CHAPTER V

ELECTION BEHAVIOUR

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The voting studies are heavily sociological in their character and orientation. As regards the study of the voting behaviour one has to rely upon demographic variables, particularly income, education and occupation in explaining both voting turnout and the direction of the vote (which candidate or party the voters choose). These are the variables which affect the voting trend and are related to frequency of participation and direction of the vote, which itself has an impact on turnout. In this way, it becomes clear that people with higher income, education and occupational status are more likely to cast their vote than those with lower income and status. In a politically advanced country like U.S.A., it is observed that urban dwellers voted in greater proportions than rural citizens, and that whites (and males) voted more frequently than Negroes (and males). Taking into consideration the age group, it is important to mention that the medium age group (usually defined as 35-55) voted in greater numbers than those either younger (21-34) or older (56+). In comparison to others, the youngest people cast their votes in lesser numbers but it could tell upon the outcome of the election.\(^1\) The importance of religion has also been recognised in election matters. The Catholics voted heavily for democratic candidates, and Protestants voted in lesser measure for Republicans.

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In the early studies, much relevance was attached to the demographic variables. These variables were conducted in one community during one election (such as Erie Country in 1940 and Elmira in 1948), may be explained as a result of the fact that some of the senior researchers were sociologists, working with political data rather than political scientists. It should be borne in mind while analysing voting behaviour that voting is only one kind of political participation, which includes campaigning, political discussion, fund collecting, and running for office. There is close relationship between public opinion and those attitudes which have an effect on voting behaviour, public opinion has been grouped with a "political behaviour", for the purposes of organisation. While taking into account, the voting behaviour it is one of the most important factors which diverts our attention to how an individual is affiliated with a political party. On the basis of the same he may receive much political communication affecting his opinions through the groups of which he is a member.

POLITICAL CULTURE:

Cultural analysis can not successfully focus on a particular functional area of a group's total way of life without simultaneously focussing upon other areas. The concept of political culture limit out attention to those patterns of behaviour and also those orientations that, presumably characterise only one aspect of a group existence. It is accepted that political culture does not deny that

the political culture is embedded in a large culture. In other words, it may be illustrated that it is a subculture and for the sake of convenience of understanding we do not speak of political subculture. As there are groups within groups in the same way there are subcultures within subcultures. In this way, in a limited area, the outlooks, which cover more than individual attitudes or opinions, help the individual sort out, emphasize, and evaluate the stimuli coming from the world around him. A particular pattern or aggregate of political orientations becomes a political culture.¹

There are means by which political culture, even when viewed in the Almond sense, may be studied other than by conducting attitude surveys. The evidence as to the content of political culture may be gained by content analysis of the mass media or by depth study of particular individuals deemed representative of certain cultural types, whether the individuals be members of the political elite or of the mass. Its great importance has been acknowledged by the political scientists of the modern age for the purpose of comparative study. Further, it may be added that the differences between countries have traditionally been explained in psychological geographical, historical as well as in economic terms. The main reason of the difference is conceded that it is owing to difference in the "national characters" of the two peoples, belonging to the different nations.

Political culture also refers to the patterns that can be inferred from the political behaviour of groups as well as the belief, guiding principles, purposes and values that the individuals in a group, whatever its size, hold in common. In real sense, every individual has his own conception, in respect of the political culture that influences what he does or does not do politically. While explaining as analysing the concept of political culture, the personal basis of political conduct should be taken into account. Political culture refers to the consensus of numerous individuals, but a consensus that need not be precisely duplicated in any one person. As matter of fact political culture is an ambiguous term, but this concept, has the virtue of stimulating political behaviour. It is the political culture through which the study of political behaviour can be completed on the empirical ground. It is an aim predicting political behaviour with a high degree of probability. There should be no doubt that the construction of particular political culture or subculture is always a summary expression of many individual behavioural patterns. Living in a group or society, individuals, gather different kinds of experiences and they are closely associated with political atmosphere, patterns and orientations.

**POLITICAL CULTURE ITS IMPACT ON 5TH LOK SABHA ELECTIONS**

It can not be denied that political culture is closely associated with the general elections, not only in India but everywhere in the world. On the basis of political faith values, patterns of life and society people cast their votes. With the advancement of experience and in the form of government the citizens express their inclination towards a political party and on the basis of the same they exercise their votes. This is one of the major reasons
that in India, the number of political parties increased from 1951 to present day and simultaneously, it may be stated that in the Fifth Lok Sabha Election the number of regional political parties was much increased. Looking to the previous political position of the country people showed their interest in the regional problems and consequently there were twelve main regional political parties in the country which participated in the 5th Lok Sabha Election.¹ The Indian National Congress could secure 371 seats and 47.78 percentage of votes were cast in its favour while in the second General Election 1962 it had lost its 10 seats and secured 361, securing 44.73% votes. With the change of belief and pattern of thinking it could manage only 284 seats in the Lok Sabha. Further, the position of the Swatantra Party was much better in the 4th General Elections and it secured 8.54% votes and showed its claim on 42 seats while in the 5th Lok Sabha Elections its position was worst. Owing to change of values in political pattern the congress (R) improved its position and showed its claim upon 352 seats, the Congress(O) 15 seats and 22 candidates were elected from the Bhartiya Jan Sangh.² It expressed that the Jan Sangh also lost its position in the 5th Lok Sabha Election, on the contrary there were 42 seats in the Lok Sabha occupied by the same in 1962. Likewise there was a great change in the position of the different political parties in India in the various elections. It is owing to change of belief, values and in the pattern of life which is an integral part of the political culture.


It is a psychological fact that in the election propaganda similar traditions and customs of the candidates play a prominent role, not only in India, but also in other politically developed and under-developed countries of the world. People belonging to old traditions voted for candidates of their type. In the state of Rajasthan during 5th Lok Sabha Poll the leadership of the Congress (R) was identified with the urban-based Brahman and Mahejan Castes while that of the opposition mostly belonged to the Rajput and Jat Castes.

Further, the division of Jats between the Congress(R) and B.K.D., the class antagonism between the Jat peasant and the Rajput feudal aristocracy, the small population of the two castes and the traditional rivalries between the Rajput Chiefs of the erstwhile princely States were some of the factors that have so far prevented the emergence of a really formidable alternative to the leadership of the Congress(R) in the State. On the eve of the Lok Sabha Election 1971, it is for the first time that similar traditions and customs of Rajput as well as of the Jats could bring solidarity in the said elections. In Rajasthan they were nearly the rulers in the 17 States and on account of this they tried to influence the public opinion with their talents, resources and approach. Behind this unity, there was one main issue of privy purses. They were completely detached from the Congress(R). Further, it may be stated that the Rajput Chiefs were supported by the Marwari businessmen of the state who had a similar interest of the capitalistic

society. Here one thing may again be indicated that the Marwari community was also united and it supported Rajputs owing to similarity of customs and traditions in the State.

The BKD Leader, Kumbha Ram Arya, of Rajasthan was having sympathies with the anti-Congress front. The Jan Sangh as well as Swatantra party were joined by the Rajputs and Jats because they were anti-Congress(R) parties. There is no doubt that common traditions of the family and similar traditions play an important role in elections. It has also thoroughly been illustrated by Lawrence L. Shrader in his paper but the danger involved in the line of approach is that it is apt to be overstretched. In true sense, the structure of a caste is rarely monolithic as to be completely represented by one leader or even by a set of leaders and to change its allegiance with every change in the political alignment of its leaders. Moreover, the castes have also provided leadership to the Congress(R) and the opposition parties in Rajasthan but the population of Rajput and Jats is very small in the state. However, it can not be denied that caste provides political loyalties on one hand and on the other it also splits it.

One instance can be quoted in this respect. In 1971 in Lok Sabha Elections, Maharana Bhagwan Singh gave a crushing defeat to the Congress Party in Udaipur division despite its strong

1 - Lawrence L. Shrader: State Politics in India, Ed. by Myron Weiner (An Article)
support base in the division.¹ In Udaipur Constituency, the home constituency of Shri Sukhadia who had been Chief Minister in the State for 17 years, the Congress(R) lost 3 of the 4 Lok Sabha Seats,² in the Fifth Lok Sabha Election, due to the unity of Rajput and Jat rulers in order to defeat the Congress. In Jaipur Division Gayatri Devi not only retained her one seat but also won Tonk Seat inspite of the fact that out of the 5 M.L.A.'s 4 belonged to the Congress Party in 1971.

In a nut-shell it may be mentioned that the relation of customs and traditions among Rajputs and Jats in Rajasthan the results were astonishing in the various elections. It can not be denied that their interests were similar and on account of the same great unity was formed among them and they could bring a great change in voting behaviour of the country.

There is much similarity in traditions and customs of the Adivasi Community and among Harijans. On the basis of the same in Gujarat State the Adivasi community was united during 5th Lok Sabha Poll and they together decided in Ahmedabad. "There is no use of voting since no party was interested in solving our problems" was reply of a Harijan. In the same way in Ahmedabad a Adivasi factory worker declared that he and his community had boycotted the elections because no political party was interested in improving

² - Ibid 427.
their conditions. They admitted and declared in public that vote is their sacred power and they do not wish to give it to any debauchee. A labour leader could raise his voice to this degree due to the fact that Satipati panth was with him. This shows that several election case studies highlight the role of the leaders also. People influence over various groups on the basis of common tradition and customs. This inter-penetration of traditions, customs as well as religion in a particular state or region play an important role regarding voting behaviour in any country whether politically developed or not. The difference may be observed that in a politically advanced country it will be less effective because people are highly educated having broad outlook towards democracy. In the 4th Assembly Elections of U.P. the pioneer of BKD, Chaudhari Charan Singh could secure unexpected seats but the position was lost in the 5th Mid-Term Lok Sabha elections. All this happened due to the domination of Jats, Rajputs and some other higher castes. This could not endure long in the election battle. Similar traditions, customs and religious faith are variable factors and with the development of mind their importance is reduced. In our country from the First to the Third General Elections more importance was attached to Caste, creed, regionalism, religion but the position was vice versa during the Fifth Lok Sabha Poll.


2. It is a semi-religious militant movement. It believes that the Adivasis were the natives of the land; and the non-Adivasis were immigrants. The movement aims at establishing Adivasi Raj by driving out all the immigrant from this land.
RELIGION : Religion in politics functions, in a developing society in more than one way. In India there are various political parties representing various interest groups and societies, different religious communities and religious considerations. This religion-politics inter-actional phenomenon assumes serious dimensions because of inter-religious disharmony prevalent among the multi-religious countries of developing areas. Because of inter-religious hostilities, religion some times plays a militant role in competitive electoral politics and political battles are some times fought for the preservation of group identity by the adherents of various religions. Some times, it has been observed that electoral politics creates an adverse situation of confrontation between loyalty towards religion and loyalty to secular institutions like political parties, parliaments and judiciary etc.

The Muslims have got a formidable minority in the country. In India, they were grown under the pressures of integrationists and separatists in the 20th century. It is a well known fact that on the basis of religion, casts and creed Indie was divided and a separate nation Pakistan was originated. This was the result of the English rulers' diplomacy before 1947.

In the different four general elections of the Lok Sabha the Muslims remained with the Congress. They were well integrated and consequently in the 2nd General Elections of the country, i.e. in 1957 they whole-heartedly supported the Muslins League in the Kerla State and in Bengal they supported the Communists Party.

1 - Vinman - 5, March 1972; p. 30
This proves that in Kerala and in Bengal Muslims were united in the name of religion. In the General Election of the year 1962, more or less in the above mentioned states the position of the Muslim Community was the same. The attitude of the Community to exercise its vote was formed on the basis of religion and caste. The General Secretary of Muslim League, Mr. Sulaiman Sait created passionate atmosphere in order to change the mind of the Muslim Community. He said, "Muslims had cast their vote in favour of the Congress for the last twenty years, but they could not get anything." Mr. Sait again said the same thing on 7th January 1971 that "What Muslims could get after strengthening the hands of Pt. Nehru" while in the country, the Muslims are about 15% but at certain places their vote is valuable and has the greatest importance. It has been observed that they cast their votes collectively in the election. This is a speciality regarding voting behaviour of the Muslims in India. In the country, there were 20 to 25 seats of Lok Sabha Constituencies where Muslim candidates were in a position to win the election in 1971. This was the influence of religion. It was observed in the previous elections that barring in 1967 if the Muslims candidate had been contesting the election the entire community would go in his favour, if the candidate of their caste had been in victorious position otherwise they would have cast their vote in favour of the Congress.

CASTEISM: It has been observed that most political parties had been contesting elections on the basis of caste and creed and the selection of the candidates was made for Lok Sabha.

1 - The Hindustan Times (Delhi), 15th February 1972.
2 - Dinman, 5th March 1972, Page 30.
on the same basis. The voting behaviour of the country depended much upon it in the previous general elections. It has been observed that at certain times it had been a deciding factor. In this respect it may be stated that barring Maharashtra and Assam and to some extent West Bengal Casteism was found prevalent in most of the states of the country. In Bihar, Harayana and Madhya Pradesh it is deeply rooted. In Himachal Pradesh, it has also influenced deeply.

Until the Second General Election Bihar politics was dominated by men of the stature of Sri Krishna Sinha and the late Anugrah Sinha, who commanded a following amongst people of all castes. Casteism was adopted in Bihar as a tool for elections power - politics. In its bid to retain political power, the Congress has compromised with casteism.

It can be cited as an example that in the third general election, Tajpur had an electorate of about 65,000. The caste wise composition may be illustrated roughly as follows:

- Harijans: 15,000
- Yadavs: 13,000
- Bhuihars: 6,000
- Meithils: 5,000
- Brahmins
- Rajputs: 1,000
- Other Backward Castes: 22,000
- Muslims: 2000

In the Third General Elections, there were four candidates including Karpuri Thakur. The others were Ramrup (Congress); Moham ad Poin (Swatantra) and Ramrup Paswan (Socialist). In the first two elections the Congress had put up Bhuihari candidates.
in this constituency. The Congress selected its Yadav candidate in 1962 in the hope that coming from a backward caste he would be able to defeat Karpoori Thakur. The Swatantra and the socialist party were not organised well in the constituency therefore, they set up their candidates on the basis of caste. Consequently, the result was very shocking to the different parties. Thakur(PSP) polled 25,954 votes, Ramrup Rai(Congress) 7,767 Votes, Mohammed Moin(Swatantra) 3450; and Ramrup Paswan(Socialist); 1,726 Votes.

On this occasion through analysis of election it was proved that the electorate in Tejpur did not exercise its franchise on caste or communal lines except in the case of the Swantantra candidate who polled about 80 percent of the Muslim votes. The Congress had counted mainly on Yadav Votes, and about 85 percent were cast in favour of PSP candidate and the remaining 15 percent were obtained by the Congress. The Socialist candidate was also hoped that Harijan votes would go in his favour while he could get only 1720 votes out of 15,000. The remaining votes was in favour of Karpoori Thakur. The Bhumihars, Rajputs and Maithil Brahmins unexpectedly cast their votes in favour of Karpoori Thakur. In this context it may be mentioned that the Chief Minister, K.B.Sahay, was seeking re-election from Patna West with his eye on 9000 Kayasth Votes, 14,000 Muslim votes, 4000 Yadav votes and 8000 other backward votes.

In the fifth Election there were two constituencies whose candidates had been announced the Rajputs, would have to choose between Mr. S.N.Sinha of the Congress(D) former state education.

1 - Times of India; 4, Feb. 1971.
Minister and Mr. Mundrika Singh of the Congress(R), likewise, the Bhumihars would have to choose between Mr. S.N. Mishra, leader of the opposition in the Rajya Sabha and Mr. Jogendra Sharma of the CPI supported by the Congress(R).

**DEHLI**

It is the capital of India and is comparatively more developed from the point of view of education, hence, there is less scope in elections for casteism and other social vices yet it could not remain an exception to other states in the matter. Still there are some pockets where caste continues to be the most important factor in determining the voting behaviour of its region.

The outer Delhi constituency is divided into different castes. Most important ones are Jats, Ahirs, Brahmins and Harijans. Mr. Brahm Prakash is a strongman and he erstwhile sought his support from the Jat and Ahir community, while belonging to the Congress Party. The Jan Sangh and the Congress(R) both earnestly tried to select their candidates from the Jat and Ahir Community for the rural area.

From the point of view of casteism another constituency is Karol Bagh. There are large number of 'Rahgars' in this area and they vote in groups or en-block according to the direction of the leaders within their caste. Before 1969 they had been giving their support to the Congress. In 1987 the Jan Sangh got victory in this constituency owing to the reason that 'Rahgars' votes were divided between two parties i.e. the Congress and the Republican.

1 - Ibid p. 91.
HARYANA:

It cannot be denied that Haryana is one of the states where casteism has gone peak point at the time of Elections. The result of the 1967 general election soon after the origin of state in November 1966 was a burning example of the same. The other example can be set of the pattern when mid-term state Assembly Elections were held in 1958. One speciality has been marked in this state that the agriculturist class favour the agriculturist and is opposed to the non-agriculturist.

In Haryana state agriculturists constitute about 55% of the population. The Jats are the most dominating community in the state and they are about 30%, Ahirs 10%, Gujars 4%, Rajputs 4% (which include 2% of Neo Muslims of Gurgaon); Rohar Sainis and Tyagis are about 15% each.

Mainly Brahmins also belong to agriculturist group. If 5% are also included in the agriculturist group their total strength would reach about 57% to 60%. There are about 20% persons who migrated from Pakistan at the time of partition of the country. They were mostly settled in the cities and belong to the Sikh Community. Now they have increased their power and created their own group in the state.

Besides, another 18% of the population consists of Harijans, who are divided into four main sub-groups. The business class community of Baniyas consists of 2% of the population and the remaining 2% is composed of miscellaneous classes.
The political behaviour of the various castes in the state is different and similar to their voting behaviour also varies. It is worthwhile to mention in this respect that the Jats have been traditionally imbued and they hanker after power. The business communities of Bania's and refugees are controlling trade and business. The Jats are traditionally opposed to the Congress for the same reason due to which they are opposed to the Unionist Party. In the present context it may be mentioned that they are having anti outlook towards the congress(R); since they consist of the land-owning community and the present government is going for the ceiling of the land and property.

The Vishal Haryana Party or the Swatantra were formed on the basis of casteism. Casteism also prevails among Rajputs and Brahmans but to a lesser extent because of their being relatively more educated and enlightened. This was also obviously marked at the time of the last Assembly election by the Pradesh Congress Committee. The Chief Minister, had taken due care while going to prepare his team of ministers so that equilibrium position may be maintained.

MADHYA PRADESH:

It is a fact that in our constitution India has been declared a secular state and no priority has been given to any caste. But at the time of elections casteism has shown its own influence. This is true of Madhya Pradesh also.

It has been observed that different political parties ponder over the position of a candidate before giving him ticket, for its own party on the basis of caste, to contest the election.
Besides other political factors and considerations if Mr. Tulsidas Jadev was considered for the Betul Seat, one of the factors was that he is a 'Kunbi' and there is a sizable population of 'Kunbis' in the area. If the Raja of Bhodaun is to contest the Behind seat the reason is simple he will be able to muster the support of a large number of Bhadoria Rajputs in the area (1) Mr. Shakir Ali Khan would like to contest the election as a candidate of CPI because Muslims votes were expected to go in his favour, besides his own reputation and popularity in the city. Similarly, on the basis of four party alliance, Mr. Ram Behdur Singh from Sidhi, the overriding consideration was that he would get the support of the Rajputs of the area. Mr. Shanker Giri, the son of the Ex-President Shri V. V. Giri, sought the ticket from Durg because he thought he would get the votes of the large number of south Indians working in Sidhi Steel plant and Mr. Chandulal Chandraker got the seat of Durg in 1970 bye-election from Congress because of the fact that there is domination in the constituency of his own caste. 2

In Vindhya Pradesh region caste has its own effect. There is open rivalry between Brahmins and Rajput Thakurs. Former, ruler of Rewa, Maharaja Martand Singh, is the most eminent Rajput in the State and has complete sway over the Rajputs. But in the last election Mr. C.P. Tiwari could win over the election as a candidate of PSP and Mr. M. Singh could not affect his victory because of the reason that he was supported by the Brahmin Community. In the 5th Lok Sabha election Mr. Singh made his position better getting the support of the Rajputs and became victorious on the basis of Casteism.

1 - Ibid, p.95
2 - Navabharat, Raipur (M.P.) Jan., 5, 1971
At the time of election, in Mahakoshal region including Chhattisgarh the consideration is made of a candidate on the very basis of caste. There is a dominating community of Brahmins and non-Brahmins. Again among the non-Brahmins too there are dozens of sub-groups opposed to one another - Kurmis, Chamars, Satnamis, 'Mahants', Pasis etc.

MADRAS:

It is noted that a certain leader refused to join a ministry when the demands of his caste association were not conceded by the Government. For instance, it may be quoted that Padayachi, a leader of the Vaniyakula Kshatriya Sangam of Madras, refused to join the coalition Ministry of C. Rajagopalachari in 1952 until Kamraj replaced Rajeji and indicated assent to the demands of Vaniyakula for certain educational facilities and representation in Civil Services.¹

It is obvious that in voting behaviour there are certain variables which play their own role in the elections of India - caste, class, faction, kinship, religion, ideology, party organisation, political issues, economic status, personality of a candidate, party loyalty, local power structure and money, they are the important factors to influence the voting behaviour but in an underdeveloped political country casteism has got its own importance. Where more than one variable is used each has been treated as operating independently of the other and a simple and direct relationship between it and the independent variable has been posited. Casteism and religion give a new turn to the

election being important variables regarding voting behaviour and in Haryana-Punjab has already been explained along with some other states of the country where casteism played its own part. Thus it is clear that in the different general elections of Lok Sabha its importance has been recognised by the different eminent authors by completing their case study on the subject.

'B' - POLITICAL CULTURE REFLECTING THROUGH VARIOUS INTEREST : ARTICULATION AND INTEREST GROUPS

It has already been mentioned that there are different variables which influence the voting behaviour, in Lok Sabha or Assembly elections of a state. In a democratic country there are different political parties with faith in different patterns of society. Every political party, at the time of election sees its own interest. These political parties take a leading part in the election and contest election to serve their own objectives and maxims. They try their utmost that their ideology should impress the public opinion. Besides, there are different groups in the society which do not directly come in the field but are associated with a particular party and extend their co-operation in order to achieve their political aims. They hardly care for the masses and care only for their class. There are such groups in India. They support financially, morally and with all other resources which they have to pressurise the government when they are in need. In this context it can be mentioned that the 'middle class


holds the balance in Kerala politics.¹

Before the Mid-term Lok Sabha Poll Mrs. Gandhi had to decide the right of ex-rulers of India and the judgement of the Supreme Court was awaited on the derecognition of the princely states. The proceedings of the Supreme Court were watched with great interest, and its decision either way was to have great impact on the political parties. It was presumed that if the Presidential order derecognised the former rulers as a means of abolishing their pravy purse and privileges they would go against the Congress(R). At such a crucial juncture when Congress(R) was not in sound majority and in order to achieve it mid-term election of Lok Sabha was to be held in 1971 it was a real risk to annoy the ex-rulers. A constitutional amendment bill to give effect to the party's decision to abolish the privy-purse,² and the princely privileges seemed the only way out, with the hope that she will be able to secure the requisite majority in both the Houses.

However, when the demand of the Privy-purse was rejected by the Supreme Court of India, the Ex-rulers of Rajasthan and M.P. decided to form their own group in their own interest. Thus in the mid-term election of Lok Sabha Congress(R) had to face opposition of the ex-rulers in Jaipur, Bharatpur and M.P.'s Princely states. Maharaja Brijendra Singh who was an active member of the Congress party changed his mind and joined BKD.

¹ - Rajni Kothari : 'Kerala; A Post-mortum, The Economic Weekly No.28, 1959, PP., 1595-1599
² - Amrit Bazar Patrika(Calcutta), An article A.N.Das, 9 Nov.1970
He also contested election and in his own state he was defeated by the Congress(R) candidate Hajbehaur. In the same way some rulers joined Swatantra party and others Jan Sangh, being a leader of Jan Sangh maharani jindhi contested election of Lok Sabha and defeated the Congress(R) candidate. This proves that interested groups took a leading part in the election.

Further, it may be stated that the big business class does not wish to support a party which does not consider them. The big business concerns inspire their own men and support them whole-heartedly so that in the Lok Sabha they may see to the interest of their supporters.

There was one parliamentary bye-election in Moradabad District in U.P. on account of the death of Maulana Hafiz Rehman. Mr. Kripalani was in search of a seat in Parliament because he was defeated in North Bombay. All parties were supporting him except the communist party. Mr. Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim was the Congress candidate against him. Mr. Kripalani was also supported by big businessmen.

After the Fourth General Election in India since there was no sound majority of the Congress it was an acute problem to take any important decision concerning the public affairs. Consequently, Mrs. Gandhi in consultation with her colleagues decided to dissolve the Lok Sabha. While doing so she said that the majority of the people were with the Government and she insisted

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the 'vested interests' of exploiting the economic difficulties. Under the circumstances, the Government had decided to accept the challenge and had taken recourse to a step unprecedented in India, though it was not an unusual parliamentary practice. If this step had not been taken only a group or a section would have been benefited. Let the nation lead a better life and the groups should come to an end. She added 'Why did we do this' and replied. It is because we are concerned not merely with remaining in power, but with the use of that power to ensure a better life to the vast majority of our people'. on account of resources of pressure groups it was difficult to go ahead with the proclaimed programme and to keep pledges given to the democratic citizens of India.

Comparatively, the position of Jansangh and Swatantra was better in the fourth General Election of the country, since they belonged to the capitalist group. But the capitalist Swatantra had really nothing in common with the Hinduising Jansangh. The debris of Marxist thinking unrelated to the realities of India life and thought brought continual fission to the communist and socialist parties. Only in some of the regional parties there were real Indian growths that could be a guide to the future.

At the time of Fourth Lok Sabha Poll in Himachal Pradesh all the Six Parliamentary seats went to Congress Party. But at the time of the fifth Mid-Term poll it was expected that the

1 - The Times, (London); 29th Decr. 1970.
interested group of the retired generals and the chiefs were committed to remain with the Jan Sangh Party. Since they were holding power being the statesman of hilly area. This view was also expressed by the Chief Minister, Dr. Y.S. Parmar of Himachal Pradesh.

In the previous elections of Lok Sabha it was observed by the political observers at the time of election that the big businessmen like Birlas, Tatas and Dalmia had been taking interest in the election. They were giving all kinds of support to the persons who were contesting elections.

**STUDENTS IN ELECTION:**

In the modern days direct democracy is not feasible, and therefore, people as a whole are directly and effectively associated with the government through the representative system. Since, in every state periodically elections are held it is the grand occasion for people to protect their interests and pressurize the government. In this way people get a chance for plebiscite to decide whether one or the other party shall be authorised to govern the country.

**VOTING:**

Political rights are possessed by those persons whom the state permits to share in the legal expression and administration of its sovereign power. In India only those can exercise their vote who at least have attained 21 years of age.

from this point of view the college and university students may have this privilege. Besides, there are a large number of students of universities or colleges but they are deprived of their franchise for not having attained the required age.

However, through their leaders in the universities and colleges, in unions and parliaments they are associated with certain political parties. The union leaders of colleges and universities play an eminent role in various elections of India.

Different political parties also seek co-operation of the student community in the general elections of India. There are good number of students belonging to the R.S.S. and at the time of elections they play a leading part. Likewise Congress(R) has also given all kinds of support to the students in order to attract time. Consequently, "Youth Congress" has been formed'. The organisation of R.S.S. and Jansangh work together therefore, 'Vidyarathi Parishad' is popular in Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Delhi, M.P. and U.P. The students take part in political activities and in electioneering for their own interest, as well as on persuasion of leaders.

As regards the opinions about general elections these were collected and a case study was made. It is concluded on that basis that out of 761 males 98.42 % and of the 150 females, 94.67% have expressed their opinions regarding the basis on which the general elections should be contested also by the students. 

1 - A. B. Shinde : Political Consciousness among College students, (Bombay, Thacker & Mad Co. Ltd., 1972, P. 102 The above figures have been collected by the author by the case study of Bombay and Rajasthan University and Colleges.)
On the whole, response to this question is quite warm and encouraging but of the females it is not comparatively as warm and encouraging as that of the males.

There are 32.04% of the male and 33.09% of the female reporters who state that General Elections should be contested on international issues. The fearful weapons of the atomic age, the deterioration of international relations, and the failure of the most powerful states to devise formula for living together without the ever present threat of war have forced us to attend to the problems of international life for security, welfare, and indeed, our survival. Besides, there are some provincial issues which should also be borne in mind 11.33% of the male and 7.74% of the female reporters' opinion is that the General Elections should be contested giving priority to the issues of state level importance.

It has been observed by experience that the male students of post-graduate classes of Arts and Law Faculty take keen interest in election programmes and afterwards the name of the science and Agriculture faculties may be included. Conversely, students following a more higher standard of academic time schedule often grow more political as they advance towards the prospect of graduation and employment. Moreover, the students

1 - M. Spencer, "Professional, Scientific and Intellectual students in India", in Lipset, student politics, P. 369, and Altbach Students Politics in Bombay P. 207.

who have religious-oriented mind are less interested in political involvements\(^1\) and also those who reside in the University housing or rented rooms may often be more politically involved than those living at home.\(^2\)

In 1962 it was a serious challenge at Poona at the time of General Election. There was hard competition\(^6\) between the Congress and the Jan Sangh party. Most of the leaders of the Jansangh had a strong R.S.S. background. The party depended mainly on the R.S.S. volunteers to mobilize the vote and mostly they were students. Another notable feature of the Jansangh, particularly in Shuker-war was the success it achieved in mobilizing the women voters. The Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh, a labour organisation having ideological affinity with the Jansangh had yet to emerge as a political force in Poona.\(^3\) In this Parliamentary constituency much assistance was taken by the Jan Sangh from the students and 'Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad'.

While conducting election campaign their co-operation was sought in 1967 in Poona city parliamentary election. The students organised the meeting for SM Committees, and all party meeting organised by the Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad.\(^4\) On the same occasion for the

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1 - Emerson, Student Politics in Developing Nations; P. 393
2 - Martin Meyerson, "The Ethoda of the American College student; in Robert S. Morrison(Ed.) The contemporary U.S.A. (Boston; Haughton 1966) P. 277
3 - V. M. Siraiser, Sovereigns Without Crowns and Behavioural Analysis of Indian Electoral Process,(Bombey,Popular Prakashan 1972); PP 43-44
4 - Ibid, P. 79.
Parliamentary candidate the campaign was organised by the SSP, with the help of such adhoc bodies as 'Students for SM';

(C) **SOCIO ECONOMIC VALUES AND DETERMINATION OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR**:

Democracy can not run successfully without economic justice in the country. Keeping this view in mind at Nasik session in September, 1950 a resolution was passed laying down the objectives as the establishment of a Welfare State wherein there is economic democracy, a national minimum standard in respect of the essentials of physical and social well-being; a rise in the standard of living of the people, full employment, elimination of exploitation, progressive narrowing down of disparities in income and wealth so that there may be equality of opportunity to all for self-government and the growth of the personality. In 1954, the Indian Parliament adopted a resolution to manage the economic affairs of the state that India rapidly advanced forward in its socio-economic goal viz. attainment of a Welfare State of the socialist pattern."

Pt. Nehru took a drastic step in his life to establish economic-parity in the nation and consequently Zamindari was abolished in India, after the 1st General Elections. Three General Elections were gone smoothly and between this period the Congress established its solid majority of government at the

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states and the centre. But the mind of voters was changed later on. The Indian electorate, though generally illiterate backward and apparently inarticulate, expressed its mind to the effect that for peaceful and smooth administration, economic justice should be available in the society. Great importance was given to social democracy at the time of Fifth Lok Sabha Poll for the first time.

This was the reason that a little change came in the pattern of voting behaviour because people have their own differentiating voting and political preferences in their mind. They decided to vote for those who could give maximum benefit to them. In this connection the question arises whether this benefit should be personal or of the society as a whole. It is true that a large number of problems such as high prices, language issue crisis of leadership etc., have simultaneous influence on the electorate. Since, the provision was already made in the Indian Constitution regarding economic justice, the electorate began to emphasise on the same to fulfill their demand. Before the commencement of the Fifth General Election Mrs. Indira Gandhi declared Bank-Nationalisation and the privy-purses and the privileges of the old princes were abolished, in the name of socialism. 'Garibi Hatao' This appealed to the mind of the old and the younger electorate alike in the Fifth Mid-Term Lok Sabha election 1971. It is a false faith, that the common man,

1 - S.P. Verma and Iqbal Narein(Eds), Fourth General Election In India, Bombay, Orient Longman (1970; P. 280
2 - Indian Constitution, Art.-, 39, 39(d), 39(f) 41, 43, 45, 46 etc.
who can be guided by slogans and symbols, will continue to vote blindly in favour of the party in power. Such a dispensation may take us anywhere but economic and social progress will remain imaginary.

Every class of people is associated with the economic and social aspect of life. The political parties which participate in General Election have first to observe this aspect as they have to include the concept of the Welfare State in their election manifesto and campaign. Therefore, certain classes should be chosen and analysis should be given about their socio-economic position.

RICH AND POOR CLASS:

Pt. Nehru’s economic philosophy was created in his language on the basis of British Fabianism. He was later on very much influenced by Marxism and Leninism. His predelictions for socialism were fully portrayed in the successive five year plan documents. In a planned economy, describes the first Five Year Plan 1951-’56, the justification of private enterprise is that, within the framework of national policy it is capable of contributing to the fulfilment of the objectives defined in the plan. This means inevitably that it has to maintain a high standard of integrity and efficiency. While in the Second Plan greater importance was given to “Wider and deeper social values”. The emphasis was laid down to establish “Socialist pattern of Society”. In other words, the

1V.J. Kulkarni, , , , Problems of Indian Democracy, Bombay, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan (1971), P. 259.
2 First Five Year Plan, Planning Commission Govt. of India, P. 422-23
basic criterion for determining the line of advance must not be private profit but social gain. In this way only the greater national income of the state does not serve the purpose. It will be more appreciable if progress in the national income and employment is found also, "greater equality in incomes and wealth" will be more highly considerable. 1 During the period of Third and Fourth Five Year Plan the Govt of India made its best possible attempts to control the deficit planning. As a result of deficit financing prices in the country were shooting up and the poor as well as the rich were badly affected. It was a subject of all party criticism in the meetings of Parliament. Therefore, the ruling party Congress(R) made Herculean efforts to control the inflationary conditions in the economy.

In later years' Pt. Nehru's time and energy were taken up more and more with just running the apparatus of government, and less and less with initiating new policies or with testing or developing those already adopted. More and more of his old pioneering drive was lost in the routine job of keeping a very large and complicated machine in action of keeping his party control, and of keeping himself in control of his party. 2

There has been a phenomenal rise in the productivity specially in the field of generating electricity, rise in the investment in major and minor irrigation projects and in the expansion of the rural electrification schemes, on account of which the poor peasants were benefitted. Besides, the farmers

1 - Second Five Year Plan, P.22.
2 - Walter Crocker, Nehru- A Contemporary's Estimates P.72
receive their supplies of fertilizers, power and water at subsidized rates. The comment was made that there was no valid reason why such far-reaching concession should be allowed to the undesired and unwanted prosperous peasants. ¹

Of course, inflationary tendencies developed in the world and India could not remain an exception to it. In the words of a German economist Dr. Etzel, "Inflation is always guilt, never fate, it is a social crime". But if it is controlled it co-operates in developing economy of a country and sincere efforts are being made by the present ruling Congress Party (R) in this direction to remove black money from the market on account of which only upper class people are benefitted.

POVERTY-CO-RELATED WITH COMMUNISM:

Gradually India is marching towards Communism and this is the reason why in the various General Elections the parties which supported the capitalistic pattern of society were failures. This tendency will develop more with the growth of education, population, unemployment, unjustified distribution of money and land in the society. This is why in the Fifth General Election (1971) Congress (O) Jan Sangh and Swatantra lost their image in the public.

Going through the ecology of peasant communism in India we can draw the inference that India is in developing

¹ C. Subramaniam, Growth and Social Justice-A pamphlet was issued by the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee in June 1970- P. 5.
stage, the tiller of the land usually has no security of tenure. He is a 'tenant at will' who can be dispossessed any time the owner wishes to repossess the land, regardless of how long or how hard the tenant has worked on the land.¹

Linking of the "propertyed proletariat" to greater radicalism than the 'pure' proletariat, may be found in the fact that in India, where agricultural labourers are concentrated either in rice or in cotton areas² the rice labourers, are mostly completely propertyless wage-earners.

ABOLITION OF ZAMINDARY AND BANK NATIONALISATION:

Before the abolition of Zamindary the landlords were the virtual owners of land having been entrusted by the British Government with the collection of land revenue. In many cases the rents which they had to pay to the Government were permanently settled. Actually, they were in a position to increase the rent observing the situation of the country. It is because the population of the country was growing and the need of the peasants was going up. This was the exploitation of the public, after independence laws were passed in different states to abolish Zamindary system and to stop exploitation of the society. The land lords were promised compensation and the statutory tenants numbering more than two crores were brought into direct

¹ - (a) P.S. Sharma, 'Patterns of land concentration' articles published in 'The Economic Weekly' (Bombay, Dec. 11, 1965)

(b) G. Kotovsky, Agrarian Reforms in India, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, (1966), P.136.

relationship with the Government. By the end of March, 1961 particularly intermediate interests in land were abolished.
In this process, about 173 million acres of land was involved and the amount of compensation payable was more than 500 crores. Later on ceiling had also been imposed by legislation in different states which varied in general from 15 to 75 acres in the country.

With the declaration of Zamindary Abolition Act the peasant class was benefitted. This was an important step taken by the Congress Party to cease exploitation. It had a great impact upon the mind of the above mentioned class and the result of the same was that traditional voting behaviour continued up to the Third Lok Sabha Poll and the leading Congress Party derived its benefit.

Privy--Purse abolition and Bank Nationalisation:
Before the Fifth Lok Sabha mid-term election, facing strong opposition of Swatantra party and Jansangh Party the ruling Congress party took a serious and drastic step. The ex-rulers who were formerly supporting Congress(R) began supporting either Swatantra, Congress(O) or Jansangh after their purses and privilages were abolished. It was estimated before the Fifth Lok Sabha Elections that the victory of Indira Gandhi was almost uncertain. However, the anti-social activities by the princes were stopped. Secondly, electorate concluded that the ruling party was taking all the important steps for establishing the socialistic pattern of society. Thus the leading old princes who contested election in their

own areas were defeated for the first time.

Bank Nationalisation was another step to protect the money of the society. They were assured that their money lying in the banks was safe. This also helped a lot in bagging more votes. A new change came in the life of bank employees. They realised that their services will be protected. With all these activities of the government a new change came in the socio-economic pattern of life. It also had an effect on evaluating the position of ruling party. This proves that social values have their own importance and they have their own impact on the government as well as the political parties of the country for attracting the attention of voters.

ECONOMIC STABILITY:

The mid-term election were held in 1971. One of the important reasons was to set the economy of the country in order. The inflationary tendencies were increasing and simultaneously unemployment was also increasing. In order to find a solution to these problems early election were held. Thus an opportunity was provided to all the parties to place their points of view before the people about the economic problems of the country.

There are two sectors for the development of business in India—public and private sector. The private sector has long dominated the economic output in the country. Before the plan it generated 92% of India's gross product. This ratio remained about 90% through the 1950's and did not fall below 85% even during the 1960's. These data for India are a contrast to the relative
position of private enterprise in other parts of the world.\textsuperscript{1} Comparatively in Japan this ratio is now below 80%, in the United States this has long been below 75%. Both Japan and United States have made tremendous progress. In both the private sector has played a fundamental role, although public actions were of great importance throughout and specially during the early phase of new development. In India the larger relative importance of private activity in agriculture services and industry, points up the key role it plays in the continuing operations and the growth of the economy. However, important the public sector, its effectiveness depends upon private co-operation.

In view of the above some political parties in the country emphasise that the small and large scale industries along with the agriculture should be in private sector. Such opinion is found in parties which are inclined towards capitalistic pattern of society. Besides, other C.P.I., C.P.M., S.S.P., etc., advance the argument that the maximum business of the country should come in the hands of the government. This is the duel which has been going on in India for the last 20 years. The pattern of business and society was to be decided indirectly by the public opinion expressed through elections. On account of economic politics which were mostly framed during the first to Fourth Five year plans the Congress in the Lok Sabha received more than 55% in 1952, 52.2 in 1957, 55.3 in 1962, and 62 in 1967,\textsuperscript{2} while other parties acted as source of pressure and criticism of the government.


REGIONALISM;

It is one of the most significant salient features of Indian General Elections since 1967 that regionalism reached a very high level. In this respect it is worthwhile to mention that different political parties had been successful in their states. In one sense, this politics of regionalism is not a new phenomenon. Since independence in various states regional parties have sprouted in India. In 1967, the Dravid Munnetra Kazhagham (DMK) of Tamil Nadu proved for the first time that a well-organised regional party could come to power at the state level in India. Ever since that triumph, a trend in India toward the politics of regionalism has been evident.

The regional parties are no longer simply causing annoyance to a Congress Party overwhelmingly dominant once again. They are playing their important role at the level of states. India is not a single nation-state. It is a continent of many communities united through shared experiences but powerfully motivated by parochial and regional considerations.

1 - India, Election Commission Report on the Fourth General Election in India (1967), Vol II, (Statistical)


3 - Lewis Fickett, P. Jr. The Politics of Regionalism in India (Pacific Affairs) ed. by William L. Holland, Published by University of British Columbia Vol XLIV No. 2; (Summer), 1971, P. 193.
The D.M.K. victory might have been considered a unique phenomenon, but it cannot be so interpreted. Its glory has been limited to its own state. The emergence after the 1969 mid-term election of the Akali Dal has the dominant partner in an Akali-Jana Sangh coalition government in the Punjab as another harbinger of the politics of regionalism. ¹

An important political role was played by Bengal Congress in West Bengal and in U.P. BKD in the same way Swatantra Party is much similar to Gantantra Parishad in Orissa. In true sense it is a tribal party which has flourished there since independence, ² and dominated a coalition government in Orissa from 1967 until the 1971 election. Moreover, from the point of view of this study the importance of Marxist Communist Party in Kerala and West Bengal, cannot be ignored. Despite the current differences and the debacle which both suffered in the 1971 election for the Lok Sabha, the two Socialist Parties in Bihar may still have the potential for a regional party there a potential which is evidenced by the reality of the Karpoori Thakur State Ministry formed on Decr., 23, 1970. ³ The regional parties include the BKD in U.P. Bengal Congress in West Bengal and more recently the Telangana Praja Samiti in Andhra Pradesh. ⁴

³ The Hindustan Times, (New Delhi) Decr. 23, 1970, P. 1
⁴ The Hindustan Times, (New Delhi) March 28, 1968, P. 7
Among all, the most successful regional party is DMK which gradually has built up to its sweeping electoral success of 1967. In 1921, there was a 'Justice Party' and later on it was transformed into the Dravid Munnetra Kazagham. The ancestral 'Justice Party' was also running on an anti Brahmin platform. 1

In the General Elections of 1951-'52 DMK did not come in the picture. In 1957, it occupied 15 seats in Madras Assembly, polling 14.6% of the popular vote and thereby running second only to the dominant congress. 2 In 1962 DMK occupied seven Lok Sabha seats and 50 Assembly seats in the Election. In 1967, the DMK swept the boards in Tamil Nadu and managed to occupy 25 seats in the Lok Sabha. 3 In the Fifth Lok Sabha election 1971 it had lost its two seats but still possessed 23 seats and remained a dominant party in the Tamil Nadu delegation to the National Parliament. The DMK managed this feat by having concluded a mutually satisfactory 'progressive' electoral alliance with the ruling Congress and five other small parties. 4 The Akali Dal (Akali Army) has got its origin in the Gurudwara Reform Movement begun in the Punjab after the World War Ist. The movement was started by the Sikhs also in the rural areas also. 5 It marked the transfer of political leadership from the landed aristocracy to the Sikh middle classes. 6 The Punjabi felt their minority

2 - Ibid P.13-14
3 - Report on the Fourth General Election Commission of India
4 - The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, November 25, 1970, P.1.
In India, hence their goal was to establish a Punjabi Suba. On the basis of language they justified their demand in 1952 and Master Tara Singh was their pioneer. The Sikhs pressed their demand hard. Consequently there were tense relations between the Hindus and Sikhs. Sant Fateh Singh, was closely associated with Akali Dal but later on there was division and he occupied 3 seats of Lok Sabha in 1971 General Election. In 1971 election, the Dal, which remained aloof from an electoral alliance with Mrs. Gandhi's Ruling Party, lost two of its three Lok Sabha seats to Congress men but remained in control of the Punjab State Government, and a major regional force.

There is a Third Chauvinist Group of Muslim League. The power base of Muslim league in Kerala is quite secure. They comprise 18% of the total population in the State. The Muslim League fared well in the 1971 elections, in which it fielded 20 candidates for the Lok Sabha. Holding its two seats in Malabar enclave of Kerala, the League also picked up two new seats in the National Parliament. In West Bengal, the League entered into a mutually satisfactory electoral adjustment with the United Left Democratic front. The Muslim League Party also contested elections in Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. The party has thus become a small national party. It is significant that the League consistently supported Congress (R) nominees where there was no contest between the two parties.

In 1966 Mr. Bal Thackeray, formed a party called Shiva Sena in Bombay. His slogan was 'Maharastra for Maharashtra's!' It was originally designed to exploit the frustration felt by

1 - (a) Hindustan Times New Delhi, March 20, 1971, p.1
    (b) Report on the Fifth General Election in India 1971-72
the teeming masses of Bombay against South Indians who allegedly were occupying a fair share of local jobs. In reality it is an anti-communist party.\(^1\) There was a regional group that supported Mr. Thackery. This party was financed by industrialists and big merchants who had been terrorizing unions of Bombay.\(^2\)

The Shiv Sena was previously running successfully. It was used by the Bombay Syndicate Congress boss Mr. S.K. Patil who was helping to defeat Mr. Krishna Menon who contested election from a North Bombay constituency in 1967 General Election. It could be an important party only in Bombay Municipal Corporation Council. The Shiv Sena leaders created riots in 1970 and even police could not control the situation and consequently the city life was paralysed.\(^3\) The Shiv Sena went down to defeat, along with its right wing allies in Maharashtra in 1971 election, losing all the five Parliamentary seats, it contested.\(^4\) Later on the first of the dissident groups is the Bhartiya Kranti Dal (BKD) created at Patna, in April 1967 when many Congress dissidents gathered in a First Post-Election attempt to create an organisation in which they could collectively survive on an all India basis.\(^5\) The main issue before it was to create United Front Governments in States. In Novr., 1967, 1600 Congress Leaders participated in the meeting of BKD held in Indore (M.P.) to create a new party.\(^6\) It was a time when coalition governments were

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\(^2\) Lewis Fickett, P.Jr. The Politics of Regionalism in India (Pacific Affairs Ed. by William L. Holand Published by University of British Columbia) Vol.XIL No.1, Spring 1971 P. 199.


\(^5\) Hindustan Times, April 12, 1967, P.1.

\(^6\) (a) Link Nov. 17, 1967, P.21
   (b) Economic & Political Weekly Nov. 25, 1967, PP.204-205.
running in different states, such as U.P. Bihar and West Bengal. The purpose behind the formation of this party was to weld together the heterogeneous groups which had left the congress before and after 1967 elections.

The ideology of the Bkb had undergone changes from time to time. When it emerged it adopted no-Gandhian principles. Some of its aspects can be gleaned from the Indore address of Charan Singh, who called for a complete reorientation of Indian agricultural, industrial and foreign policies. In 1968 the B.K.D. was frustrated because it could not occupy sufficient seats in Municipal Elections and consequently it moved temporarily toward the concept of national merger with the Praja Socialists(PSP). The BKB and PSP took decision to work in close co-operation in all fields as a first step toward consolidation of 'non-Congress patriotic democratic forces. Of course, in mid-term Assembly election in 1969 the BKB occupied 99 seats and the jan Sangh 48 seats in U.P. It was an unexpected success of BKB in U.P. for the first time and therefore, it was declared a major regional party in U.P.

In the General Election of Lok Sabha 1971 BKB was a great loser. Perhaps Charan Singh outsmarted himself by trying to play an independent role in the election, allying his party neither with the aborative 'Grand-Alliance' as originally

2 - The Hindustan Times, April 27, 1968, P.3.
3 - Asian Recorder, March 12, 18, 1969, P. 8815.
anticipated Nor with Mrs. Gandhi. The result was that BKD lost all but one of its ten Lok Sabha seats, primarily in U.P. where the party had seemed to enjoy a relatively secure base among the Jat Castes in the Western part of the State.

The Bangla Congress was formed by Ajoy Mukherjee in the Summer 1966 to flight Atulya Ghosh led Congress Political machine. Later on a serious conflict developed between Ajoy Mukherjee and Humayun Kabir on the issue of co-operation with the Communists in the West Bengal coalition. However, at the Indore Convention, this vital dispute eventually was to open the way to the collapse of the first West Bengal United Front Government in 1967. As regards its progress it could not do well in Lok Sabha elections.

Telangana Praja Samiti has its own place among other regional parties of India. On 1st June 1969, the Telangana Pradesh Congress Committee was disunited from an Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee and sought reorganization from the Congress Parties. The group was directly engaged in agitation for creating a separate Telangana State. Prior to 1971 elections the so called Telangana Praja Samiti (TPS) entered into an electoral alliance with Mrs. Gandhi, pledging support to her government on national issues. This TPS won Ten Lok Sabha seats in the election.2

The regional parties began to grow after third Lok Sabha poll and the following figures show the growth of the same:

1 - Hindustan Times, Novr. 23, 1967, P.6;
### TABLE No.1
**REGIONAL PARTY STRENGTH IN THE LOK SABHA**

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<tr>
<td>DMK</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>+ 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akali Dal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>- 02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BKD</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangla Congress</td>
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<td>05</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>+ 02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telangana Praja Samiti</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>+ 10</td>
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<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>+ 27</td>
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It is very difficult to establish facts regarding the regional parties in India because the record of the regional parties in the 1971 General Elections was quite mixed. The DMK in Tamil Nadu, having entered into a local electoral alliance with the Congress(R) almost held its own, and the Muslim League in Kerala also did well. Akali Dal and BKD have lost their image because they have lost their previous position in Lok Sabha. Moreover, much success depends upon the trend of the Ruling Congress Party and its policy. If it creates new states, definitely Akalidal and Telangana Praja Samiti will progress but there is no chance for this in near future. Now after 1974 in place of BKD, Bhartiya Lok Dal is in the picture and has political alliance with four political parties. In the West Bengal CPM did
Regional Party Strength in the Lok Sabha

YEAR
1951
1957
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2011
2014
YEAR
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1984
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1998
2002
2006
2011
2014
PARTIES
Praja Samity
Telegana
League
Muslim
Congress
Bengal
R.K.J.
Akualal
A. M.
K.
SUMMARY
1962
1971
1980
1991
2001
2011
very well, increasing its position and occupying seats in Lok Sabha from 19 to 25. In Orissa, the Swatantra Party declined but still remains a significant political force with the State although it suffered loss in the Lok Sabha seats. As a matter of fact they protect the interests of the states and therefore, it may be said that they may continue but not for long. Significantly, the 'Elder Statement' of the regional parties, such as the DMK survived will despite its widely publicised internal problems and its over-zealous advocacy of the Tamil language. Moreover, de-facto regional parties such as the CPM in West Bengal and the Swatantra in Orissa did relatively well in the perspective of the Gandhi "magic" so did the Muslim League. The regional parties mostly appear interested in state problems and hence, it is expected that they may function in a limited way but cannot be a decisive factor in the Lok Sabha.

In short, socio-economic factors have an important bearing on the elections. The party which takes them into consideration will prosper. That is why the Congress Party took revolutionary steps to abolish Zamindari system which could set the voting pattern for fifteen years. Smt. Indira Gandhi tried to protect the interest of the public by her charismatic leadership, Abolition of Privy-purse and "Garibi-Hatao" slogan was declared by the Congress (R) before 1971 Lok Sabha Poll. She was also thinking about the ceiling of urban property. However, on the basis of new economic policies to control over inflationary tendencies, unemployment, economic disparities and to establish socialistic pattern of society, as she promised in her election programme in 1971, she could be successful in her efforts. The Green Revolution' programme influenced the
the peasant class and they exercised their vote in her favour.
Political faith, values of life, culture, traditions are also the component parts of political culture and they play their own role in shaping the voting behaviour from time to time.