CHAPTER IV

MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR ELECTION CAMPAIGN

SYMBOLS—CONGRESS (R) JANSANGL, PSP, SSP, SUTANTRA, ETC

ELECTORAL REACTION TO THE PROGRAMME OF POLITICAL PARTIES (FIFTH LOK SABHA)
CHAPTER IV

In the First Lok Sabha Elections there were fourteen political parties duly recognised by the Election Commission and all were functioning at all India level. Out of these there were only eight which had shown significant performance at the polls. As a matter of fact only five parties really mattered, and these played an important role.

The following classification of political parties proves that India has multi-party system of organisation right from the dawn of freedom:

1. Parties based on Gandhism;
2. Parties based on Marxism;
3. Parties based on Feudalism
4. Parties based on Communalism
5. Bhartiya Jansangh.

SHAPING OF MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM:

In the various corners of the world Multi-political party system has been developed. Mostly among under-developed countries the parties have been splited. Like wise in India the Congress and Socialist party had been divided and further splitted after independence. This produces a special characteristic of Indian party system. As a matter of fact after the common goal of achieving independence had been served, there remained no other cementing

1. Indian National Congress (i); CPI (iii) Hindu Mahasabha (iv) Backward Class Association; (v) SSP.
factor uniting the various organisations well matured in their political culture but antagonistic to each other. No doubt it was the main cause behind the above stated development. But besides this there could have been other important causes also. There was a need to form an opposition and to strive for a position of eminence therein. The Congress was also unwilling to retain them within its fold. This was the cause that the conflict of personalities had also become acute.¹ And above all, in a nation of India's size, with several different socio-religious, cultural and racial units, and with a variety of economic, political, geographical, organisational and historical bases, in the midst of an immature democratic environment, this development in regard to the party system seemed to be quite natural, because in most non-Western societies, just as in other traditional societies, the pattern of political relationship has been largely determined by the pattern of social and personal relations.² The national movement aggregated and articulated the above interests after independence in such a way,³ that the emergence of separate and different political parties was 'but natural'.

In this way within twenty-eight years of duration after independence in India different political parties tried to influence voters by different new slogans while they were not in a position even to fulfil their promise even after 5th General Election in the country. Since Congress was split and in the

² - H.Eckstein; Apter, E.David, Comparative Politics P.657
³ - Ibid P.625.
same way communist party was also divided likewise, therefore comparatively all parties were weakened. In comparison to all other political parties in the fifth General Election Congress(R) could establish its position soundly. But in a few states it was also bound to keep alliance with the Communist party and DMK etc., for the different constituencies where the position was weak enough. It was also to be done in the fourth General Elections also because at certain places there was vigorous opposition. Consequently, a situation prevailed in the country for political polarisation. ¹

Party system is often described as a 'key middle term'² in relation between society and politics. It is shaped and coloured by the interests and ideas of groups in a society. The political parties are regarded as intermediate action mechanisms for public, acting on the behalf in the policy making process informing it about the world of politics and helping it as channels for its complaints and demands.³ They are primarily considered as the representational structure of the political system consisting votes and seats, articulating and aggregating prevailing divisions in society, as part of the input process of modern politics.⁴ The voting behaviour is influenced deeply by the political parties through their election campaign and wide publicity which may bring a favourable change in their mental

¹ - (A) Indal Narain, Twilight of Dawn: The Political change in India (1967-71), (Agra, Shivalal Agrawal & Co. 1972); P.73 Also see
     (b) Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., India, Govt. & Politics in a Developing Nation (New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. 1970) P.150
⁴ - Raj Kothari, Politics in India, (New Delhi, Orient Longmans Lt
attitude. The success of any political party, therefore, depends on how permeable and adaptive its structure is in absorbing vast peripheries of the population into support base and in effectively conveying the needs of the party supporters to the decision making structures of society.

In India there is multiple political party system. It is a notable factor in the country. Besides this, there are many independent candidates, who also take part in General Election. In comparison to the different political parties of the country there is nothing obvious about this ideology, manifestoes and their principles for which they contest election. They have got some followers in their constituency on the basis of religion, cast and regionalism etc. Generally, speaking the political scientists always have been advocating against multiplicity of parties, but they do not offer any remedy to the problem, if at all it is a problem by any means.

In short, this is a common phenomena that if there are many parties contesting election naturally the total votes will be divided and comparatively there will be more chance to secure less votes in every constituency. In this way such conditions prevailed in India that a party which secured less than half votes of the total number had come in power. But for this election campaign is a means through which policies and principles are propagated to impress the voters and any party may establish its position in a democratic country by a successful campaign.
Election Campaign of Major Political Parties in India:

In order to win the election in the democratic India the candidates try to popularise themselves. Each candidate tries to convince the people that he is their real sympathizer. When the election fever is running high the candidate advertises going to Gaya or Gorakhpur 'Look here folks,' I am afraid you will have to continue to depend upon the monsoon for a long time to come. It is no use your wanting a tube-well because even if you have one there will be no power to work it. There is no point in your sending your boys to the high school for what will they do when they pass out. There are no new jobs. I will do my bit\(^1\)

During the mid-term election of Lok Sabha in Bihar Jan Sangh promised that there will be water supply to every field and no plot will remain unirrigated. In the same way S.S.P. goes ahead to advertise its own manifestoes that for the purpose of irrigation 1000 tube-wells will be ready in every month. It is a nice figure but whether it can be a practicable scheme.

The United Front in West Bengal is equally vague in its manifesto. Few of its 32 points may clearly be defined. Almost all political parties were going for propaganda that they will go for welfare of the country. Higher wages will be provided to the landless persons and better incentive prices to farmers but

\(^1\) Sham Lal (Ed) Party Manifestoes are like Jokes Parcels; (Election Archives Shivlal), Ist Issue, Bombay, Times of India, P.9.
no body could do so because of lack of resources, and no body could think of a way to stop inflationary tendencies in India. Every party would like to go for heavy expenditure but no one could manage for a new source of revenue.

**POWER GAME:**

The party may be able to outwit all its rivals and keep himself in power for some time Mr. X may be able to out manœuvre Mr. Y and get a little ahead of him in the power game but in the end the winner is likely to discover that he has only cheated himself.

The social and economic relations are most painful and unless the plans take these fully into account the congress will find it more and more difficult to cope with them. As Mr. Hansom has pointed out with a touch of just sarcasm, much in the Indian Plans so far has been contingent upon "the realisation of the unrealiable".

**ELECTION CAMPAIGN:**

The 'propaganda themes' refers to the propaganda lines pursued by various parties and candidates in their own support as well as the criticism of others. The campaign techniques, in other words, are simply the 'Vehicles' for broadcasting the propaganda themes which once may be of two types(1) self projecting propaganda(2) others indicating. When he tries to convince the
voters about his own or the suitability of his party as recipient of their votes is known as self projecting and on the contrary regarding non-suitability or inferiority of his opponents and contestants is concerned with others indicating. Actually speaking this scheme is applied in all democratic countries to show down others but in India its range is very wide and standard is very low. This has been observed from the first to fifth General Elections in India. In actual practice, of course, the election propaganda of a party candidate is an amalgam of both the techniques. Generally in the previous General Election two different candidates were supported by the different parties. It was observed that a particular candidate had gone for four types of propaganda themes, in the first place, he emphasized his own qualities and achievements and secondly he pointed to the policies and performance of his party, both being the varieties of 'self projecting' propaganda, on the other hand, he criticised a little in the third place or ridiculed his opponent or, lastly he stressed the inadequacies or inconsistencies of the policies and programmes formulated by his adversary's party. It has been observed that no party or candidate may win over the elections without making allegation on others and this has been observed in almost every state and region of India in every General Election.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES USED IN INDIA:

First, all the Indian Political Parties select their candidates or other independent participants. They decide

1 - S.P. Verma, and C.P. Bhambri; Elections & Political consciousness in India, (1967) Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan; P.46
themselves to participate in the election as candidates. With
the filling of the nomination forms and passing of the date of
withdrawal and retirement the phase of electioneering viz. the
formulation and finalization of the election strategy by different
parties and candidates is over and all the parties and candidates
turn their attention towards organization of their election and
propaganda machinery in order to influence the electorate to vote
in their favour. Generally it is known the second phase of
electioneering and the different political parties observe the
occasion by holding public meetings where the election campaign
is launched.

As regards the contest in general elections each political
party prepares its own working machinery exclusively for election
purposes and cadres also calls up the reserve cadre and mobilizes
additional election workers and party supporters. The General
pattern of election organization of the various parties has got
similarity. In the last five general elections the Congress,
Jansangh, S.S.P., P.S.P., C.P.I., C.P.(M), B.K.D., etc., prepared
their organization which was the overall incharge of the elections.
There was a unit of each party which had been functioning at the
State level and another was deputed to remain particular about the
district level to observe the activities of the other parties and
to popularise itself in the public. In the same way other units
were prepared to function at Panchayat and Village level by every
party. During the third General Elections every party in M.P.,
Rajasthan, U.P., Punjab etc., was aware of the need to organise
special election units. Special centres were established in Bhopal
Indore, Jaipur, Ajmer, Lucknow, Meerut, Varanasi and Chandigarh etc.
by different parties. At village Panchayat level some adhoc arrangements were made during the third General Election period to take care of the newly emerging power centres in rural areas of Rajasthan.

The main objective of the election campaign is to attract and convince the voters. By creating public impression about the position of a party or a candidate it becomes possible to explicit the situation in favour of or against a candidate. Financial resources and approaches count much in this respect. Depending upon the political significance of various candidates the election campaigns are truly multi-dimensional. There is a propaganda drive to enlist the support of the electorate touching almost all aspects of public and private life of the adult as well as non-adult citizens. In order to maintain discipline, law and order it is the duty of the Election Commission to see that there should be no violation of the rules. For this purpose, the Government of India and the vast number of police and other personnel are involved in the conducting of the country-wide General Elections. Although Indian democracy is at the infant stage law and order have always been maintained barring minor skirmishes at a few places. In the elections, the main motive of every political party is to contact and to convince during election so that the electorate may cast votes in favour of the candidate. To make the distinction clear large scale distribution of party flags, posters, badges and other miniature insignia among the children can be mentioned as the 'contact' type campaign technique while the "door-to-door" canvassing undertaken by almost every candidate can perhaps be regarded as an example of 'conviction' type of
campaign technique. Its only purpose is that the votes of major number of voters may go in their favour hence, they make household approach also. The contacts are also made during this period on the basis of ideologies and principles.

TRENDS OF FIFTH LOK SABHA ELECTION CAMPAIGN:

It is not an unnatural trend that in a developing country disparities grow along with economic development. Besides, during the election campaign a rich versus poor polarisation developed and in this peculiar situation of our country even middle class people put themselves in the category of the poor. But there was difference between the election campaigns of the Congress on the occasion of mid-term Lok Sabha poll and the election campaign of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru. There was a time when Pt. Nehru was honoured by all. People used to listen to him and they would do every thing as he wanted them to do. It was a time when their level of awareness was low and it made him induce them to increase their level of political consciousnes. In the real sense his campaigns were explanatory and educative. In course of time the economic condition of the public changed and now they are more aware. They have also had the experience of big mass struggles not on emotional issues like that over linguistic states but on issues affecting their daily lives. Another experience which they have had since Nehru’s death was that of their power to throw out the Governments they did not like. A big change has come in education also and hence people are more aware and more assertive with the result that the Prime Minister herself went for a fresh mandate. Her election campaign roused them; they did not blindly follow her to the polling booths. In the present context, a roused people conscious of their power, have
voted her to power. It is a qualitatively different mandate from the mandates which the people gave to Nehru thrice.

During the 5th General Elections it has been implied that the propaganda and technique of campaign which were adopted in one particular candidate or a party in a particular constituency and if the candidate of the same party is returned to the same constituency in the next General Election the old techniques are adopted by the defeated parties or candidate.

DIVISION OF WORK IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN:

It is essential that the party candidate get maximum cooperation of his party workers. Therefore, his first step is to collect them and make them acquainted with each other and to arrive at an agreed division of labour with respect to various aspects of electioneering, such as maintenance of accounts, management for boarding and lodging of election workers, hiring and printing of publicity material. In respect of vigorous campaign different parties establish their working offices in the various corners of the constituency and later on wardwise offices and working agencies are established. It has been seen that during the period of General Elections the party office is converted into an election office. Every party goes for the printing work such as leaflets, pamphlets, posters and through those they try to stimulate feelings of the voters. The language of the same also play its own part. For wide propaganda most of the parties and candidates search for cars, jeeps, buses to contact the voters. Duties and functions are allotted to different persons of an area and they perform their duty. All this
is possible if the party is well organised and extends its maximum co-operation for the victory of its candidate.

Some of the party members are deputed for propaganda work. Sometimes Tonga and a Jeep are fitted with amplifier-loud speakers and they rush from one corner to the other in the town and in the constituencies. Cycles are also used for the same purpose. Sometimes the vehicle is also covered with the photograph of the candidate and the symbol of the candidate is also pasted on the vehicle so that voters may not forget his name and symbol.

Mostly the photographs of different party-leaders are also kept on a common place to attract the mind of voters. During the regime of Pt. Nehru from First to Third Lok Sabha Elections Congress had taken such advantages of this type of propaganda. Soon afterwards when the leadership was changed and Smt. Indira Gandhi came in the Chair, at the time of election campaign of Fourth and Fifth Lok Sabha polls, the Congress(R) had taken many advantages of her name and position. This is not confined to the Congress. Jansangh, S.S.P., P.S.P., CPI, etc., also have done the same in every General Election. As the election tempo gathers momentum each candidate brings out some pamphlets, leaflets, posters flags etc., of his party. The posters are also pasted at the public and private places and on the buildings. As soon as the election date approaches some young boys and girls are hired for distribution of pamphlets. The pedestrians and cyclists are generally indifferent to these pamphlets. This kind of election campaigning has been in practice since the first general
During the 5th General Election in 1971 some of the political parties accused the Congress(R) of misusing All India Radio and Government machinery for the purpose of election propaganda.

As regards the election campaign in the fifth General Election the charge was levelled by Shri Madhu Limaye that 2000 jeeps were being used by the Ruling Congress. These jeeps were demanded for the purpose of defence. Later on this charge was refuted by Shri P.C. Sethi who was working as State Minister of Defence in 1971.

**Political Parties and Allocation of Symbols:**

In a democratic country like India where every voter is not educated election symbols play an important role. At present there are seven political parties in India and they have been recognised on all India basis. Every political party has adopted a particular symbol. Recognition has been made of all political parties on India level by the Election Commission of India. This recognition is provided to them only when they fulfill certain conditions. As a matter of fact if a party has remained engaged in political activities at a stretch between the two general elections, it will be entitled for seeking recognition provided during the past elections it had returned at least one of its candidates for every 25 returned to the Lok Sabha.

State level recognition is also provided if a party has returned at least one member for every 30 members of the State Vidhan Sabha. Apart from this a party may get recognition at India level or State level if it has secured at least four percent of the total

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1 - *Oirmen, 24th Jan. 1971, p.19*
votes polled during elections to the Lok Sabha or the Vidhan Sabha as the case may be. There is another alternative also, a group which has attained the state status at least in four states can also be recognised as a national party.

**ELECTION SYMBOL**

In connection with the allotment of symbols by the Election Commission of India the purpose is that political parties may be in a position to undertake propaganda work successfully. Since a large number of voters are illiterate, they mark their ballot paper with the help of the rubber stamp to indicate their voting preference and to facilitate this the election Commission has devised the system of allotting distinctive symbols to different parties. The election symbols are thus to facilitate the task of the voter but the experience during the five general elections in India has been that these symbols have been more prominent than even the personal names and political labels of the candidates and parties concerned. There are also symbols which show whether a party has an all India status or a state level status. The main advantage to the national party is that it would be authorised to make use of one symbol in the election anywhere in India while a party having state status will not be permitted to do so.

After every five years when General Elections take place the position of a political party is revised. Its recognition remains confirmed or is withdrawn according to the conditions dictated by the Election Commission.
CONFlict ON ALLOTMENT OF A SYMBOL:

Some times there is a conflict over a symbol when two parties want the same. It generally happens when there is a split in a party. The Indian National Congress(0) and the Indian National Congress (R) were in such a conflict over "the pair of bullocks with a Yoke on" before the fifth Lok Sabha Elections. Ultimately the Supreme Court gave a verdict rejecting the claims of both the parties and allotted to both of them news symbols. In the same way there was a similar conflict at the time of bifurcation of socialist party a few years back. Both the splited groups demanded the 'hut'. On the same line there was a dispute between the two fractions of Communist Party also. The Supreme Court is the only ultimate appellate authority for a final decision on such issues and matters.

The following symbols are allotted to the recognised parties. The non-recognised groups or independents cannot be given these symbols in the States wherein a recognised party is contesting the election as a state party or as a natural party. The symbols of the eight recognised parties which contested election in 1971 were as under:

1 - Calf and Cow: The Indian National Congress(R)
2 - Charkha being plied with a woman -- Indian National Congress
3 - Lamp: The Bhartiya Jansangh
4 - Star: Swatantra Party
5 - Hut: Praja Socialist Party
6 - Tree: Samyukta Socialist Party
7 - Ears of Corn and Sickle - THE Communist Party of India.
8 - Hammer, Sickle and Star: The Communist Party of India (M)

1 - Shiv Lal (Ed) Election Archives (Quarter ending June, 1971), P.6
ELECTION MANIFESTOES AND PARTIES (1951-1971)

It may be stated that from the year 1951-’52 since elections started in the democratic country there had been various political parties and they had been contesting general elections on the basis of their different political principles and aims. They had been keeping their various manifestoes to win the election but inspite of the same there had been much similarity in them. Now it is an important point to be explained:

LIKE-MINDEDNESS:

There is much similarity found in election manifestoes of the various parties of India. On the issue of like-mindedness V.R.Singh has thrown light 1 and ultimately there is very little difference among the political parties of India.

One can deduce perhaps from this that only the Swatantra and Naxalities are representing really the two polarised views. There is no other real party with distinctive features of its own. One therefore aptly asks", has no other party any business to exist under the circumstances". The answer has to be an exercise in logics, and perhaps in political quibbles, or perhaps the answer lies ultimately in the instability of human beings, particularly in an economically backward democracy like ours where the problems are sought to be solved through slogans and through an expression

1 - V.B.Singh - Some Institutional Requirements of Indian Planning (This paper was presented at the Seminar of on the Union State Relations at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study Simla), (May 19-30; 1969).
of varying opinions represented by variegated parties. And the one with the more catchy slogans may weigh heavier against the other.

VARIANCES IN VIEWS:

Though on major issues there is like mindedness among Indian Political Parties yet there is still another paradox and in this way slight difference of area is found among them. The basis of the differences is broadly (i) regionalism (ii) religion and (iii) clash of personalities, which is purely of a personal nature.

In short, it may be stated that the aspirations and sentiments of the people are exploited fully. All manifestoes and the choice of candidates for contests are motivated by the said three factors almost invariably.

Likemindedness among the different parties may be shown as below:

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<th>Swat</th>
<th>Jan-Sangh</th>
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1. Nationalisation(Social Control of Bank and Insurance.

2. Moratorium on Foreign Payments

3. Ceiling of Income and Urban Property

4. Land Re-distribution

5. Abolition of Land Revenue

6. Co-operative Farming
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<th>Sr. No.</th>
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**KEY OF SYMBOLS**

1) **.** **.** Stands for;
2) - **.** No mention
3) x **.** **.** Opposed to;
4) a **.** **.** Stands for but no mention.
ELECTION MANIFESTOES OF THE DIFFERENT PARTIES DURING LOK SABHA POLLS

During the campaign of the first General Elections of Lok Sabha, the election manifestoes which were made public by the Indian National Congress and the socialist party were almost similar in nature. In regard to their programme, these parties did not differ in the matter of principle but had divergent views in regard to its execution. In the course of their election campaign, the leaders of the Congress laid much emphasis on the point that the Congress alone could deliver the goods as it was the only party which fought for the independence of the country and now its sole objective was to make a welfare state. Such was the justification given by the leaders of the Congress for their future programme. In regard to the question of ownership of land, they made it clear that the right will go to the tiller of the soil and to none else and immediately coming to power after the elections, the Congress Government in U.P. abolished the Zamindari system by an Act of Legislation which came into force from 1st July 1952. Barring the discontentment of Zamindars who were given adequate compensation in the form of Zamindari Bonds, the peasantry felt a great relief by this Act of legislation. This achievement of the Congress acted as a lever at the time of second General Elections as well when the Congress began to recount its achievement before the rural public.

No sooner than the Congress came into power, it tried to dig deep for its stay by implementing some of the major items which it could easily do. In regard to the industrial development
of the country it did not make any radical change and pleaded for mixed economy. In the matter of foreign relations it adopted the policy of non-alignment and at home it worked for secularism free from religious orthodoxy. All these things proved great political assets for the Congress in its future election programmes.

In this context it would be befitting to make a comment on the performance of other political parties, then in existence. The Jansangh and CPI could not make any impression upon the mind of the people because of their narrow outlook.

As the election symbol of the Congress was a 'pair of Bullocks with a Yoke on their neck,' it could attract the masses, particularly the peasantry did not like any other symbol and blindly supported the Congress from the beginning to the Third Lok Sabha Elections. In comparison to the other political parties the Congress had another advantage in that it always pleaded for the upliftment of the under-privileged people like the schedule castes and schedule-tribes and thus always won their support during the elections; the other parties, however, could not do so because of their narrow outlook or communal bias. The only party, which had no or very little experience in the field of politics, was Jansangh. It had come into existence a few years ago, and from the very beginning it had no or little experience in the field of politics. It had come into existence a few years ago, and it had no or little experience in the field of politics.

months before the first General Elections and was considered to be a pro-Hindu Communal organisation. The non-Hindu voters were always critical about the performance of Jansangh. In this way there was nothing more attractive in the manifesto of Jansangh. Besides the Jansangh, the other party in the field was CPI. It had played no role in achieving the independence of the country although it wanted to bring communism to the country like Russia and China where the labouring classes would feel happy and secure.

In regard to the communistic ideology it may be safely mentioned that for some time until China made an aggression on this country in 1962, Pt. Nehru had a soft corner for the communists. He sought their co-operation and Mr. K.M. Panikkar extended all that he wanted. As a result of this co-operation the CPI could secure positive gains in the first Lok Sabha Election in the states of Travancore Kochin, Madras, Hyderabad and also in West Bengal. Besides this in other parts of the country people did not pay attention towards the manifesto of communist party.

In passing from the first to the second and the third General Elections held in 1957, and 1962 we do not find a considerable change in the gains of the opposition parties for the simple reason that these elections were held when Pt. Nehru was alive. Political scientists compared him to a banyan tree under which nothing could grow. He remained a virtual head of the ruling party.

1 - Hindustan Times New Delhi Jan. 10, 1952
2 - M.P. Messani Communist Party of India, P.161
Looking to the results of the Second and the Third Lok Sabha Elections it can be easily observed that in its election manifests the Congress always emphasized that it was the only party which could deliver the goods. It made capital of its achievements by emphasizing expansion in the fields of education and industrial growth of the country. Five year plans which were to remove the poverty from the country and bring socialism in the long run. Because of these achievements and also because of the dominating figure of Pt. Nehru the Congress could go on winning the majority of seats in the Lok Sabha. During the third Lok Sabha Elections the Congress could go a step further in impressing upon the people that because of its radical policies the country was on its way towards self-sufficiency and prosperity. On account of medical facilities available in the nation, the average life span in India had gone up from 36 years to 43 years. There was yet another move of the Congress to start co-operative farming somewhat on the Russian pattern which might have brought better results in the field of agricultural productions but such a move was very much opposed by the Jan Sangh. The Swatantra Party came out boldly for a better role of the trade unions in the factories. Contrary to this the Jan Sangh pleaded in its manifesto that the workers be made partners in the joint venture of production where both the employers and employees work in perfect harmony. The dividend or the profit should not be the sole monopoly of the employer. In this way every political party spread its own manifesto to attract the attention of voters.

It can not be easily assessed as to how the public felt in regard to the manifests of various parties but this much was sure that the voters did cast their votes on the basis of casteism,
regionalism and religious feelings. It was observed that in comparison to the first and Second General Elections, casteism played a much greater role although the Muslims and the other minority groups voted for the congress in a traditional manner.

The fourth General Elections held in 1967 showed a shift in the electoral behaviour. Pt. Nehru was no more on the scene. The leadership of the congress party had gone to Indira Gandhi. The country had faced two attacks from its neighbours—one in 1962 by China and the other in 1965 by Pakistan. As the public opinion had considerably changed and there was a lot of faction within the Congress Organisation, the process of defection started in the state assemblies. The Congress Governments began to topple and the result was the formation of S.V.D. Governments. Even at the centre the Congress was not enjoying comfortable majority. The Swatantra Party and the Jansangh had emerged as major political parties in the opposition which had captured 42 and 35 seats respectively. This clearly explained a reaction in the public opinion against the Congress regime which had taken place in a period of two decades. Smt. Indira Gandhi circulated a new manifesto of her party but the image of her party could not be improved.

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ELECTION MANIFESTOES (1971) OF THE VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES / AND THEIR IMPACT

Then came the year 1969 when the factions within the Congress Organisation brought about its split and the Congress was divided into Congress(R) and Congress (O). The Congress(R) which was controlling power at the centre was no more in a
comfortable majority although Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister had gained much public applause because of her dynamism. Being very enthusiastic in regard to bring radical reforms like the abolition of privy-purses, she decided to have the mid-term polls and with her 'Garibi Hatao' slogan, she sought the fresh mandate from the people. As she had already nationalized the 14 Banks, her 'Garibi-Hatao' slogan had a magical effect upon the people. At the State level the S.V.D. Governments had a miserable failure, the people were now frustrated and wanted a strong Central Government. There were many issues before the country.

It was the need of the hour before the fifth Lok Sabha Poll that peace should be established in the country. In West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra, Orissa etc., the Naxalite movement was developing rapidly and on account of the same the common man's life was very much disturbed. The inflationary tendencies were also increasing and prices were increasing. In the election manifesto of Congress(R) also slogans were raised against these.

However, it would be befitting in this context to make an analysis of other issues which were included in the manifesto of Congress(R). Besides, capitalists and feudalists were anticipating other progressive measures which would further curtail their privileges. They definitely saw the leaning of Congress(R) towards the Russian Politics. Inspite of all this, they could not come out openly with their opposition and helped Indira Gandhi financially to win the elections.
Now all the political parties came into the arena. A vigorous campaign started and all the political parties came out with their election manifestoes. The Congress(R), the CPI and the DMK had developed their mutual understanding in regard to certain policies and kept their alliance to contest the election separately. What appeared to be a common programme of these parties was the ceiling of the urban property without abolishing the property right. It was also made public that the right to make appointments of the Supreme Court Judges, if necessary, would be vested with the parliament. This certainly attracted the intellectual class of the country but could not appeal to the masses. What attracted the common voters was the ‘Garibi Hatao’ slogan and the cry for the ‘Green Revolution’ which would have immensely benefitted the peasantry.

But speaking of the distinctive features of the manifestoes Congress(R) pledged to prevent (a) individual holdings and ownership of property beyond a reasonable level and (b) concentration of economic power and wealth in a few hands. It had advocated a ceiling on urban property.¹

The Congress(O) favoured a decentralised economic order, which made possible for wide distribution of wealth. During the General Election period of 1971 it also promised to set up a Commission to simplify the tax structure and suggested issue of license by an independent board. Congress(O) opposed the amendment of fundamental Rights and democratic freedom given in the new Constitution of India.

¹ - Indian Recorder and Digest (Hansraj Gupta (Ed) Delhi, Diwan Ch nd Institute of National Affairs; Vol XVII, No. 2, Feb, 1971 P.1
The Jansangh had a separate manifesto and programme for abolishing the poverty from the country and creating conditions of full employment within a period of five years. It also made clear that the independence of judiciary will be perfectly maintained with a view to preserving democracy in the country. It also advocated that foreign banks should be nationalised and there should also be Indianisation of foreign owned consumer goods industries. Further, it emphasized the point that in the field of industries licences should be issued by an authority which will be directly responsible to the parliament and also import licences should be given by an autonomous board. However, the manifesto issued by the Jansangh was based on idealistic economic grounds and hence it could not attract the public attention.

In respect of ceiling on property in the urban areas the Swatantra Party opposed it with all its might. Two novel suggestions were a department of economic opportunities and a corporation for assisting educated unemployed for providing inter alia, financial and technical assistance.

In its manifesto, the P.S.P. suggested that there should be ceiling on urban property. Further, it insisted on a clear mandate in favour of late Shri Nath Pal's constitution(Amendment) Bill so that parliament's sovereignty in respect of amendment of fundamental rights should be restored.

The Communist Party was not in favour of the abolition of the right to property. It demanded that complete protection should be provided to the common man for it.
The Communist Party(M) and the Samyukta Socialist Party alone advocated the amendment of the Constitution for the purpose of deleting the fundamental Right concerning private property.

The Muslim League in its manifesto came out with its demand for special privileges and also for making Urdu as second regional language in some states. However, it could not have its lasting effect upon the electorates as big issues were more important than these minor ones.

ELECTORAL REACTION TO THE PROGRAMMES OF POLITICAL PARTIES DURING 5TH LOK SABHA POLL

In fact on the occasion of 1971 Lok Sabha Elections all political parties of India explained that they were motivated for social welfare, equality, peace, prosperity and around development. The distinct ideological streams are not as conflicting as they seem on the surface. More or less, all the manifestoes spoke about the need to give more employment opportunities, to increases industrial output, control the inflationary tendencies and bring down the price level so that the common man could lead better life.

In spite of making wide publicity and spreading their high sounding slogans no party except the Congress(R) could influence the public opinion. In comparison to the fourth General Election the position of Congress(R) was sound enough in the Fifth Lok Sabha. When the out come of the Fifth General Election was demonstrated clearly it proved that the social base of rightist parties was very narrow. The combined strength of Mr. Nigalingappa's, the Jansangh, the Swatantra and the SKD in the dissolved Lok Sabha
was 143; now it is 47. The Jansangh could secure 22 seats of the members in the new Lok Sabha but two of them were elected from constituencies in which communal disturbances took place during polling hours and another 15 from areas formerly under princely rule. In this way it will not be out of point to mention that only 5 of its members were elected because of the political influence of the Jansangh, while the others were elected on the basis of feudal influence of the former princes or communal tensions. Likewise, the Swatantra's eight members include six elected from former princely states on the basis of feudal influence while two of its members reflect the party's position and political strength.¹

Still it can not be denied that feudal influence has its importance in old princely states. During the Fifth Lok Sabha Election the Congress(R) could not change the mind of the voters belonging to the princely states and there was no reaction of its election campaign and manifestoes. The nominees of the princes alone were elected in such constituencies. But more important is the name of former princes who have lost their position; such as Maharaja of Bharatpur (Rajasthan) and also the fact that most of those former princes who have been re-elected came in by much narrower margins than in the 1967 election. There was a new political awakening in the areas which were under the princely rule

¹ - Sham Lal : Mathur Girish etc., General Elections 1971 - A Study (AN article the meaning of the Verdict contributed by Girish Mathur) Govt. of India, Publication Division 1971- P.6
and returned political workers who were not associated with the princely families. There was a change in public mind and hence, they elected their own candidate. Tehri-Garhwal is one such area, It is also significant that the Congress made inroads even in the Orissa stronghold of the former princes and could bag the seats held by them till now.¹

The influence of the princes was much reduced in their areas comparatively and with their co-operation big businessmen contested elections independently as well as on the tickets of the various parties. The sole member of a big business house to be elected to the Lok Sabha is Mr. Ramnath Goenka but he came in with the support of the Rajmata of Gwalior. Even in the cosmopolitan city, Bombay, which is the centre of Indian Industry and Commerce, Mr. Naval Tata could not get elected. Here it is also necessary to point out that the former princes have won only in areas in which a political campaign against feudalism could not be built. Even the former princes who have been re-elected could be defeated if such a campaign could be developed.

The decline of the rightest parties should also be viewed in the context of the performance of the parties in West Bengal. While in the rest of the country the contest was between the progressive parties and the rightist parties; in West Bengal alone the progressive parties were faced by a party which is regarded by the people to be more progressive than others. This clearly shows the trend of public opinion.

Making a general assessment of the campaigns of all the political parties and the public reactions to their programmes,
it can be summarised that Congress(R) had a much better position in comparison to the rest of the parties which were opposing the ruling group. In brief, the Jansangh essentially had a sectarian outlook. The Swatantra Party had a feudalistic mind while the Congress(O) had already been condemned for its dictatorial and capitalistic attitudes. The only party left in the arena which could attract the masses was Congress (R) and the result was that people sent back Indira Gandhi with a thumping majority to give to the country stable Government at the Centre.