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INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

1) THE POLICY, PROGRAMME AND ELECTION MANIFESTO :

Each political party, taking part in the election issues an election manifesto stating its ^{policies} politics, programme and objectives¹. It outlines the policy and programme in accordance with its proclaimed ideologies and tries to find out the solution to national problems. In the words of - Prof. Hardegrave, the party manifesto "reflect the changing internal character of the party, the rise and fall of various factions, shifts in ideological stance, and efforts to secure new broadened basis of support".²

At the time of election, every political party -

publishes its manifesto to educate and influence the voters about its policies and programme. Palmer has rightly pointed that "one main channel through which the issues are - presumably identified and party's position on them explained is the election manifesto".³ The manifesto broadly presents framework of party's programme. Thus, ideology, policy and programme are closely linked with each other. Ideology is the unifying force that binds, the party together and guides the party in its day-to-day activities. Each party adopts the particular ideology and provides the alternative set of values. The party manifesto maintains its separate - identify with the help of ideology. On the ^{eve}are of election all the political parties declare their manifestos and put forward their policies and programme.

2) HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE PERFORMANCE OF INDIAN NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES FROM 1952 to 1967 :

A) THE FIRST GENERAL ELECTION (1952) :

The Indian constitution was promulgated on - 26-1-1950 and according that the first parliamentary elections on the basis of universal adult franchise were held. It was the first time in the history that such a large number of voters were allowed to vote and exercised their voting rights.

In the first general election there were a large n

number of parties in the political arena though the Congress was challenged by the socialist party and the CPI. This was because of number of factors. To put it in the words of Asoka Mehta, "with the achievements of freedom social and economic questions came to the fore. A number of radical groups, with varying understanding of socialism, broke from Congress after 1948 and embarked upon politics of social change. The most important of such group was the socialist party. It sought ~~to~~ sought to discover new ideological and organisational dimensions and to achieve a nation wide influence".⁴ The communist party was first time entering electoral politics after the reversal of Randive line. Fourteen parties contested the election. The congress was elected with thumping majority securing 364 out of 489 seats. "It might be said that the congress won in 1952 elections with resounding victory because the people could see and feel the great and historic role which the congress had played in winning freedom by a bloodless revolution".⁵ Next to congress the communist secured a large number of seats, winning 16 seats.

The Socialist party expected to emerge as the main opposition party because the leaders of this party - Jay Prakash Narain, Narendra Deo, Achutrao Patvardhan, Dr. Lohia were heroes of 1947 but the people did not favour the party though it secured more than 10.57% votes. The table given below shows the performance of the parties in the Loksabha.

TABLE - I

ALL INDIA PARTIES LOK SABHA FIRST GENERAL ELECTION (1952) :

Parties	Candi- dates	Sea- ts gai- ned	% seats	Votes Polled	% Votes	Votes per Candidate
Congress	472	364	74.4	47,665,875	45.0	1,09,987
CPI	49	16	3.3	3,484,401	3.3	71,110
SP	256	12	2.5	11,216,779	10.6	43,816
KMP	145	9	1.8	6,156,558	5.8	42,459
JS	93	3	0.6	3,246,288	3.1	34,906
HM	31	4	0.8	1,003,034	0.95	32,356
RPI	27	2	0.4	2,501,964	2.36	92,665
RRP	55	3	0.6	2,151,603	2.03	39,120
Other parties	215	35	7.2	11,739,244	11.1	54,601
Indepen- -dents	521	41	8.4	16,778,749	15.8	32,205
Total		489		105,944,495		

SOURCE: W.H. Morris Jones, The Government and Politics of India, P. 184.

B) THE SECOND GENERAL ELECTIONS (1957) :

The first Congress Government under the leadership of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru assumed the office and he consolidated the position of his party by undertaking planned development of economy and by implementing such ambitious programs like community development program, land reforms were implemented and right to property was curtailed. Nehru won stunning victories on diplomatic front and successfully handled tricky Kashmir question. The congress party stole the thunder of the opposition parties by accepting and implementing the principle of reorganisation of states on linguistic basis. In 1954-55 he forged friendly relations with soviet union and took leading part in the organisation of the first conference of Afro-Asian countries at Bandung. The congress party successfully incorporated newly emerging peasant leadership in most of the Indian states. Leaders like N. Sanjiva Reddy, J. Nijalingappa, Kamaraaj , Y.B. Chavan, P.S. Kairon emerged on the political scene. Second important development was that in its Awadi Session in Jan. 1955 the congress reaffirmed its faith in socialism and made it clear that the establishment of socialist pattern of society was the goal of the congress party.

When the congress party was consolidating its power, the main opposition party, the socialist party got split as J.P. and Achutrao Patvardhan retired from politics and Narendra Deo died. Acharya Kripalani resigned from the party

who merged his Praja party to make it the Praja Socialist party. Thus, by 1954-55 the socialist party got divided into the P.S.P. and the Socialist party led by Dr. Lohia. These two groups continued to come together and split - become ^{of} at their personality clash.

At the time of 1957 election, the position of the congress was consolidated as it successfully defeated the C.P.I. challenge in Andhra. The rightist challenge was not ^{serious} as Hindu communal parties lost their appeal and the Jana Sangha was bereft of any leadership.

The communist party maintained its position but Jan Sangh could not improve its position in the second general elections. It continued to remain a strong force in the northern parts of the country. "A remarkable fact about the Jan Sangh in the last five year is its slow but certain movements towards the position of a conservative force in certain respects".⁶

The election results were a shot in the arm of the congress party though it faced a serious reverse in Kerala where C.P.I. secured majority in state assembly. The - congress secured 47.0 % of votes, a tally no party could ever reach in the subsequent elections.

TABLE - II

ALL INDIA PARTIES LOK SABHA SECOND GENERAL ELECTION (1957) :

Parties	Candi- dates	Sea- ts gai- ned	% seats	Votes Polled	% Votes	Votes per Candidate
Congress	490	371	75.1	57,579,593	47.48	117,509
CPI	108	27	5.4	10,754,075	8.92	99,575
PSP	189	19	3.8	12,542,666	10.41	66,363
JS	130	4	0.8	7,149,824	5.93	54,999
HM	19	1	0.2	1,032,322	0.86	54,333
RPI	19	4	0.8	1,812,919	1.5	95,417
RRP	15	-	-	460,838	0.38	30,723
Other Parties	73	29	5.9	5,804,873	4.81	79,519
Indepen- -dents	475	39	7.9	23,377,805	19.39	49,216
Total		494		20,513,915		

SOURCE : W.H. Marris Jones, The Government and Politics of
India, P: 184.

C) THE THIRD GENERAL ELECTION (1962) :

The process of consolidation of the Congress party continued and the P.S.P. and S.P. failed to come together. Nehru continued to remain popular though he came under fire from the opposition over his China Policy. He liberated Indian territories Goa, Daman Div from Portuguese occupation and pursued his earlier policies of planned development with greater emphasis on industrialisation in the field of heavy industries. The communist party continued to expand its influence though it was badly faction riven.

The Congress party won the election securing 361 seats in Lok Sabha because of the charismatic leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. It was rightly pointed out that " the Congress held only one leader - Jawaharlal Nehru to 'sell' to the electorate, votes were frankly solicited by the congress in the name of at Nehru for instance, in an appeal to all patriots, emphasised 'Jawaharlal Nehru is a man without parallel our stability our freedom have flowed from the leadership he has given us all these years. To maintain pace, we must maintain leadership. Progress demands the leadership of Nehru".

The Swantra party was established by C. Raj Gopalchari in 1951 against the Socialist policies of Nehru. He was supported by such veterans like N.G. Ranga, Minoo Masani, K.M. Munshi and others. The Swatantra party was the party

of princes, businessmen, retired I.C.S. Officers and rich landlords. Through its great and talented stalwarts the party dominated our parliamentary debates for more than a decade. It represented the rightist forces in the country. It secured 18 seats in Lok Sabha. Jan Sangh improved its position by securing 14 seats. The position of Swatantra party and Jan Sangh marked the rise of rightist force in the Indian politics though C.P.I. continued to remain the second leading opposition. One can say that the rightist parties slowly out numbered and successfully pushed back the divided and split leftist parties.

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TABLE - III

ALL INDIA PARTIES - LOK SABHA THIRD GENERAL ELECTION (1962) :

Parties	Candi- dates	Sea- ts gai- -ned	% seats	Votes Polled	% Votes	Votes per Candidate
Congress	488	361	73.1	51,809,080	44.72	105,556
Swantan- -tra	173	18	3.6	9,085,252	7.89	51,988
CPI	137	29	5.9	11,450,037	9.94	83,577
PSP	168	12	2.4	7,848,345	6.81	46,716
SP	107	6	1.2	3,099,397	2.69	28,032
JS	196	14	2.8	7,415,170	6.44	37,832
HM	38	1	0.2	747,861	0.65	19,681
RPI	68	3	0.6	3,255,985	2.85	47,882
RRP	41	2	0.4	688,990	0.60	16,805
Other Parties	89	28	5.7	7,318,956	6.35	82,235
Indepen- -dents	480	20	4.0	12,749,813	11.08	26,562
Total		494		115,168,890		

SOURCE : W. H. Morris Jones, The Government and Politics of
India, P.: 185.

3) 1967 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION AS A BREAKING POINT :

Though the congress successfully over ^acome the - opposition challenge but it was to face the most dangerous decade in the history of independent India as it had to face three wars and loss of two prime ministers and the great split of the Congress in 1967.

The Sino-Indian War and the Indo-Pakistan War damaged the development activities and death of Nehru and Shastri further complicated the matter. The Congress, at that time was dominated by the syndicate. A weak Prime Minister - Mrs. Indira Gandhi was yet to prove her calibre.

In the middle of 1966, the country faced one of the most severe droughts and during that period the country was greatly dependent upon U.S.A. This is the period when under the pressure from U.S.A. the Government of India devalued its currency. Thus, at the time of 1967 general elections the Congress was in a very bad shape.

The communist party got split in 1964 and everly balanced two factions. The C.P.I. and the C.P.I.(M) contested the elections separately. The C.P.I.(M) was persecuted by the Congress Government because it was - thought to be pro-chinese but the party won a large number of seats in mid-term elections to Kerala. Both the parties emerged equally strong though C.P.I.(M)'s strength was concentrated in Kerala and West Bengal. The Socialist

parties come together in 1964 and formed the S.S.P. that was again got split in the P.S.P. and the S.S.P. After the split, the S.S.P. emerged stronger than the P.S.P. At the time of 1967 elections, the S.S.P. and its leaders Dr. R_am Manohar Lohia gave the slogan of anti-congression^{scri} and adopted militant tactics.

The rightist parties - the Swatantra and Jan Sangh made a spectacular progress as both the parties capitalised on the congress failure. Jan Sangh grew very fast because of upsurge of nationalisom as the result of China's aggression. They consolidated their position.

Considering the political situation the opposition parties and regional parties forged alliances and defeated the Congress in eight states. Non-Congress Government were formed in eight states. The congress party dominance come to an end. It has been rightly pointedout by Prof. Iqbal Narian that "the fourth general election has been a - landmark in the annuls of Indian political system".⁸ The fourth parliamentary election is the breaking point as the twenty five years congress regime came to an end in half of Indian States and the Congress majority at the centre was greatly reduced. The regional political parties and the opposition parties grew stronger.

The election results showed that the Swatantra party and the Jan sangh won 80 seats in Lok Sabha and secured

almost 260 lakh votes. This was beginning of the consolidation of the right alternative that left feuding communist parties long behind and incorporated different socialist elements in its fold.

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TABLE - IV

ALL INDIA PARTIES LOK SABHA FOURTH GENERAL ELECTION (1967) :

Parties	Candi- dates	Sea- ts gai- ned	% seats	Votes Polled	% Votes	Votes per Candidate
Congress	516	284	54.9	59,402,754	40.7	115,135
Swatan- -tra	179	44	8.5	12,659,540	8.7	70,825
CPI	110	23	4.4	7,564,180	5.2	68,765
CPI(M)	58	29	3.7	6,140,738	4.2	105,415
(CP Total)	168	42	8.1	13,704,918	9.4	87,086
PSP	109	13	2.5	4,456,487	3.1	40,885
SSP	122	23	4.4	7,171,627	4.9	58,784
JS	251	35	6.7	13,715,931	9.4	54,645
HM	-	-	-	-	-	-
RPI	70	1	0.2	3,607,711	2.5	51,539
RRP	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Parties	89	43	8.3	11,096,342	7.2	124,678
Indepen- -dents	865	35	6.7	20,051,200	13.8	23,181
Total		520		145,866,510		

SOURCE : W. H. Morris Jones, The Government and Politics of
India, P: 185.

4) PURPOSE OF STUDY :

The national political parties put their election manifestos before the electorate in every general election. If the manifesto plays the vital role in election, the question naturally arises whether the parties change their manifestos in accordance with the changing situation. The manifesto of national political parties are chosen to study because every national political party adopts a particular ideology and frames its manifesto accordingly. Moreover, it attempts to provide the alternative to the ruling party. The national parties try to put forth their ideas in the context of certain national problems.

The main reason for selecting the three parliamentary elections i.e. 67, 71 and 77 is that all the three elections were important for evolution of political ideology in our country as the parties contested the election on the issues prevailed at the time of election. Secondly, the Indian National Congress under Nehru dominated the political scene. There occurred a number of events such as the death of Nehru, two aggressions, by China in 1962 and Pakistan in 1965, Mrs. Gandhi's emergence as a new leader of the country between the third and fourth general elections. Therefore, the political scene on the eve of fourth general election was altogether different from earlier three elections. It resulted in reducing the majority of the Congress party. Non-Congress Government were formed in six states. Therefore, 1967 is the cut year of the Indian politics. Thirdly, over the years the ideological lines

became clearer than the earlier period as both rightist and leftist parties clearly articulated their ideologies. Fourthly, as a result of emerging clear ideological articulation it was realised that all the political - parties agree on certain principles and disagree on others. Thus, there are two aspects of modern Indian political ideology - issues on which there is national consensus and issues that are hotly contested.

Therefore, the study covers the comparative analysis of election manifesto of these parties issued in 1967, 71 and 77 general elections.

5) METHOD OF STUDY :

In this study an attempt is made to make a comparative study of manifestos of Indian National - Political parties. The method is comparative in the sense that it attempts to make a comparative analysis of the manifestos of political parties in three elections. Thus it is content analysis of the manifestos of - different political parties. The content analysis ~~is~~ is supplemented by critical and comparative perspective.

FOOTNOTES :

- 1) Chhabra Harindra K, State Politics in India,
P. 402.
- 2) Ibid P. 402.
- 3) Palmer N, Elections and Political Development,
P. 129
- 4) Maheshwari S.R., General Elections in India,
P. 68
- 5) Pattabhiram M. (Ed.) General Elections in India.
P. 32.
- 6) Poplai S.L. (Ed.) National Politics and Elections.
P. 38
- 7) Maheshwari S.R. Op. Cit.
P. 127.
- 8) Iqbal Narain, Twilight or Dawn
Political Change in India (1967-71) .
P. 71.

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