CHAPTER -5

AN OVERVIEW OF ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN HARYANA: 1967-2009

Congress was dominant in the erstwhile state of Punjab in the post-independence period. Besides Jan Sangh, there was no opposition to the Congress at the time of formation of the state. Before the reorganization of state apart from Congress and Jan Sangh there were certain regional parties like The Zamindara league, Haryana Lok Samiti and Gandhi Janata Party. But these parties failed to achieve much success due to their limited support base and merged in Congress before 1967 elections. From 1945 to 1966 the role of legislators from Haryana region remained limited mainly to act as a pressure group to counter the Akali Dal, which was all the time kept on pressing the demand of a Punjabi Suba.1 The elite from Haryana region felt deprived of their proportionate share in the power structure of Punjab. The population of Haryana region was 45 per cent of total population of composite Punjab, but the political representation of Haryana region has never been more than 33 per cent.2 During 1957 out of total 154 MLAs in Punjab Vidhan Sabha, 118 belonged to Congress party and the strength of legislators from Punjab region was 71, whereas only 47 legislators were from Haryana region. Besides, there were four chief ministers from 1947 to 1966, but none of them belonged to Haryana region. Thus, the Haryana region had a very little say in the political affairs of the state.3

ELECTORAL POLITICS IN HARYANA: SINCE 1967

With the formation of Haryana as a result of reorganization of Punjab, the legislators of joint Punjab were also divided. The legislators belonging to Punjab region remained in Punjab assembly and the legislators belonging to the region of proposed state of Haryana constituted Haryana assembly, because holding of elections at that point of time was not feasible due to general elections approaching next year.4 In 1966, there were in all 54 MLAs in Haryana assembly, of which 46 were from Congress. 22 Congress legislators became the ministers in the Bhagwat Dyal Sharma

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3 ibid.
led government. At present the state has 90 assembly constituencies. Out of which 17 Assembly constituencies are reserved for scheduled castes. Earlier the state used to have 81 assembly constituencies but their number was raised to the current level by the Delimitation Order of 1976. The new delimitation rules, applied in the Indian general elections 2009 for the first time, have introduced certain internal changes like four new constituencies were introduced replacing 4 old constituencies. Four general constituencies have been converted into reserved constituencies for scheduled castes and vice-versa. However, the total number of assembly constituencies i.e. 90, remained unchanged.

In 1956, when Haryana came into inception, Congress party was in majority in the newly constituted assembly. Non-Congress leaders like Devi Lal, Sher Singh and Mool Chand Jain, who had fought for many years for the creation of Haryana, also joined Congress after the acceptance of demand of formation of separate state of Haryana. Bhagwat Dayal Sharma, a prominent Congress leader had a good rapport with Congress high command. During partition of Punjab, he was vice-president of Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee. He won the election of organizational wing of Haryana Congress party held on 4th August 1966. He was also unanimously got elected as the leader of Haryana legislative party and was appointed the chief minister of Haryana on 1st November, 1966 which was not liked by the dominant caste leadership (read Jat leadership) of the state because he was not even in favor of formation of the Haryana Prant. He wanted to keep his cabinet small but the widespread groupism in the party bound him to induct as many as 15 ministers. Consequently, it resulted into becoming every third MLA either minister or deputy minister.

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5 At the time of formation of Haryana state the numbers of Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha seats were fixed 8 and 54 respectively in accordance with the Peoples Representation Act 1951. Out of which 2 Lok Sabha and 10 Vidhan Sabha seats were kept reserved for Scheduled Castes. But before 1967 elections, the new Delimitation Commission raised the number of Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha constituencies to 9 and 81 respectively, out of which 2 Lok Sabha and 15 Vidhan Sabha seats were kept reserved for Scheduled Castes. The Delimitation Order of 1976 further raised the number of Vidhan Sabha seats to 90 and of Lok Sabha to 10. 17 Vidhan Sabha and 2 Lok Sabha seats are reserved for Scheduled Castes.

6 Chafer, vol.1, op.cit., p.58.

7 Jhamb, loc.cit.

8 ibid.
B.D. Sharma wanted to have a party President of his own choice and of confidence, so he got elected his trusted man Ram Kishan Gupta. Consequently, he controlled both the government and organizational wing of the party. He had an aim to set aside his opponents so that they could not pose a challenge for him in future as a contender for the post of chief minister. In 1966 itself, Akali Dal under the leadership of Saint Fateh Singh gave an ultimatum to the government of India to sever the common links between Haryana and Punjab related to the office of Governor and High court. They not only demanded the inclusion of Chandigarh in Punjab, but also asked for the control over multi-purpose projects like Bhakhra Nangal to Punjab. The Akalis started an agitation in support to their demands followed by Saint Fateh Singh’s declaration to go on fast for 10 days and than to commit self immolation on Dec 27, 1966.

While taking the situation into consideration, Haryana Pradesh Congress Committee President Ram Kishan Gupta also declared that Haryana would also not compromise on the issue. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at that time, called a meeting of both the chief ministers of Haryana and Punjab on 25th December 1966. B.D. Sharma demanded old Delhi in lieu of Chandigarh. Prime Minister appealed to Akali leaders not to go on fast and assured further that the centre would do the needful and would also not hesitate to appoint separate governors and High courts for both the states.

B.D. Sharma’s demand for old Delhi in lieu of Chandigarh which was to go to Punjab after reorganization caused strain in his equation with the Prime Minister and high command and he could not win favor with Indira Gandhi. The matter was sorted out for the time being by Indira Gandhi. Such an environment marked the beginning of political journey of the state.

**Assembly Elections 1967**

In 1967, there were total 43,879,80 voters, out of which 31,879,49 voters actually voted in the elections. Congress party contested on all the 81 assembly seats; Jan Sangh contested on 48 seats. SSP fielded 23 candidates, Swatantra party and CPI 12 each. Besides, RPI contested on 24 seats followed by CPM on eight and PSP on three

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9 ibid., p.34.
10 ibid., p. 36.
11 ibid.
12 ibid.
260 independent candidates also contested the assembly polls. Out of total 471 contestants, as many as 283 candidates including independents got their security forfeited. However, not even a single Congress candidate lost its security deposit. The major election issue was the ban on cow slaughter in addition to some economic issues related to lack of sufficient food grains and inflation. National issues did not hold much importance. The election campaign in Haryana was almost non-political and hardly concerned with the policies and programmes/agenda offered by the political parties.

There seemed pro-Congress wave in Haryana. Although, Congress was losing ground in some of the states, however, the role of Congress in creation of Haryana was one of the most important factors which worked in its favour. As the main opposition party Jan Sangh was against the demand of separate statehood for Haryana.

During 1967 assembly elections, Congress returned with a winning majority of 48 seats out of 81 seats it contested with 41.3 per cent of votes. BJS won 12 seats out of total 48 seats it contested with 14.30 per cent of total votes polled and become the second largest party. The Jan Sangh performed relatively better in urban areas. The Swatantra party secured three seats, out of 12 it contested accompanied with 3.18 per cent of votes. Republican Party won two seats out of 24 it contested for with 2.9 per cent of votes polled in its favour. The independents secured 16 seats with 32.97 per cent votes. The communist parties could not open their accounts in the elections. Congress despite factionalism and internal conflicts was in much better position than other political forces as due to its strong organizational base with its being a cadre based party with sufficient financial resources. It has strong presence among the backward castes.\(^\text{13}\) Caste, sub-castes and the family affiliation of the candidate were found to be the major determinant factors of voting behaviour of the electorates. Besides, the local problems or issues also proved to be important in the elections.

\(^{13}\) Jhamb, *op.cit.*, p.37.
competitors. For the second term too, he ignored the principle of balanced representation of different groups and factions which proved detrimental for him.\textsuperscript{16}

B.D. Sharma’s uncompromising attitude gave opportunity to dissidents to get united against him as their political existence come under threat in such conditions. The opponents realized that under such circumstances, their future in the Congress was bleak, so, they were in search of an occasion to have a share in power. Soon the dissident leaders like Devi Lal, Rao Birender Singh, Chand Ram, and Sri Chand left the Congress and formed a new party called ‘Haryana Congress’.\textsuperscript{17} Independents also organized themselves into a party called ‘Naveen Haryana party’.\textsuperscript{18} Under such conditions, B.D. Sharma failed to keep his government intact, so after being advised to submit his resignation by the Congress high command, he duly resigned. The 13 day old government of B.D. Sharma became the victim of politics of defections and counter defections for which he himself was also responsible to an extent.\textsuperscript{19}

Congress high command also held him responsible for the fall of his government due to his adamant behavior at the time of government formation. He was the first chief minister, to be overthrown by his own party men.\textsuperscript{20} This further marked the beginning of politics of factionalism in the state. The centre could not check the situation. Casteism played a crucial role in overthrowing Congress government. Jat and Ahir combination worsened the situation further. Independents also came together and formed the United Front with Rao Birender Singh. Jat leader Rizk Ram also left the Congress and resigned from the government but soon took his resignation back. Hardwari Lal, the education minister also left the Congress and joined the United Front with Rao Birerendra Singh who has also resigned from the speaker ship.\textsuperscript{21} The Haryana Congress joined hands with the opposition and independents and formed the United Front under the leadership of Rao Birender Singh. Governor invited Rao Birender Singh, who had the support of 48 legislators to form the government on 24\textsuperscript{th} March 1967. He formed the first non-Congress government in the state. He formed 15 member cabinet of Samyukta Vidhayak Dal (SVD). Independents and dissidents were given ministerial posts. Jan Sangh and Swatantra party provided outside support to the government.\textsuperscript{22}

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\textsuperscript{16} Jhamb, op. cit., p.39.
\textsuperscript{17} ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} ibid.p.40.
\textsuperscript{19} ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} ibid.
\textsuperscript{21} Jhamb, op. cit., p.39.
\textsuperscript{22} ibid.,p.41.
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The United Front developed cracks very soon. Rao and Devi Lal failed to put together and differences cropped up between them which turned them against each other. Devi Lal alleged that Rao government is corrupt and anti-ruralites and also threat to pull the government down. The Haryana SVD expelled Devi Lal from United Front while passing the resolution for his anti-party activities especially due to his threat of pulling down the Rao government. Although his supporters namely Chand Ram, Jagan Nath and Partap Singh Daulata did not sign the expulsion resolution. Devi Lal joined hands with opposition to bring the Rao headed government down.

Under such circumstances Rao abruptly submitted his resignations on 15th July 1967. Devi Lal submitted an unsigned list of 51 MLA’s and put forward the claim to form the government. But governor invited Rao again to form government as he had given a signed list of 42 members of legislature. Rao while constituting his second cabinet dropped Deputy Chief Minister Chand Ram and Mani Ram Godara who were staunch supporters of Ch Devi Lal. In such situation the development work came to stand still as it was badly affected due the ongoing situation at the top level. Devi Lal’s faction defected from United Front and joined hands with B.D. Sharma’s group to topple Rao’s government once again. So, once again two political competitors joined hands against one common competitor. The factionalism and horse trading in Haryana politics added a new term to political vocabulary what YB Chawan called ‘Aya Ram and Gaya Ram’. 23

Hira Nana Arya defected 5 times and was called a dubious defector by than Governor B.N. Chakarvarti.24 Similarly there were many names who kept on changing loyalty from one party to another. Rao blamed BD Sharma for the downfall of Congress in Haryana due to his policy of ignoring heavy weights at the time of formation of ministry, which proved detrimental to not only for his political career but also for Congress as a serious contender of political power in the state. As a result of all these developments, an unprecedented game of defections started.25 For instance, one MLA defected 5 times, 2 four times, 3 thrice, 4 twice and 34 once, such activities earned Haryana the tag of the land of *Aya Rams* and *Gaya Rams*. Devi Lal and BD Sharma demanded the dismissal of Rao government twice but governor turned down the

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23 ibid., p.68.
24 ibid., p. 42.
demands because Rao government was in majority. On 17th November, 1967 Devi Lal with his group returned to Congress fold after dissolving Haryana Congress.

Under such state of affairs, the Governor had to recommend the president rule under Article 356 related to the failure of the constitutional machinery in the state. As the administration was paralyzed due to factionalism and Governor held opposition responsible for the same.\textsuperscript{26} As for him government could not do much for the masses due to preoccupation with the concern of self survival.\textsuperscript{27} On 21\textsuperscript{st} November, 1967 Haryana state assembly was dissolved, despite the fact that Rao still in majority with its 40 legislators in 78 members Assembly. BD Sharma welcomes and congratulated the central government for this bold decision. So; the Governor recommended the president rule for stability.

**Mid-Term Assembly Elections 1968**

With the joining of Devi Lal and Chand Ram into the Congress, anti BD Sharma group in Congress got strengthened. There was lack of co-ordination and cohesion in the Congress as most of its members were more committed to their factional leaders than the party.\textsuperscript{28} There were mainly three factions in Congress: first was led by of B.D. Sharma which was most powerful among the three, 2\textsuperscript{nd} faction was led by RK Gupta and 3\textsuperscript{rd} was under the influence of Chaudhary Devi Lal. The last two factions were against the 1\textsuperscript{st} one.\textsuperscript{29} B.D. Sharma was held responsible for the fall of Congress government and prevailing divisive tendencies within the party. The three member committee was appointed to look into his anti-party activities. The committee found him guilty and recommended for his expulsion. But Congress High Command come for his rescue and the Congress working committee decided that Congress president Nijilingppa should look after the affairs of the party. The Congress party while taking into consideration the harm caused to its image under the leadership of BD Sharma, restructured its political strategy and decided to give chance to a new Jat candidate.

After the five months of president rule the mid-term elections were announced. Rao Birender Singh with his group constituted the new party called Vishal Haryana Party

\textsuperscript{26} Chahar, vol.I, op.cit., p.91.  
\textsuperscript{27} Jhamb, op. cit., p.43.  
\textsuperscript{28} ibid.  
\textsuperscript{29} ibid., p.44.
(VHP). Although, he wanted to form the United Front of opposition parties but could not succeed. On 17th April 1968 United Front was created keeping in mind the 1968 mid-terms assembly elections. It was constituted of VHP, BKD, Republican Party, CPI (M) CPI, PSP, SSP, Haryana Lok Samiti, Akali Dal (Saint), Janata party and Backward Classes’ Federation. But Jan Sangh and Swatantra party did not joined. All the political parties passed the resolution of denying the tickets to defectors in the mid-terms polls.\(^{30}\) Congress contested on all the 81 seats and Jan Sangh, Swatantra the Republican Party and the CPI contested on 44, 31, 18 and 8 seats respectively. Besides, 161 independents were also in the fray. In all 398 candidates were in fray for 1968 polls. Some of the major election issues raised by different parties included free education, use of Hindi for administrative purposes, due share in Bhakra Control Board management project and the transfer of Chandigarh to Haryana. Besides, certain electoral soaps were also proposed for farming community. VHP and CPI contested the election with the aim to establish ‘Vishal Haryana’ with the addition of Meerut and Agra division of Uttar Pradesh along with Alwar and Bharatpur districts of Rajasthan in addition to Old Delhi as its capital. However, in case of Haryana programmes and policies proposed in the manifestoes hardly mattered at that time as the cleavages of caste, sub-caste, community in terms of agriculturist versus non agriculturist, region in terms of rural-urban along with local-Punjabi hold much important for the people.\(^{31}\) During election campaign, Congress appealed to the electorates to ‘vote for stability’ and keep defectors out. Besides, to woo voters on castes and sub-castes lines the slogans like ‘jat ki beti jat ko jat ka vote jat ko’ and “Meo Muslim vote for their own gotras” were also made popular.\(^{32}\) During the mid-term polls of 1968, there were total 4556539 voters out of which 2606667 actually voted in the elections. The mid-term Assembly elections were held on 12th and 14th May 1968.

\(^{30}\) ibid., p.45.
\(^{32}\) ibid., p. 110.
Kaithal assembly constituency and the lowest 28.04 per cent voter turnout was recorded in Kalayat assembly constituency. The possible reasons could be cited as the hostile weather, harvesting season and also the apathy of people towards the leaders.

After elections there were many claimants for the chief ministership in Haryana. The Ex-chief minister B.D. Sharma, state Congress president R.K. Gupta. Devi Lal, Brig. Ram Singh, Om Prabha Jain and Sher Singh were in the race for the chief ministership. 34 36 out of 48 MLAs elected B.D Sharma as their leader, which was strongly being opposed by Jat leaders. Congress high command was also not in favor of BD Sharma.35 So, former union minister Gulzar Lal Nanda chose Bansi Lal as chief minister. B.D. Sharma and Sher Singh supported him. So, Bansi Lal as a non-controversial candidate was sworn in as chief minister on 19th May 1968.36 He constituted a seven member cabinet. B.D. Sharma tried to assert himself but was not entertained by Bansi Lal, although the former supported the latter in becoming chief minister. Sharma than tried to secure hold over the organizational wing of party but did not succeed as state Congress president R.K. Gupta did not oblige him.37 Soon after the formation of Bansi Lal led government the dissidents demanded no confidence motion.

The conflict between Bansi Lal and BD Sharma sharpened with Rao Birender Singh and B.D. Sharma joined together to topple Bansi Lal led Congress government. B.D. Sharma defected with 15 Congress legislators which reduced Bansi Lal’s government to a minority. But Bansi Lal soon managed the majority and proved himself as more than a match for both former chief ministers. After overcoming the crisis, Bansi Lal’s position became strong and Sharma was suspended from party on 1st December, 1968. He formed a new party called ‘Haryana Kisan Mazdoor party’ on 26th May, 1969 and declared its aim to overthrow the corrupt Congress ministry very soon. On 12th August, 1969 no-confidence motion was moved against the Bansi Lal led Congress government by B.D. Sharma’s party but the motion was defeated by 42 votes in favor of the government than the 36 votes against it. It proved to be a final blow to B.D.

34 Jhamb, op.cit., p.46.
35 ibid.
36 ibid., p.47.
37 ibid., pp.47-48
Sharrna. In such manner Bansi Lal took over the politics of the state under his control and provided a stable government to the state up to next assembly elections.  

Although, many attempts were made to topple Bansi Lal led government by the Congress dissidents but he also discovered the strategy to accommodate them, first by identifying them and then either including them in ministry while expanding it or appointing them in corporate bodies. Bansi Lal strengthened his position in state politics as within 2-3 years of his rule he was able to control not only the state government but also the organizational wing of the state Congress. As a result, Bansi Lal was able to provide political stability to the state. Before next assembly polls, he established himself as a development oriented leader while launching various development schemes, especially construction of roads, 100 percent rural electrification, irrigation facilities changed the face of an entirely neglected state in terms of substantial infrastructural development.

Besides, Haryana became first state to abolish revenue on small holdings in 1971. An Agricultural University was established on a vast area of 4000 acres of land at Hisar on 2 February, 1970 to boost up the agricultural production and to train the farmers of the state on the modern lines of cultivation with improved (HYV) seeds. In fact, all such factors made Bansi Lal to hold early polls of the state legislative assembly prior to the due date. After taking the permission of the high command, the assembly was dissolved and elections were announced one year earlier to the completion of the term of the government.

Assembly Elections 1972

The declaration of elections again led the factionalism in the Congress. Rivalries among the top leaders were overriding. Everyone was interested in getting his own candidates selected for the elections in abundance. During these elections all opposition parties formed an alliance against the Congress except CPI and CPI (M). Opposition parties including Congress (O), Jan Singh, VHP and Arya Sabha had pre-

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38 Ibid, p.50.
The Congress won 52 seats and secured a vote share of 46.9 per cent, whereas in 1968 it secured 48 seats with a vote share of 43.8 per cent. In 1972 independents along with Congress improved the performance both in terms of seats won and votes secured as compared to mid-term polls of 1968. Independents won 11 seats with 23.5 per cent vote share as compared to 5 seats with 17.1 per cent vote share of 1968. Congress victory was in many ways personal victory of Bansi Lal. Congress (O) emerged the second largest party with 12 seats and become the main opposition party in the Vidhan Sabha. The Jan Sangh, VHP, BKD and Republican Party of India failed to maintain their previous position in terms of seats won and votes secured. During the previous assembly polls Jan Sangh had secured seven seats with 10.45 per cent vote share and it witnessed a decline of five seats in 1972 as it could win only two seats out of 19 it contested with a decreased vote share of 7.73 per cent. The BKD and the RPI also secured a total of less than one per cent of the total votes as compared to four per cent in 1968 polls. CPI and CPI (M) also improved their voting percentage by 0.4 per cent and 2.2 per cent respectively.

Congress secured relatively higher number of seats and votes in all the seven districts in comparison to any other party. Congress performed better in Hisar, Ambala, Gurgaon and Mahendergarh districts on the development plank where the impact of economic development was clearly visible. But it experienced decline both in terms of seats and voting percentage in Jind and Rohtak districts. Congress performed better in the constituencies wherein it faced multi-corned contests in comparison to the constituencies with straight contests. Besides, Congress performed comparatively well in general constituencies than in reserved constituencies. VHP and Jan Sangh faced a debacle in almost every district both in terms of seats and voting percentage.

70.46 per cent voting took place during the polls with highest voter turnout recorded i.e. 80.30 per cent in Kaithal constituency and lowest i.e. 55.70 per cent in Dabwali assembly constituency. The voter turnout was relatively high in general constituencies when compared with reserve assembly constituencies. Besides, the male voter turnout was recorded 73.4 per cent, whereas, the female voter turn out was recorded 67 per cent. The urban constituencies witnessed comparatively higher votes than the constituencies falling in rural or semi-urban areas. The possible reason could be the harvesting season. In these elections too, castes, sub-castes, Punjabis versus local, agriculturist versus non-agriculturist continue to determine the voting behaviour. However, economic issues also proved influential in the elections.

44 Partap Singh, op. cit., p.54.
As far as the performance of various political parties in the reserved constituencies was concerned, maximum eight seats were secured by Congress party and five seats were secured by Congress (O). Besides, one each was secured by VHP and an independent.

During 1972 assembly polls, as many as 12 women contestants contested the elections. Congress fielded maximum seven contestants followed by two candidates by VHP and one by RPI. Besides, two female candidates contested independently. Five female candidates won the elections and all of them belonged to the Congress party.

Assembly Elections 1977

In 1977, after coming into power in centre, the first important decision of Janata government was to dismiss Congress ruled state assemblies while assuming that Congress had lost people’s confidence in the Lok Sabha polls. Janata party ordered fresh elections to these state assemblies. Haryana was also being ruled by Bansi Lal headed Congress government at that time, so, it also faced the fresh elections. In fact, virtually also elections were to be held in the state as the Congress led government already had completed its term of five years. As a result, the elections of the Haryana assembly were also held in June 1977. The assembly polls were held on 12th June, 1977. Janata party contested on all the 90 assembly seats, whereas, Congress party contested only for 82 seats. HVP fielded candidates for 31 seats, CPI for 14 seats and CPM only for four seats. Besides, 439 independent candidates were also in fray. During these elections, there were total 5938821 voters in Haryana out of which 382860 actually voted in the elections. Out of total 670 candidates, who were in the fray, 477 candidates lost their security deposits.

Major Issues in the Elections

The main issue during these elections was the excesses committed by Congress party during emergency. Besides, the Janata Party highlighted the issue of corruption, rural urban disparity, smuggling and the evasion. It promised full employment, land reforms, rapid development and introduction of new policies regarding taxation, health, education and protection of minorities. B.D. Gupta also announced electoral sops to appease the voters such as the promise of concessions to poor, traders and small house owners and increased allowances and emoluments to government employees.

46 ibid., p.8.
Out of total 20 women contestants, the maximum eight women were fielded by Congress followed five women by Janata Party. Seven female candidates contested as independent candidates. Four women contestants from Janata party could win the elections. Janata Party under the leadership of Devi Lal won the elections. Devi Lal himself won with a big margin of 14,000 votes. He became the chief minister as a unanimously elected leader of Janata legislative party. The first act of Devi Lal as chief minister in 1977 was to get Bansi Lal “handcuffed and paraded through” the markets of his home town Bhiwani by Haryana Police. Formation of ministry, while ensuring representation to all the six factions of Janata Party as every one expect share in political power was not an easy task, Besides, there was restriction from Janata Party parliamentary board not to exceed the size of cabinet more than 10 per cent of total strength of the ministry. Therefore, it was very difficult to appease all the factions. Devi Lal formed the ministry of 10 members, while selecting ministers from BLD, Jan Sangh, Socialist and Congress (O) factions. Even then Congress for Democracy and Arya Sabha faction were left unrepresented in the ministry. Besides, the senior leaders like Rizk Ram, Balwant Rai Tayal and Mool Chand Jain were also not included into the ministry.

Janata Party developed cracks within 3 months. Sole reason was the issue of representation among the different factions. Chaudhary Devi Lal faced the dissident activity due to intra-party differences of Janata government ruling at the centre. 43 MLAs submitted a memorandum to the party high command for the removal of Ch. Debi Lal. But he proved his majority in the house on 19th June 1978 and was able to save his government.

The conglomeration of different political parties into the one, i.e. Janata Party did not last long. There were serious internal differences among the different factions to gain more and more influence and gain power if possible. The party members were more dedicated to their respective faction heads than to the party as a whole. Personality clashes among top leaders were going on in the centre the state of affairs at the centre

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48 ibid., p.19.
49 Jhamb, op. cit., p.148.
50 ibid.
51 ibid.
52 ibid., p.106.

had a direct impact on state politics of Haryana.\textsuperscript{53} It can be due to such instances that some scholars called Haryana politics a satellite politics.

Dissidents (ex Congressmen in the Janata Party and Jan-Sangh) approached the centre for the revival of the demand of the replacement of Devi Lal. As a result, in such conditions, BLD was isolated from the other factions of Janata party. Devi Lal was asked to seek the vote of confidence. Charan Singh resigned in protest from the parliamentary board and party executive because dissident’s activities in Haryana were also being supported by central parliamentary board.\textsuperscript{54}

Atal Bihari Bajpai was appointed the observer for the no-confidence motion to be held at Chandigarh on 8\textsuperscript{th} May 1978. Devi Lal’s supporters were kept at Suraj Kund, Sohna and Morni hills tourist complexes in order to keep them away from dissidents.\textsuperscript{55} Haryana’s well-known style of horse-trading was going on and dissidents were enticed with financial benefits. Dissidents also did their best to keep their flock together but some of them got lured and voted for Devi Lal after crossing the floor. He won no-confidence motion and got 45 votes in his favor in comparison to the 31 against him. It was a master stroke of Devi Lal to defeat dissidents. However, while taking the whole situation into consideration Devi Lal on 10\textsuperscript{th} May 1978 submitted his resignation to the governor Harcharan Singh Brar. After accepting the resignation of the first Janata party cabinet of the state, the Governor invited Devi Lal again to form the government. Devi Lal was convinced that dissidents must be won because Jan Sangh had betrayed him twice. He expanded his ministry and included two ministers from Chand Ram’s faction and two more from Congress (I) including Bhajan Lal; again Congress (O), Arya Sabha and the Socialist were ignored. He appointed a dozen MLA’s as chairman of different corporations and boards. Public money was used to appease and to win the dissidents.\textsuperscript{56}

On 24\textsuperscript{th} January 1979 Charan Singh was appointed deputy Prime Minister by the Janata Party high command. Considering Devi Lal a big force behind Charan Singh, removal of Devi Lal from chief ministership to weaken Charan Singh was necessary. A tussle was going on in Uttar Pradesh and Jan Singh members were dropped out from government both in Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. Dissidents again demanded removal of Devi Lal as chief minister. Consequently, Janata Party high command

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{53} Jhamb \textit{op.cit.}, p.150.
\item \textsuperscript{54} ibid., p.107.
\item \textsuperscript{55} ibid., p.151.
\item \textsuperscript{56} Siwajh, \textit{op.cit.}, p.110.
\end{itemize}

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again asked Devi Lal to seek vote of confidence. It was by than apparent that the close association between BLD faction and Janata Party not going to last for long as “Ram Naresh Yadav, Karpoori Thakur and Devi Lal, the Chief Ministers of UP, Bihar and Haryana respectively were replaced by the Janata party high command.”

Devi Lal finally submitted his resignation to party high command on 25th June 1979. All the chief minister’s of Haryana including B.D. Sharma, Rao Birender Singh and Devi Lal became the victims of factionalism and of political conspiracies hatched by their own party legislators. As that time Bhajan Lal, a member of Devi Lal’s cabinet organized Janata Party dissidents against the chief minister and took his supporters away from the state on what he called ‘Bharat Darshan.’ Finally, Bhajan Lal was sworn as the chief minister of Haryana on 28th June 1979. Despite political flux, Devi Lal during his term determined on his “two point programme i.e. Bharat Darshan (to finish corruption and to provide water to the thirsty Soil).”

To deal with corruption he constituted Haryana vigilance committee. His second priority was to provide water with the financial help of World Bank. The improvement of irrigation facilities was emphasized along with the introduction of new agricultural systems. To use quality certified seeds and fertilizers while providing subsidies. To encourage farmers for the use of new techniques of agriculture, loans and subsidies were given along with the introduction of innovative matching grant system.

Haryana government also filed a suit in the apex Court on 4th April 1979 for the construction of SYL canal. Haryana government appealed to the Supreme Court to declare the Award of 1976 as final. Devi Lal had good rapport with P.S. Badal (chief minister of Punjab), so the construction work was started but it was stopped as soon as Devi Lal ceased to be chief minister of Haryana.

Assembly Elections 1982

Charan Singh and his followers including Devi Lal formed a separate party known as Lok Dal. The elections of Lok Sabha were held and Congress came to power as the first Janata ministry falls down due to its intra-party conflicts. On 21st January 1980, soon after the parliamentary polls, chief minister Bhajan Lal along with his Janata
Party ministers and MLAs shifted loyalty overnight and joined Congress party. As a result of mass scale defection the Janata government became Congress government in just 24 hours. It was a sort of record in the annals of electoral history of India, where entire government change loyalty overnight. Bhajan Lal shifted to Congress while foreseeing the approaching assembly polls in the state.  

Bhajan Lal himself has given the reason of converting Janata Party government into Congress government in 1980, that he was just working under the guidance of his party and party leadership i.e. Mrs. Gandhi. The act of Bhajan Lal aggravated the phenomenon of factionalism in the Congress party. The state unit got divided between the groups headed by Bhajan Lal and Bansi Lal. Original Congressmen were supporters of Bansi Lal and opposed to defectors. Bhajan Lal was able to get the support from the various non-Jat Congress leaders. Haryana Vidhan Sabha was dissolved after the completion of full term of five years in 1982. The elections were held in May 1982.

There were total 71,499 voters in Haryana, out of which 49,974,35 actually voted in the elections. Congress, BJP and Lok Dal were the three major political contenders during 1982 assembly elections. Congress and Lok Dal-BJP alliance put up candidates for all the 90 assembly seats whereas Janata party contested for 57 seats. Besides, Congress (J) contested for 63 seats, CPI for 15 and Congress (S) for two seats along with 835 independents and other party candidates. In all as many as 1095 candidates were in fray, out of which 892 candidates lost their security deposits.

**Major Issues in the Elections**

Caste considerations have always played the dominant role in the state elections. Besides, there were issues of local and Punjabi, Jats and non-Jats which were raised by various political parties. Congress, tried to find the support of non-Jats and Harijans while Lok Dal was mainly depending upon Jats as its core support base. BJP could not manage Punjabi community support effectively. So, apart from caste-consideration there were no major public issues. Besides, the issue of river water was most crucial.

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62 Janata party government has set up a wrong practice by dissolving the nine state assemblies ruled by oppositions in 1977. Congress also after coming in power did the same by dissolving 9 state assemblies and elections for them were held in June 1980. Congress was able to capture power in eight states except Tamil Nadu. Bhajan Lal already heading a Congress ministry remained the chief minister of Haryana.


64 Chahar, Vol.II, *op.cit.* pp.64-64.
development of this period was the emergence of Lok Dal as a major force under the leadership of Chaudhary Devi Lal.67

**District-wise Performance of Political Parties**

Congress performed well in Hisar, Ambala, Karnal, Jind and Gurgaon while winning five seats in Hisar and four each in other above mentioned four districts. In terms of vote share it secured maximum votes in Mahendergarh i.e. 44.85 per cent, followed by 43.91 per cent in Sirsa, 41.07 per cent in Bhiwani & 38.27 per cent in Hisar and least 31.52 per cent in Gurgaon. Although, Congress won 44.85 per cent of votes in Mahendergarh but only with three seats, 43.91 per cent of votes again with three seats in Sirsa and only two seats in Bhiwani districts with 41.07 per cent of votes, whereas, it got five seats in Hisar with 38.27 per cent of votes and four seats each in Ambala and Karnal districts with 34.86 per cent and 34.82 percent of votes. It won single seat each in Rohtak and Sonipat with more than 32 per cent of votes. CPI & CPI (M) again could not make any headway in the state.

Janata Party won single seat from Faridabad district. Independents did well in all over the state except in Jind and Bhiwani districts and secured 16 seats. Lok Dal gained in Rohtak, Bhiwani, Karnal, Kurukshetra, Sonipat, Jind and Hisar, but got routed in Gurgaon and Mahendergarh. It won maximum seats in Hisar i.e. seven and three in the all others and lost maximum seats in Hisar, Sirsa and Ambala. Lok Dal secured highest votes in Rohtak i.e. 38.90 per cent followed by 35.50 per cent in Sirsa and 33.49 per cent in Sonipat, whereas, maximum seats i.e. seven in Rohtak out of eight, five in Bhiwani out of six. BJP could make its entry only in five districts namely Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak, Sonipat and Mahendergarh.

As far as party wise performance in reserved constituencies was concerned. During 1982, there was a visible shift in Congress support base among Harijans or lower stratum of the society. These particular groups were earlier considered the part of core support of Congress, but, that time Congress could manage only five reserve seats out of total 17 seats, while nine seats went to Lok Dal. Besides, one seat was secured by BJP and the remaining two seats by independents. The highest voter turnout regarding reserved constituencies was recorded in Mulana i.e. 75.21 per cent followed by Radaur i.e. 72.43 per cent, in Dabwali 71.30 per cent, in Guhla 70.10 per cent and the

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67 Devi Lal emerged as a strong leader in Haryana in context of agitation against Rajiv Longowal Accord in the name of Nyaya Yudh in 1985.
minimum i.e. 57 per cent in Jhajjar. Such a high voting percentage exhibited the keenness of voters to participate in electoral politics.

In 1982 assembly polls, out of total 1098 contestants only 27 were women contestants. Seven of them contested on Congress ticket, two on Lok Dal, one on BJP’s and two on Congress(s) ticket. Besides, 17 female candidates fought the elections as independent contestants. Total Five of Congress candidates won the elections.

The defection of Bhajan Lal and his supporters from the Janata Party to the Congress (I) once again revived the dominance of Congress in Haryana. But the support base of the party again eroded to some extent, due to the image and performance of Bhajan Lal government. The performance of Congress was not very commanding except in Hisar and Jind districts. The party failed to gain clear majority in 1982 assembly elections, its performance was poorest in Jat belt i.e. Rohtak and Sonipat, where it could not get more than one seat each. It, however, succeeded in forming government due to the partisan role of Governor G.D. Tapase and skill of Bhajan Lal in engineering defections.

Devi Lal put forward his claim for forming the government as he had the support of the majority of independent MLAs along with his own party MLAs. He along with BJP leader Mangal Sein met the governor G.D. Tapase and gave him a letter showing the support of 33 Lok Dal MLAs. Bhajan Lal also met the Governor and staked the claim for chief minister-ship. In the beginning, the governor asked Devi Lal to prove his strength/majority. As the Congress party had emerged the second largest party in the house. The governor, however, later on invited Bhajan Lal to take oath and assume the office of chief minister for the second time on 23rd May 1982.

The act of governor was intolerable to Devi Lal and provoked an unprecedented disturbance in the state. He came to Haryana Raj Bhawan with 45 MLAs and verified his majority before the governor. The governor, however, had no doubts about his decision and satisfied with the Bhajan Lal claim of majority. Although, there was lot of hue and cry over the decision but after consulting the legal aspect the governor

The 83 Hindi speaking villages along with Abohar and Fazilka remained in Panjab because of one Punjabi speaking village, but one Panjabi speaking village can’t be combined with Haryana to make possible the merger of 83 Hindi units. Mathew commission recommended the constitution of another commission to complete the task. The Venkataramahia and Desai commissions were constituted but the matter still remains unsettled.73 The issue of sharing of surplus Ravi-Beas water has always been more important than the territorial question. The Government of India constituted the Ravi-Beas Tribunal, headed by a judge of Supreme Court. Justice Bala Krishna Eradi and two other judges, justice A.M. Ahmed of Gujarat high court and justice P.C. Bala Krishna Menon of Kerala High court.

The Eradi Tribunal rejected the Punjab plea of riparian state and upheld the principle of equitable apportionment of Ravi-Beas water treating Haryana as part of Indus basin. The Eradi commission assumed its work on 14th April 1986 and handed over its report on 30th January 1987. The report was made public in June 1987 just before the assembly elections in Haryana. According to the report 5 MAF water was allocated to Punjab in place of 4.22 M.A.F. and 3.85 M.A.F to Haryana which was not acceptable to Punjab. While shares of other states remained unchanged. Haryana filled objection plea before the tribunal under the inter-state water disputes act 1956. A few hearings were held in 1988, but the disturbed condition in Punjab led to the adjournment of Tribunal since sine die in April 1989. Under such circumstances i.e. tough stand of centre and growing anti-Congress stance in the state, Bhajan Lal also started opposing the Accord. Bhajan Lal’s tough posture and his incapacity to check the growing strength of opposition parties forced the Congress high command to take an action against him. Consequently, he was replaced by Bansi Lal as chief minister on June 5, 1986 as the later had handled the state in difficult times.74

The decision was taken despite the fact that Bhajan Lal gave Haryana a stable government. Since 1966 he has had the largest tenure as the chief minister. Assembly elections were also approaching next year. Bhajan Lal was not able to secure a comfortable majority in 1982 too, although was able to capture power. According to Bansi Lal no injustice had been done to Haryana with Rajiv –Longowal Accord. He

73 ibid.
74 Jhamb, op.cit., p.160.
argued that Chandigarh was not centrally positioned, therefore, not appropriate for Haryana as its capital. He wanted Haryana to have its own capital with financial assistance from centre. Besides, he was also hopeful of timely completion of SYL canal.  

The construction of SYL canal closed in between due to killings of workers and engineers by militants in July 1990. On Haryana’s initiative, centre handed over the project to the Border and Roads Organizations but construction did not resume. Major portion on Punjab side of the canal had been completed but not a brick had been laid down since then and the matter yet remained unresolved.

The Haryana assembly elections were held against this background. The assembly elections were held on 17th June 1977. There were total 8700934 voters during 1987, of which 6199326 actually voted in the polls. The Congress and Lok Dal–BJP alliance fielded candidates for all the 90 assembly seats, whereas, Lok Dal (A) contested 55 seats. Janata Party put up its candidates for 18 seats, Congress (T) for 19, CPI for five and CPI (M) for four assembly seats. Besides, 1042 independent candidates were also in the fray. As a whole, as many as 1322 candidates contested the elections out of which 1125 candidates got their security deposits forfeited.

**Major Issues in the Elections**

The manifestoes of various political parties hardly offered different choices to voters as they were more or less same. The major issues included to make availability of Ravi-Beas waters to the state, tax relief to farming and trading community and welfare of working sections of the society. Congress in its manifesto endorsed the Eradi Commission’s report while BLD rejected it outright. BLD focused mainly upon 3 point programme i.e. injustice done to Haryana regarding Rajiv Longowal Accord, secondly to find favour from rural voters, the waiving of loans i.e. pro-rural ideology and thirdly, the anti-urban ideology. So, water and waiving off of loans were the major issues in rural areas. Besides, in urban areas Punjab problem, Bofors scandal, apart from power shortage was the main issues. Water dispute strengthened the anti-centre and anti-Congress propaganda in the state. Third front focused on economic issues like remunerative prices of food grains and price hike of essential commodities.  

75 Ibid., p.162.  
76 Chahar, Vol.II, op. cit., p.127

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constituencies with 2.8 per cent of votes and without winning even a single seat out of total 87 it contested which shows in a way that caste was not the only deciding factor that time. The voter turnout for the 1987 assembly polls was recorded 71.25 per cent.

Bansi Lal was defeated from his life time nourished constituency Tosham (Bhiwani district) and all the ministers of the incumbent government except one were defeated. He also submitted his resignation, the credit for resounding victory of Lok Dal (B) in 1987 goes to efforts, political strategy and campaign of Devi Lal which made him a political hero and earned him a title of ‘Haryana Pita’ (father of Haryana). The huge majority came as Devi Lal promised the people to ensure social justice. Devi Lal was sworn as the chief minister. He became the symbol of the political aspirations of Haryana.

**District-wise Performance of Political Parties**

Congress faced heavy losses in elections especially in Jat-heartland, but the BJP did somewhat well in these constituencies due to Jatland being the core support area its alliance partner HVP. Congress got routed from Kurukshetra, Rohtak, Sonipat, Jind, Bhiwani, Sirsa and Mahendergarh, as it could not even open its account in these areas which were stronghold of Lok Dal. In terms of voting percentage, Congress secured more than 21 per cent votes from all the districts it contested from. 

Lok Dal did immensely well in Karnal, Faridabad and Hisar, as it more or less fetched all the seats from these districts. So, Lok Dal performed well all over the state except district of Ambala and Gurgaon. In Ambala Lok Dal could win only one seat out of three it contested whereas from Gurgaon it won four seats out of five it contested from total of nine seats. As far as voting percentage was concerned, Lok Dal had its highest i.e. 57.03 per cent in Jind followed by second highest i.e.52.87 per cent in Bhiwani and the third highest i.e. 47.94 per cent in Sonipat.

Independents could get six seats from Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak, Jind and Gurgaon. BJP did well in Ambala while winning all the six seats it contested out of total 10. It also secured all the seats it contested in Ambala, Rohtak, Hisar, Mahendergarh,

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78 Ibid., p.162.  
79 Chahar, op.cit., p.140.  
80 Ibid., p.139.
Gurgaon, Sonipat, and Faridabad. BJP in terms of voting percentage secured its highest i.e. 27.22 per cent in Ambala, followed by 19.35 per cent in Mahendergarh, 11.10 per cent in Gurgaon and 10.80 per cent in Rohtak. It did not contest from Jind, Bhiwani and Sirsa which were the strongholds of its alliance partner Lok Dal.

Out of total 1322 candidates only 35 were the women candidates who contested 1987 elections. Four women candidates contested on Congress ticket and two each on BJP-LD (A) and Congress (B) tickets. Lok Dal fielded only one female candidate. Besides, the remaining 24 contestants were independent candidates; six of them contested from reserve constituencies. Out of total 11 candidates who contested on party tickets, only four could make it to the assembly. Out of these four, two belonged to BJP and one each of Congress and Lok Dal (B). Besides, one independent contestant also won.

The voter turnout from reserved constituencies ranged from 58.66 per cent to 78.36 per cent. Maximum reserve seats i.e. 12 out of total 17 were secured by Lok Dal the leading party and four by its alliance partner BJP accompanied with one by an independent candidate. The highest voter turnout was recorded from Ellenabad constituency i.e. 78.36 per cent followed by Baroda i.e. 76.15 per cent, Ratia 74.73 per cent and the lowest i.e. 58.66 per cent from Jhajjar.

After sworn as chief minister on 19th June 1987, Devi Lal acted intelligently and allotted four ministerial portfolios and two parliamentary secretaries’ posts to BJP among his 23 member ministry. Besides, BD Gupta was appointed deputy chief minister. A .B. Vajpayee commented on Congress (I) defeat in Haryana as the beginning of the end of the party’s rule at the centre.81

Devi Lal was blamed for vesting all the powers in his hand. BJP, his ally in election, was not happy with his functioning. He had always accused Congress of unending dynastic rule but now he himself was being blamed for the same. The municipal elections were held soon after assembly polls. BJP had an upper hand in those elections due to its base in urban pockets. Om Parkash Chautala had been making inroads among urban areas while supporting independent candidates. BJP was confused as how to handle the problem. Devi Lal kept his commitment of “social justice” to an extent. For the first time in Indian history all the senior citizens of the

81 Jhamb, op.cit., p.163.
state above the age of 65 years were given old age pension of Rs. 100 per month. 7.57 lakh persons benefited. Government also provided unemployment allowance to unemployed youth. Devi Lal during both his tenures as chief minister persuaded the policy towards agricultural growth and rural development. After fulfilling his promise he left everything to his son and political heir OP Chautala. He was too busy in the campaign at the national level on the questions of launching a countryside-struggle with several opposition leaders. He toured the whole country single handedly and met opposition leaders.

STATE ELECTORAL POLITICS DURING 1990s

The period of 1967 to 1987 can be categorized as the period of dominance and decline of Congress in the state. It is important because at the same time Congress was also declining at the national level. The Congress dominated the politics in the state from 1967 to 1977. The decline of Congress began after 1977 election. Congress was totally wiped out in Haryana in 1977 polls. The main reason for the decline and dominance of Congress during the period to an extent was the uncertain support from the peasant castes, which constitutes majority of population of the state. They have supported the Congress till the formation of Lok Dal. Although, Rao Birender Singh an Ahir leader also tried to harness the support of peasant castes but his appeal was limited. The decline of Congress at the national level started in late 60’s and early 70’s was speedier during the decade of 1980’s and 1990’s. During the late 1980s, Congress lost its preponderance in Haryana also.

Soon after Devi Lal got appointed as Deputy Prime Minister of India, the Haryana Janata Dal Legislature Party (JLP) elected Chautala as their leader. So, Chaudhary Devi Lal gave the charge of state politics to his son and political heir Om Prakash Chautala while getting him appointed as chief minister. But Chautala had to resign very soon due to pressure from the centre especially from Prime Minister V.P. Singh. The alleged illegal electoral practices and violence in the Meham bi-election caused a crack in Janata Dal and one of its sections demanded the resignation of chief minister.

82 ibid., p.165.
83 Ibid.
84 Vivek Yadav, op. cit., p.4.
But his father the than Deputy Prime Minister came to his rescue while blaming the Congress party in nexus with the media against the Lok Dal. The BJP, CPI, the Congress and Janhit Morcha demanded Chautala’s resignation. 85 Chautala had to resign and he appointed BD Gupta as chief minister on his place but after sometime he decided to resume office on his own. Pressure from the centre again led him to resign. Chautala first became chief minister on 2nd December, 1989 but had to resign due to murder of an independent candidate Amir Singh during Meham bi-election in May 1990. Due to Meham incident, Devi Lal resigned, but later took his resignation back. Chautala had to resign again due to pressure from the centre as the then Prime Minister asked him to resign and Hukum Singh became the chief minister on his place. 86 Although, the removal of Hukum Singh as chief minister was demanded soon by the dissident group constituted of BJP, Janhit Morcha and independents as the government was being run by Chautala himself through the former. Last time some cabinet ministers and even Prime Minister threatened to resign, if, Chautala keep the office of chief minister. Chautala assume the office thrice in the 14 months before the 1991 assembly polls, as most of the political parties demanded for the same in order to hold free and fair elections in the state. There took place certain important developments on the eve of elections. Chautala was asked to prove his majority in the house as he has assumed the office of chief minister for the third time.

Assembly Elections 1991

The formation of Haryana Vikas Manch by Bansi Lal after his expulsion from Congress (I) accelerated the process of realignment of political forces in state. Bansi Lal renamed Haryana Vikas Manch as Haryana Vikas Party later. He approached BJP for alliance, initially the talks failed but ultimately they entered into pre-poll alliance. Bansi Lal was projected as the chief ministerial candidate. Just before the elections the drama of factionalism started among various political parties. Janata Dal got divided into two factions namely Janata Dal and SJP.

It was a contest between Congress on the one side and HVP and SJP on the other. SJP’s losses were to be translated as gains either of Congress or of HVP. There were five political players in the fray for the elections namely the Congress, Janata Dal led

86 ibid.

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by VP Singh BJP, HVP and SJP. Janata Dal gained a new vote bank due to declaration of Mandal commission report. 48 former MLAs were in the fray. Caste community considerations have been taken into account by the various political parties at the time of selection and fielding of candidates. Dominant castes remained hot favourites during the distribution of tickets by all the main political parties, namely Congress, SJP and HVP-JD alliance. Congress allotted 20 tickets to Jats, 14 to Punjabis, 17 to SC’s, five to Brahmins and three to women candidates. SJP gave 31 tickets to Jats. The BJP allotted maximum tickets to the Punjabis in the area falling along the G.T. road also known as advanced region which includes urban areas of Sonipat, Karnal, Kurukshetra and Garaunda etc along with 20 tickets to Brahmins, although, not in ratio to their proportion in the population. The assembly polls were held on 30th May 1991. The Congress and Janata Party contested all the 90 assembly seats whereas HVP contested for 61 seats. BSP put up candidates for 26 seats, Doordarshi party for 44, Janata Dal for 24, Lok Dal for 6 and CPI for 5 seats. Besides, 1515 independent candidates were also in the fray. Total 1951 contestants contested 1991 assembly polls. In 1991 there were total 9722832 voters out of which 6408028 actually voted in the elections.

**Major Issues in the Elections**

The campaigning during 1991 elections somehow different from the earlier ones, as there was ample use of electronic media, posters, handouts, cutouts, audio video material instead of big mass rallies especially due to harvesting season. The ruling party offered sops to the voters like regularization of services of class-III employees, time bound pay scales and promotion scheme, enhanced medical allowance, concessional bus service, increased house rent and re-opening of allotment of plants from discretionary quota.

“Chautala gave a slogan, ‘Jaal Bichaya Sadhkon Ka, Bhagya Jagaya Ladakon Ka’ i.e. road construction and employment to the youth of the state. OP Chautala also declared that he would retire from active politics, if, his party would not return with

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87 ibid., p.186.  
88 ibid., p.187.  
89 ibid.
absolute majority.” 90 Besides, Devi Lai distributed two booklets namely “Tau Ka Sandesh (The message of Tau) and ‘Tau Ka Khat (Letter from Tau).” 91 Congress in its manifesto highlighted the issues of “stability, clean and corruption free government, improved water and electricity supply, improved law and order situation, employment, free education up to college level for girls, market fee and tax structure at par with centre, fulfillment of vacancies of quota or reserve seats in government services subsidized agricultural inputs to farmers, to expedite the completion of SYL canal, removal of inconsistencies in Mandal report, reservation of backward classes in educational institutions, removal of all kind of encroachments, to scrap the lavish projects like amusement park, merit based recruitment for government services and old age pension to all above 55 years instead of 65 years”. 92

The HVP in its manifesto promised to safeguard the territorial and water related interest of the state. Swift completion of SYL, restoration of law and order situation, increased rate of employment, land reforms, regular old age pension, provision of cooperative societies, better infrastructure and also highlighted the developmental work done during Bansi Lal’s earlier term as chief minister. 93

BJP promised to appoint a committee to probe the misrule of Chautala and to take the necessary action for the swift completion of SYL, construction of new capital, abolition of sales and octroi tax and implementation of Antodaya Scheme and so forth. Besides, the sole issue before the electorates seemed to be the misrule of Chautala which likely to benefit the other parties i.e. especially Congress or HVP. 94

During 1991 assembly polls Congress won 51 seats with a vote share of 33.7 per cent. Congress not only secured majority in assembly polls but also won nine out of total 10 seats in Lok Sabha elections. The election verdict exhibited the strong Congress wave in the wake of Rajiv Gandhi assassination combined with strong anti-incumbency factor against the (mis) rule of incumbent Lok Dal government.

90 ibid.
91 ibid., p.188.
92ibid., p.189.
93 ibid., p.190
94 ibid., p.191.
as ‘looter’ and ‘religious fundamentalists’ respectively.\textsuperscript{97} “He declared in public
‘rallies that given a chance, he would deprive both the communities from the right to
vote.”\textsuperscript{98} CPI votes reduced from 0.54 per cent in 1987 to 0.26 per cent this time and of
CPI (M) from 0.78 per cent to 0.76 per cent.

Despite big claims of various political parties to field more than 30 per cent women in
elections, there were only 41 female candidates out of the total 1885 contestants,
again proving politics a men’s affair. Only six women could won and reached in the
assembly of 90 members. As usual Congress fielded maximum i.e. six female
candidates followed by the four from HVP. Further, three contestants contested on
BJP ticket. One each female contestant was fielded by Janata Party, Janata Dal,
Doordarshi Party, BSP. So, political parties fielded 17 candidates accompanied with
24 independents. The Congress secured four seats followed by one seat each secured
by Janata Dal and HVP. Not even a single independent candidate could win and most
of them got their security deposits forfeited. In fact, they could not even secure one
per cent of votes in their respected constituencies.

Out of total 17 reserve seats Congress captured the maximum seats i.e. seven and six
seats were won by Janata Party. HVP won two seats and single seat was secured by an
independent. In 1987 assembly elections, the maximum seats were retained by Lok
Dal. As far as reserved constituency’s voter turnout was concerned, the highest votes
i.e. 75.50 per cent were polled in Sadhaura constituency followed by 72.36 per cent in
Guhla Chika. Besides 70.70 per cent voter turnout was recorded in Radaur and 70 per
cent in Mulana. The over all voter turnout was recorded 65.91 per cent.

\textit{District-wise Performance of Political Parties in 1991}

\textit{Performance of Congress –}

Congress secured maximum seats in Rewari Ambala, Sonipat, Jind, Sirsa, Faridabad
and Mahendergarh districts. However, it could not secure even a single seat in
Bhiwani, which was core support area of HVP. The Congress won assembly elections
almost without any effort. It could not win even a single seat in Ambala, Karnal,

\textsuperscript{97} ibid.
\textsuperscript{98} ibid.

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Faridabad, Gurgaon and Hisar in 1987. But in 1991, due to nationwide sympathy wave in its favour Congress performed well even in ‘Jatland’ which had been the stronghold of SJP especially in Sonipat, Rohtak and Jind while securing 13 out of 21 seats with about 21.2 per cent of votes. Congress shared some of the vote bank of SJP. Birender Singh’s projection as chief minister also fetched some seats from this area.

SJP known as Lok Dal in 1987 performed very poor in 1991. The party secured maximum seats in Rohtak i.e. five out of 12 it contested, however, its performance was not very outstanding. It could not open its account in Ambala, Yamunanagar, Karnal, Faridabad, Bhiwani, Rewari and Mahendergarh, despite higher percentage of votes secured in many of them. This can be explained in terms of stand taken by Devi Lal and Om Prakash Chautala for the cause of rural areas and the adverse effect of Mehram incident. It shows that urban voters were annoyed due to ruralite tilt of its ideology or pro-rural stance. ⁹⁹

HVP the new regional party which was constituted in 1991 fought its first assembly elections in the same year under the leadership of Bansi Lal with the non-Congress plank. The party got its highest seats in its leader’s home district Bhiwani. It won all the six seats it contested and the remaining six seats it won from Yamunanagar, Karnal, Faridabad and Hisar districts. In total party won 12 seats. The party was totally got neglected in Rohtak, Sonipat, Jind, Rewari, Panipat, Mahendergarh, Sirsa, Gurgaon and Ambala districts. Its alliance partner Janata Dal could secure only three seats.

Elections of leader of CLP took place and Congress high command decided to appoint Bhajan Lal as chief minister, so, he won the race of chief minister-ship while leaving Rao Birender Singh and S.S. Surjewala behind. Bhajan Lal sworn as chief minister along with his seven member cabinet. Bhajan Lal further strengthened the party by engineering defections from the BJP, HVP and Janata Dal. But the factionalism in the party had accelerated the process/pace of erosion of its own support base/following. The image of government had also made a negative impact.

⁹⁹ibid., p.211.
The opposition parties submitted a no-confidence motion against the ruling Congress government signed by Sampat Singh, Bansi Lal, Ram Bilas Sharma, Virender Singh and Mrs. Chandravati. But the motion could not be moved. All opposition parties except SJP formed a joint front including the HVP, the Janata Dal, the Samajwadi Party, the CPI and CPI (M) under the leadership of Bansi Lal in order to give a united fight to the Congress in the next elections. O.P. Chautala demanded the dismissal of chief minister due to corruption. Haryana legislative assembly was dissolved by the Governor and elections were notified.

**Assembly Elections 1996**

During 1996 elections, SJP was in somewhat self-protective due to its poor image among urban and non-Jat voters. However, it was a serious second level contender of political power in the state after Congress, due to the organizing capacity of its leader OP Chautala, its committed workers and Devi Lal’s influence among rural voters especially among peasantry.

SJP highlighted the issues of corruption, flood problem, some crime cases and adverse court verdicts during Bhajan Lal led Congress government. The party also highlighted the excesses committed during emergency especially the forced sterilization of masses by Bansi Lal and his son which was a part of Sanjay Gandhi’s 20 point programme.100 Samta Party further promised to ensure the availability of power on regular basis and cancellation of Yamuna pact along with HYP but Congress emphasized to stick to existing arrangements. He also organized the caste sammelans to win the favour of non-Jats.

Bansi Lal led HVP lacked the sound organizational base in the state as compared to Congress and SJP. But the things were unfavourable for Congress due to flood problem in rural areas. The slogan of prohibition gave a kick start to the HVP, as it gained favour of women folk. Besides prohibition, corruption was the major issue of HVP-BJP manifesto apart from providing honest administration, crop insurance, making PRI’s more effective, implementation of fifth pay commission, employment oriented education, adequate supply of drinking water, regular electricity supply in rural areas and appointment of Lok pal.

100 ibid., p.253.
On the lines of HVP, Congress and SJP also addressed the issue of prohibition to some extent, besides, swift completion of SYL was the another major concern shared by the election manifestoes of almost all the political parties. Besides, Congress also promised increased power generation, effective control over floods, improved irrigation system, the upliftment of weak stratum of society, to open schools in rural areas equipped with latest technologies along with regularization of adhoc employees. Further, pre-poll sops for women included free education up to graduation, bank loan for entrepreneurship and technical skills, and scholarship etc.

“Bar si Lal said that, “we will form the government with a thumping majority. The present government is corrupt and no honest officer is being entrusted with any work. The chief minister enjoys the dubious distinction of being the most corrupt chief minister in the country. He has institutionalized corruption in the state.” On the other hand Chautala said that “our fight is against the mal-administration”.

Regarding election campaign, HVP and SJP had a clear lead over Congress, as both of these parties have stated their campaign much earlier. Congress lacked a strong leader in the state to project as the chief minister. During 1991 assembly elections, the projection of Birender Singh as chief ministerial candidate helped Congress to exert some influence among Jat voters. But in 1996 Birender Singh defected to the Congress (Tiwari). Because of such situation the voters started to be attached towards Devi Lal and O.P. Chautala. Flood problem exposed the government to criticism from all sides for not taking preventive steps. Besides, government also earn defame regargng the irregularities in the distribution of flood relief money and clearance of standing water from fields etc. SJP merged in Janata Party before the elections. The Congress, Samata party and the HVP-BJP alliance contested all the 90 assembly constiuencies. BSP put up its candidates for 67 assembly seats, the Janata Party for 24 seats, Janata Dal for 48, CPI for nine and CPI (M) for eight assembly constiuencies. Besides, 2067 independents candidates were also in the fray.
Congress fielded only 28 Jat candidates, although, they had been dominant in more than one third constituencies. As far as the regional parties like SJP and HVP were concerned, the selection of candidates by and large was decided by the party leaders namely Om Prakash Chautala and Bansi Lal respectively. However, in Congress the parliamentary board was constituted by the party high command to select the candidates for the elections from the lists sent by district election committees. BJP formed the team of observers for the same.

The politics of defections and counter-defections got converted into politics of alliances during 1996 polls. HVP decided to forge a pre-poll alliance. SJP also tried to enter into alliance with BJP, but talks failed due to disagreement over the issue of projection of chief ministerial candidate to Devi Lal instead of OP Chautala. SJP-BJP’s talks also failed due to BJP central leadership’s strong stand. In fact, the BJP leadership made it clear that the party was in favor of alliance with HVP. Consequently, SJP tried to develop an understanding with BSP. The Haryana unit of BJP was ready for an alliance with HVP, since Bansi Lal offered six Lok Sabha and 25 assembly seats to BJP. The state leadership of BJP, however, was not ready to forge an alliance with Chautala. HVP also had its own interest in forging an alliance with BJP due to lack of its organizational base and also due to BJP’s urban vote bank in the state. BJP also hoped to make inroads in Jat votes in rural Haryana with the help of HVP.

All India Congress, Janhit Morcha, Samajwadi Party, Arya Sabha and Haryana Labor Party announced the five party alliances for 1996 assembly polls in Haryana. The SJP and Samata Party merged on 16th March 1996. “Chandra Shekhar said that Samata Party stood for social equity, prosperity and literacy. It had projected India as a nation sans hunger, poverty and illiteracy. The issues which had been side tracked by Congress during its long rule.” In 1996 assembly polls, there were total 11155242 voters, out of which 1868982 actually voted in the polls. There were total 2608 candidates in fray.

104 ibid., pp.240-241.
105 ibid., p.244.
106 ibid.
107 ibid., p.246.
108 ibid.
Figure No. 5:9

Assembly Election Results, 1996

(A) Seats Contested and Won by Political Parties

(B) Vote Share Secured by Political Parties

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticaireports/electionstatistics.asp

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp
HVP-BJP combine won 44 seats. HVP on its own won 33 seats with 23 per cent of votes. Besides, BJP won 11 seats with nine per cent votes. SJP emerged as the second largest party in the house by winning 24 seats with 21 per cent of votes. Congress secured only nine seats with 21 per cent of votes. Independents won 10 seats with 10 per cent votes. The overall voter turnout was recorded 70.54 per cent in 1996.

**Figure No.5:10**

**Performance of Female Candidates in Assembly Elections, 1996**

(A) Seats Contested and Won by Political Parties

![Seats Contested and Won by Political Parties](source)

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp

(B) Vote Share Secured by Political Parties

![Vote Share](source)

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp

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Of the total contestants, 90 were female candidates during 1996 assembly polls. 79 of them were from general category and 11 were from reserve category. Congress and INLD gave tickets to six female contestants each, whereas, BJP and Janhit Morcha gave ticket to two female contestants each. Apart from one candidate fielded by Janata Dal, 59 independent candidates were also in the fray. Only four candidates out of total 90 could make it to the assembly, each one belonging to Congress, INLD, HVP and CPI. Not even a single independent candidate could win. The overall voting percentage was 70.54 per cent. Besides, male-female voting ratio was 55.09 per cent and 44.91 per cent respectively.

Table No. 5:1

Assembly Election Results, 1996

Election Results in Reserves Constituencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the AC</th>
<th>Name of the Party</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sadhaura(SC)</td>
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<td>Guhla(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
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<td>Kalanaur(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
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<td>Jhajjar(SC)</td>
<td>HVP</td>
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<td>Baroda(SC)</td>
<td>Samata Party</td>
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<td>Kalayat(SC)</td>
<td>HVP</td>
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<td>Hassanpur(SC)</td>
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<td>Bawani Khera(SC)</td>
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<td>Ratia(SC)</td>
<td>HVP</td>
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<td>Ellenabad(SC)</td>
<td>Samata Party</td>
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<td>Dabwali(SC)</td>
<td>Samata Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bawal(SC)</td>
<td>HVP</td>
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</table>

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp
Election Results in Reserved Constituencies in Assembly Elections, 1996

(B) Vote Share Secured

HVP secured maximum i.e. seven reserve seats and Samata Party won 8 seats. Besides, two seats were won by Congress. As far as voting per cent age in reserve constituencies were concerned, the highest vote turnout was secured in Guhla i.e. 78.64 per cent, followed by 77 per cent in Ellenabad and 76 per cent in Ratia and the lowest 62 per cent in Jhajjar.

**District-wise Performance of Political Parties**

**Figure No.5:12**

District-wise Performance of HVP in Assembly Election Results, 1996

(A) District-wise Seats Contested and Won

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp
HVP secured seven seats from Bhiwani, six from Hisar and three each from Rohtak, Sonipat and Faridabad. But it fared quite badly in Panchkula, Karnal, Kurukshetra, Sirsa and Mahendergarh, as it could not secure even a single seat in these districts. The party secured its highest voting percentage in Bhiwani i.e. 51.91 per cent, second highest in Hisar 31.05 per cent followed by 29.87 per cent in Rohtak, further followed by 28.80 per cent in Sirsa and the minimum 5.6 per cent in Ambala district. HVP secured two seats with 15.21 per cent in Panipat and one seat in Kaithal district with 26.07 per cent of votes.

**Figure No.5:13**

**District-wise Performance of Samata Party in Assembly Elections 1996**

(A) District-wise Seats Contested and Won

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp

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Samata Party after winning 24 seats secured the status of main opposition party. It secured its maximum seats in Sirsa i.e. four out of five with 35.22 per cent of votes, two out of three in Kurukshetra with 28 per cent of votes and six out of 10 i.e. maximum in Rohtak with 24.93 per cent votes. It, however, performed poorly in Panchkula, Panipat, Faridabad, Bhiwani, Rewari and Mahendergarh. The party scored its highest vote share in Sirsa i.e. 35.22 per cent, followed by 28.02 per cent in Kaithal, third highest in Kurukshetra i.e. 28 per cent and least in Faridabad i.e. 7.26 per cent with 18.31per cent of votes; it could win only one seat out of total 10 it contested for.

Figure No.5:14

District-wise Performance of Congress in Assembly Elections 1996

(A) District-wise Seats Contested and Won

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp

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The Congress could retain only nine seats, there was not even a single district where it could have won more than one seat. Congress party secured one seat each in Karnal, Kaithal, Rohtak, Jind, Gurgaon, Hisar, Riwari and Mahendergarh districts. However, it could not open its account in Ambala, Yamunanagar, Panipat, Kurukshetra, Sonipat, Faridabad, Bhiwani and Sirsa districts. Reasons for the downfall of Congress could be given as the worst law and order situation, anti-incumbency factor and failure to provide adequate basic amenities like water and electricity especially in rural areas, endless misery of people due to havoc created by floods. So, it was a “vote against unchecked erosion of democracy at the grassroots level caused by money and muscle power” according to the eminent analyst.”

Congress secured its highest votes in Panchkula 39.69 per cent, second highest 28.13 per cent in Riwari, third highest 25.15 per cent in Sirsa and lowest 9.10 per cent in Sonipat.

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp

\(^{109}\) ibid. p.262.
Figure No.5:15

District-wise Performance of BJP in Assembly Election Results, 1996

(A) District-wise Seats Contested and Won

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp

(B) Vote Share Secured

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp
BJP could make inroads in the districts of Ambala, Yamunanagar Karnal, Faridabad, Gurgaon, Sirsa and Mahendergarh. BJP in Faridabad district secured three out of three seats and in Karnal district secured two out of two seats. Besides, BJP secured one seat each in Ambala, Yamunanagar, Kurukshetra, Gurgaon, Sirsa and Mahendergarh. However, it could not secure even a single seat in Panchkula, Panipat, Rohtak, Sonipat, Jind, Hisar Rewari. It secured its highest vote share i.e. 29.96 per cent in Faridabad, second highest votes in Panchkula i.e. 24.99 per cent with 1 seat and third highest i.e. 15.80 in Yamunanagar and the least in Sonipat i.e. 2.12 per cent.

Bansi Lal, sworn in as the chief minister as the leader of HVP-BJP legislature party, HVP-BJP with their 44 MLA's along with 6 independents formed the government. He took oath with 2 ministers as his cabinet but soon expanded his cabinet while getting appointed 6 MLAs as cabinet ministers, two from the BJP and four from HVP. So, the strength rose to nine. Bansi Lal expanded his ministry four times. The ties between the alliance partners came under strain very soon.

Assembly Elections 2000

"In India's electoral history, it is difficult to recall a parallel to the seemingly carefully crafted split verdict witnessed in the Haryana assembly elections. There have been few instances of two allied parties contesting virtually as equals, and one of them scoring a resounding victory while the other is soundly defeated." By the assembly polls of 2000, the erstwhile HVP-BJP government was already down due to withdrawal of support both from its ally BJP and Congress before 1999 parliamentary polls. The INLD-BJP alliance won all the 10 parliamentary seats in the state during the general elections of 1999 and led in 85 assembly segments. INLD-BJP combine formed the government after the fall of HVP government and decided to contest the assembly polls in alliance.

It was believed that the INLD-BJP alliance going to secure majority of seats in the assembly elections. Although, there was difference of opinion between the two

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partners especially regarding the distribution of seats.\footnote{Chahar, Vol. II, \textit{op.cit.}, p 303.} Chautala was confident of his victory due to his party’s performance in 1999 parliamentary elections. Finally, INLD contested on 61 seats and its ally on 29 seats. However, BJP accused that Lok Dal did not support the BJP candidates in certain constituencies.\footnote{ibid.,p.329.}

In 2000 there were total 11153263 voters, of them 7696398 actually voted in the elections. In 2000, in all 970 contestants were in the fray, out of which 519 were the independents and 451 were party candidates. Total 745 lost their securities including 484 independents and 261 party candidates.

\textbf{Figure No.5:16}

\textit{Assembly Election Results, 2000}

(A) Seats Won by Political Parties

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{assembly_elections_2000.png}
\caption{Assembly Election Results, 2000}
\end{figure}


\footnote{Chahar, Vol. II, \textit{op.cit.}, p 303.}
\footnote{ibid.,p.329.}
The INLD-BJP alliance won 53 seats with 38.1 per cent votes. INLD on its own won 47 seats with a vote share of 29.2 per cent and its alliance partner BJP won six seats while securing 8.9 per cent votes. The elections completely belonged to INLD as it with its ally gained majority. The electoral verdict exhibited that the support base of INLD was intact to a great extent as despite the fact that the party was out of power.
for about eight years and also kept changing its name in almost every election. The
party not only improved its seat tally but also got its vote share increased in
comparison to 1996 assembly elections. The popularity of Devi Lal and his image as
the farmer leader in the state helped the INLD to a great extent. Nearly 49 per cent of
the respondents considered the Devi Lal led government as the best among the
governments headed by three Lals. Besides, 61 per cent of respondents indicated their
preference for the INLD over other parties. However, the INLD’s alliance partner,
the BJP, suffered loss in terms of seats won when compared with 1966 assembly
polls.

Congress was able to win only 21 seats with 31.2 per cent votes. In Haryana,
Congress lost two consecutive assembly elections of 1996 and 2000. The party’s
decline could be attributed to its inability to keep its traditional support base intact.
The contention between BS Hooda and HPCC president Bhajan Lal factions over the
question of supremacy also damaged the party’s strength and prospects to an extent.
Otherwise, it could have successfully challenged the INLD-BJP alliance to some
extent. Besides, the intra-party differences, its decision earlier to support and later to
withdraw it from unpopular HVP government also harmed its image.

HVP got completely routed in the elections. It secured 33 seats with 22.66 per cent in
1996 but in 2000 it could secure only two seats with 5.7 per cent of votes. The HVP,
which has formed government in the state after 1996 assembly polls was no where in
the scene. So, the results were indicators of the erosion of the short spell created by
HVP. Though, the party performed somewhat well in the Bhiwani area, which was
hometown of its leader. Thus, HVP was the biggest looser due to its unpopularity
regarding the mismanagement of Prohibition policy. The decline of HVP was so
critical that by the assembly elections of February 2005, it has to merge itself with its
parental Party Congress. The Bahujan Samaj Party also won single seat while
performing little well in Ambala and Rewari areas. 13 seats were secured by
independents and others.

The credit for the resounding victory of INLD goes to O.P. Chautala. While opting for
the early polls, almost one and half year in advance to the completion of the assembly

113 Yogendra Yadav and Oliver Heath, op.cit., p.52.
114 Ibid., p.55.
term he assessed the mood of the people of the state and the ongoing state of factionalism in the Congress. To win people’s support he launched the programmes like *Sarkar Apke Dwar* and kept the check on HVP defectors as they formed the basis of his government116, along with convincing the BJP for the need of early polls. Besides, there was no anti-incumbency factor against INLD, however, its alliance partner BJP have shared the political power in the state for three years along with its alliance partner HVP. INLD’s alliance with BJP proved very fruitful. INLD secured the support of Jats in all regions of Haryana except in Rohtak district, the home district of Congress leader B.S. Hooda. The traditional support base of Congress among scheduled castes and backward castes seemed to be shifted in favour of INLD, as it won 13 out of 17 reserve assembly seats but Congress could not win even a single seat.

BJP proved to be a loser in the 2000 elections as it could win only six seats out of 29 seats it contested for with approximately nine per cent of votes in comparison to 1996 when it contested in alliance with HVP and won 11 seats out 25 seats it contested with almost same percentage of votes. It could be explained in terms of lack of farsightedness on the part of BJP to take into consideration the existing political circumstances before contesting polls along with the alleged non cooperation of INLD.117 It seemed that BJP realized its mistake later on that it could have done better if have contested a lesser number of seats as it could have gained the goodwill of its alliance partner INLD. The INLD did not give it a chance to prepare for an effective strategy.118

It might be because of the anti-incumbency factor as it ruled the state for three years at as the alliance partner of HVP. None of the alliance partner was sincere to each other. Infact, BJP experienced that the INLD was not concerned about the victory of its ally. “In fact the INLD gave open support to independents at many places like Jind, Hisar, Narnaul, Jhajjar and Gurgaon against the official nominees of BJP.”119 The BJP’s poll plank like India shining and feel good factor did not work in its favour.

116ibid., p.339.
117ibid., p.340.
118ibid.
119ibid.
Performance of Female Candidates Assembly Election Results, 2000

(A) Seats Contested and Won by Political Parties

(B) Vote Share Secured by Political Parties

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp
During 2000 Assembly elections, total 46 female contestants were in fray. The maximum 10 candidates contested elections on Congress ticket followed by five candidates who contested on BSP tickets. Four each women candidate contested on INLD, HVP and BJP tickets along with two each contested on Samajwadi Party & Nationalist Congress Party ticket and one on RPI ticket. Besides, 14 female contested on their own as independent candidates. Only four out of total 46 could win, two of them belonged to BJP and one each to Congress & INLD.

Table No. 5.2

Assembly Election Results, 2000

Election Results in Reserved Constituencies

<table>
<thead>
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Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp

286
As far as results of reserved constituencies were concerned, INLD won the maximum reserve seats i.e. 13 out of total 17, followed one each by HVP and BJP. Besides, two seats were secured by independents. Congress could not win even a single seat despite the fact that the Scheduled castes had been considered to be the part of traditional support base of Congress. The voter turnout for 2000 assembly polls was recorded at 69.44 per cent.

**District-wise Performance of Political Parties**

**Figure No.5:18**

Election Results in Reserved Constituencies Assembly Elections, 2000

(B) Vote Share Secured

As far as results of reserved constituencies were concerned, INLD won the maximum reserve seats i.e. 13 out of total 17, followed one each by HVP and BJP. Besides, two seats were secured by independents. Congress could not win even a single seat despite the fact that the Scheduled castes had been considered to be the part of traditional support base of Congress. The voter turnout for 2000 assembly polls was recorded at 69.44 per cent.

**Figure No.5:19**

District-wise Performance of Congress in Assembly Elections, 2000

(A) District-wise Seats Contested and Won

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp
Congress secured 21 seats out of total 90 it contested. It could not secure even a single seat in Yamunanagar, Karnal, Kurukshetra, Kaithal, Faridabad and Fatehabad, although secured a good number of votes. As far as voting percentage was concerned, it secured its highest votes i.e. 51.67 per cent in Panchkula while winning one seat it contested, followed by the 2nd highest 42.79 per cent in Rohtak by winning two out of five seats it contested. Further, it secured its third highest votes in Sonipat i.e. 41.79 per cent with one seat out of six it contested and the least in 16.44 per cent in Faridabad. Congress improved in 2000 assembly elections as compared to 1996 assembly elections, when it won only nine seats.

Figure No.5:20

**District-wise Performance of INLD in Assembly Elections, 2000**

(A) District-wise Seats Contested and Won
INLD did quiet well in Ambala, Yamunanagar, Kurukshetra, Periapt, Kaithal, Hisar and Panchkula by winning all the seats it contested for. However, in Mahendergarh and Panchkula, it failed to open its account, while loosing all the seats it contested. INLD secured its highest vote share i.e. 49.34 in Fatehabad while winning three out of total four seats it contested, followed by the second highest in Jind i.e. 43.70 per cent while securing four seats out of total six seats it contested. Further, the party secured its third highest votes i.e. 40.72 per cent in Karnal while securing four seats out of total six it contested out of total seats and the least i.e. 15.52 per cent in Yamunanagar but interestingly, won two seats out of two it contested out of the total five seats. The election results exhibited that INLD made inroads both in support areas of Congress and BJP. So, INLD secured maximum seats.

HVP secured only two seats in Bhiwani district the home district of its founder with 30.69 per cent votes in those constituencies only. It secured its highest vote share i.e. 30.69 per cent in Bhiwani, followed by the second highest vote per centage i.e.9.08 per cent in Kurukshetra without winning a single seat. Further, it secured its third highest votes 8.33 per cent in Hisar and the least i.e. 0.32 in Ambala again without winning a single seat.
Figure No.5:21
District-wise Performance of HVP in Assembly Elections 2000

(A) District-wise Seats Contested and Won

(B) Vote Share Secured

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp

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Figure No.5:22
District-wise Performance of BJP in Assembly Elections 2000

(A) District-wise Seats Contested and Won

![Graph showing district-wise seats contested and won](source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp)

(B) Vote Share Secured

![Graph showing vote share](source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp)
BJP the alliance partner of INLD performed quite badly and failed to open its account in Karnal, Panipat, Gurgaon, Fatehabad, Kaithal, Panchkula, Sonipat, Rewari, Mahendergarh, Sirsa, Hisar and Jhajjar, not even in the so-called urban support base area of BJP. It won total six seats, maximum two in Faridabad out of three it contested out of total five and one each in Ambala, Yamunanagar, Kurukshetra and Rohtak. It secured its highest vote share i.e. 39.22 per cent in Panchkula without winning a single seat, followed by the second highest vote percentage i.e. 23.74 per cent in Sirsa while securing its maximum seats i.e. two in out of three, it contested for. It secured its third highest votes 16.40 per cent in Yamunanagar, with one seat out of three and the least i.e. 0.84 in Jind without winning a single seat.

Chautala sworn in as CM with his 11 member council of ministers. The oath ceremony was held in open darbar. BJP did not join the government but extended support from outside. Chautala after coming into power concentrated on his party programme in the state known as 'Sarkar Aapke Dwar'. The Haryana unit of BJP soon persuaded party high command to review the relations with INLD, but the central leadership asked state unit to cooperate. INLD left it up to BJP whether to cooperate or withdraw its support from the government. HVP was merged with its parental party Congress before the state assembly polls of 2005.

Assembly Elections 2005

In the assembly elections of 2005 there were total 983 contestants, out of which 528 were party candidates and 455 were independents. Congress and BJP contested all the 90 assembly constituencies while INLD and BSP contested in 89 and 84 assembly constituencies respectively. During 2005 assembly elections, there were no major party alliances. All the main political parties of the state namely INC, BJP, BSP and INLD contested on their own just like the Lok Sabha polls. It was only Congress which has stood aloof from alliances. Infect, Congress in Haryana always has contested on its own. Among national parties its only BJP and BSP which tied alliances in various elections. Other two parties namely BJP and INLD had a long history of alliances not only between the two but also with the other parties. First they forged alliance in 1987.

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120 ibid., p.348.
**Major Issues in the Elections**

Haryana Congress not only promised for quick action in cases of corruption but also exhibited its commitment towards decentralized governance, employment, withdrawal of fake cases registered against farmer leaders.\(^{121}\) Its manifesto promised the completion of SYL canal, separate Sikh Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, empowerment of women, welfare schemes for ex-servicemen, constitution of Haryana Development Council, improved educational system, more autonomy to higher institutions of education, industrial development to attract Foreign Direct Investment, job guarantee for youth and to make employment a legal right and so forth.

The manifesto of INLD stressed on youth centric schemes and making Haryana the richest state of India. It promised to create ‘Yuva Vikas Vahini’ to cover all the urban and rural areas of the state. On the economic front, it shows its commitment to raise per capita income to rupees 50,000 per year. It also promised job for one member of each family in the state. Besides, it also promised to create five lakh new jobs in the next five years, if voted to power. Regarding power, it promised to provide comparatively cheaper than other states and uninterrupted 24 hour power supply to villages and towns. Besides, there were promises regarding social development schemes for poor, handicapped and other weaker sections of the society including establishing the writer’s home for writers and artists and so forth.\(^{122}\)

Although, INLD did lots of developmental works and voter also have approved of this but anti-INLD wave have faded away the developmental plank. The factors which could have gone against INLD were corruption, anti-democratic ways of functioning, nepotism and anti-incumbency along with power issue or Kandela episode where the job was handed over to police rather than its being handled by farmer leadership of the party which annoyed BKU which was earlier supporting INLD.

BJP banked heavily on the issue of SYL and the so called anti-Haryana stand of ruling Congress. Its manifesto promised to give 50 per cent additional bonus and free

\(^{122}\) H T Correspondent, (2005), ‘INLD Sets Eyes on Youth’, *Hindustan Times*, January 21, p.4.
power to small farmers, loans at cheaper rates, implementation of crop insurance schemes, acquisition of farm land at market rates, and withdrawal of cases registered by INLD government against farmers. Besides, it also promised to provide corruption free administration, withdrawal of taxes on small houses in urban areas, fire tax to be scrapped, mandatory employment of 150 days for unemployed, ban on child labour, insurance scheme for unorganized labour sector and so forth. It was hoping a swing on the basis of anti-incumbency vote against INLD and factionalism in the Congress. It wanted to cash on anger against Chautala and disbelief against Congress. The factors which were favourable to Congress were the good image of Sonia Gandhi, government at the centre, strong urban base, issue of SYL, anti-incumbency and corruption charges against INLD.

The issues which could have gone against the Congress were the price rise of essential commodities, lack of strong rural support base, factionalism, rebel candidates, failure to announce chief ministerial candidate, farmer related issues like SYL and insufficient supply of fertilizers and the weak Congress wave along G.T. road.

The BJP leaders were hoping for a miracle to happen and projected BJP as a viable alternative to the Congress and INLD. They also rejected the possibility of a tie up with INLD then and in future.\textsuperscript{123} The people’s verdict in Haryana was to an extent already decided in the May 2004 parliamentary elections. Despite the best efforts of the outgoing chief Minster, Om Prakash Chautala, the state of affairs did not change much. That time it was not simply Jats versus non-Jats or the issues of bijle, pani and sadak but the issues of governance and development had become important.\textsuperscript{124} The February 2005 assembly polls result did not come out as something unexpected. In fact, among the three states that went to the polls at the same time, Haryana alone came up with an unambiguous verdict. Unlike in the case of May 2004, the assembly elections results matched the exit poll results in Haryana.

\textsuperscript{123} Navneet Sharma, (2005), ‘Where’s ‘Choutala Magic’ Hindustan Times, January 28.
Figure No. 5.23

Assembly Election Results, 2005

(A) Seats Contested and Won by Political Parties

![Bar chart showing seats contested and won by political parties.]

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp

(B) Vote Share Secured by Political Parties

![Pie chart showing vote share secured by political parties.]

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp

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The Congress party won 67 out of 90 assembly seats along with an increased vote share of 37.83 per cent in comparison to 21 seats with 31.22 per cent vote share of 2000. The INLD got an all-time low of the nine seats with a decreased vote share of 29.61 per cent from the 2000 assembly polls. The BJP won only two seats with a marginally increased vote share than in 2000, when it had won six seats. The BSP and Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) won one seat each. In real terms, all the three parties – the INLD, BJP and BSP - suffered a sharp decline/erosion in their votes per seat contested.

The Congress has done so well in the state after 38 years of the electoral history of the state. The first time that the party secured 52 seats out of 81 with a vote share of 46.9 per cent was in 1972. In 1972, it was due to a nation-wide wave in favour of the Congress for its “Garibi Hatao” slogan and also due to the Bangladesh war victory accompanied by the developmental works undertaken by the Bansi Lal Government of the Congress party during the period 1968-72. During 2005, the landslide victory of the Congress with more than two-thirds majority, despite factionalism, rebel candidates, internal rivalries, SYL issue, has been a great morale booster to the party after its debacles in Bihar and Jharkhand where it lost power to the NDA. Moreover, the Congress has performed well to recover from its heavy defeats in the 1996 and 2000 assembly elections. The situation in Haryana was very similar to what existed in Punjab when the Congress had knocked out the Akalis on a strong anti-incumbency vote combined with issues such as corruption, nepotism, unemployment and lack of good governance. Also in Haryana, it seems that the famous mantra of the INLD- *Lokraj Loklaz se chalta hai* (Democracy goes hand in hand with the dignity and respect of the common man) - has its significance as there was no loklaz (dignity of people) with absence of lokraj (democracy) too.

The INLD seemed completely sidelined in 2005 assembly elections in electoral sense but that was not meant that the party has ceased to be an important political force in

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125 Yadav and Joshi, *loc.cit.*
the State. The electoral verdict must be seen as being against the Chautala raj (rule), the reign of terror. There was a wave against the INLD which ultimately worked in favour of the Congress. This was a composite mandate of the Haryanavi society to vote the INLD out of power. It has proven strongly that development alone cannot ensure a party to be in power as even the opposition leaders conceded that the Chautala government did undertake development works.

If one seeks an explanation of the defeat of the INLD, the support of the peasant castes assume significance as they are the majority community in general in the state. The farming communities has been traditionally supporting the Lok Dal and constituted the anti-Congress bastion. This community was disenchanted with the Chautala regime. The peasant castes under the umbrella of Bharatiya Kisan Union (BKU) led by Ghasi Ram Nain came out openly for the first time in 2005 against the INLD and in favour of the Congress. The memory of the Kandela (Jind district) and Meham happenings were still fresh in their minds when the peasants went to vote.

During 2005 assembly polls, in all sixty women candidates contested as compared to forty nine in 2000 assembly elections. Congress party fielded 10 contestants, INLD nine and BJP eight. Besides, CPM, Lok Jan Shakti Party, Ekta Shakti Party, BSP, SP, and RPI also gave tickets to one female contestant each. The four outgoing MLAs, two each from BJP and one each from Congress and INLD were re-nominated by their respective political parties. 60 women candidates contested for forty five assembly seats, out of those 19 were independents as compared to 21 in 2000. 12 out of total belonged to Dalit community, the Congress and INLD fielded five of them, five contested as independents and BSP and Lok Dal fielded each one.
Figure No. 5:24

Performance of Female Candidates in Assembly Elections, 2005

(A) Seats Contested and Won by Political Parties

![Graph showing seats contested and won by various political parties.](source: http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp)

(B) Vote Share Secured by Political Parties

![Graph showing vote share by political parties.](source: http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp)
For the first time as many as 12 women won the assembly elections. Maximum nine women successful candidates belonged to Congress party, one to INLD and one was an independent candidate. This was the highest number of female candidates entering to the assembly since 1967. It was only in 1968 when 8 women reached to the assembly. Besides, it was also only the second time after 1987 assembly polls when a female independent candidate won the assembly polls in Haryana.

**Table No. 5.3**

**Assembly Elections 2005**

Results in Reserved Constituencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the AC</th>
<th>Name of the Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sadhaura(SC)</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mullana(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jundla(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assandh(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radaur(SC)</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guhla(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalanaur(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhajjar(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroda(SC)</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalayat(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hassanpur(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pataudi(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bawani Khera(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratia(SC)</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellenabad(SC)</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabwali(SC)</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bawal(SC)</td>
<td>IND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: [Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp](http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp)
As far as the election results in reserve constituencies were concerned, it was Congress party which secured the maximum seats i.e. 10 out of total 17 seats, followed by INLD which won six seats and the remaining one seat was secured by an independent female candidate. The highest voter turnout 81.17 per cent was recorded in Sadhaura constituency, followed by 80.73 per cent in Radaur, further followed by 78.38 per cent in Ellenabad and the least voter turnout was recorded 61.44 per cent in Pataudi constituency.
Congress performed well almost in all the districts of the state. It won all the seats it contested in Panchkula, Ambala, Bhiwani, and Kurukshetra. Congress secured its highest vote share in Panchkula i.e. 63.10 per cent with single seat it contested, followed by 53.43 in Bhiwani, where it won all the seven seats it contested. The party secured its third highest vote share 52.57 per cent in Faridabad with five seats out of six seats it contested. The lowest vote share 29.46 per cent was secured in
Yamunanagar, where it won two out of 5 seats it contested. Besides, the merger of HVP and the resultant consolidation of Jat votes in its favour could also be given as one of the reason for its landslide victory.

Figure No: 5:27

District-wise Performance of INLD Assembly Election Results, 2005

(A) District wise Seats Contested and Won

(B) District wise Vote Share Secured

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp
The overall performance of INLD was poor as it could win only nine seats out of 89 the party contested and six of them were reserved seats. It could not open its account in Panchkula, Panipat, Kurukshetra, Kaithal, Bhiwani, Rewari, Mahendergarh, Jind, Faridabad Jhajjar and Hisar districts. It won its highest seats i.e. three out of six in Sirsa district, the home district of INLD leader. INLD secured its highest vote share in Sirsa i.e. 47.23 per cent with three seats out of total six it contested, followed by 36.51 per cent in Fatehabad where it won one seat out of four it contested, further followed by 35.56 per cent in Kaithal without winning a single seat out of five seats it contested. The lowest vote share 11.21 was secured in Mahendergarh where again it could not win even a single seat out of three seats it contested. The INLD not only failed to open its account in 13 of the 19 districts, but all its prominent candidates and ministers faced a humiliating defeat. Due to winning only nine seats its leader Chautala was deprived to get the status of leader of opposition in the assembly as at least 10 MLA’s are needed to constitute a quorum.

Figure No.5:28

District wise performance of BJP Assembly Election Results, 2005

(A) District wise Seats Contested and Won

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp
The BJP secured only two seats one each in Rohtak and Hisar districts. It secured its highest vote share in Rewari i.e. 24.30 per cent without winning a single seat followed by 19.91 per cent vote polled in Rohtak with one seat, to be followed by 16.27 per cent in Kurukshetra without winning a single seat again. BJP secured lowest vote share i.e. 2.62 per cent in Sirsa. While viewing at the vote secured by BJP and INLD independently, it was observed that if both these parties had contested in alliance, they would have definitely caused a dent into the landslide victory of Congress at least to some extent. The picture would have been certainly different at least in some of the constituencies.\(^{127}\) The BJP was hoping to replace INLD as the main opposition party also suffered heavy losses and could not retain its assembly segments where it had led in 2004 Lok Sabha polls, as it lost four of six seats.

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Figure No.5:29

District wise Performance of Independents in Assembly Election Results, 2005

(A) District wise Seats Contested and Won

(B) District wise Vote Share Secured

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp
Independent candidates secured 10 seats and constituted the second largest group in the assembly after the congress party. The main opposition party INLD, could win only nine seats. Besides, in terms of district-wise performance of Independents, the highest voter turnout was secured in Jind i.e. 43.86 per cent with one seat, followed by 41.41 per cent in Gurgaon with two seats, further followed by 36.95 per cent in Jhajjar where it won one seat. The lowest vote share i.e. 31.21 per cent was secured in Mahendergarh where it won two seats.

There were multiple causes for crushing defeat of INLD. Those were the first assembly elections of the INLD without its founder, Chaudhary Devi Lal on the political scene. It appeared that the magic of the INLD was fading among the peasantry, especially among the Jats, who were seen as committed to the political legacies of Chaudhary Chhotu Ram and Chaudhary Devi Lal. Besides the peasant classes, the Dalits were also unhappy with the ruling INLD due to the alleged atrocities committed against them during the tenure of the Chautala government. The real turning point for them which led to their defeat was the Dulina episode in which five Dalits were lynched at a police post by a mob on October 15, 2002 in Jhajjar district. Apart from the Dulina episode, there were a series of incidents of marginalization and humiliation of the Dalits by the upper castes and state machinery too. Although, Dalits constitute a sizeable proportion of the state population (about 19 per cent) they have remained marginalised in the mainstream politics.

It was a culmination of several issues and resentment among various sections of society which translated the verdict in favour of the Congress. The electoral verdict must be seen as a verdict against Chautala Raj and the reign of terror. It was a mandate of Haryanavi society cross cutting the boundaries of caste, class, region, gender and rural-urban cleavage to vote out INLD out of power. Although, INLD faced the crushing defeat however, it was the only party capable to stage a come back apart from Congress. That time it was INLD next time it could be Congress as according to an INLD leader Haryanvi voter votes to teach a lesson to a particular party rather than in favour or against the performance of a particular party. These elections marked the end of Lal’s politics in Haryana. Since then the three Lals are gone from the politics of the state but not the Jats as a community.

128 Yogendra Yadav and Joshi, loc.cit.
129 Senior INLD leader, interviewed on February 15, 2009.
The voter turnout was a record in itself. It was as high as 71.91 per cent. The second highest turnout was recorded in 2000 assembly election which was 68.93 per cent. The voter turnout was relatively higher in rural areas than urban areas. The highest voting percentage was recorded in Jat dominated constituencies especially from where the Jat stalwarts of INLD and Congress contested. These constituencies were Darba Kalan, Bhattu Kalan, Narwana and Rori where voter turnout was recorded 83.67 per cent, 85.17 per cent, 87.37 per cent and 87.97 per cent, respectively. In 20 Jat dominated constituencies the voter turnout was recorded 75 per cent and above. In 14 of these 20 assembly constituencies the voter turnout of women electorates was more than 75 per cent.  

**Bi-Elections 2008**

The by-elections in Adampur, Indri and Gohana assembly constituencies were held after Bhajan Lal, Rakesh Lal and Dharam Pal Singh Malik were disqualified from the membership of Vidhan Sabha for defecting to the HJC(BL). Congress retains two of three assembly by-election seats namely of Gohana and Indri and secured second lead in Adampur constituency where only Bhajan Lal matters.

The Congress candidate won in Gohana with 22,162 votes which was the highest victory margin for any candidate in Gohana ever since the formation of Haryana. With the Congress retaining Indri and Gohana seats, its tally in the house reached to 66. The INLD was hoping to win at least one seat to get the status of the leader of opposition but in vain. INLD has faced a crushing defeat in the February 2005 assembly polls also drew a blank in the bi-election too. In fact it finished third, behind the Congress and the newly formed HJC. Besides, with the BJP fared badly in the by-election, the HJC has announced the arrival of a third alternative to the voters of Haryana. The six month old Haryana Janhit Congress (BL) opened its electoral account in the state assembly with the former chief minister Bhajan Lal retaining his traditional Adampur seat.

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130 Verma, op.cit, pp.21-26.
Assembly Elections 2009

Energized with the success in the 15th Lok Sabha polls, the Congress high command decided to hold the early elections in October, although the term of the government was to complete in March 2010. In Haryana, the ruling Congress was confident of returning to power in state assembly polls as there seemed a strong "pro-incumbency wave." Congress had retained nine out of 10 parliamentary seats. These elections were crucial for Congress in Haryana to maintain an edge; it already has splintered opposition in the state. Congress used its development plank to create history in state electoral politics, where no party has been elected for a second consecutive term except Congress itself in assembly elections of 1967, 1968 and again in 1972. Congress was hoping to break its own record of coming into power for the second consecutive term since 1977. The tie-up between INLD and BJP fell apart before the Lok Sabha polls while the HJC-BSP alliance could last barely for two months were encouraging signs for Congress.

On most of the seats, there were five-six contestants because the opposition had failed to forge alliances to take on the Congress. Every party contested on its own. It tried to have an alliance with the newly created Haryana Janhit Congress (HJC), but in vain. In the 15th Lok Sabha elections, the HJC led in nine assembly segments, the BSP in eight and the INLD and BJP, which were in an alliance then, in seven segments each.32

That political alliances in the state have been completely based on political benefits has been made amply clear by the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD), which joined hands with the Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) in Haryana, not considering its NDA partner, the BJP which was the opposition party to INLD in Haryana. Despite an alliance with the BJP in Punjab, Akali leaders, including chief minister Parkash Singh Badal and son Sukhbir Singh Badal, not only campaigned for INLD but also contested on two seats in alliance with INLD. In an attempt to find political space in Haryana, the Akali Dal has, for the first time, fielded two candidates in Ambala City and

Kalanwali constituencies in Sirsa district and won from Kalanwali. Earlier SAD had played an indirect role in Haryana elections despite a sizable presence of Sikhs in the state. Akali Dal entered into Haryana politics to counter the Congress support among Sikh voters as the state leadership has been trying to woo them by promising a separate SGPC.133

Both the ruling Congress and the main opposition parties seemed confident of securing majority. The elections were seen as a litmus test for chief minister Bhupinder Singh Hooda, whose government got the previous assembly dissolved earlier so as to seek a fresh mandate. The Congress was challenged by opposition parties INLD, Haryana Janhit Congress (HJC), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP). The opposition was a divided house in Haryana during these elections.134

The stakes were high for Om Prakash Chautala-led INLD, which won just nine seats in 2005 assembly polls, and bit the dust in the last Lok Sabha elections. The BJP, which had just one MLA in the dissolved assembly, was desperately looking to improve its tally and hopes to play a key role in the formation of the next government in the state. The BSP, which too had a lone legislator in the previous House, was looking to dent Congress vote bank in few pockets.

The main opposition party INLD, however, lying low due to poor performance after 2000 assembly polls, could not have been taken lightly. The other political outfits namely BJP, BSP and Haryana Janhit Congress (HJC)—were the others banking upon non-Jat votes, seemed to score poorly in the state. However, a united opposition could have posed a strong challenge to the Congress. All the parties, fought the assembly elections independently135

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135 ibid.
Major Issues in the Elections

Development was the central issue in this election, even though people including Congress leaders themselves had strongly felt that the development was lopsided and remained limited to Rohtak region consisting Rohtak, Sonipat and Jhajjar. The Congress was banking on development projects initiated by the state and the central government while its opponents were alleging that the benefits of welfare schemes reached only to a few. While the Congress was trying to win votes on the plank of development and accommodative administration, Chautala also promised attractive sops for every section.

The Haryana Janhit Congress released its manifesto and promised several sops to various sections of society. If voted to power, the party manifesto promised to improve the lot of the women, to increase retirement age to 60 and to provide quota in the private sector for the youth employment. Besides, it promised to withdraw Form 38, elimination of Inspector Raj, allotment of 50,000 plots to families below poverty line every year with a government job to one member. It also committed to provide at least 20-hour power supply, a workable solution to the SYL canal issue, ban on procurement of farmland for industrial use, to raise senior citizen pension to Rs 200 a month, Interest-free loan of Rs 2 lakh to jobless and Rs 3 lakh to farmers, abolishing pay band system.

INLD in its manifesto promised sops for every one ranging from farmers to poor, women, unemployed youth, traders to employees and senior citizens. If voted to power, INLD promised to provide free education for students of degree classes, 25 kg
of food grains for poor per month, higher wheat MSP, higher compensation for land acquirement by the government, 50 per cent subsidy in agricultural implements, 50 per cent job quota in private sector for state’s youth, two-wheelers for needy girl students, total implementation of the recommendations of the Sixth Pay Commission, in addition to 13 months’ salary to women for a year, holding elections to students’ bodies in colleges and universities and to address the problems related to rising unemployment, water, power and collapsing law and order situation as the key issues.

Congress in its manifesto, if voted to power again, promised to constitute a separate Shiromani Gurudwara Parbhandhak Committee, Loan waiver scheme for non-farmer loanees, to construct two lakh houses for poor, to provide 25 kg wheat, rice at Rs three per kg to BPL families in addition to making the state power surplus along with promoting education, employment and industrial development as a continuation of its agenda already taken up by the incumbent government.

The opposition was making power shortage problem a key poll plank, Congress claimed to resolve the perennial problems of water and power especially in south Haryana by sorting out the matter related to Sutlej-Yamuna Link Canal and the rapid completion of the Hansi-Butana Link Canal. Similarly to deal with the problem of power Congress government already had taken steps to set up four power plants.

The ruling Congress, claimed that Haryana have become the No.1 state on all fronts; the opposition parties ridiculed all the development claims. Besides the issues of price rise, governance and law and order were taken up by all political parties, the central focus in the fight was to support or oppose this claim. INLD accused Congress for corruption, deteriorating law and order situation and misery of people. The ruling Congress wanted to cash on divided opposition.

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As far as ticket distribution was concerned, Hooda had an upper hand in Congress. In the first list of 68 candidates issued by Congress, caste and regional equations have been taken into consideration. Congress re-nominated all the sitting female MLA’s but seven of the male sitting MLAs were not given tickets. Out of total 68 of its first list, Congress nominated 20 Jats, six Brahmins, nine Punjabis, three Gujjars, one each Sainis, Kamboj, Kumhar and Dhanak Bajigars.\textsuperscript{144} Besides, four seats each were allotted to Banias and Ahirs, 12 to Scheduled Castes and 13 to Backward Castes.

**Electoral Verdict**

Over 1.31 crore voters decided the fate of 1,222 candidates in Haryana assembly elections. Out of total number of 1, 31, 13,011 voters, 71, 47,100 were male and 59, 65,911 were female voters. Gurgaon assembly constituency had the highest number of 2, 31,350 voters along with the highest number of male and female voters, which were 22,661 and 1,08,689 respectively, while Narnaul assembly constituency had the lowest i.e. 1,10,153 voters.\textsuperscript{145}

**Table No. 5.4**

**Assembly Election Results, 2009**

Vote Share Secured by Political Parties in Lok Sabha and Assembly Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Lok Sabha 2009 Vote (%)</th>
<th>Assembly 2009 Vote (%)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>41.40</td>
<td>35.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>12.09</td>
<td>9.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP</td>
<td>15.73</td>
<td>6.73</td>
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<td>HJC</td>
<td>9.89</td>
<td>7.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>INLD</td>
<td>15.68</td>
<td>25.67</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: [Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp](http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp)


The ruling Congress in Haryana emerged as the single largest party in the assembly elections but failed to come up with a clear cut majority. Of the 90 assembly seats, the Congress got 40 seats followed by INLD, which made a significant comeback, won at 31 constituencies; its ally Shiromani Akali Dal got one seat. In contrast to the other two states, the electoral verdict in Haryana was somehow disappointing for the Congress, as Congress was hoping for a clean sweep after its good showing in 15th Lok Sabha polls.

The Congress retained 40 seats out of 67 it won in 2005 and fell six short of simple majority, despite a divided opposition. To attain the magic number of 46, the party took the support of the seven Independent candidates and HJC rebel to form the second consecutive government in the state. Indian National Lok Dal (INLD), made a remarkable recovery from its nine seats in the February 2005 assembly poll by capturing 31 seats on its own. The tally of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Haryana Janhit Congress (BL) and Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) not even reached to double figure.

146 INLD tally reached to 32 after winning Ellenabad by-election, Om Prakash Chautala vacated the Ellenabad seat as he had been elected from two assembly seats - Uchana Kalan (Jind) and Ellenabad (Sirsa). The seat was won by Abhay Singh Chautala in January 2010. More at: Chautala son to contest Haryana by-election http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/chautala-son-to-contest-haryana-by-election_100297803.html

Figure No.5:31

Voter Turnout in Assembly Elections Since 1967

(A) Total Assembly Seats

(B) Total Votes Polled

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp
As far as voter turnout was concerned, Haryana voters set a new paradigm for the state, while registering 72.71 per cent voting during 12th assembly election in the state. The previous record was 72.65 per cent in 1967. Among all 90 assembly seats, the highest polling at 87.25 per cent was witnessed in the Dabwali assembly constituency in Sirsa district. The lowest turnout of 54.25 per cent was recorded in Gurgaon; interestingly, Gurgaon had the highest number of voters at over 231,000.\(^{148}\)

Such a high turnout to an extent could be attributed to the fact that all the five political parties of the state namely, Congress, INLD, HJC, BJP and BSP, this time fought without any alliance, made efforts to mobilize people to vote. Significantly, 59 out of the 90 assembly segments mostly the rural ones recorded over 70 per cent polling. The polling clearly indicated that rural voters still have deep interest in state politics. However, in urban areas, particularly in the National Capital Region (NCR), indifference of voters was also quite evident. In NCR, voting was below 60 per cent in four assembly segments. The previous overall vote share record was 72.65 per cent in 1967. An analysis of the past trends however have shown that the state registering over 70 per cent polling six times out of the total 11 assembly elections.\(^{149}\) In the last assembly elections in 2005, it was 71.96 per cent. Interestingly, semi-urban and rural areas had larger turnouts compared to urban areas.\(^{150}\)

Haryanvi society is a conservative society where Khap Panchayats still have an upper hand, women have always played secondary roles in the “masculine” politics of the state. The state has produced some eminent women politicians, besides a few young women parliamentarians, including the leader of opposition in parliament. But in Haryana only one woman could occupy the prominent position of being the first Speaker of the Haryana Vidhan Sabha. The state is yet to have a woman chief minister. Though women accounted for 47 per cent of the total electors of 1.28 crore, the number of women contestants is just 5.6 per cent.

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There were only 67 women contestants amongst 1,222 candidates in the 2009 assembly polls, a few fractions lower than nearly six per cent recorded in 2005. Of the 60 women contestants in the last elections, 12 were elected to the assembly. It was perhaps the largest number of women legislators in the state assembly since 1966. The previous biggest group of women legislators was seven in the sixth Vidhan Sabha five from Congress and remaining two from Lok Dal. The highest number of women candidates contesting the assembly elections was 93 in 1996 and only four of them were declared elected.\footnote{Prabhjot Singh, ‘Four Seats yet to See a Woman Contestant’, retrieved on: October 14, 2009, from: http://www.tribuneindia.com/2009/20091014/haryana.htm} Four constituencies namely Guhla, Julana, Nuh and Sohna in the state are still waiting to have their first woman contestant. During these elections, Congress gave ticket to 10 females, INLD to five and HJC to six, BJP and BSP to four each. Out of 67 contestants, 29 were party nominees and rests 38 were independent candidates, but only nine of them could reach to the house. Seven of them belonged to Congress and one each to BJP and INLD.
Table No. 5.5

Assembly Elections, 2009

Results in Reserved Constituencies

(Seats Won by Political Parties)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the AC</th>
<th>Name of the Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sadhaura(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mullana(SC)</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahabad</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilokheri</td>
<td>INLD</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isharana</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guhla(SC)</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalanaur(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhajjar(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharkhauwa</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narwana</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalanwali</td>
<td>SAD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pataudi(SC)</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bawani Khera(SC)</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratia(SC)</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uklana</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalanaur</td>
<td>Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bawal(SC)</td>
<td>INLD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp

Out of 17 reserve seats INLD won nine including the seat won by its alliance partner SAD and the remaining eight seats were secured by the Congress.

Explaining the Verdict

The Congress slogan of “neta, niyat aur neeti” (leader, intention and policy) seemed effective as Congress was seeking votes for continuity of the infrastructural development process which was under way from the past four and half years, and
for ruling the state with honesty and transparency, for the wellbeing of all classes and groups.\textsuperscript{152} Central leadership of Congress had claimed that the incumbent government had delivered on its promise to initiate pro-people measures. “Peace, development and security” The Congress government had set up industries and paid attention to education.\textsuperscript{153}

Besides, Congress claimed to have provided a congenial atmosphere to the industry and investors in the state.\textsuperscript{154} Congress highlighted its achievements in terms of its initiatives taken for the welfare of farmers, minorities and other weaker sections of the society.\textsuperscript{155}

**Figure No.5:33**

**District Wise Performance of INLD, Assembly Elections 2009**

District Wise Seats Contested and Won

![Diagram](source:Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp)

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp


In terms of seats won, INLD gained enormously when compared to 2005 when it could secure just nine seats but in 2009, the party have gained 22 seats while winning 31 seats. However, its share dropped to just 1.10 per cent from 26.8% in 2005 to 25.8% this time.

The BJP which had contested elections independently, secured four seats in comparison to 2005 elections when it could win only two seats although, its votes share declined from 10.4 per cent to 9 per cent. BJP have won four seats each one in Ambala, Sonipat, Bhiwani and Faridabad (Palwal).

Haryana Janhit Congress (BL) which fought its first ever assembly polls, won six seats with 7.4 per cent of votes polled. In terms of vote share, HJC witnessed the decrease of 2.62 per cent in comparison to Lok Sabha polls of 2009. HJC was a vote splinter of Congress but was also looking for a foothold in state politics. Although its six candidates entered to the house but due to defection of five out of six of its MLA’s has resulted into Kuldeep Singh Bishnoi remained its single legislator in the house. HJC won two assembly seats in the home districts of its founder Bhajan Lal and one each in Karnal, Panipat, Bhiwani and Narnaul.

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), which polled 15 per cent votes during the last Lok Sabha elections, could not win even two seats out of total 90 it contested. Social engineering formula of BSP failed to bear fruit in Haryana legislative elections. Mayawati magic failed in Haryana mainly due to her non-Jat slogan. Failure of its alliance with HJC could also be cited as one of the reason of its poor performance, besides lack of strong organization and able leadership in Haryana. However, BSP was the only party whose vote share increased from 3.22 to 6.73 in comparison to 2005 assembly polls in the state, which argues well for the party in a state with sizeable Dalit population.

The Lok Sabha elections demonstrated the Congress party could still win 59 segments with 43 percent of votes, comfortably - even after over four years of Congress rule. The unexpected performance of Congress could be attributed to its infighting, overconfidence of leadership triggered by the results in Lok Sabha elections and ignorance of the loss in 31 assembly segments. Besides, Congress also lost some

Congress lost in the districts like Ambala, Yamunanagar, Kaithal, Jind and Karnal, where INLD made a comeback. The lost ground of Congress in these districts was due to anti-incumbency and might also be due to bad choice of candidates as ticket distribution left many rebels in the field as well as due to impact of delimitation of assembly constituencies, because due to delimitation nine legislative assembly got eliminated, and nine new came up, six general assembly got converted into reserved and the vice versa.

However, ruling Congress in Haryana not only experienced a sharp decrease in its tally of seats in the October 2009 assembly elections but also witnessed a decline in vote share in comparison to 2005 assembly polls. The party had come into power in February 2005 with thumping majority while limiting the incumbent INLD regime to just nine seats, this time its seats tally came down to 40, which amounted to a loss of 27 seats. Besides, it secured a vote share of 42.46 which fell to 35.07% during these elections, which meant the loss of 7.39 per cent.

**Figure No. 5:35**

**District-wise Performance of Congress**

District-wise Seats Contested and Won

Source: Http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/electionstatistics.asp
gained by INLD. Although, Congress fared well in the Jat heartland comprising districts like Rohtak, Jhajjar and Sonipat, which also happened to be Chief minister Bhupinder Singh Hooda’s bastions where the party bagged 13 of the 14 seats.\textsuperscript{159} After an impressive performance in the Lok Sabha polls, the Congress has seen a dent in its vote bank in the multi-cornered contests on all the 90 assembly seats this time. Congress hold over Rohtak seemed unshakable. Congress retained all the 4 seats of Rohtak. B.S. Hooda won with the margin of 72100 votes, the highest in these elections.\textsuperscript{160}

\textbf{Formation of Government}

The Congress, which emerged as the single largest party in the assembly while retaining 40 seats, staked its claim to form the government in Haryana after getting the support of all the seven independent legislators, as it managed the required majority in the 90 member assembly. In the meanwhile, the leadership also considered taking the support of Bhajan Lal’s HJC. HJC chief also had intensions of joining government and not to sit in opposition. HJC’s support seemed crucial as depending on independents may prove troublesome in long run.\textsuperscript{161}

Seven independent MLA’s in Haryana extended “unconditional support” to the Congress, which was six short of simple majority in the 90-member house, to form government in the state.\textsuperscript{162} Opposition (INLD) leader Om Prakash Chautala accused the Congress of ‘horse-trading’ (corruption) and urged the governor not to invite it to

\textsuperscript{159} The Jat-heartland or Deshwali belt is Hooda's pocket borough. Even the late Devi Lal, the influential Jat leader and father of Chautala who had contested Lok Sabha elections from the area was defeated by Hooda.


\textsuperscript{162} ‘Haryana: 7 Independents to Extend Support to Congress’ retrieved on: October 24, 2009, from: www.indianexpress.com/.../haryana-7-independents-to-extend-support/.../332380/ -24/10

321
form the government. He said the people had voted for 50 non-Congress legislators in the 90-member assembly.  

The state unit party president of Congress Phool Chand Mullana, who himself lost the election, was sent to Governor for staking claim to form the government. Congress legislators unanimously authorized party president Sonia Gandhi to decide the leader of the party in the new assembly. This decision was taken "unanimously" at a meeting, the three AICC observers Prithvi Raj Chavan, Mohsina Kidwai and BK Hariparsad had with all the 40 MLAs separately on the issue of election of leader of CLP. Besides, Hooda, among other strong contenders for the post of CLP leader and consequently chief minister was union minister Selja and Kiran Chaudhary.

However, Hooda remained the frontrunner for the office, against the wishes of his opponents. The anti-Hooda camp accused that the poor electoral performance of the party had resulted from the freehand given to the chief minister in selection of candidates for the polls. For them the Congress lost heavily in areas beyond Hooda's home district of Rohtak due to lopsided nature of development. Party leaders in Delhi have credited the "below expectations" performance to "overconfidence and complacency." Though Bhupinder Singh Hooda has returned to power for the second consecutive time, but his critics within the party have raised the questions on the 'No.1 Haryana' campaign. For them, the campaign was not based on ground reality as the development has taken place only in Rohtak region, otherwise Congress would have retained most of its seats.

Changes in the Electoral Preferences of Jats

The ongoing decade has witnessed a marked shift in the political preferences of dominant community i.e. Jats. Earlier they used to caste their votes for the candidates belonging to the same community fielded by an agriculturist's party. But now they

165 'No.1 Haryana: Slogan Not Based on Reality' retrieved on: October 27, 2009, from: http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india
have been voting for the candidates of their community even if not from an agriculturist party. Due to failure of non-Congress parties except INLD to project them as an alternative to Congress and to provide suitable leadership to non-Jats Congress has emerged as the main beneficiary. As it has gained Jats support along with its traditional support base among non agriculturists apart from SC’s and BC’s. Jats has emerged an important support base.

Congress from 2005 legislative polls onwards seems to have become one of the main claimant of the support of the Jat community. Till the last decade, Jats were perceived as the committed support base of any party led by Devi Lal or his clan in particular and of agriculturists parties in particular. Congress was being seen as a non-Jat party despite the dominance of Bansi Lal in Congress for 11 years. The political scene in Haryana has changed since 2004 Lok Sabha elections when Congress won nine out of total 10 Lok Sabha seats due to a combination of factors against the incumbent NLD government and than in 2005 Vidhan Sabha polls Congress performed commendably well while coming into power with thumping majority and B.S.Hooda became chief minister. Again in 2009 Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha polls Congress did really well and got the support of Jats. During these elections the INLD was also been able to win back the support of the Jats to the great extent.

Although, Congress has created history by forming second consecutive government and Hooda is heading it for the second term, it has lost 19 seats in just five months as in 2009 Lok Sabha elections it had won in 59 legislative assembly segments. This time INLD has gained immensely as it has won 22 more seats compared to 2005 elections. Opposition in the current Vidhan Sabha is strong. But the formation of 2nd consecutive Congress government is not a good sign for the political prospects of INLD, as it meant five more years in wilderness for a party based on politics of patronage.

Besides INLD, HJC however has been able to make its presence felt in the electoral verdict to an extent but the series of events which took place afterwards brought the party’s survival at stake. Party does seem to have a dim future in the politics of the state was amply clear from the unconditional merger of five of its six MLA’s into Congress. Moreover HJC is the only regional party of Haryana which could not even
win 10 seats in its first assembly polls. The other regional parties of the state, namely Vishal Haryana Party (1968), Lok Dal (1982) and Haryana Vikas Party (1991) secured 16, 31 and 12 assembly seats respectively in their first assembly elections. So, HJC would be counted as the weakest regional party in general and also as a party of one of the Lal of Lal trio of Haryana politics. The electoral verdict of 2009 has once again made it clear that Congress and INLD are the two major players of Haryana politics and Congress occupies the central position. The decade of 2000s belongs to Congress in Haryana.

Conclusion

Congress as national party and one regional party i.e. INLD in its different avatars have been the main political contenders in the political arena of the state. Congress occupies the central position. After independence, the Congress party came to dominate the area as it had inherited a status of dominance in Haryana as a legacy from Punjab. Congress, due to its strong organisational base and its image of umbrella like structure in the state had successfully challenged the weak opposition. In rural Haryana, however, Lok Dal had successfully challenged it and in the urban areas its ally BJP had managed to mobilise support in its favour and expand its own space. After witnessing a relative decline in the momentous decade of the nineties, the Congress has experienced an upswing in its electoral fortune in the new millennium.

INLD seemed to be nowhere in electoral sense before the 2009 assembly polls after its debacle in the Lok Sabha elections. However, the party has made a come back in the recent assembly elections. INLD has remained second largest party in the state. The Lok Dal has given tough fight to the Congress in the state and has provided peasantry a stable alternative to Congress at times. There have been short spell state level parties like VHP and HVP which made their presence felt from time to time but couldn’t pose serious challenge to the Congress for long time. Besides Congress, it was only Lok Dal headed by late Chaudhary Devi Lal and his political heir Om Prakash Chautala since 1980’s that have provided some sort of political party system to the state politics with their continuous presence. BJP and BSP are the other parties which also plays important role in the politics of the state from time to time. CPI (M) and CPI has been the non-entities in the state. BSP has also been an election party in the state which only secures one or two seats each time in the state. Hence, we can
conclude that nothing is permanent in politics and there could emerge some new equations in coming years in the politics of the state.

In its second term Congress has to perform consistently in maintaining the economic growth momentum and also keep a check on factionalised politics. If the party lacks on these front then it should be ready to be toppled and state may face another phase of political uncertainty. 'Aya Ram Gaya Ram' politics remains alive as was evidenced in the form of the desertion of the MLAs from HJC to Congress after the 2009 assembly elections. However HJC has to mobilise the opposition forces in a unified mode. A glance of electoral outcomes in the state since 1967 reveals that divided non-Congress opposition parties have never been able to match the strength of Congress. The fact is evident from the assembly verdicts of 1967, 1968 and 1991 and Parliamentary polls of 1967, 1980, 1984, 1991 and 2004. An alliance between urban support-based BJP with a rural support-based dominant regional party always have been electorally fruitful for the both alliance partners and have marred the electoral fortunes of Congress as evident from the verdicts of 1987, 1989, 1996, 1999 and 2000.