

C H A P T E R IV."The Decline of Janata Party in Maharashtra".1. The Janata Split at the Centre:-

The Janata Party since its inception was undergoing stresses and strains as there was constant infighting among its different constituents. A series of events mentioned below leading to the conclusion that the party as such never operated cohesively but on the contrary it was heading towards gradual distintegration- the end of which was the party split and resignation of the Janata Government.

1. The Janata was not a cohesive group and differences of opinion appeared on the surface because of selection of Prime Minister of the Country. Charan Singh supported Morarji Desai to scuttle the chances of Jagjivam Ram in return, he wanted to establish complete control over the party. He tried to undermine influence of his rival in U.P. politics H.B. Bahuguna, and denied tickets to his candidates in the assembly elections. Chandra Shekhar intervened and denied tickets to 90 nominees of Charan Singh. It was the burning desire of Charan Singh to be the Prime Minister of the country. Due to limited influence of the Janata party in the country, he thought that electorally Janata depended upon his political support base. All his moves were aimed at getting prime Ministerspost for himself.

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2. After the assembly elections in 9 states in which Janata formed Government in 7 states, the BLD-Jan Sangh combine shared power with mutual understanding - This caused fear in the small parties viz: the CFD, the Cong (O) etc - This gave rise to factionalism and finally resulted in tensions when the BLD-led CMs in U.P. Bihar and Haryana faced no confidence motion by fellow Janata men. The role of the High-Command also became a subject of controversy as the constituents interpreted it inimical to their interests. Chandrashekhar was under heavy attack from the BLD men especially from Raj Narain. He became vocal, Charan Singh resigned from the National Executive over Janata parliamentary Boards' decision to ask BLD chief Ministers to seek vote of confidence. As long as the alliance between the BLD and the Jan-sangh continued the status-quo could not be changed.
  
3. The Janata party's defeat in the assembly elections of Karnataka , Andhra Pradesh etc. because of the poor organisation and allotment of tickets to the former congressmen defected to Janata by Chandrashekhar in his bid to consolidate his position created tensions. Raj Narain held him responsible for defeat and demanded his resignation. Raj Narain opened a tirade against Chandrashekhar and was questioning the legitimacy of his continuation as party president. He further went

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to the extent of calling the national executive as illegal as according to him it was not elected but was ad-hoc in nature; the tenure of which was over.<sup>2</sup>

4. The matter worsened when Raj Narain was issued 'show cause notice' by the Janata Parliamentary board,<sup>3</sup> Charan Singh called it as the 'death mail'. Other BLD leaders S.N. Mishra, Rabi Ray, R.N. Yadav etc. joined the issue.<sup>4</sup> There was a talk of BLD revival.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand the former congressmen (0) like C.S. Gupta, Babu Shai Patel and the former Jan-Sangh men like Kusha Shai Thakre etc. welcomed the decision. This was a major conflict speaking in volumes of the future developments.

5. The Government faced first crisis when the union cabinet under the leadership of Morarji Desai decided to secure resignations of Charan Singh and Raj Narain on grounds of violating collective responsibility of the cabinet on 29.6.1978.<sup>6</sup>

Raj Narain's resignation as Health Minister was sought on grounds of addressing the public rally violating the article 144. Both of them resigned. In protest 4 ministers of state belonging to the BLD faction resigned from their respective Ministeries.<sup>8</sup> Rabi Ray resigned as the party General Secretary. BLD leaders like Devilal, R.N. Yadav, Karpoori Thakur and R.K. Amin condemned the decision.<sup>9</sup> The Jan-Sangh, the CFD and Socialists were with Morarji Desai. The BLD group felt alienated and resorted to pressure tactics against Morarji Desai by making remarks against him and by holding the Kisan Rally to show the strength of the BLD leader. Thus the Janata was facing

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crisis which involved younger leaders in mediating in between Morarji and Charan Singh.

Finally after 8 months of mediation by various leaders and especially after utilizing the good offices of J.P. Narain, Charan Singh was reinducted into the cabinet as Deputy Prime Minister with Finance Portfolio. Jagjivan Ram was also elevated to the Dy. Prime Ministership. Other BLD members who resigned from their ministeries were also reinducted with an exception of Raj Narain who was kept out.<sup>10</sup> By the time, the differences could be patched up, the relations were turned sore all under the garb of allegations and counter allegations. Madhu Limaye, George Fernandes were sore over Morarji Desai for not handing the corruption charges against Kanti Desai, Madhu Limaye resigned as General Secretary over the issue.<sup>11</sup>

6. The hopes of party unity after the patch-up of differences between Morarji Desai and Charan Singh and after the latter's reinduction into union cabinet were however belied, as the factional fights emerged at the state level. This time it were between the Jan Sangh and BLD factions. In the process U.P ministry collapsed,<sup>12</sup> soon the trouble spread in other Janata ruled states. The Jan Sangh and BLD and other constituents drew battle lines and there started a show of strength. Willy, nilly the central leaders had to interfere in it to serve their respective factional interests. All this resulted in ouster of BLD chief ministers first it was R.N.Yadav of U.P. then it was Karpoori Thakur<sup>13</sup> and Devilal.<sup>14</sup> The Jan-Sangh succeeded in the show of strength and its CM.

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Mr. Shanta Kumar survived in the show of strength. The BLD faction has hitting hard at the weakest link of the opposition faction i.e. blaming the Jan Sangh for its relation with the R.S.S. In this way they exposed over other factions the CFD and the socialists. Thus the BLD was hell-bent to alienate the Jan Sangh in the party and the dual membership issue proved handy for the purpose. The BLD succeeded in its tinade against the Jan Sangh over the dual-membership issue. All this developed a rift in the party as the Jan Sangh was not ready to break its relations with the RSS. The socialist leader Madhu Limaye joined Raj Narain who was already on warpath. Morarji Desai was behind the Jan Sangh and vice-versa. Amidst such factional fighting, there started the issue of organisation elections in the party. While the BLD was opposing it, the Jan Sangh and others<sup>16</sup> were insistent over holding organisational elections. Since the BLD, after the resignation of Charan Singh and Raj Narain and others from Morarji Government was out of power in the party as well, it could not pay much attention towards enrolling membership and other organisational issues. It was at weaker position. Hence they raised the issue of "Bogus-Member-ship",<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, the BLD was succeeding in strengthening itself with the support of C.F.D. men like H.N. Bahuguna etc. and some socialists to put them against the Jan Sangh. The strategy paid dividends in U.P. where the BLD with the help of CFD and socialists etc. got elected its leader Banarsi Das as the leader of Janata legislative party defeating the opposition faction candidate by 212 vs. 177 votes.<sup>18</sup>

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7. The last stage of the Janata infighting leading to split started when the Janata party disciplinary committee dismissed Raj Narain from the national executive for one year by 5 Vs 1 votes.<sup>19</sup> Raj Narain left the Janata party and formed the Janata (secular). Many BLD MPs joined the Janata (S) when the opposition leader Y.B.Chavan who regained his position as the leader of the opposition because of Deoraj Urs moved no confidence motion against Morarji Desai government. Thus the Janata government lost majority as the CPI-M Akali Dal DMK, PWP and several other small parties withdrew their support. As a result, Morarji Desai tendered his resignation as prime Minister. In Maharashtra too, the Janata split had some repercussions. Dr. Kumar Saptarshi Mrs. Mrinal Gore, Mrs. Shanti Naik, K.A.Khan, Nana Saheb Mane etc.<sup>21</sup> one MP and 6 MLAs resigned from the Janata to form the Janata(S).

2. The care-taker government of Charan Singh :-

Following the resignation of Mr. Morarji Desai Janata government, the President Mr. N.S.Reddy, invited Y.B.Chavan the opposition leader to form Government, but Y.B.Chavan failed to muster majority. Then Charan Singh who was backed by the Cong(S)<sup>22</sup> the CPI, the CPM, Akali Dal, the PWP and the ML and the Cong.(I) staked claim to form the government. The Janata party leader Morarji Desai also staked claim to form of government though both the groups could not secure support of majority as was evident from the lists of both the groups having common names. Soon; it was decided by N.S. Reddy that Charan Singh had

a greater support hence he asked him to form Government. The Congress (I) later withdrew its support and contended that it supported Charan Singh's government and not the Congress (S) which was the alliance partner sharing power with the Janata (S). Thus the Charan Singh government reduced to minority before facing the parliament. Y.B. Chavan had become the Dy. Prime Minister with 8 cabinet ministers. The Janata after its fall was facing another conflict as the parliamentary party leader Morarji Desai was not ready to resign owing to pressure from the various sections. But later, he stepped down. He was replaced by Jagjivan Ram who after the fall of Charan Singh's government before trial demanded the President to be invited to form the government but the President did not oblige and rather following the advice of Charan Singh, dissolved the Lok-Sabha and denied the Janata Party the chance to form the government. The President asked Charan Singh to continue as the care-taker Prime Minister. The Janata party condemned the President's what they called as "Pre-planned conspiracy". Chandra Shekhar said members of Janata in the Rajya Sabha would submit a motion of seeking impeachment of the president. Thus the Janata party was unhappy over President's order to dissolve the sixth Lok Sabha. With the dissolution of Lok-Sabha significance of Mrs. Gandhi rose high.

### 3. The Lok-Sabha Elections in Maharashtra:-

After the fall of Janata government at the centre, like in other states, in Maharashtra the Congress (I) was emerging

stronger. The former Chief Minister and the PDF Government's finance Minister Mr. S.B. Chavan joined the Cong (I) along with his partymen. He merged his Maharashtra Socialist Congress with the Cong (I). This was followed by many other leaders. The M.P.C.C (S) in the executive meeting attended by 31 of 33 members decided to merge with the Cong (I). The decision was supported by 22 MLAs out of 24 and 2 Rajya Sabha MPs out of 4 and 24 LCCs out of 34. Madhukar Rao Chowdhary and Shivaji Rao Girdhar Patil opposed merger. The Cong (S) saw a change in its leadership. Devraj Urs, the staunch supporter of Mrs. Gandhi and who was mainly responsible for the Congress split in 1978 resigned from the Cong (I) because of Mrs. Gandhi's authoritarian style of functioning. He then formed the Karanataka Congress and later merged it with the Congress (S). He was elected president of the Cong (S). He appealed Jagjivan Ram, Chandra Shekhar, Madhu Dandavate etc. to join the Cong (S) which then became the Cong (U) after Urs became President. In similar fashion N.M. Tirpude also resigned from the Cong (I) and joined the Cong (U). Sharad Pawar's Cong (P) decided to join the Cong (U) as it had the support of Y.B. Chavan.

In the face of elections, the Janata party failed to reach an agreement with the Cong (P). Only understanding over 18 seats was possible the P.W.P. also did not enter into alliance with the Janata.

a) Background :- The faith reposed in the Janata party was belied as the party never tried to behave as a united and strong party like a well-knit disciplined party. The split in the party



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did not cause much harm organisationally. to the state unit as the leaders who joined the Janata (S) were of trivial importance. The main reason for this was that the BLD did not have base in Maharashtra unlike the Northern states. The state unit was comparatively organised and disciplined party. It had to face elections because of the fault of other leaders outside Maharashtra State. On the whole, the state unit's performance was not bad looking at the strong congress base with strong support from sugar co-operative and other panchayati Raj institutions - almost all represented by the strong & rural elites always manipulating political power in conformity with their interests.

The Cong (I) which had successfully established itself in the state after 1978 was further strengthened with the merger of Cong (S) M.P.C.C. and Maharashtra Socialist Congress etc. The Cong (I) had already established its powerful base in Vidarbha, and some parts of Marathwada, Western Maharashtra, & Khandesh. The entry of leaders like Vasant Dada Patil, S.B. Chavan, Vikhe Patil and other Congr (S) leaders with some base - all on one platform was clear enough to understand the success of Cong (I) in consolidating votes rather than divisions as could have been the case of separate groups. On the other hand the Janata's efforts to consolidate its bases in rural-lever were not successful as was evident from the Z.P. elections in which the Janata had just got 204 out 1236. The Janata was

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deserted by the former allies as the P.W.F. - opted to go it alone. The Cong (P) or the Cong (U) failed to arrive at an understanding with the Janata. The urban support of Janata was on the verge of erosion gradually as was clear from the Bombay Corporation election in which Janata lost 35 seats out of 103 it contested and had suffered a loss of 25% votes. Further the Janata party was very much exposed as a party dominated by the Jan Sangh. What is more, the formation of Janata (S) in Maharashtra though by insignificant leaders was in fact the forecast of division of Janata votes only.

It was difficult for Y.B.Chavan to win the general elections in Maharashtra. As deputy Prime Minister of the Country he led the party in the election. He was supported by chief Minister Sharad Pawar and other leaders of the state but it could be seen that Indira Gandhi <sup>was</sup> proving more powerful for him.

The Congress (I) was on the crest wave of popularity as it acquired well organised election machinery and charismatic leadership of Mrs. Gandhi.

The Sugar lobby was a divided house in this elections. Some were under the influence of Cong (I), some were under the Cong (U) and a few were under the Janata. Thus it was as strong a force as it was previously because of its divided loyalties. Somewhat similar was the case of Z.Ps and other institutes - the sinews of power in rural areas.

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## 1980 Lok-Sabha Elections.

Regions.	Total votes polled.		Cong I.		Janata.		Cong. U.		Mon	FD	Con.	Mon	FD	
	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%						
Karnataka	180157	39.80	52	2	763381	42.37	53	3	34013	1.88	1	-	1	
Maharashtra	2452296	39.20	61	1	986845	40.24	55	5	14351	0.58	1	-	1	
West Bengal	2097073	56.95	66	6	403400	19.23	4	-	371455	17.71	4	-	1	
Maharashtra- Pune	4911255	54.57	1211	11	740330	15.07	7	-	2	1130678	23.02	8	1	-
Maharashtra- Nagpur	2333822	54.19	88	8	308727	10.88	5	-	3	359001	12.67	4	-	-
Maharashtra- Kolhapur	439382	61.37	1111	11	133510	3.04	5	-	1	184407	6.47	5	-	2
Total	12439844	52.93	4839	39	3765323	20.37	31	8	6	2192905	11.86	24	1	5

\* Janata (S) lost all the 17 (deposits) - Total 196139 total votes (1.06%)

Source : Poll Statistics - General Elections to Lok Sabha 1980 Maharashtra Government Press Bombay 1980 pp10,11,12, 15,17

Issues:- The Congress (I) gave the slogan that it would give stable and effective government to the country. The Janata was plank was 'save democracy'. It was harping on the same old rhetoric of democracy, dictatorship and total revolution of Jaya Prakash Narain.

While Mrs. Gandhi was convincingly capitalizing over the Janata's inability to rule. She was demanding the vote for stability and to the party that works. She was attracting large crowds all over the state.

Y.B. Chavan and Sharad Pawar laid stress upon authoritarianism of Indira Gandhi. Y.B. Chavan warned this would be last election if Mrs. Gandhi's Congress got elected?

b) Election Results and Analysis:- The elections were swept by the Cong (I) which wrested 39 seats out of 48, the Janata got 8 and the Cong (U) secured one seat, while the P.W.P. drew a blank. The Cong (I) totally got 9790504 votes (52.98%) and got 39 seats (81.25%) while the Janata secured just 8 seats out of 31 it contested. Secured a total of 3765823 votes (20.30%) followed by the Cong (U) which contested 24 seats got only one seat of Y.B. Chavan from Satara. The Cong (U) got 21,92,905 votes (11.86%). The newly formed Janata (S) contested 17 seats but lost deposits in all constituencies, it got only 196189 votes (1.06%).

The Cong (I) lost - 9 seats while it had contested all 48. The seats it lost were, 5 in Bombay, 3 in Kokan and only one in Western Maharashtra.

It indicated that the Janata still had its hold over Bombay where it swept all the 5 seats. But Janata had got 49.10% in 77 elections while in 1980 elections it got 42.37% - There was an erosion of 6.73% of votes. But on the whole the Cong (I) could not make a dent into the Janata strong-hold in Bombay.

In Kokan, the Janata had fielded 5 candidates in all Kokan constituencies - it got 3 seats and lost 2 to the Cong (I). In fact it lost only those seats which it did not contest in 1977 elections. Secondly, these two constituencies were rural constituencies - connoting that the Janata had no support in rural areas. In terms of votes, Janata had secured 72.37% of votes as against 34.79% in 77. This was because the Janata contested 2 more seats in 1980 elections. On the whole, the Janata bases were intact in Kokan as well. The Cong (I) capitalized on the division of votes between the Janata and allies which in 1980 elections were bifurcated.

In Vidarbha, the Janata contested 5 seats one more than 77 general elections but failed to secure even a single seat. While it got 2 seats in 77. The Cong (I) wrested all the 11 seats in Vidarbha and secured 61.37% votes. Janata got 3.04% as against 15.46% in 77 general elections - indicating a loss of 12.42% votes meaning clearly the erosion of Janata support. The Cong (I) on the other hand had got 45.96% votes in 77 and increased it to 61.37% votes in 1980 elections - a gain of 15.51% votes - the Congress(I) further consolidated its traditional <sup>base</sup>%. Also it could be

concluded that the Cong (I) in 1980 was more united and was geared up with zeal as compared to the divided house of 77. Though the state Cong (I) had lost its pioneer leader Mr. Tirpude.

The Janata stood second in 4 out of 5 seats it contested. The Cong (U) fielded 5 and lost all in which 2 candidates lost the deposit while the party emerged as the second number at 2 constituencies. The Cong (U) had no base in Vidarbha.

In Marathwada, the Cong (I) won all 8 seats Janata contested 5 seats and got 10.88% against 18.98% votes in 77 - a loss of 8.10% votes - it was because of the change in loyalty of Muslims in Marathwada especially in Aurangabad, Jalna, Hingoli, where they constituted sizeable section of the population and because of the consolidation of congress votes. The Cong (U) contested 4 seats ~~to~~ ~~105~~ and lost all. It secured 12.67% of votes more than the Janata. In 1978 elections, the then Cong (R) secured 16 assembly seats and stood second in 14 seats. Thus the party faced erosion of bases in Marathwada. They party got more votes than Janata - meaning ~~that~~ the Congress (U) had rural support. The Cong (I) got 54.19% of votes. Thus in Marathwada also, the Cong (I) consolidated its bases.

In Khandesh also, the Cong (I) wrested all the 6 seats (56.95% votes) as 19.23% votes by Janata and 17.71% votes of Cong (U).

In all the 288 assembly constituencies, the Cong (I) secured majority in 238 constituencies (82.64% seats) while the Janata<sub>31</sub> secured majority in 35 assembly constituencies. (12.15%) seats.

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In Bombay, the Cong (I) secured majority in 16 assembly constituencies. - All these 16 constituencies had good number of either Muslims or BCs.<sup>32</sup>

On the whole, the Cong (I) got 52.98% votes as against 20.37% votes by Janata and 11.86% votes by the Cong (U) and 2.35% votes by the P.W.P. The Cong (I) got more than all the votes of Janata and the former elites (which fought alone in 1980 elections). Together, the Janata, the Cong (U), the P.W.P, the RRI(K) the RPI(Khob) Janata (S) and CPM etc - secured 40.45% votes - 12.99% votes less than secured by the Cong (I). Thus the Cong (I) had absolute support - support from all over the state, even in Bombay and Kokan the vote catching capacity of Cong (I) had increased.

The Janata in the 1980 elections, emerged prominently as a regional party in the state. The elections confirmed the supremacy of the congress over the state like the one it enjoyed before 1977 elections. The Janata party had got some Muslims and BC votes in 1977 and 1978 elections but they switched back to the Cong (I) again in 1980 elections.<sup>33</sup> The trend further showed that the electoral division of the state was a passing phenomenon. The former elites which were dismantled in the wake of Janata rule once again rehabilitated to their old position. It was realignment of the fragmented political forces in the state in the form of Cong (I) to a great extent. The Janata emergence had fragmented the congress, but the process was not complete. The Janata could not finish the fragmented forces. The fragmented forces on the other hand consolidated themselves in the form of Congress (I) which demanded loyalty to the central leadership of Mrs. Gandhi and successfully isolated the leadership

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of Y.B.Chavan from his own following - it could be clearly concluded that since he changed his policy of not remaining loyal to the central leadership after 1977 elections, he was on the verge of political decline, while those remaining firm to the principle of loyalty to the central leadership of Mrs.Gandhi, once again succeeded in rehabilitating themselves with the reemergence of Mrs.Gandhi. Y.B.Chavan influence-received setback was the last phase of his political leadership in the state. The fragmented forces realigned in their defence to fight together the real danger to their political existence as such - and in the process not only the new force (the Janata) was cut to size, but the status-quo in the state was restored.

4. The Janata split and formation of BJP:- After the elections 20 Cong (I) MPs and 15 Cong(I) MLAs demanded that the state governor should dissolve the assembly. The Cong (U) defeat had <sup>34</sup> once again proved that the Cong (I) was real congress. Many Cong (U) leaders began to cross-over to the Cong (I). The PDF strength came down from 180 to 167. Ministers like, Sunder Rao Sohanke Nakhate etc. with 7 MLAs joined the Cong (I) Mr. Kasture- the community welfare minister along with 7 MLAs (Vidambh Sabha) <sup>35</sup> and 2 MLCs joined the Cong (I). Ratnappa Kumbhar, Mane, Dada Shaheb Rupanvate and Sushil Kumar Shinde joined the Cong(I). <sup>36</sup> Meanwhile the election of speaker Janata's candidate Pranlal Vora became speaker getting 167 votes against 96 votes of <sup>37</sup> Krishna Rao Munde of the Cong (I). The PDF was facing fluctuations in the face of Cong (U) MLAs defections as mentioned above. The Janata party too was a divided house. The dual-membership



issue which rocked the party was again raised by Jagjivam Ram who blamed the RSS for its as a political organisation. He resigned from the Janata party and later formed the Cong.(J). Soon the 9 state assemblies were dissolved by the new Government including Maharashtra. Meanwhile the dual-membership issue was hotly debated in the party. The Janata parliamentary Board in a meeting declared that the Janata members should sever their links with the R.S.S. But the former Jan Sangh members objected to the decisions. The R.S.S. elements pressurised the Jan Sangh leaders to maintain the status-quo and ruled out any change in the previous relations with the R.S.S. On April, 1980, the Janata party finally put the curtain and got passed the resolution by 17 votes to 14 votes in the national executive declaring the Janata members from taking part in the R.S.S. activities. Men like N.G.Gore insisted that the issue should be settled once for all. The Jan Sangh faction came out and formed the new party under the leadership of A.B.Vajpayee as the Bhartiya Janata party. Thus the Janata party split affected the Janata party in Maharashtra also. Because the Jan Sangh enjoyed some support in the urban pockets and after coming to power in the form of Janata it consolidated its position in urban areas like Bombay and Thane.

5. The Assembly elections 1980 :- The Assembly elections were declared on 27th and 30th May 1980. as the P.D.F. government was dissolved after the Cong (I) victory in the state as well as in the whole country. The depleted Janata party had to face elections single handedly. The party was split and the former

Jan Sangh contesting election in the form of BJP. The party symbol was frozen. It was given a new symbol "Umbrella" because of the split, & its organisational strength was reduced. On the other hand the Cong (I) had almost single-handedly swept the polls. After Lok-Sabha elections many leaders of Cong (U) had joined the Cong (I) and the Cong (I) was all set to repeat the performance of the recently held Lok-Sabha elections. The Janata was facing the division of votes and there was no hope of any reversal as the party had no base compared to the strong Cong (I).

The Janata was trying to work out an understanding over seat adjustment. The party fielded 111 candidates, while the Cong(U) contested 193 seats the P.W.P. contested 38 seats. While the newly formed BJP fielded 145. The BJP declared support to 6 Janata MLAs.

The state Cong (I) was working very hard under the leadership of A.R. Antulay- the General Secretary of Cong (I). The strategy of Mrs. Gandhi was to finish the influence of dominant castes asserting in the form of political power. This was helpful to Antulay also, who almost conducted the whole election proceedings - It was he who declared the list of the party candidates and allotted party tickets to his supporters - much to the dislike of Congressmen like Vasant Dada and Mohite etc. who joined the Cong (I) after the Janata split. These leaders were helpless as Mr. Antulay enjoyed the support of Mrs. Gandhi. Sharad Pawar appealed Vasant Dada to join the Cong (U) and lead it but Vasant Dada was shrewd enough not to commit such political mistake.

The process which Mrs. Gandhi started to cut the Maratha leadership to size; was almost complete after the reemergence of Mrs. Gandhi - no leader could challenge her power. This led the Cong (U) leaders to make communal appeal under the caption; 'Maharashtra's self-respect was in danger'. Antulay warned Y.B. Chavan not to paly on communal sentiments.<sup>30</sup>

The Janata party was not facing elections to come to power on its own strength. It was just to test its strength under the changed circumstances, it had to begin once again to consolidate its base and establish at places when it was not strong. Similarly the elections were important to the extent of deciding as to which party was stronger in Maharashtra, the Janata or the B.J.P.

The Cong (U) was to rehabilitate itself. Sharad Pawar did not yield before the Cong (I) and had chosen to remain in Cong (U). He was trying to muster the support of Maharashtra's youth to appeal them to preserve the self-respect of Maharashtra. Of course, this was the only issue at the time of elections. Secondly, the Sharad Pawar Government i.e. the P.D.F. had performed well on all fronts. He was keen to continue the politics of alliance. He commissioned services of Y.B. Chavan for this.

The BJP too like the Janata was examining its strength in the new environment.

<sup>39</sup> Election Results and Analysis:- <sup>40</sup> In the elections the Cong (I) got 186 seats, the Janata 17 and the BJP 14. While the Cong (U) got 47 and thus emerged as the second largest party in the state. The Congress got in all 44.52% of votes the Congress (U) - 20.75%;

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the Janata 8.64% votes and the BJP - 9.17% votes. The Cong (I) suffered a loss of 8.46% of votes and lost majority in 52 constituencies compared to the Lok-Sabha elections in 1980 in which the party had secured majority in 238 constituencies.

In Bombay, the Cong (I) secured 26 seats and 44.74% of votes gain of 5.54% votes and a majority of 10 assembly constituencies - in 1980 Lok-Sabha, the party had majority in 16 assembly constituencies - a gain of 10 seats in the assembly elections. On the other hand, the Janata could get only 2 seats and 15.59% of votes while it had majority in 18 assembly constituencies and had secured 40.24% of votes in 1980 Lok-Sabha - a loss of 24.65% votes. This showed that the Janata suffered erosion in its strong-hold Bombay. This was partly because of the reduced strength after the split. In Bombay the Janata stood second in 5 constituencies and third in 14 & 5 candidates lost deposits. While the BJP contested 26 seats and got 5; stood second in 15 and third in 5 constituencies. It secured a total of 24.97% of votes. Thus the BJP performed better than the Janata in Bombay in terms of seats and in terms second and third position. The reason for this was it had a well-knit organisation and support of R.S.S. workers. It had also some urban base even when it was the Jan Sangh.

VII

Statement showing details party performance in terms of seats contested, won, forfeited Deposits, second and third highest no of votes by four major political parties in Assembly elections May 1980.

Regions.	Total seats.	Janata.			BJP			Cong I			Cong U											
		Con.	W.	FD	II	III	III	Con	W.	FD	II	III	Con	W	FD	II	III					
Bombay	34	25	2	11	5	14	26	5	1	15	5	34	26	-	8	8	-	7	-	4		
Kokan	31	17	5	3	9	2	18	3	9	6	8	31	18	-	13	11	-	1	9	1	1	
Khandesh	36	15	4	5	5	1	14	-	9	4	3	36	22	-	12	21	-	6	1	11	1	1
Marathwada	46	16	-	10	4	6	19	1	14	4	10	46	25	2	18	2	41	17	7	14	9	9
W.Maharashtra	75	25	6	10	5	8	27	2	18	2	16	73	40	3	28	4	63	20	12	26	10	10
Vidarbha	66	13	-	11	2	5	41	3	20	16	13	66	55	-	11	-	49	3	22	24	10	10
Total	288	111	17	50	30	36	145	14	74	44	55	286	186	5	90	9	193	47	57	76	35	35

Statement showing valid votes polled by Cong (I), Cong (U) J.P. BJP

Region-wise in the Assembly Election 1980.

Region	Valid Votes Polled.	INC I Votes.	%	Cong(I) Votes	%	Janata party Votes	%	B.J.P. Votes	%
Bombay	1674551	749269	44.74	39600	3.36	261138	15.59	418063	24.97
Kokan	1630960	720959	43.67	63516	4.04	310615	19.77	244376	12.82
Khandesh	2205474	969949	44.77	504653	22.19	283317	12.94	118020	5.67
W.Maharashtra	5033463	2139865	42.51	1517098	30.14	406891	8.08	191294	3.80
Marathwada.	2972062	1232218	41.46	874777	29.43	160316	5.39	144422	4.86
Vidarbha	3981210	1978495	49.70	632783	15.89	88765	2.23	483508	12.27

Total : 288 Seats. 1749720 7790755 44-52 3632427 20.75 1511042 8.64 1604683 9.17

Source : Roll Statistics General Election ; Government Press Bombay 1981  
PP-317, 318, 320 & 321.

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The Cong (U) contested 8 seats and lost all with the security deposits. In Bombay the party had no base.

In Kokan out of 37 seats, the Cong (I) got 18 and stood second in remaining 13 and it got 43.67% of votes - a gain of 3.87% compared to the Lok-Sabha elections when it had established lead in 14 Assembly constituencies; meaning a gain of 4 seats in the assembly elections. This was clearly the result of consolidation of Congress votes in the Janata strong hold. The Janata Party got 5 out of 17 it fought while it got 19.77% of votes - a loss of 22.6% of votes compared to the Lok-Sabha polls - the indication of waning support base; further confirmed by the fact that while it got majority votes in 14 constituencies in Lok-Sabha which was reduced to 5 - thus it lost majority support ~~12~~ in 9 more in this elections. The Janata stood second in 9 seats and third in 2 seats while 3 candidates lost deposits. The BJP contested 18, got 3 and scored 12.82% votes it stood second in 8 seats, third in 8 seats - compared to Janata, the BJP performance was poor from all angles. In fact this was because of the work of the socialists who had base in Ratnagiri district. The Cong (U) contested 11, got just one (1); lost deposits in 8 seats and stood second in one constituency - connoting that the Cong (U) was not at all a party with any base in Kokan. The Janata, the BJP, the Cong (U) together constitute less than the Cong (I) seats and votes i.e. 9 seats together - half of the Cong (I)'s 18 seats and the 3 major opposition parties totally got 36.63% votes as against 43.67%

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by the Cong (I). Thus it was clear that the Cong (I) established its hold over Kokan region and wiped out the Janata party, not to speak of other parties which did not have worthwhile base in Kokan.

In Vidarbha, the Cong (I) got 55 out of 66 seats and stood second in remaining 11 seats; it got 49.70% votes as against 61.37% in the Lok-Sabha - a loss of 11.67% of votes. And in Lok-Sabha (1980) the Cong (I) had established lead in 61 seats and in the assembly it was reduced to 55 seats only - a loss of 6 seats.

The Janata fielded 13 and drew a blank and 11 candidates lost the deposits while stood second in two seats and third in 5 seats; totally the Janata got 2.23% of votes as against - 3.04% in Lok-Sabha elections - besides in the Lok-Sabha it had secured position in two assembly constituencies. The BJP fielded 41 candidates and got 3 seats stood second in 16 and third in 13 seats with a total of 12.27% votes. The results were a morale booster to the BJP as it performed better than the Janata. The Cong(U) fielded 49 and got 3 seats, stood second in 24 and third in 10 seats while 22 candidates lost deposits. The Cong (U) secured 15.89% votes as against 6.47% in the Lok-Sabha (1980) elections - a gain of 9.42% of votes - an indication of some improvements since the Lok-Sabha elections. The Cong (U) emerged as the second largest party in Vidarbha-

In Marathwada, the Cong (I) got 25 out of 46 seats and stood second in 18 and third in 2 seats. Secured 41.46% of votes - against 54.19% in Lok-Sabha - a loss of 12.73% votes - and 21 seats as it had secured majority in all the majority in all the 46 assembly constituencies in the Lok-Sabha elections indicating



erosion of some base in the assembly elections. The Janata had contested 16 seats and lost all with 10 security deposits lost; it stood second in 4 and third in 6 seats. It secured a total of 5.39% of votes as against 10.83% in the Lok-Sabha elections with further erosion of 5.49% votes. The Janata did not get majority even in a single assembly seat in the Lok-Sabha poll which was repeated once again in the assembly elections - while the party had secured 15 seats in the 1978 assembly elections; thereafter it lost its bases. The BJP fought 19, got one; stood second in one and third in 10 seats and lost deposits in 14 seats. It got 4.86% of votes. The Cong (U) fought 41, got 17 and stood second in 7 seats. Totally the Cong (U) polled 29.43% of votes - against 12.67% in Lok-Sabha - a gain of 16.76% votes. Similarly the Cong (U) did not get majority even in a single assembly constituency in the Lok-Sabha election but in the assembly elections it got 17 seats - an indication/<sup>of</sup> increase in support to the Cong (U). The Congress (U) emerged as a second largest party in Marathwada too. It was gradually rehabilitating its base in the region. It was an indication of the popularity of Shardd Pawar who was becoming strongleader - a man of his own making in state politics.

The Western Maharashtra also behaved the Marathwada way in assembly elections. The Cong(I) which suffered losses in its base in Vidarbha, Marathwada also suffered losses in the Western Maharashtra. The Cong (I) got 40 out of 73 seats it-fought and secured 42.51% of votes. Comparison of these results with those of the Lok-Sabha elections of 1980, that the

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Cong (I) undergone losses of 12.06% votes and 21 assembly constituencies. The Cong (U) on the other hand fought 63 seats and got 20; stood second in 26 and third in 10, while lost deposit in 12 seats. The Janata contested 25 got 6; stood second in 5 and third in 8 and lost deposits in 10 seats. It got 8.08% of votes as against 15.07% in the Lok-Sabha - an erosion of 6.99% votes and in terms of seats; it got 4 more seats. The Janata after split saw its erosion in terms of votes only. Those votes might be the BJP votes. As compared to 1978 assembly elections, the Janata then had got 30 seats and in this 1980 assembly elections reduced to... just 6 seats - confirming the view that the party was declining.

The BJP fielded 27 candidates got 2, stood second in 2 and third in 16 seats and lost deposits in 18 seats with a total of 3.80% votes - i.e. 4.28% less than the Janata. The Janata emerged third followed by the BJP in Western Maharashtra.

The Congress losses were attributed by the Cong (I) leader Mrs. Premela Chavan to Mr. Y. Mohite's anti-party activities. The dominance of Antulay over the party affairs was disgusting to the Vasant Dada group. Similarly, the strength of Maratha candidates was also considerably reduced to 33% in allotting tickets with a view to reduce the dominant caste's influence. This was shrewdly capitalized by Sharad Pawar who made a dent in the Cong (I) base and showed his potential strength in the assembly elections.

In Khandesh, the Cong (I) got 22 out of 36 seats and stood second in 12 and third in 2 and secured total of 44.77% of votes

against 56.95% and majority in 35 assembly constituencies in Lok-Sabha elections undergoing loss of 12.18% of votes and 13 seats -Khandesh also observed the erosion of Cong (I) base to a little extent. The Janata fought 15, got 4, stood second in 5 and third in 1 and lost deposits in 5 constituencies. It secured 12.94% votes as against 19.23% in the Lok-Sabha - while in the Lok-Sabha the Janata <sup>not</sup> did/secured majority in any constituency, it got 4 in the assembly polls - The BJP fought 14, got no seat, stood second in 4 and third in 3 while it lost deposits in 9 seats. The BJP fell behind the Janata in Khandesh. On the other hand, the Cong (U) fielded 21; got 6, stood second in 11 and third in 1 seat while lost deposit in 1 seat. Totally the Cong (U) polled 22.19% as against 17.71% in Lok-Sabha - increased its strength by 4.48% - similarly in Lok-Sabha, it did not secure lead in any constituency with in the assembly elections it got 6 seats. Thus the Cong (U) was emerging as a second largest party in Khandesh also.

On the whole, the Cong (U) emerged as the second largest party in the state pushing back the Janata and BJP in the assembly elections.

6. Trends of the Assembly elections :-

While the electorate voted once again for stability; it opted for the party represented by the whole state and not any regions leading to instability in the state; secondly after the failure of Janata party in Maharashtra and successful reinstallation of the Congress dominance in the Lok-Sabha; the state in the assembly elections saw the emergence of healthy opposition in the

form of (96 seats out of 288) front under Sharad Pawar. This was a healthy sign for successful functioning of the democratic system. Thus one could conclude that the state did not undergo an extreme point voting behaviour totally voting for and against any party.

The state was experiencing a change in its leadership - the trend which started in 1977 - to change the leadership - saw many fluctuations and ultimately emerged a new leadership - as was the strategy of Mrs. Gandhi who after her defeat, rallied the depressed classes and depended on their support. She remerged successfully after that. In fact she was aware of the fact that the state leadership (Y.B. Chavan group) did not enjoy the support of the weaker sections and she then exploited their weakness and defeated the rival groups.<sup>42</sup>

Another trend of the election was that the smaller parties, the communal parties and the P.W.P. etc. were rejected by the electorate by and large.

Another significant development was the emergence of pressure group in the form of Sharad Joshi's farmer organisation which enjoyed support in Pune District. It succeeded in influencing the rural voters - though the impact was felt to a small degree.

The assembly elections saw the increasing influence of the Congress (I) in Bombay and Kokan also where the party left behind the Janata party.

As far as the Janata party was concerned, there was total decline of 17 seats instead of 99 it secured in 1978 assembly elections. The split in the party was responsible for this. Both the Janata and the B J P lost 31 seats because of their mutual fighting. Also, there was a loss of confidence in the party as the people did not like behaviour of its leaders since 1977. Though the Janata party got divided and declined, it party enabled the Congress (U) to emerge as a strong political party in the State.

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