CHAPTER III

"HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF INDIAN POLITICAL PARTIES IN RETROSPECT"

The political parties in India owe their origin to the crisis of legitimacy. At the close of nineteenth century several organization of properly so-called emerged at important places to put the popular grievances - the local one, for that matter, before the British rulers and seek redress. The object was patently political though not admitted at that time. All such organization suffered from abuse of an ideology and were guided mainly by changing circumstances.

The emergence of the congress in 1885 with an all India programme rendered the local organisation insignificant and ineffective and made them merge into the congress main stream. Within a short period the congress swept all such organisation, clear and for all practical purposes, made the chances of emergence of the new one's bleak. The development of the congress and its assuming the role of an independence movement completely blocked the way to the growth and development of alternate, or opposition parties. There was obviously no alternative to independence." In most of the new states" says Ashok Mehta, "There were sustained movements for national freedom. Sentiments of freedom and those against foreign rule, command power and sweep and when they really sound a party it achieves an unequalled position in the country."
Rival organisation, either forfeit popular support and whether, or are absorbed in the dominant party." The conditions in India conform to it. The ideal of national independence was all pervasive and all embracing and any other ideal looked small before it. No other party could therefore be formed.

It is also to be noted that the opposition parties in the west are the product of struggle between the rival interest. The land lords vs. the landless, the protestants and so on. In India, on the other hand, there was only one prime interest, the interest of national freedom and this was adequately promoted by the congress. It was parexcellance the national party." An independence movement "Richard L. Park points out, "is not the best breeding ground for political parties in the Western sense. In the search for unity and opposition to the ruling imperial power, the Asian Nationalists Movement extended every efforts to bring all affections together into one independence bound organization." The congress was a banyan tree on the political scene of India and naturally, nothing could grow under its shade. All kinds of views, interests and aspirations could find shelter in the congress fold.

3. Pyper, Norman, "Indian Political System", p. 187
The various sectors of the Indian population which supported congress, says, Robert I crane, "had their own political interests—peculiar grievances differing objectives and unique ideologies with peasants, Zamindars, businessman, factory works, westernized intellectuals and devotees of traditional Hinduism in its rank, it was quite apparent that internal disagreement over strategy tactics, and long term goals would remain an ever presenting factors. From time of the first disobedience campaign the internal history of the congress was the reconciliation of the multitude of special interests and different points of views." The congress was in fact a coglomeration of people who differed on many matters political, economic and social, but united by a common desire to attain independence. It is true that the presence of an Imperial power in the country discouraged ideological proliferation, for inspite of ideological differences, all the nationalists organizations helped the congress in its struggle for independence. The imperialist presence in fact blurred the line of demarcation between the Congress and other nationalist parties, including theJaftists. But once the British departed and the congress took over successionist tendencies asserted themselves. They led to


the formation of several new parties, separate and distinct from the congress. The congress, under the circumstances, enjoyed an unquestioned ascendancy for one a quarter of a century. In essence it worked as an opposition party, to the British rule. The objectives of the freedom being upper most in the Indian politics of the time. No other raison D, Satre was available to form another political party. There were certain minor factors also that arrested the growth and development of opposition parties. One such factor was that all the dynamic political leaders during the national movements had emerged through the congress platform. Some of these leaders defeated from the congress during the national movement itself or after independence. The leaders of the C.P.I. were first to defect, the socialist left the Congress soon after independence, Jana Sangh followed suit over 4 years (B.K.D. formed the same way. Swatantra drafted its way in 1961. However, such defections were motivated by different reasons—personal or ideological and did not help in forming a United opposition to the congress. At the same time, the number of such defectors was not too large to harm the congress. "Though a number of congress man left the organization, says Acharya Kriplani himself veteran congressman. "After independence, their numerical strength

was not large enough to form a strong opposition." Psychological associations of such defections with the congress cannot be ignored altogether. A second factor was that the congress being in power could easily influence any emerging social and political leader through patronage. The opposition parties were at loss to built their ranks, "therefore, even if a person wants to engage in purely social work, says Acharya Kripalani, "his best chance to fulfil his ambition is to continuance in the congress or joined its rank if he is not already there."

Patronage from the ruling party also adds to social status, the opposition parties could not complete with the congress on these levels. It would therefore, be wrong to search for the emergence, of the opposition parties, in India in the western sense of the term during national movements.

With the achievements of independance in 1947, the political setting in India under went a drastic change. The Indian National Congress was now transformed from a National movement to a political party. This change was dramatically expressed in the new party constitution which forbade party members from belonging to any other political party. The socialists, communists and other shifted their attacks from

8. Ibid., p. 178.
the ruling British to the ruling congress party. A constitution having been put into effect in 1950, the political party began preparing themselves for the first general election. Thus after independence the congress had to pay a very different role. It ceased to be a national movement, a unifying omnibus organisation which could embrace almost any Indian who wanted his country to be free. Now it could no longer command the support of many of its former followers, and that its internal division and faction no longer be sublimated in the interest of the national struggle and "many former members of the congress left, either individually or in groups, some were expelled, or were forced out by changes in the congress policy," which formed many parties, which is clear from the general election, when 51 parties contested election. And 21 entered the first parliament, and 16 out of 21 could not win more than 10% of the Lok Sabha seats. During the first decade of the Indian Constitution (1951-61), four major parties played their role in opposition—The socialist party of India, The Communist Party, The Bhartiya Jana Sangh, The Swatantra Party occurred on the political scene of India, which credited their historical account.

10. Norman Palmer D., op.cit., p. 188.
The Socialist Party of India:

In 1919, the institution of private property was abolished in Russia after the Bolshevik revolution which left a far reaching impact on the thinking and philosophy of socialist leaders of the world. India too was not to remain unaffected by this new development. A group of leaders of socialist ideals, in early thirties, began to believe that nationalism in a narrow and insufficient creed and that political freedom must necessarily be supported with economic freedom.

After the failure of the 1930 and 1932 civil disobedience and the break down of the two round table conference created an atmosphere of dejection and despondency in India. Gandhiji's favourable response to the overtures of the Swarajist Party and his implicit defence of the Zamindari system also came as a disillusionment to the left wing in the congress. Nehru's reaction against trusteeship was representation of the whole of left wing approach when he confessed, "What upset me much more was Gandhiji's defence of the Zamindari system ....... this was a very desirable part of rural and national economy. This was a great surprise to me for the big zamindars and Taluquas have very few defenders

12 today. A further source of much irritation to the left wing critics was Gandhiji's glorification of property. His opposition to modern science and technology for the national construction and his preference for Khadi movement, communal antagonism were the factors that provided the left wings with much ammunition. They also believe that national influence should be regarded as a means of ending foreign rule but also the only road to the emancipation of India's turning millions peasants and workers from exploitation and serfdom.

The disillusioned Congress man, took step in organizing a few socialist group. The Bihar Socialist Party was found in September 1931 and that was followed by the Punjab Socialist Party. The new development showed that socialism was beginning to assert its independence and was trying to be free from the strings of the congress. No formal steps were taken to form in all India socialists group in 1932. The decision to form an all India socialist organization was for the first time, determined in the Nasik jail 1932-33. There the convicts of civil disobedience movements the main exponents of the congress socialist party like J.P.Narayan,

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Ashok Mehta, Acharya Narendra Deva, Achyut Patwardhan, M.R. Masani, Kamla Devi Chattopadhyaya, Parshottam Trikum Dass, Yousuf Meherally and Ganga Sharma Sinha, talked about the future of Indian society—and the foundation of the congress socialist party was really laid down there.

The Congress socialist party was formed at Patna on 17 May in 1934, under the Presidentialship of Acharya Narendra Deva, where it is resolved that the time had come for the setting up of an all India organization of the socialists in the congress. The main object of the Congress socialist party, was declared in its Patna Conference in May 1934 as the achievement of independence and the establishment of a socialist society. For many years prior to independence the party worked inside the Congress and worked tirelessly to give congress a socialist organization.

The formation of the C.S.P. was welcomed by Nehru. In his congress presidential address of 1936, Nehru openly declared his loyalty to socialism and asked the congress to accept it. In an article he wrote, "though the stress might be on achieving freedom from British yoke, the issue of socialism cannot be obscured. The Congress socialists believe that

18. Congress and Socialism "The Leader May 21, 1936."
socialism and nationalism were not inconsistent. To their
socialism could be established in India simultaneously with
the winning of freedom. The study of revolutionary movement
in other countries, the rise of fascism, Marxism and the
achievements of Soviet Russia inspired these too much.

The Congress socialist party owed, much of its inspira-
tion to Marxism-Leninism. The Marxist were less in number
but much influence. As a result the party's thesis and
programme and resolution were allowed to reflect Marxism
terminology and the Marxist were admitted as a member on
restricted basis. Party was described as Marxist. The
Marxist character of the party was made clear at the second
conference held in Meerut on 20th January 1936. A statement
on party's nature and programme declared that the party's own
programme must be Marxist one. Many leaders of the party were
at that time predominately Marxist and believed that there
was only one type of socialism that is Marxist socialism.
But the party, neither permitted to be called as Marxist-
Leninist nor to be affiliated with either second or third

19. Narendra DevaAcharya, "Socialism and National Revolu-

20. See the Presidential Address of Acharya Narendra Deva
to the Gujrat Congress Socialists Conference, pp. 74-75.

21. See for details, "Statement on Party's Nature Task, and
Programme adopted at the Second Annual Conference of
party at Meerut on June 20, 1936 in All India Congress

22. Narayan, J.P., Socialism, Sarvodya, Democracy, Bombay
1964, p.3.
international. But that was no basic incompatibility between nationalism and socialism. From 1936 onwards the Congress socialist-party through its principal theorists had been professing its Marxist faith. It opened its door to the communists in 1936. Many communists joined the C.S.P. and were highly successful infiltrating position of leadership with it....especially in South India. They were expelled from C.S.P. in 1939 for disruptive tactics.

The socialist and Congress men were diametrically opposed to each other on certain issues. They criticised Gandhi particularly for his emphasis on non-violence as the technique of winning freedom. On the rejection of Federal part of the Act of 1935, the formation of Congress ministries in 1937, the release of political detainees and the introduction of agrarian reforms, the difference became more acute. With the failure of the young Congress socialists, who joined at the time of 'Quit India Movement', to develop loyalties towards the Congress party, the threat of the socialist from the activity in the trade Unions and finally the government ban on the socialist party, the difference reached to a crucial point.

At the end of the war, the Congress government returned to power and lifted the ban on the socialist party. At the time differences between the Congress and the Socialist party cropped up and the socialist party adopted a hostile attitude towards the Congress. Thus when the Congress Working Committee, meet in January 1946, reaffirmed its faith in non-violence, the Congress socialists disapproved it. They criticised the Congress leaders for abandoning the path of revolution and taking to constitutionalism.

Under the circumstances the socialists thought to organize on their own. Accordingly, when the party met in a Conference at Kanpur in March 1947, it took an important decision to delete the world "Congress" from its title and thrown open its membership to all Congress men and non-congress men. The objective of the party defined its objects (a) as being, establishment of a democratic socialist society in India (b) eradication of imperialism, racialism, colonialism and other forms of national oppression and economic inequality among nations and the creation of a democratic socialist. It distinguished democratic socialism from totalitarian communism and asserted there could be no socialism without democracy. It was finalized in the meeting of the general council of the

party at Nagpur in August 1947. It linked socialism with democracy in this fashion that "It is an axiom of Marxism that there can be no socialism without democracy. And preferred for world government and world peace and a bloc of neutral, non-aligned nations.

Gandhiji had been anxious to keep the socialist in the Congress. He proposed J. P. Narain or Narendra Deva for president of the Congress in 1946. But the negotiations between Gandhiji and J. P. Narayan and Narendra Deva were opposed by a majority of powerful congress leaders like V. B. Patel, S. K. Patel, Ashok Mehta, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Panth. When the next socialist conference was held at Nasik on March 1948, India was independent and Gandhiji was dead. The socialist decided to leave the Congress and formed a separate socialist party with democratic socialism as its new and ultimate goal. Their main changes against the Congress party included its authoritarian outlook and the gross misuse of the state power for the benefit of the party. It also alleged that the party had become a heaven for capitalists, opportunists, communists, and reaction arises at the altar of the socialists. The party needed an opposition party to check

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mate all the reactionary forces, which could be provided only by the socialist party alone.

The socialists had expected a brilliant success in the election. They hoped for the second position in the parliament, but they got only the third place. The socialists polled for House of people 11,126,344 votes (10.5% of the total polling only 12 seats (2.45% of the total seat) out of 255. They captured, 123 seats (3.90%) of that total seats polling 10,105,136 votes (9.73%) of the total polling in the state assemblies. The results of the first general election gave a shock to the socialist. Just before the elections the former Congress president Acharya Kripalani had found the K.M.P.P. This party fainted even worse. The Socialist negotiated a merger with the similarly disillusioned leaders of the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party in 1952. With a view to increase their parliamentary and geographic strength, the G.S.P. was changed to S.P. and finally to the P.S.P. in 1952 elections as a result of the merger of K.M.P.P. and the S.P. Unified themselves in the Praja Socialist Party on September 12, 1952.

32. In the General Election of 1951-52. The K.M.P.P. captured 10 seats in the H. of P. and 77 seats in the S. Assemblies i.e. 2.04% and 2.34% respectively to the total seats.
By the merger the party apparatus went into the hands of the Socialists which provided almost all the secretaries in the party units, where as honourable positions went to the former K.M.P.p- Members, Kripalani took over at the party President and Ashok Mehta the General Secretary.

The unification was achieved quickly, probably too quickly. As Weiner remarks, the fusion could be realised, because during the negotiations ideological questions were not aside and only principle's discussed.

The development of the new party was involved in difficulties since the very beginning. In 1954 one of its chief architect and the spirit behind the socialist movement, Acharya Narendra Deva died and at the same time another stalwart J.P.Narain announced his retirement from the active politics. The loss was irreplaceable. In 1960 the first Chairman of the party and a distinguished leader Acharya J.B. Kripalani also resigned from the party, this further weakened the position of the party, which was still in infancy. "The older leadership of the independent socialist movement in India; says Palmer Norman D." has long since been weaken


37. Ibid., p. 203.
by death, defections and ideological and personal differences.

The first discussion was occasioned by the unsuccessful talks in February 1953, when J.P. Narain and Nehru discussed the possibility of cooperation between the P.S.P. and the Congress. Talks failed because Nehru rejected the 14 points put forward by P.S.P. J.P. Narain and Ashok Mehta were in favour of having alliance with Congress. Ashok Mehta put-forward his thesis of political compulsions of a backward economy, in which he tried to maintain that the ideology of the Congress was coming near to that of the socialist. But this plea for understanding with Congress met with serious opposition from Acharya Narendra Deva and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, who saw only suicide in the prospective merger of the P.S.P. in the Congress by cutting central \textit{XX} cabinet. Lohia put his policy of equidistance and asserted that the socialists were equidistance from the Congress as well as from the Communist. Though the precarious unity of the P.S.P. could be maintained, the different groups in the party had already started to establish their own profile. H.K. Singh, has correctly analysed in 1955 only a miracle could have saved the party from a total disintegration. The Avadi resolution of the


Congress party (socialist pattern of society) added to the already existing differences with the party. Once again the question of cooperation with the Congress became a topic of dispute among the leadership. To pacify the agitated discussion Acharya Narendra Deva came out with a mild criticism of the Congress programme. Madhu Limaye, however condemned it out right. Following this he was suspended from the party. But Lohia invited him to address the party workers in Uttar Pradesh. This effort against party discipline destroyed ultimately the solidarity of the party. Lohia was also suspended by the party executive. Lohia indeed, made it clear in many speeches that he intends to found a new party, for according to him the P.S.P. had become important and weak, on 28 October 1955 Lohia and his follower gathered to socialistic plan. Once again the party was named Socialist Party.

After the split, the socialist party of Dr. Lohia, keeping itself away from any kind of policy and electoral alliances or adjustment chose to follow a lose course of unilateral opposition. Where as the P.S.P. its leaders still failed to arrive at a unanimous decision on ideological matters.

The performances of the Party in Second General Election was very poor, the socialist party and the K.M.P.P. together had secured 27 seats in the I.S. and about 17% of the total valid votes polled in 1957-62. Whereas, the P.S.P. secured 19 seats and 10.35% of the total votes polled in 1957 and the S.P. (Lohia group) captured 7 seats in the lower House.

As a result of the elections in 1957 both the parties were saved from a humiliating defeat. "In view constituencies they put up candidates against each other which looked as an exercise in collective suicide," but fortune helped in avoiding such a tragedy.

The talks pertaining to reunification, however failed because on every occasion Lohia insisted that P.S.P. must accept the programme of S.P. without reservation. This proposal was not acceptable to the P.S.P. leadership. It would have resulted into an object surrender. The status quo was maintained for some years.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA:

The rise of Communism in India cannot be traced back earlier than 1920. The Government did not find any evidence


44. See for details, Praja Socialist Party; Socialist Party Unity, Another Attempt fails, New Delhi, June 1963, occurred in Political Parties in India, by Horst, Hartmann', Delhi 1971, pp. 36-37.
of the communist involvement in the industrial strike of that year. The papers connected with the trial of Kanpur Bolshevik conspiracy case 1924 show that communism in India sprang originally from two main sources, namely, the revolutionary nationalist and the pan-Islamic followers of the Khilafat movement. Considering the predominantly religious character of both these sources, their adherants did not constitute suitable material for Marxist training or a communist career, secular in concept and economic in approach. And yet they were therefore two main reasons, cultural and political on the one hand and psychological on the other. Though mutually exclusive culturally, the revolutionary Hindu nationalists and Pan-Islamists were united in their immediate aim to overthrow British rule. Temperamentally too they were by and large all extremist, believing in the use of violence to achieve their objective. A conversion from the revolutionary creed to communism was easy, because it was a question merely of a transfer of loyalty without involving any question of psychological readjustment and more important factor was an identity of economic interest in that they belonged to the lower middle classes, for the most part unemployed and even ignored by the government. Communism offered them a suitable

45. An official Note on the persons involved in the Kanpur conspiracy case, for example described them as "a significant men. None of them were of all known to the general public. See Home (Political File 261 of 1924 and K.W. pp. 4-5. See Migra B.B., Indian Political Parties, Delhi 1976, p.192.
opportunity, it held out prospect, of cultural political and economic freedom. The concept of materialism and an economic approach to politics were however not indigenous. Motivated primarily by a political consideration to a counter act British hostility to Russia, the Soviet Union determined to introduce Communist idea into India, Britain most valuable point in Asia where the nationalist movement by 1920 was connected with the movement of the working classes, a movement from which it was only a short step to communism proper. The Soviet strategy in 1920 was in fact directed towards exploiting both pan-Islamism and Indian nationalism for the purposes of organising a general revolt against Britain.

At the same time, the rising of the leadership of the national movement in India, were in the hands of bourgeois intellectuals. Their outlook, ideology and the activities gave rise to frustration and discontent among the radical youth, caught in the vortex of the national movement. This section began to quest for a new ideology and for new means and method for winning freedom. It was at this juncture that they heard of the October revolution of the ideas of Marx and Lenin. They set about organizing communist groups on the basis of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, and its application

to the conditions of the national liberation movement of 47
India.

Communist regional parties and front groups sprang out, 48
foremost among these was the worker and peasant parties,
which had Units in Bengal, Bombay, United Provinces and Punjab.
The movement also contacted and drew recruits from several
revolutionary and terrorist groups in Punjab and Bengal.
MN Roy who was working on behalf on the communists inter-
national, was trying to build up a communist movements borrow-
ing his ideas from abroad. At the second congress of the
comintern in Russia in 1920, which reorganised Roy as the
Chief architect of Asian Communism. Roy advocating that the
Communists in colonial and semi-colonial countries should
pursue a militant uncompromising policy. Lenin on the other
hand considered that in the early stage of the national
liberation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries the
communists should work in cooperation and not in conflict
with the national bourgeoisie, who sought freedom. M.H.Roy

S.C.Kashyap in Indian Political Parties, Delhi 1971,
p. 69.

48. In Bengal the Anushilan Samit and Gangautra Party, in
Punjab the Gadar Party and the Hindustan Socialists
Republican Army. SeaStreetGerce. Wind Miller, Marshall:
Communist in India, Bokleys University of California
1954, pp. 44-235.

49. See Budhraj Vijai Sain, "The Communist International
and Indian Politics.

50. Ghos., Shanker, Socialism & Communism in India, Bombay,
was not satisfied with the role of the national bourgeoisie entirely.

Roy's context and correspondence reached with Marxist like Dange, Muzaffar Ahmad and the few other non-marxists like C.R.Dass. Dange started a weekly journal socialist from Bombay in 1922, it was the first regular publication in the country that devoted itself exclusively to the discrimination of Marxists ideas and associated itself openly with the socialist cause. Roy's paper Vanguard published in Europe, was also sent to eminent nationalists. Dange's socialists were most probably inspired by such publication and under language monthly. Inquilab was brought at by Gulam Rasain from Lahore who had become Marxists, Muzaffar Ahmad at the time was trying together to support for the formation of a Communist party in India.

Roy was trying to carry socialism right into the heart of congress but could not achieve much success. He made a bid to cultivate support with in the Indian National Congress and even to wrest leadership in Communists trends. Roy tried to


52. Over Street & Wind Miller, op.cit., pp. 44-45.
win C.R.Dass, who talked of Swaraj for the Masses at Dehradun. But Dass's speech at Gaya session of 1922 shattered Roy's hopes. In Gaya, Dass stated firmly that he was out of those who had non-violence as principal. The proceeding of the Gaya conference disappointed Roy. He thought, in the existing circumstances the organisation of a party of the workers and peasants. For the achievement of complete national independence from British rule and Indian further advance to socialism.

All these Organisational efforts led the leaders of Communists Party of India to establish a properly constituted party with central Committee, at the Kanpur Session held in 1925.

The C.P.I. began to function with Marxist totalitarian outlook, keeping itself in constant touch with Moscow and Peking and other subversive and revolutionary Movements in the different part of the world. The founding father of the C.P.I. did not know much about the Marxism. As Muzaffar Ahmad says that "My knowledge of Marxism was very superficial, but when I took the leap into the unknown, I counted on two things. My faith in the people, and my unquestion loyalty

54. See for details, Over Street & Vind Miller, op.cit., p.
to the directives of the Communists international." In 1931 the C.P.I. was formally affiliated to the Communist International and in 1932, Philippratt, Ben Bredly and Muzaffar Ahmad found an opportunity to send a report, from the Meerut, to the Communist international.

The first Communists efforts to build organized party met British hostility and they had to face the Kanpur (1924) and Meerut trials. The Meerut trial, which took place in March 20, 1929, was one of the biggest and largest state trials in the world. It was also an important preparatory stage in the formation of the Communists Party of India. At this trial they outlined their ideology and programmes on all the problems of revolutionary movements in India. The Central Committee which was formed their defence, included prominent members of the Indian National Congress such as Moti Lal Nehru and others. But the Congress and the Communist cooperation fell apart in 1929 when they realized the dangerous character of Meerut prisoners and refused to defend them. But the trial was intended to weaken and crush the Communists

57. Ibid.,
59. Ibid., p. 70.
Movement, aroused public sympathy in favour of Communists and Sewayendra Nath Tagore has rightly pointed out that the Meerut trial placed Communists on a sure footing in India. Thus the year 1933, the very year when the Meerut trial was adjourned, witnessed the foundation of a full fledged Communist Party of India.

The C.P.I. published its first constitution towards the end of 1926. And began its career following the left, strategy of Communists as laid down by the 6th Congress of the Communists international in 1928. But it did not become legally operative till 1943.

From 1936 to 1947, when independence was achieved and the country was partitioned, spans the most fruitful period of the Party's history. In this period, the party mustered and crystallised as a major organised all India political force of the left wing of the national movement. Powerful All India Trade Unions, Kisan and Student mass Organisation were built up in this period.

61. Muzaffar Ahmad, op.cit., p. 22.
63. Krishana, N.K. The Communist party of India, ed. see S.C. Kashyap, Indian Political Parties, New Delhi, 1971 p.70.
In 1937 came the general election under the new constitution. The party demanded the preparation of mass struggle for the realisation of the constituent assembly. But when the Second World War broke out in 1939, it characterised it an imperial war and called for the launching of a mass national struggle for independence. But when Russia joined the war on the allies countries in June 1945, he provided unconditional support to the government.

The negative attitude of the party to the Quit India Movement and the virtual support lend by the party to the separate demand for the partition raised by Muslim League, were serious mistakes. "The end of the war found the C.P.I. discredited and isolated. Its opposition to the nationalists impulse behind the "Quit India campaign and its war time alliance with the British rulers of the country could not easily forgotten.

The 1945 General Election were marked by the most violent anti-communist campaign. Its meetings were attacked, its workers were beaten up. Nevertheless it got 7 lakhs votes and a seat in Provincial Legislature. After these election the party worked out a policy of supporting and organizing

64. Ibid., op.cit., p. 71.
the struggle of this measure, so that they coalesce into a single final assault against imperialism.

After independence, the party favoured the Nehru's government, but at its second Congress in Calcutta in February/March 1948, it denounces the Congress and asserted that the Congress leaders had surrendered to imperialism and Nehru government was bourgeoisie imperialist-feudal combine. It should be smashed with the help of the masses which had the Telangana adventure started against Nizam but continued of the police action. But this line had disastrous consequences for the party in the subsequent period 1948-50. This line was corrected by the new programme adopted for its all India Conference held in October 1951 and confirmed at the full fuledged third party Congress held at Madurai in 1953.

On the basis of these programmes, the party entered the first general election in 1952 and emerged as an indomitable force to take its place in parliament as the principal group in the opposition. Inspite of the repression, launched by Congress against the party in 1948-51. The performances were most remarkable and demonstrated the faith


67. Gupta S. Prasana Kumar, Political Parties in India, p. 113.
and devotion of the most exploited section of the masses to the party. The party position was:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Seats Won</th>
<th>Votes rolled</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>L.S.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3,4,84,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.A.</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>45,52,537</td>
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Further, at the Palghat resolution in April 1956, party adopted the task of strengthening independence, sovereignty, world-peace, planning, improvement in standard of living and to strengthen relations with socialists governments. On the basis of this resolution the party entered in 1957 election.

In the second general election, the C.P.I, had came out with its 27 members, the largest single party in L.S. after the congress. The C.P.I. succeeded in securing a comfortable majority in the Kerala legislative assembly. It was unique experience to the party that it captured political power through democratic methods. No other communists party can boast of such distinction. The resolution of the party Congress adopted in April 1958 stated "the development in Kerala, where the democratic forces made a break in the Congress monopoly of governmental power and established a

68. These figures do not fully reflect strength of the C.P.I. in L.S. as well as in S.A. because they do not include the seats won by the party contesting as a part of the peoples democratic front in Hyderabad states and i.e. in state of Travencore Cochin as also the votes polled.
government, led by the Communist Party have attracted worldwide attention and constitutes the single highest event in our national-political life."

**THE JAN SANGH:**

The Jan Sangh symbolises the right wing obscurantistic forces in Indian politics. The party has consolidated the dissipated Hindu-Communal and reactionary forces into respectively organised political forces, which now wields considerable influence in national political parties. It is only major party which can be considered as a threat to the Indian secular state.

In the wake of Bengal disturbances in February/March, 1950 and signing of the Delhi Pact (Nehru Liaqat Pact) in April of the same year, two Bengali members of Central Cabinet, K.C. Neogi and S.P. Mockerjee resigned in protest against the pact, as the Government have no say about the Bengali minority. Dr. Mokherjee, who was the Union Minister of Industry and Supply realised that the Congress had lost all sense of directions. The tendency for concentration of all power in a few hands was growing. He resigned on account of his

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69. Extracts from the Election Manifestoes of The C.P.I.

disagreement with weak, halting and inconsistent, attitude taken by the government in the face of brutalities, to which he alleged, Hindi minorities in Pakistan were subjected.

Dr. Mookerjee, a leading light of the Hindu Mahasabha during the years of immediately before and after the partition announced his severance of his relation with the organisation, after the murder of Gandhiji. Mookerjee realised that because of its involvement, Mahasabha's name was still tarnished with Gandhiji's murder and it could not command national backing, and was inadequate to meet the new challenge facing the country. Dr. Mookerjee found that the R.S.S. circles were willing to back a well knit political party dedicated to the promotion of Indian Culture. It began to think of forming a political party, but at the same time he was carefully watching the currents and counter-currents within the Congress. He expected that the right wing of the Congress led by Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel and Farusbottom Das Tandon may extend support to him. But Patel died in February 1950 and Nehru succeeding in replacing Tandon as the Congress President so that he did not see any future for himself in the Congress.

72. Ibid., pp. 62-66.
73. See also Balraj Madhok, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mokerjee, A Political Biography, New Delhi 1964, See also Hartman Horst, Political Parties in India, Delhi 1971, p.138.
In January 1951, the first concrete steps in the direction of forming a new party in the Punjab-Delhi area were undertaken. In the following months in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Orissa and Rajasthan units of the new party were opened. However, in South India, and in Maharashtra were the R.S.S. cadre were not in favour of supporting the proposed party, the Jana Sangh lacked an organisational base when it was founded on October 31, 1951, in Delhi. Mookerjee became its first President. The party resulted from a combination of a partyless leader, Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, and a leaderless party, the R.S.S. In the beginning the party was not more than the addition of a disciplined cadre of R.S.S. in the northern part of India and Mookerjee's personal followings in West Bengal. In this connection says Richard D. Lambert, " Generally called Jan Sangh, which drew its support from refugees, remanents of former princely power, other favouring stronger policy towards Pakistan, and other groups with conservative economic interests. The Jan Sangh also served as a political voice for the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh."

74. See Craig, Baxter, Philadelphia, 1969, p.84.


In the first general elections (1951-52) the Jan Sangh succeeded in securing the required minimum 3% popular votes (with 3 seats in L.S.) and was therefore accorded recognition as a national party. The oratorial skill of S.P. Mukerjee in the parliament as much as his personal prestige won laurels for him and for the Jan Sangh. "After he died in Siri Nagar in June, 1953, says Norman D. Palmer, "The prospect of an anti-Congress rightist coalition faded and the Jan Sangh became almost leaderless. Nevertheless, the Jan Sangh continued to be a political force to be reckoned with.

Though merger talks took place between the Mahasabha, Jan Sangh and Ram Rajya Parishad. But due to the sudden death of S.P. Mukerjee, these talks came to an end. It further started in 1955 but the opportunity was lost because each party began to catechise each other.

During the second general election (1957) the communal parties having no chance of un-seating the congress and having no agreeable formula to unite, decided to localize electoral agreement, the Jan Sangh informed its previous records. Its popularity was more than double in five years. It polled 7,216,800 votes in 1957 as against 2,236,361 in 1952. It won 4 seats in L.S. In state Assemblies, the Jan Sangh improved from 34 in 1952 to 46 in 1957.

It also attend the meeting in 1968 in Madras, which was held to oppose to the abortive plans of the Congress to introduce cooperative farming. It withdraw from the meeting when the proposal to form a new conservative party was broached. It also rejected the merger with the Swatantra Party to oppose Congress.

**THE SWATANTRA PARTY:**

The Swatantra party was formed in 1959 as a protest against the socialist policies of the Congress and was aimed at protecting the freedom of the form and of the individual against stateism. Culminating in the Nagpur resolution, "On joint co-operative farming." It was intended to provide a functioning opposition such as in essential in a line and vigorous democracy.

The politics in the first decade after independence was heavily left oriented. In 1955 the Congress Party adopted the famous AVADI resolution which called for the establishment of a Socialist Pattern of society. In this situation, the


79. For details, see Elen Roy, A Closer Look at the Swatantra Party in Radical Humanist (Feb. 4,1960) pp. 77-78.


emerging capitalist class, already disillusioned because of positive participation by the State in the economic development. Similarly forces of social conservativism found their patience taxed by the reforming fervour of Pt. Nehru. The forces of conservativism, social and economic, were looking for an opportunity to resort and this opportunity came in 1959.

Further in 1959, the Congress Party took its maximum swing to the left. It elected Smt. Indra Gandhi, Socialist forum organised within the Congress in 1957. Besides it, the Congress went on at its Nagpur session in January 1959 to pass a resolution calling for cooperative joint farming with implication of land ceiling and state trading in food grains. This was logical step forwarded from reform to the reconstrucion. But for the big business it came as an opportunity to unleash the boggy of coming communism and instill this fear in the minds of the peasants.

Nagpur Resolution brought together those circles which since long have been in favour of founding a new party. The form of free-enterprise (F.E) and the All India Agriculturists:


83. It has been frankly admitted that it was this ill conceived Nagpur Resolution, which acted as an spark plug to the political revolt. The urban middle class and the business class, helpless against the hold of Congress Party on the rural areas found a new ally", M.R. Masani, Why Swantantra? Life 1959.
Federation (A.I.A.F.) which was formed in 1956 and 1958 respectively helped to generate the Swantantra Party. Both these associations stood against government controls, taxation and government economic policy in the area of industry and agriculture. Both demanded "liberal economy and strove in favour of individual freedom and against stateism."

Finally on June 4, 1959 at the meeting of the A.I.A.F. convened by the AIAF with Rajaji in the chair, decided to set out the new party. It is important to note that the meeting was attended not only by agriculturists, of standing like Professor Ranga, Sardar Babadur Singh, Bhai Lal Bahl Patel, K.B. Jinarja, Hegde and Ram Chandra Reddi, but also by M.R. Masani, S. Naryan Swamy, V.P. Menon and Khasa Subha Rao, in his presidential address to the preparatory convention held in Bombay on 1,2 August 1959 when the party was formally inaugurated N.C. Ranga requested the peoples to mobilize all their forces", to assist the made rush towards socialism destruction of every kind of freedom and independence, he also said that, "The principle which the present proprietor stands and the free way of life of which he is the back bone, he has in common with other sections of our people such as the artis­ san and the worker, the doctor and the lawyer, the businessman and the individualist, the writer and the teacher, each of


these classes can thrive only in a society where there is freedom of experience and freedom of choice for the producer, the investor and the consumer, where man gets a fair return for hard work for enterprise."

Thus it appeared as if Swantantra Party was a creation of F.F.E., but in reality the role of FFE and its adherents was so obvious that some people say the party is the forum political arm as in fact noted the Erdman however, rightly. AIAF was a group of very modest dimensions and its impact, there is also little doubt that Rajaji stood nearer to the F.F.E. than to the FFE. But Swantantra leaders acknowledge that their debt to both as Rajaji did on one jucture." I shall be failing in my duty if I do not say how grateful we are to the AIAF, for the inspiration. They gave us for the reliance/this party and to the form of fee enterprise that helped us so greatly in the parliamentary work. Further it grossly under estimated the original and inducing contribution of the F.F.E. Rajaji's statement reflects the determination of leadership to identify the party in the agriculturist rather than industrial sector.

87. Ibid.
89. Ibid.