country and for the welfare of the people. During the 5th Lok Sabha Elections there was an awakening in the nation and hence, the voters expressed their indifference towards the political parties which were creating political illusions. In West Bengal despite multiplicity of candidates the voters made a choice mainly from the two possible alternatives Mrs. Gandhi's Congress and the Marxists. In Bihar there was a similar polarization. It will not be out of place to mention that cutting through the maze of small parties the voters divided their choice between the New Congress, the CPI and one section of Jharkand Party and the four party-alliance as has been already explained. A similar thing happened in U.P. also, out of 85 seats only two seats went to candidates not associated with the principal contenders, one to the BKD and another to an independent. Of course, there was survival of independents in Rajasthan and in Madhya Pradesh. The reason seems to be that all the independents were former princes who had the support of the grand-alliance and they could be successful to a certain limit to impress upon the minds of voters.

In Madhya Pradesh Congress (R) could take possession on 43 Lok Sabha Seats out of 45. The Regional Party, Shiv Sena was defeated every where and this shows that the voters were not interested in its political victory. Besides, other regional
parties like BKD also could not get place in the House of the people. Except DMK no other regional parties could get success the Fifth Lok Sabha Poll.

As regards the Jan Sangh, it could not make any headway. It lost its position everywhere outside the princely belt. It could occupy only 22 seats in the House of the People this time as compared with 35 seats in the dissolved Lok Sabha. Out of this there were eleven seats from the area very much influenced by the princely family of Gwalior in Madhya Bharat region of Madhya Pradesh. Four seats were won by Jansangh in Rajasthan as was expected. The remaining 7 (seats) are made up of 4 from U.P. against 12 in 1967, 2 from Bihar and one from Haryana. Jansangh had a strong position in Delhi city, prior to this but unfortunately it had lost all the seven seats there.

The position of Swatantra Party declined in comparison to 1967 Lok Sabha Election. In the 4th Lok Sabha it obtained 8.54 percent Votes while in 1971 only 3.11 percent. This decline was more marked in Gujrat, Tamil Nadu and Mysore. As a matter of fact in the previous elections it could get the support of the individual princes. The set back to SSP, another constituent alliance, has been sudden as its percentage of votes declined from 3.8 percent in 1967 a mere 1 percent in 1971. This party would have done better in the election if it had gone with the leftist forces, instead of going with the Right Wing.

It is notable that among all other opposition parties CPM could gain its position better in the Lok Sabha. In 1967 it acquired 19 seats but this time in 1971, it won 25 seats. However, in terms of seats the strength of the CPM is confined to West Bengal and Tripura, only where it annexed 22 out of its 25 seats. In Kerala it won only two seats with the addition of the seat won by Krishna Menon who contested election on independently but supported by CPM.

As regards the position of CPI it can be added that it established its position in 1971 General Elections and its influence became much wider than the CPM. The main reason of its success is that it was also supported by Congress(R). In CPI among the other leftist parties the influence of PSP has very much reduced in Lok Sabha Elections 1971. It could gain only two seats i.e. one from West Bengal and in other from Maharashtra.

In this Lok Sabha Elections of 1971 some miracles took place. Shri Bijoy Patnaik was defeated in all the five seats he contested. In the same way Atulya Ghosh and P.C. Sen in West Bengal were defeated badly. Some other small parties which were having some standing in previous Legislative Assembly elections suffered greatly. Barring, only one party DMK in Tamil Nadu, BKD, Akali Dal, the Utkal Congress and Shiva Sena could not protect their position even for survival. The DMK which contested 24 of 39 seats from Tamil Nadu in Lok Sabha with Congress(R) alliance won all but one of them. Thus it is proved that in the said state the position of DMK was sound enough. The Telangana Samiti bagged 10 of the 14 Lok Sabha seats from Telangana region.  

1 - Report on the 5th General Election, Election Commission of India, (1971); Vol I (General)
In this way in the 5th Lok Sabha Elections there were some radical changes on the basis of politics. There was defeat of the sectarian groups and parties. Besides, the parties which had been keeping faith and reliance in integration and co-operation were victorious. Throughout the country the pattern of the voters was similar. Definitely, the position of the political parties which were for integration and unity of the country, remained better. The results of election 1971, however, pose a great challenge to political leadership. Under the able leadership of Smt. Indira the Congress(R) regained its position and again it could establish its domination.

VOTERS IN 5TH LOK SABHA POLL:

Interstate differentials of different parties in all the five Lok Sabha Elections(1951-71) can be seen from the Annexure No. 2,3,4,5,6 given in the end of the Chapter which is also depicted in Figure 3:4.

DEFLECTION - A NEW CHANGE IN THE POSITION OF PARTIES:

There was no major change in the party membership from the 1st General Election to 4th Lok Sabha Election. But after 4th General Election there was a big change in political power of the country at state-level. There was the Congress party which had gone down and in different states its position was shaky. Consequently, power politics started and in this respect the importance of the Indian Political Parties had gone up. It was a golden chance

1 - Shiv Lal (Ed.) Encyclopedia of Elections; (1975); Election Archives - CA - 33, New Delhi Tagore Garden Part I, P.17.
after other parties to acquire power from the Congress. This was the reason that different political parties kept apart their principles and began to hanker after power. In this context CPI and CPM, both Rightist and Leftist would deem to adjust with the other parties which were having entirely different principles in politics. It is notable point that in this connection Joint fronts were started in the various states of the country. In the beginning this step was taken by Kerla, Orissa, Bihar, Punjab & West Bengal States and immediately after that the same situation prevailed in Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and M.P. In this way Congress had to handover power to SVD governments of the States. This was the first time that the administration was in the various states in the hands of Joint Fronts at state level. The Congress remained in opposition and tried to pull down the SVD Governments by hook or crook. The next stage came, immediately after this that in several states the SVD Governments had to be dissolved. The governments of Joint Front were dissolved, first of all in Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Bihar, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. In UP and Haryana the Congress could not establish its power but in Bihar, West Bengal and Punjab, there were some party defectors who extended their co-operation to the Congress to establish the Congress Government in the end, the Presidential Rule was applied leaving only M.P. in other states of the country. It was observed at the state level during the period of administration of SVD Govts problems were not solved hence, the voter changed the mind.

1. Ibid p.7
2. भाषुभाष शस्त्र - मार्गीजन राजनीति के नये मोड़ -- दलबदल केर राज्यां की राजनीति, नैर, विनायक पाल, १९७० पृ ७
On the issue of Kerala Land Reforms the propaganda was made by Namboodripad that Chief Minister had no intention to bring the Land Reform Act. Thus the conflict started between CPM and CPI. CPI began to ferment violence and chaos throughout Kerala, with the ultimate aim of 'sabotaging' the CPI-led coalition government. It organised Kisan Conventions and incited the peasants to take the law into their hands in the name of 'Liberation Struggle'. Namboodripad further added that CPI had no intention to implement the Land Reform Act which was passed by his Ministry in October 1969 and it would be done only by CPM at the people's level.

Within seventeen months in the different seventeen states, the Governments began changing. This policy was adopted by the different M.L.A., for their economic gain, social status, official benefits and for having a show down with their opponents also. During the period of S.V.D Governments' administration the Centre was also not extending its best cooperation to the states where the administration was of the opposition parties. Therefore, it was natural that after Fourth Lok Sabha Elections the voters changed their mind to form one party govt. at the centre.

Under the condition it was difficult for the Central Government to assist the state governments, properly. The result was that State Central relations began to be spoiled and grievances were started by States. Kerala lodged a report that the Centre was

1 - U.C. Gupta, India Govt. Politics (1972); Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, p.179
2 - The Hindustan Times, December 18, 1969.
not supplying adequately food grains. The Chief Minister Nambodiripad openly said that on this issue if the Centre fails he would be compelled to make arrangements from China. He also demanded a share of Kerala's foreign exchange earning.¹ R.N. Singh Deo while the Chief Minister of Orissa demanded that a Second Steel plant should be established in Orissa otherwise mass agitation will be started against the Centre.²

POLARISATION

A well planned election strategy is the key not of elections in a democratic set up. So during the fifth General Election in India the political parties in the course of evolving their respective strategic, had to undergo the process of polarisation. Congress inspite of being the most dominating party in the field, suffered a set back during the fourth general elections, and therefore, it tried to regain its position. In doing so, it sought for alliances on different counts with other political parties. The process of polarisation started in West Bengal and then in M.P. As a result of it the voters in West Bengal got the opportunity to choose between the democratic alliance of the Congress and the CPI on one hand and the United Left Front led by CPI on the other.

As for the Marxists it was well known that the odds against them were men CPI leader P.Ram Murti had almost conceded the field to the Congress. He added: 'Mrs. Gandhi may succeed in deluding the people, merely by using slogans to vote for the party'³

¹ - The Hindustan Times, May 14, 1967, P.14
² - Vukumar Das Centre State Relation since 1967, Modern Review April 1977, P.126
³ - The Patriot dated 14.2.72.
The Marxist contested the Election with this aim in view that it would help them to prepare the ground for future elections.

The alliance which was made in West Bengal was on the Democratic lines. They rightly decided to pose the issues before the electorate obviously and squarely. In the 5th Mid Term Poll of Lok Sabha the Congress(R) explained in its manifesto that West Bengal can be built up neither by a rebellion against the Centre nor by destroying the democratic structure and nor through pushing the state into endless chaos and anarchy but by establishing a stable and strong one party government.

In short, Congress started its polarisation with a view to establish a stable government at the Centre. It was a new trend and was not only a theoretical process but a practice one. It was not between the Right and Left, not between winning political power and saturation of self interest but between those who stood for economic independence and those who stood for a reversal of the development of the specific type of capitalism based on monopoly. This process of polarisation was going on in different states, as explained earlier on the basis of action and practice regarding the natural politics and not on theoretical grounds alone.

In Rajasthan the Chief Minister, Barkatullah Khan was confident that the Congress would win 110 out of 184 seats for the Assembly. Even for the elections of Parliament his calculation was based on the assumption that the ruling families of Kota and Jodhpur would not actively work against the Congress candidates while the Swatantra party and Jan Sangh would continue to fight each other till the end.  

1. Patriot 14.2.72
As regards situation in Bihar, the Congress leaders were firmly under the impression that the electorates in Bihar would like to establish a stable Government because they were fed up with the prevailing conditions. In this state all the political parties were in the arena.\(^1\) Inspite of friendly alliance for a few seats the electoral understanding with the Communist Party was expected to help the Congress in regaining their desired objective.

Since the first General Elections in India, the Congress generally used to contest election for all the seats but in the Fifth Lok Sabha Election it could not do so. The Congress had to go in for electoral adjustments with the CPI and some other state level parties, like the All Party Hill Leaders alliance in Meghalaya and the Akali Dal (Gurnam Singh Group) in Punjab.

RECENT TRENDS IN PARTY ORGANISATION:

While acknowledging importance of political parties in a democratic set up Santhanum writes that 'the political iceberg in India, has melted and the real political evolution of the country has begun in earnest'.\(^2\) After the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution the O.M.K. had finally buried the idea of secession and Master Tara Singh's Group of Akali Dal has almost vanished from the political map of India. While the pro-Hindi extremists -- SSP and Jan Sangh gained in the Hindi stage of U.P. Bihar, M.P. and Rajasthan, the 'anti' Hindi O.M.K. gained in

1 - National Herald - (Lucknow) 1__2. '72
Madras and the Communists in Kerala and West Bengal, such was the political climate in India before Fourth Lok Sabha Elections. Commenting on the situation C. Rajgopalachari expressed "A true Federal Union is in the Offing." The result of the Fourth Lok Sabha elections proved that the Indian voters have grown matured. In the real sense it was the turning point in Indian politics as from now the monopoly of Congress began to wane. Now it was expected that some opposition party was likely to come in power. The one speciality marked at the time of the Fifth Lok Sabha Elections was that the Lok Sabha and Assembly elections were dislinked for the first time. Now the attention of Indian voters had gone towards the national issues and problems. At this juncture parties with regional affinity and interest, except the D.M.K. suffered heavily.

After the division of the Congress it was a tremendous problem before Congress(R) to run the government smoothly. Therefore, it tried with its sincere efforts to associate with some other political parties. For the said purpose the Congress(R) joined its hands with the CPI and CPM. In the same way SSP and PSP also extended their best co-operation to Smt. Indira Gandhi. But in practice it was observed that she was politically much closer to the Communist parties of India. It is because that having better relations with the said parties U.S.S.R. would be much helpful to it. At this crucial juncture Congress(R) was in

2 - वाराणसी समाज, भारत के लोकसभा, कॉलिंग, भारती सांस्कृतिक संग्रह, १९६६.
3. The DMK had an electoral alliance with the congress.
great need of party co-ordination which could only be had from
the Socialist and Communist parties. Within one year of the
Congress split it was realised the personality of Smt. Indira
Gandhi and her administration was being influenced by the CPI.
As a result of the split the Congress (O) was given the status
of an opposition party in both the houses of Parliament. ¹
It became obvious before the Fifth Lok Sabha elections that Mrs.
Gandhi was much influenced by the Russian politics.

Looking at the adverse political situation prevailing in
India during the period 1965-‘69, a great need was being felt for
a new powerful party. On certain occassions Prof. Madhok pleaded
for a political liaison between Raja Ji, a man of essentially
Hindu religious mind on one hand and M.R.Massani - a Parsi of
materialistic outlook and his supporters of the new party on the
other with a view to considering more closely and objectively
before plumping for a new party". ²

The economic policy of Bhartiya Jan Sangh had miserably
failed to attract the support of big business circles inspite of
its ideology being so favourable to their interest. Jan Sangh
gained slight importance after the debacle of Congress Party in
the general elections of 1967. Mean while the business class
acknowledged the activities of Congress(R) and maintained this
conviction that it is leaning towards Communists only hence,
capitalist did not contribute their co-operation. Further, with

¹ - Ibid
² - Organiser, June 15, 1959.
this realisation, the leading business houses found their only way in taking Smt. Indira Gandhi away from the Comrades. Therefore, it was remarked in an editorial "They showered donations on her, and she showered licences on them. The result is there before all of us to see". 1

On the issue of Privy-Purse the Congress(R) was much ashamed after the declaration of Supreme Court's Judgement. On the other hand Smt. Indira Gandhi thought that if the Congress(O), Bhartiya Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party had formed a joint-front, it would create a very old position for the Congress(R). Hence, she took a bold step to go for the 5th Lok Sabha poll.

In the meanwhile during Mid-term Assembly Elections held in Kerala the Congress (R) with the co-operation of CPI and Muslim League could achieve success beyond its expectations. Shri D.P. Mishra also suggested that assembly and Lok Sabha elections should not be held together. It will have two advantages. Firstly, state politics would not emerge with the assembly elections, Lok Sabha elections will be least affected. Secondly, separate election of Lok Sabha and the assemblies require large sum of money which would be a difficult thing for the opposition parties to arrange. It will not be out of place to mention that 5th Lok Sabha elections were held on the initiative of Russian Government.

Before the dissolution of Parliament in 1970 and going in for the 5th Lok Sabha election, the Congress(R) was not in a

comfortable position. However, it was running its government with the close cooperation of C.P.I., D.M.K. and the Muslim League. No sooner the Lok Sabha was dissolved and the date for holding the mid-term poll was announced, that the attention of all the political parties was drawn towards it. It was well known to all that Muslim League and the Communist parties would extend their best co-operation to Smt. Indira Gandhi. During this period she made her best efforts to join hands with DMK and the Akali Dal for elections purposes. The matter was finalised with DMK on the ground that the assembly and Lok Sabha elections would be held simultaneously in Tamil Nadu and the Congress (R) would not contest for the assembly seats. At the same time the DMK agreed to leave 10 Lok Sabha seats for the Congress (R). This proved that Mrs. Gandhi was much keen to make her position strong at the Centre rather than in the state assemblies. In Punjab there were some inner conflicts among the leaders of Akali Dal, hence there could not be any alliance with the Congress (R) and ultimately the Akali Dal made up its mind to contest the election independently. In West Bengal also where the assembly and Lok Sabha elections were to be held simultaneously. Therefore, the CPM decided to contest the election with the co-operation of other parties. The CPI had some conflict with the Congress (R) on the sharing of seats and therefore, it decided to prepare its own election front. In the beginning the PSP also decided to make a joint front with the Congress (R) but on account of certain reasons it could not be materialised. Ultimately, PSP declared that it would contest independently. As the leadership in PSP in Maharashtra was in the hands of Maharashtrian
and the Brahmins of Maharashtra, they tried to seek co-operation with the Congress(R). But in U.P. where the PSP was in a better position, the leaders were against to have any alliance with Smt. Indira Gandhi. So far as the B.K.D. and Swatantra were concerned, they were ready in the beginning to make a joint-front for the mid-term poll but they could not keep up their alliance as the elections approached. It had two reasons. Firstly, in U.P. there was little hope for the Congress(O) to get an upper hand in the elections. Secondly, some leaders of the backward classes of Congress(R) expressed that if Mr. Charan Singh managed to secure 25-30 seats in the Lok Sabha, there was a chance of his becoming the prime Minister. Since Chaudhary Charan Singh was ambitious for the high office he started discussions with the Nationalist parties for his leadership in the Central Cabinet. At this juncture the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra assured him that they would consider this issue only when they have won the elections. But the leaders of the Congress(O) did not agree to such a proposal as Shri Morarji Bhai Desai was also among the aspirants. Hence, SKD also decided to contest the elections independently.

With a view to making the Grand Alliance successful, sincere efforts were made by Shri Morarji Bhai Desai and Nijlangappa and as a result a joint-front of Congress(O), Swatantra and the Jan Sangh was formed. It was also decided that at the state level the division of Lok Sabha seats should be adequately made and if there was any difficulty in the process, assistance from the main leaders of the parties may be taken. Later on the SSP also joined the same front. In view of this alliance it may be mentioned that neither there was any joint programme nor any central leadership.
Briefly summing up our review in the political trend, party positions and their alliances beginning from the 1st General Elections to the 3rd, we do not find any considerable change because of the fact that the Congress was the only dominating party and Pt. Nehru was the undisputed leader of the Congress as well as of the people of the country. Besides, he had an international stature and his word was law which no body could challenge. This position continued till his death 1964. It was natural after the death of Nehru that the question of leadership was decided. The inner party factions were apparent but the situation was well controlled by Kam Raj for a temporary period. Some changes in the administrative set up were made at the state level on an experimental basis. But as the situation was brewing within the Congress as well as in other parties, it resulted in defections from 1965 and continued upto 1969 when there was a major split in the Congress itself.

Apart from the defections, as increase in the number of political party also came in the offering on the basis of castism, regionalism and other vested interests. Owing to the defections which was not a healthy sign the process of polarization and the alliance among the parties also started. Among the regional parties only DMK and BKD could win a sizeable number of seats in the Lok Sabha. The rest of the political parties could either get no or very little seat in the Lok Sabha. Indira Gandhi came back to power as Prime Minister not with a very comfortable majority in the 4th General Elections. Her position, therefore, remained very shaky because of the opposition of various parties in the Lok Sabha. As a Prime Minister she proved to be a strong administrative and in the 5th Lok Sabha election, the electorates of the country gave her their fresh support and she returned to power with a very
thumping majority in Lok Sabha. This time CPI, CPM and DMK also extended their support on major economic issues and as a result of her success in solving many problems, the opposition began to grow weaker and weaker.

As there were four major political parties in the country, the efforts were made for a grand alliance in 1971 but it could not succeed on account of political immaturity. Among the parties which suffered a setback, the position of SSP grew weaker and it lost its credit as leftist party. Because of the alliance with the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra the position of Congress(O) was also no better than that of any other party. Under the prevailing circumstances the Congress(R) could get some support from both the CPI and CPM. It was expected that this kind of co-operation between the Congress(R), CPI, CPM and DMK would continue till some exigency augmented a fresh change in the policy.