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**THE  
FOURTH GENERAL ELECTION  
IN  
INDIA**

*—An analysis—*

EDITED BY :  
ANJAN KUMAR BANERJI

**B E N S O N ' S**  
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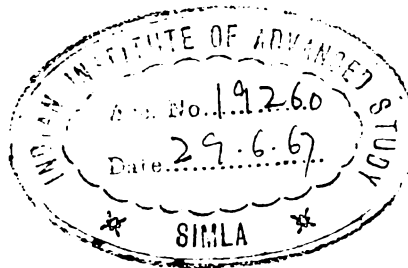


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To  
My Mother

*Democracy is based on the active and intelligent interest of the people in their national affairs and in the elections that result in the formation of Governments.*

*Every party and every candidate must be given a fair and equal chance in elections. The fact that one party happens to be in charge of Government does not entitle it to any special privileges during the elections.*

**—Jawaharlal Nehru**

(Broadcast from New Delhi, November 22, 1951)



## *Editor's Note*

IF there was ever any doubt that no change in Government could be brought about in India except through bayonets and bullets, that must be completely dispelled by the results of the Fourth General Election. There could be no more sweeping or revolutionary change than what has been dramatically achieved through the ballot-box.

True, this year's election will go down in the history of India as the silent revolution, or rather, revolution by consent.

The Opposition parties did not in their wildest dreams hope, nor did the ruling party in their worst fears anticipate, such results.

But why this happened ? Why the ruling party was forced to sit in the Opposition in as many as nine States ?

The answer, which differs from person to person, politician to politician, is here given by a number of top statesmen, journalists and political thinkers whose articles or speeches I have used for the preparation of the book. I am thankful and indebted to all of them.

*No Democracy can exist for long in the midst  
of want and poverty and inequality.*

—**Jawaharlal Nehru**

(Address at Columbia University,  
New York, October 17, 1949).

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By ANJAN KUMAR BANERJI

In English :

.. Story of the Swelling Numbers in India

(Foreword : Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao)

Acharya Brajendra Nath Seal

(Foreword : H. H. Jayachamaraja Waidyar)

Guru Govind Singh

(Message : Dr. S. Radhakrishnan

Foreword : Sardar Hukam Singh)

Nehru and Soviet Russia

(Recipient of Soviet Govt. Nehru Award)

The Triumph and Tragedy in Tashkent

(Recipient of Soviet Govt. Nehru Award).

## CHAPTER : ONE

# *Why Congress Debacle ?*

—K. Kamraj

Inadequate implementation of accepted socialist measures was one of the main reasons for the Congress Party's reverses in the recent General Election. While the socialist professions of the Congress frightened the well-to do, the poor were disappointed by the performance.

We have been talking of socialism without doing anything substantial. We passed a resolution to limit urban property holdings. We decided to eliminate private control of farm products processing industries, we undertook to check profiteering in and hoarding of foodgrains, we even legislated for a fair deal for the poor peasants and tenants, we resolved to take a greater share of capital gains, we wanted to start consumer industries in the State sector and so on.

All this frightened the rich and they went against us. But in practice we failed to carry out many of these decisions. This created frustration among the masses. On paper we had a better programme than many other parties. But its imperfect implementation chilled the enthusiasm of party workers. They could not speak with conviction, though they worked with dedication because of their loyalty to the party.

The in-fighting among party-leaders assumed larger proportions during the election. This was because the

Congress was losing its grip on policies and programmes, and individuals were more and more thinking of office and legislatures. If we can restore the primacy of policy and recapture the old spirit of service, I am sure the people will respond.

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Adapted from an interview with the U.N.I. Representative in New Delhi.  
(Hindusthan Standard, dated March 17, 1967).

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## CHAPTER : TWO

# Election Vindicated People's Faith In Democracy

—*Jayaprakash Narayan*

The election proved to be the first real one, the voters having been freed from the charm that history has cast upon them. And though there were isolated cases of violence, on the whole, it was peaceful, revealing an unsuspected maturity on the electorate.

The election has reassured the people not only about their country's capacity for survival but also about its inner vitality and collective wisdom.

For us of the Gandhian movement, election must for these reasons mean a renewal of faith and hope and a fresh call to press on with our own work. What the political parties do with their success and failures depends entirely upon them. The Congress is still the largest single all-India party. Therefore, whether in office or in Opposition its actions will greatly affect the country's fortune. It is regrettable, therefore, that the Congress does not seem to have learnt the right lessons from the elections.

It was not only the rising prices and scarcity of food that caused the Congress debacle. An equally important cause, if not more, was the unashamed tolerance with which the Congress treated corruption, even in its highest ranks, as well as in the administration. That tolerance in

turn was induced by an insatiable thirst for power and a determination to stick on to it at any cost.

Another vice that the Congress had acquired on account of its prolonged enjoyment of power and that had made it unpopular was its arrogance and complete indifference to public opinion, unless forced by civic disorder to take note of it.

Opposition parties, in spite of their diversities, had come together in order to give to several States non-Congress Governments. This was exactly what the voters desired to see. There was no doubt that the fear of public wrath had among other things, induced the parties to sink their differences. This was another heartening proof of the voters' silent influence upon the politics of the nation.

The non-Congress Governments had a difficult task before them, because they had inherited a fairness in many fields of national life. Therefore, they deserved everyone's sympathy and goodwill and co-operation. The Congress Party, particularly, must function as a constructive Opposition and desist from mere partisan action. Happily, Mr. P. C. Sen in West Bengal has wished well of the new Government. The non-Congress Chief Ministers, on their part, have shown rare maturity and sense of responsibility.

In some quarters fears have been expressed about the future of Centre-States relations. I see no cause for fear at all. Hitherto, relations between the Centre and the States never touched reality. It was all a question of relationship between the State branches of the Congress Party and its central organization. The federal structure of the Union never had a chance to operate ; nor had the States a chance to enjoy their constitutional autonomy. For the first time since independence the Constitution will come into its own. If the autonomy of the States becomes real, that should not be danger to the Union.



As a Gandhian, I rejoice in the prospect of genuine decentralization because I see therein not only more strength than weakness, but also more democracy and wider possibility of people's participation. I hope the non-Congress Governments would give a better chance to Panchayati Raj and make of its institutions genuine units of people's self-Government.

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Based on the Address at the West Bengal Gandhi Smarak Nidhi's Annual Conference at Tikashi in Contai, Midnapur, West Bengal, on March 12, 1967.

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## CHAPTER : THREE

# Melting of the Iceberg

—*K. Santhanam*

The political iceberg in India has melted and the real political evolution of the country has begun in earnest. There were deep rumblings during the general elections of 1952, 1957 and 1962 followed by minor movements. But, the artificial pressure exercised by the memories of the historic role played by the Indian National Congress in the struggle for freedom, the magic name of Mahatma Gandhi and the glamorous personality of Jawaharlal Nehru kept the forces in check. Their effect has now disappeared and the result has been landslides all over the country some comparatively small but others catastrophic. There has been no part of India which has not been shaken and frightened.

The unexpected and partly devastating results of the fourth general elections can be explained only by a patient analysis of the various causes which have tended to disappoint, irritate and distress the people.

The victory of the communist coalition in Kerala was partly expected. But its actual extent has been almost revolutionary. In my view, it is the obvious reaction of the people of Kerala to the political dishonesty and coercion that have been played upon them ever since they began to express their displeasure at the Congress organisation in that State. The imposition of Presidential rule

was interpreted to be almost a command to think and vote according to the wishes of the political bosses of India. Their final and categorical rejection of this demand is in my view a true vindication of the democratic spirit of the people of Kerala. I am personally opposed to communism, right or left. But so long as communist parties are functioning within the constitution, the people have every right to choose their leaders from them and be ruled by them. It is also an insult to the people of any state to be told that unless they elect a majority belonging to a single political party, their right of self-government within the state given by the Constitution will be forfeited. In Indian conditions, this stipulation amounted to a command to vote for the Congress as its leaders knew that it would take long long time before any single party arose which could be an effective rival to the Congress on an all-India or even state basis. But the miracle happened in Madras and the people lost no time in voting it to power.

This leads me to the astounding collapse in Madras which was wholly unexpected by any one in India including the leaders of the DMK party. That the people of Madras should have disowned its leader Mr. Kamraj who was fast becoming the first all-India figure with international reputation and along with him almost all the Congress members of Parliament from the state including the well-known and respected Central Ministers as well as the State Ministers gives an indication of the unbearable frustration and discontent that has been accumulating during last ten years.

This may appear to be in sharp contrast to the well-known progress that has been made in the state in certain fields like industry, electric power and education. These, however, have not mitigated the sufferings of the vast mass of the people on account of actual shortage of food and other essential commodities and even more by the irri-

tation caused by the foolish regulations and restrictions regarding their movement and distribution. The steady and inordinate rise in prices has been the continuous worry of every household. For the past few years, long queues have been patiently waiting for rice, coffee and every other kind of household goods. The people are not likely to understand that they are suffering from economic course of world-wide or national importance. They only remember that before Congress rule, they were never short of these goods. Who can blame them if they decided to see whether any change of rules will bring about any improvement? The existence of the DMK party gave them the chance to make themselves felt.

The Congress organisation in Madras has become monolithic, functioning almost at the dictates of a single person. While this presented a facade of strength to the outside world, it was steadily losing its internal vitality and living contact with the people. The manner in which the Madras Government handled the language agitation by the students has been rankling in the minds of not only students but also the masses who vaguely felt it to be an agitation in the cause of their own mother-tongue, Tamil and has manifested itself in the personal defeat of Mr. Kamraj. It may be recalled that the agitation was called off after the resignation of Messrs. Subramaniam and Alagesan and a definite promise by the then Prime Minister to put on the statute book a provision that Hindi will not be imposed without the consent of every State in India. Some clever politicians in Delhi afraid of the effect of such a legislation on the Hindi voters of the north have managed to evade that promise.

Further, when the rupee was devalued, the Congress President should either have prevented it or loyally supported it and tried to persuade the people that it was in the interests of the country. By encouraging his promi-

ment lieutenants to go about denouncing devaluation and permitting the Chief Minister of Madras to support the Central Government, the Congress President gave a proof to the people that there was no standard of political honesty governing the premier political organisation. I am inclined to think that these two failures of good faith constituted the proverbial straws on the camel's back.

The sweep of Jana Sangh in Delhi points to yet another serious defect of the Congress Government in the eyes of the people. It is in my view simply a revolt of the people of Delhi against the oppressive ways of the bureaucratic hierarchy and the pattern of the lives of its highest officials which have been increasingly copied by the Ministers in recent years. Drinking and fast living have come to be equated with so-called secularism and the religious people of Delhi have signified their protest against them.

There has been a steady deterioration of the moral influence of the Congress and its principal leaders. Money and undue influence have become increasingly the chief instruments of political power and all warnings from disinterested persons like Mr. C. D. Deshmukh and Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan that moral values cannot be sacrificed with impunity have fallen on deaf ears. If only the Congress High Command could institute an inquiry about the number of persons who were well known for their corrupt practices of various kinds who were given the Congress ticket to Parliament and State Assemblies, it may well prove to be a significant step towards reform and rejuvenation of the Congress.

The wisdom of the Constituent Assembly in giving adult franchise has been vindicated by the present general elections. The referendum in Goa gave a small demonstration that the people's will would prevail. I am not saying that lavish expenditure of money and exercise of

all kinds of illegitimate pressure have not been restored to on an extensive scale in these elections. But the people have demonstrated that they cannot be bribed or coerced into voting against their will. It is a great victory for democracy though many of the consequences are going to make Indian political evolution difficult.

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In recent months there has been increasing evidence of the spread of the sinister spirit of violence. Doubts were expressed by many persons whether the elections could be conducted peacefully and in an orderly manner. During the weeks of electioneering, there have been regrettable acts of violence and hooliganism here and there. But considering the vastness of the country and the gigantic arrangements needed for polling nearly 25 crores of voters, every Indian will feel proud that the actual elections have been a wonderful demonstration of Indian democracy in action. But I am convinced that it will greatly help to reduce the risks of a breakdown. If the elections to Parliament and State Assemblies could be separated and in the case of the latter, there is no insistence that dissolution and general elections of all States should be compulsorily synchronised.

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Viewed as a whole, the fourth General Elections should be considered to have passed a clear vote of censure on the management of Indian economy during the last five years.

Congress leaders may plead that they were victims of circumstances beyond their control, that they had not bargained for conflict with China or Pakistan and that they could not anticipate the failure of monsoons in the last two years. But no Government or political party could expect the people to accept such explanations especially when there have been persistent warnings from

many quarters that the Central and State Governments were taking the Indian economy on the road to ruin. The single fact that as a result of the three plans, the rupee has lost half of its value was enough for any people to censure their rulers.

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Extracts from a series of articles of the author (Courtesy : Hindusthan Standard, Searchlight and INFA).

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## CHAPTER : FOUR

# Zig-Zag of Political Power

—*V. R. Krishna Iyer*

The Fourth General Election has established that the Indian people are mentally and morally alive. They have shown the Congress and the world that they are not dead wood. The complacent Congress leadership has been rudely awakened by the electoral blows delivered from the Right and the Left, in the South and in the North.

Under the spell of self-hypnotism the Congress Party imagined itself irremovable. Its real character has been capitalist-cum-feudalist, with a sprinkling of verbal socialism. Its chameleon complexion has now been exposed, because the common people, all over the country, have come to realise that the Congress has been guilty of abuse of power, feathering its own nest, of hypocrisies and false poses and of criminal indifference to the common people's basic needs.

The people found that neither the country's security nor its economy, nor its national honour could be safely left in their hands. The people found that while talking socialism the Congress party and the Congress governments served the interests of monopolists, bankers and and the Big Business. While talking of the economic building up of the nation through the public sector it was pressurised easily into obeying US Big Business, as



in the case of devaluation. The country stood shocked at the prating about non-alignment and an independent foreign policy, and of taking sides with the freedom-loving peoples of the world, while, in practice, unblushing carrying out of US behests as in the case of PL 480, trade with Vietnam and Cuba, etc.

Many instances of double-dealing came to the notice of the people in Parliament, in the State Assemblies and outside. While boasting about democracy, the Union and the States under Congress choked the people through an irresponsible bureaucracy. Corruption became universal in the country, misuse of political power to suit the personal and party interests of tiny and big Congress bosses became common, regionalism and communalism and linguism of the party which bragged about national unity and integrity became notorious and the result was all-round disgust.

In short, the immorality and incompetence of the Congress regime and the agony of the common people at being denied, twenty years after freedom, even food and clothing, produced such insufferable misery that they just exploded the Congress nearly out of existence in many places. The results of the elections do mean substantial repudiation of the Congress or rather punishment for its accumulated sins; they mean more—a demand for change. Indeed, the driving force behind the coming together of disparate political parties was the widespread hatred for the Congress among the people at many levels. In this context, it is interesting to remember that both Bafaki Thangal, Muslim League leader, and E.M.S. Namboodiripad, the Communist (Marxist) leader, have stated, when asked why each incongruously associated with the other, that they were prepared to ally even with the devil to defeat the Congress.

It is, however, true that the lesson of the polls has

been merely a censure of the Congress. It was neither the spell of the Jan Sangh nor the popularity of the Marxists nor the hypnotism of the DMK and certainly not the free enterprise slogan of the Swatantra, that produced these adverse avalanches. That is why, even where these parties were fighting each other at the polls or some of them were too weak to impress, the Congress has been universally routed. That is why Congress defeat, in terms of seats, has far exceeded the political predictions of Opposition astrologers. Of course, the provision store has been a stronger political influence in these elections than prestige projects and China and Pakisan. Even the cow has attacked the symbol of the bulls in Delhi and UP. It was all a kind of Operation Annihilation of the Congress.

But taking an overall view of the whole country, the trend has been towards the Left in some States and towards the Right in others. The truth is that the people were disgusted with the Congress and wherever there was an alternative ballot box which gave expectation of an alternative Government, they pushed their papers into those boxes.

Therefore, one cannot automatically conclude that the votes in Kerala or Madras or West Bengal or in Rajasthan or Uttar Pradesh or in the other States where Congress has been unseated from absolute majority there has been a uniform positive colour for the vote. They just caught the bull by the horns and threw it away. People want a change, but it is for those in whose favour they have cast their votes in the bulk to transmute this outburst of anger against the Congress party into affirmation of faith in themselves—not by words but by deeds, because the Congress paid dearly for the divorce between word and deed, so soon after the great Nehru passed away.

It is true, in a broad-sense, that in some States, particularly in Kerala and in a lesser measure in Madras

people have dramatically supported the progressive forces. But one cannot say that of Birla's successful bout with Morarka or the triumphant march of the Maharajas and Maharanis or of the victories of the militant Hindu near-reactionary Jan Sangh or of the double-dyed champion of vested interests, the Swatantra, in many States. In some measure, there has been indiscriminate electoral assaults on the Congress irrespective of the individual worth of their candidates or the reactionary complexion of the alternative party. No progressive Indian would be happy at the thought that the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra have forged ahead in Parliament, or at the sight of princes and tycoons making an impressive debut in the Lok Sabha.

Speaking of Kerala, we must view the results here in the broader background of India. The responsibility of providing a progressive and Left-looking administration is all the greater on the Seven-Party United Front, when we discern the disturbing shift to the Right in the North. The people have dramatically invested political faith and power in them. Will the consortium rise to its role? It is not easy to do the job for ideological and class divergences and even sharp conflicts do exist among the seven parties. There is an unreality in repeating the number 'Seven' since some of them have only a token existence and have obviously come in as there is no other means of getting into the electoral picture of Kerala. How else can you explain leaders of the anti-Communist front becoming doughty champions of and being backed by Communist Marxists?

On basic questions the class cleavages among the seven parties will manifest themselves. Essentially, there is only one common factor among them, a loosely accepted, vaguely spelt out, not too deeply meant progressivism and down to earth politics. The Muslim League has a savour of communalism. The Marxist

cannot so easily shed their sectarian, adventurist line when their hard-core continues to preach the futility of parliamentary processes. The SSP has throughout its career in Kerala and elsewhere has never been guilty of unduly strong attachment to principles and is therefore adjustable. The CPI talks sane politics but has weak muscles. The G.C.M. of this Front can only be a broad democratic programme, in its most innocuous sense. Its source of stability is also that, plus a desire to keep together to be in power.

The United Front has one basic weakness right from its birth, this time. It has not been conceived as a people's movement or a democratic front, taking in all progressive elements in the State under the leadership of its political parties. Such a vision would inspire the people as a whole. Unfortunately, the United Front of seven parties has blossomed out of a plan of sharing spoils, on the assumption that political power is to be shared only by political parties because the seven parties put together are equal to the people. The individual antecedents of many candidates have been uninspiring, if not positively vicious. The roles of certain parties in this group in the past have not been good, either. The tendency to make hay when the sun shines can be associated with some of those who have been returned to the Assembly on the Seven-Party ticket. Indeed, even the people have not minded the candidate's worth in their blind fury against the Congress. That is why the numbers returned on the Seven-Party ticket have exceeded the calculation of the leaders of the Front. How far party cells and bosses will use governmental power to their own or their party's advantage is yet to be seen.

The people want a clean administration—not a change of label but of content. The one clear mandate given this time has been that the people want food and reason.

able price levels. First things first, and food is the first thing for life. Will the Seven-Party Government stand united and rouse the patriotic, productive forces inside the State and turn their enregies against anti-social elements? Or will it degenerate into a slightly better-than the Congress preformance? By Congress misrule, people have lost faith and trust in everything. We must regenerate confidence in a disillusioned people. Will the class interests of the various parties in the new set-up be able to overcome the vices of nepotism, communalism and pulls?

In short, can we ask for a clean, incorruptible, progressive, harmonious administration which will, every moment, be with the people, struggle to meet the most primary requirements of the community and subordinate the anti-social tendencies of the classes to the large purposes of the masses? Communalism has been the bane of the Congress party. But these tendencies were nourished by the community at large from which have sprung the Seven Parties also. Will they be sensitive to communal pressures, which may some time appear dressed as minority claims, as backward class claims, as religious groups' rights? There is vast scope for patriotic service. But will presbyter be only priest writ large?

The opportunities are brighter now than in 1957, when we were alone and fragile and the Congress under Nehru was powerful. Today there are as many non-Congress as Congress Ministries, the Nehru spell is gone; the church is weaker; the Seven-Party Front is absolutely mighty. Moreover, the present Madras Ministry is well disposed and dynamic and will make common cause with Kerala in issues against the Centre. Kerala can give the hungry industries of Madras cheap power in plenty and ask for Tanjore rice. Our project allotments can be revised by fighting together with Madras. Our State frontiers can be sealed off effectively against smugglers

and tax evaders by the active co-operation of both Governments. Anyway new vistas open before non-Congress Kerala, given imagination and dynamism on the part of its new rulers.

The Kerala results and the all-India results are likely to produce as much international as internal repercussions and reassessments. I wonder whether both Moscow and Washington could not be started by the new hues on the Indian horizon. India is becoming political puzzle, after all. It is moving, at least—at last, but whither? Zigzag? (Courtesy : Mainstream)

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Adapted from an article in the Mainstream, New Delhi dated March 11, 1967.

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## CHAPTER : FIVE

# First Real Elections

—*P. B. Gajendragadkar*

The recent general elections were the first real elections in the country since independence. It is now that real democracy starts working in the country. Now is the time to see the real federal system of Government in action.

It was not the fault of the Congress that it remained in power all these years but the fault of the Opposition. Such a long time of rule could have resulted in complacency and created some 'pockets of corruption'.

The first election after the independence put the Congress in a commanding position. Every vote against the Congress then was considered a vote against the country. Subsequent general elections brought about diminishing popularity for the Congress and the 1967 Elections reflected the feeling of people in some States for a change.

Indian democracy has now entered a new challenging and inspiring phase and the more challenging it would be if the people became more vigilant.

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Based on his inaugural speech at the 17th All-India Conference of the Personnel and Welfare Officers in Bombay on March 3, 1967.

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## CHAPTER : SIX

# Congress Debacle and After

—*Tarakeswari Sinha*

Commenting on the meeting of the Parliamentary Board and the Working Committee, which met to assess the causes of mauling of the Congress in the past fortnight, one of the more perspicacious members of the ruling party rightly remarked that the meeting was astonishingly placid. One can hardly give reason for this lack of excitement and concern on the subject.

Barring a few stentorian voices like Mr. Nanda, there were hardly any ripples felt and as usual the Working Committee avoided going deep into the cause of the Congress debacle.

One cannot deny the emergence of the Congress from the General Election with a bare advantage over the combined strength of Opposition, achieves a consummation of the democratic process in this country, that has long been desired. In its ultimate wisdom which none with a genuine devotion to the ideals of democracy may legitimately question, the electorate has chosen to deliver a well-deserved blow to Congress pride power in as many as eight of the 16 States of the Union.

It seems that the Indian electorate has now truly come of age, and has at last overcome the compulsions of the old habits of returning to power Congress Governments whether good, bad or indifferent. That is why,



for the Working Committee and the Central Parliamentary Board which has to give due consideration to the choice of personnel in the important position in Government both at the Centre and in the States, the attitude to be adopted in regard to office in State where the Congress has lost its majority is of greater immediate importance. High sounding talks about the ordained responsibility of the Congress to keep administration stable, will not convince any intelligent Indian. On the other hand, arrangements with groups that have fought the Congress in elections, for the purpose of forming the Government with Congress labels, will only strengthen the conviction in many minds that Congress is governed by power-lust of its leaders.

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Adapted from an article in the Searchlight, dated March 9, 1967.

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## CHAPTER : SEVEN

# Meaning of the Poll Results

—G. R. K.

The 1952 election was an eye opener. Recognising the danger signal, Nehru persuaded the Congress to accept a comparatively radical programme with the result that the Congress popular vote shot up from 42.19 percent in 1952 to 45.41 per cent in 1957.

Between 1957 and 1962, Congress policy flowed along a set course. While there was no deterioration of policy, there was no spectacular change either. In such a situation, popular responses took the pattern familiar to all parliamentary democracies. That is, when policy flows along a set course, the popular vote of any ruling party will decline by slender margins and in gradual stages. This is not only because the ruling party, inured to office and thereby hardened to susceptibility, loses some of its ethical fervour, but more importantly because it will be at a disadvantage, whatever its record of performance. It is under constant pressure and criticism, to which the other parties are not subject.

Thus between 1957 and 1962, the Congress lost slightly over one per cent in popular vote.

An essential strategy of any ruling party, therefore, should be first to ensure that the drop is not more than marginal and secondly, over a period of years to make up for the gradual drop by occasional spurts of policy.

Taking the two extremes presented by our four General Elections, it seems reasonable to infer that the logic of spectacular posture (symbolised by the Avadi resolution) was reflected in 1957 General Election and the logic of rapid deterioration of policy has been reflected in 1967. In 1957, Congress vote shot up by more than three per cent; in 1967 it has probably dropped by at least four per cent. Between these two extremes, 1962 represented the logic that a set course of policy makes it for the normal law of marginal decline.

A four per cent drop is bound to make a big difference in the composition of the legislatures. That is how the Congress Party has lost its majorities in eight states : in other states too, except Madhya Pradesh, the proportion of Congress strength to the overall membership of the legislature has fallen, in some cases, appreciably. At the Centre, the Congress has just managed to secure a tenuous majority ; even this is somewhat illusory ; for, in Bihar and U.P. for instance, the large number of Parliamentary seats the Congress Party has got no relation to the vote in its favour.

A sample study of the Assembly and Parliamentary results in the two states shows that the big difference between the Congress performance in the Assembly and that in Parliament is less due to cross-voting (as is generally supposed) than due to the fact that the Congress Party alone, among all parties, had candidates for every Assembly seat. Let me illustrate this further. Take UP for instance. Each Parliamentary constituency has five Assembly constituencies. Let us take a Lok Sabha constituency where the Congress Party lost all the Assembly seats but won the Parliament seat. My study has indicated that generally the vote of the Congress Party for the Lok Sabha is little more than the total votes of the Congress candidates

for the Assembly seats. That is, the percentage of the Congress vote is more or less the same for Parliament and for the Assembly seats. What has happened is that the five Assembly seats were shared by various Opposition parties like the SSP, Jan Sangh, Communists or Independents. Most of these parties had set up candidates only for a few of the Assembly seats with the results that the cumulative vote of any of these parties for the Parliament seat was relatively meagre.

The outstanding feature of the General Election, even more than the spectacular defeats of the Congress and its stalwarts, is the national swing to the Left. This is reflected in many ways. Let us examine them one by one.

The deep and vertical division of the Communist ranks and the inability of the Leftist forces (excluding SSP, PSP and Republicans) to come together was a matter of great concern before the election. This was matched by a growing understanding and alliance of the Rightist forces like the Swatantra, the Jan Sangh and Jana Congress in Orissa. It was, therefore, legitimately feared that in Parliament the Left forces would have meagre representations. The Rightist Parties like Swatantra and Jan Sangh were jubilant on the eve of the election and hoped to secure a commanding position in the Lok Sabha. This explains the large number of candidates they put up—some 420 between them for the Lok Sabha. This Rightist optimism was accompanied by Leftist defeatism which explains that the Communist, for instance, put up between the two groups only 178 candidates and in many cases against each other.

Therefore, it was legitimately feared that the composition of the new Parliament would be heavily weighed in favour of the Right. These fears have been

belied because the electorate's support to the Left parties was so massive that even the division in the ranks could not prevent a substantial number of Left candidates from being returned. Nor could the Rightist unity get them more than 80 seats for the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh. On the other hand the Left parties like the Communists, SSP, PSP, Forward Bloc, RSP, Peasants and Worker's Party, Republicans and others have got not less than 100. I am not including the DMK in this, though DMK's election platform was broadly forward-looking.

In the State Assemblies the position is even better. The Left parties have secured on a rough count, not less than 850 seats compared to 524 by Swatantra and Jan Sangh. Here too I am not including the DMK. If DMK is also to be accepted as a broadly radical party, the Left strength increases enormously.

Despite the vertical division of the Communists, they have vastly improved their position not only in Parliament but in almost every state except Andhra Pradesh.

In States like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Assam, Rajasthan, Madras, Maharashtra and Punjab significant gains have been made. In Punjab a CPI candidate defeated the Chief Minister.

The outstanding successes have been in the Hindi-speaking heartland, which was largely neglected by the democratic movement. Despite this neglect, the people have rallied round the democratic forces. The Congress debacle in Uttar Pradesh was generally presumed to result in a sweeping gain for the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra. It is true that by and large, those two parties have gained most from the Congress debacle in UP but the Left parties have held their own against the onslaught. What is more in Bihar, the Left parties have routed the Right forces. And Bihar and UP have

sent between them a substantial number of Leftists including sizable number of Communists (for the first time in such number) to Parliament.

If only the Leftists had shed their timidity and fielded sufficient number of candidates, they could have cut into the Jan Sangh vote in a large way. The people voted for the Jan Sangh only because they thought that was the best way of defeating the Congress.

The first lesson to be drawn from the election is that the heartland is sound. The time has come for the democratic forces to respond to the people's mandate implied in the manner of their voting.

Another factor which establishes the Left swing is that in two states the democratic parties are forming Governments and in one other they have a good chance of doing so. As against this, the Rightist hopes of advance in Gujarat and Rajasthan have been defeated. In fact, even the Jaipur Maharani was defeated in the Assembly election and lost considerably in her Parliament majority—as much as 70,000 votes. In Jhunjhunu where the Right threat was the fiercest, not only did Sri Birla win on a minority vote but the Left candidate polled as much 80,000 votes. This proves that blandishments of Big Money are being resisted by the people themselves.

In Orissa as we have seen, the Right alliance is in a precarious majority. They have only 75 in a House of 140. Most of these seats were secured on a vote less than the national average for the winning candidates. The Maharajas are now halted ; now is the time to force retreat.

In Madras, though Sri Kamaraj's defeat is a set-back for the democratic movement, DMK cannot be dismissed as a parochial and slogan-mongering crowd. Its rank and file is dedicated to a Left out-look though its leadership is largely romantic, inexperienced demagogic and

somewhat opportunistic (as is shown by its involvement with Rajaji and flamboyant pledges like three measures of rice for a rupee). Responsible leaders of the Congress however concede that the DMK may be able to put through certain economic reforms including land reforms which the Congress party was unable to do because of the various pulls and cross-pulls within the Congress. Sri Kamraj seems to have decided to give the DMK every chance to translate its programme and extend to it his full co-operation, subject of course to good faith from the other side.

The democratic movement has, therefore, cause to be happy with the present and hopeful of the future. Now is the time to develop a broad democratic approach, to shelve sectarianism and unite to accept the people's mandate. If this unity had been there, the Communist strength in Parliament, now at 45, would have been not less than 75, because I have found from the results that in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and in other places at least 30 seats were lost by in-fighting.

So much for the Leftists. There are certain other general conclusions to be drawn. One is that the fallacious concept of strong centre and prejudice against regionalism have been exploded. The language policy will also have to be drastically revised. As Sri Annadurai and E.M.S. have rightly pointed out, the unity of India can only be possible on the fulfilment of the aspirations of the constituent parts. The Soviet system may give us a few guide lines.

A fear has been expressed that the weakness of the ruling party at the Centre, heightened by the fact of non-Congress governments in some states, may increase the power of bureaucracy. The trend will have to be watched but the powerful assertion by the people of their democratic rights and the array of giants on the Opposition benches are safeguards.

Will the mumbling Treasury Benches stand up to this ? Time will tell.

Finally, how does one account for the steep fall in the popular vote ? Of Course the flabby functioning of the Congress, its in-fighting and power intrigulyes do not exactly help the party. But these factors have always existed. What then is the cause ?

First, the absence of Nehru must have cost the Congress some half per cent of the vote. The disillusionment of the younger sections perhaps accounts for another half per cent. Local factors, like the Hindi agitation in Madras have also played part.

Over and above all this, is there not something common in all states and in country as a whole ? What is it ?

An unprecedented 33 point rise in the price index in one year—is this not the single big factor ? Who brought this about ? And who brought about a general erosion of our national ethos by devaluation, surrender and begging ?

There in Safdarjang sits the lady who brought humiliation to India and debacle for the Congress. The people's verdict is clear.

Let the Congress party ask itself if it can with impunity flout the people's mandate. —Courtesy : Mainstream

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Extracts from an article published in the Mainstream, New Delhi, dated March 4, 1967.



## CHAPTER : EIGHT

# Post Mortem on Congress Debacle

—*K. Rangaswami*

The mighty Congress has been humbled. For two decades the Congress Party exercised absolute and unchallenged authority throughout the length and breadth of this vast country. And now the people have inflicted a gaping wound on it. But the wound, though grievous, is not yet fatal. Perhaps it is a shock administered to the party and in right time. Will the Congress learn a lesson and try to recover its lost position and prestige by opening a new Chapter? A brief spell in the role of the Opposition should be a welcome experience to Congressmen.

The biggest blow to the Congress is the defeat of the Congress President, Mr. K. Kamaraj. Many other senior Congress leaders like S. K. Patil, Atulya Ghose, C. Subramaniam, who played an active role in organisational affairs have gone. Several Cabinet Ministers of States have been unseated. Four Chief Ministers of States have been rejected. The number of Ministers of lesser rank who lost in the election is innumerable. In eight States out of 16, the Congress Party has failed to secure an absolute majority and these are U. P., Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madras, Kerala, Punjab, and Rajasthan. But the Congress can form Governments in Rajasthan and Punjab by attracting a few independents. Even in States where the Congress

Party has obtained an absolute majority its strength is less than what it was in 1962. In Assam, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra it obtained five seats less, while the corresponding figures are 10 for Mysore and 21 for Gujarat. It is only in Madhya Pradesh that the Congress Party has registered an impressive increase of 28 seats.

At the Centre the Congress Party has only a small margin of about 52 seats over the combined Opposition. It can form a Government. But its functioning will be crippled because of the lack of a comfortable majority and the presence of non-Congress Governments in some of the States. The Congress Party has lost some of its able Ministers and members. The opposition ranks have been strengthened not only in numbers but also in ability and skill. The S.S.P. has 23 members including Lohia and Limaye. The Communist Party has 40 members including Dange, Ramamurthi, Gopalan and Hiren Mukherjee. The Jan Sangh with 35 members has Balraj Madhok, Atal Behari Vajpayee and Prof. Soudhi in its ranks. It is indeed a formidable Opposition. Some of the elements in the Opposition are so turbulent that it would be a tough time not only for the Treasury benches but for whoever may be elected the Speaker. The Congress Party can no longer amend the Constitution relying on its own strength as it did in the past and this is a serious blow to its prestige. And this deterioration in the position and prestige of the Congress has occurred in less than three years after Nehru's death.

Congressmen will no doubt sit together and review earnestly the causes of the disaster that has overtaken them. It has been written in these columns over and over again that the ugly rivalry among Congress leaders is the principal reason for the organisation and the Government presenting a picture of a weak country on the verge of disintegration.

In these 20 years of unbroken rule Congressmen forgot

Gandhiji's lesson that they must at all times keep close to the masses and identify themselves with their problems. Who faced the student unrest in the country? It is the police and the magistrates who intervened on the one side to maintain law and order and it is the Opposition parties on the other which exploited the situation. How many Congress leaders faced the angry student mobs and tried to pacify them? Again how many Congressmen sought to counter the agitation for the ban on cow slaughter? Till the very end the Central Government was parleying with the Goraksha Samiti leaving the people in doubt as to what exactly it itself stood for. In the case of the strike by Government employees demanding more allowance, it was the Opposition which successfully exploited their grievance. Few Congress leaders came out either in support or in condemnation of their demand.

But what finally and unmistakably seems to have turned the tide against the Congress was its inability to arrest the rise in prices. The devaluation of the rupee came at an inopportune moment to add to the discomfiture of the ruling party. The *bandhs* organised by the Opposition in various States as a protest against rising prices and the spontaneous response to it from the people, should have served as an eye opener to the Congress Governments that there was something wrong with their policies and programmes. But the Congress leaders remained indifferent and left the agitation to be dealt with by lathis and bullets. This was the biggest blunder committed by the Congress. Rice and coffee seeds may be said to have caused the Congress debacle in Madras. In despair the national mood seems to have swung in favour of any change for better or for worse.

At the same time the Congress leaders failed to heed the warning as revealed by the election results of 1962.

Between 1957 and 1962 the Congress Party's strength in the various State Assemblies as well as in the Lok Sabha was steadily declining. Taking all the Assembly seats together the Congress Party's position, which stood at 1893 in 1957 came down to 1759 in 1962 and now in 1967 the corresponding figure is only 1608. In the Lok Sabha the Congress Party's strength was reduced from 371 in 1957 to 358 in 1962 and now it has dwindled still further to less than 300. At the same time the Opposition groups particularly the Swatantra and the Communists have been gaining strength. Between 1957 and 1967 the Jan Sangh's strength in the State Assemblies shot up from a paltry 46 to 265. The Communists improved their position from 161 to 237 in the same decade. The P.S.P. is fading out of the scene. The Swatantra, which appeared for the first time in 1962, has improved its position from 166 to 256

In the Lok Sabha too these Opposition Parties have been steadily gaining strength. In the same decade the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra have more than doubled their strength, while the Communists have improved their position considerably. A new party which has established itself as a force to be reckoned with is the S.S.P. This Party has now 23 members in the Lok Sabha and has captured 174 seats in the State Assemblies. This steadily declining position of the Congress Party and the growth of the Opposition groups should have been noted and corrective steps taken in time by the Congress leadership. Also in the decade from 1957 the number of voters has increased by nearly 100 millions. Two new generations have come on the electoral roll without any association with the national movement of Pre-Independence days. What has the Congress done to draw this huge mass into its fold? In another five years the last of those Congressmen who went to jail in the freedom movement will have disappeared. This calls

for a new approach if the Congress is to continue effectively as a mass organisation.

Having said this, one must pause to consider whether the election results reveal any rational pattern. It is not unnatural in a country with a parliamentary system of government for the people to think of a change of government if one party had remained in office far too long. The Congress Party has been in power continuously for 20 years and if the people decided to have a change it will be perfectly normal. This feeling, if strongly and universally felt, should be reflected in the results throughout the country. But then what is the actual position now. In States like Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Maharashtra the Congress Party has been returned practically with the same strength as before.

Of the many States in India, whatever anyone may say, Madras has established a proud record of unparalleled success, be it in regard to agricultural production or industrial expansion or other social services. Unlike in many other States the Congress Party in Madras is a well-knit team and one of its leaders has been playing a significant role in national affairs. There is no charge of corruption against any of the Ministers. What then is the sin committed by the Congress Party in Madras to merit such wholesale rejection by the people? By what yard-stick has the people come to judge that the Congress Party in Madras is not fit to govern for another five years and that their future will be better and safer in the hands of the D.M.K.? It is this feature of the election that has made impartial foreign observers comment whether democracy has really taken root in India. One can understand a corrupt and inefficient Government or leaders being thrown out. But that is not the case in Madras. Surely the Governments in Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh are no shining examples of efficiency and purity. In fact,

it is the common impression that the Hindi-speaking States of the North are backward compared to States like Madras and Bengal. It seems an irony that the more progressive the States are, the more changes the people there seem to prefer while the backward States are content with the continuance of the *status quo*.

What emerges from this state of affairs is that in a country with a vast illiterate population any articulate group can sway the masses playing on regional grievances. One can see the logic of Congress leaders being defeated if the people are angry. But what is the inference to be drawn if Morarji Desai is elected and Manubhai Shah is defeated (both Congressmen from Gujarat). If Dandekar is elected and H. M. Patel is defeated (both Swatantra members from the same State) and Dange is elected and Krishna Menon rejected (both leftists from Bombay)? One explanation which can fit in with this situation is that the ordinary people did not relish the idea of a person being a Minister for a long time or too much in the limelight and that they desired to see new faces. But there is no rational principle discernible in such an approach of the people to the vital issue of a national election.

What is the picture that now emerges in the country? The Communist Party has established a firm foothold in Kerala and will now form the Government. The D.M.K. has come to power in Madras. The Swatantra Party can form a coalition Government in Orissa. The Jan Sangh is returned as the principal Opposition party in many States. The S.S.P. is the principal Opposition in Bihar. What does this pattern of development signify? Are the political programmes of the Jan Sangh, the Swatantra, the S.S.P. and the D.M.K. more progressive than that of the Congress Party? The Congress was holding the balance as between the right and the left and pursuing a

careful policy of bringing about changes through peaceful methods as to confer real benefit on the toiling masses.

The election has shown a definite trend to the right. At the same time the left also has improved its position in Kerala and elsewhere. What is the consequence? Inevitably the right and the left will come to a serious clash possibly resulting in a national upheaval. This may appear a pessimistic and even unwarranted forecast. But the apathy of the people of India towards anything happening around them has been so proverbial that the responsibility on those who can think clearly is all the greater. It is difficult to comprehend how an intelligent electorate can allow the country to be the guineapig for experiments on Communist dogmatism in one area, of the D.M.K.'s negativism in another, of the Swatantra doctrine of *laissez faire* in the third and the Jan Sangh's traditionalism in yet another zone. Perhaps what the people intended was to register a protest against the Congress, a kind of negative censure in the expectation that it would reform itself again and soon.

The Congressmen in the Capital are certainly overwhelmed by what has occurred. The thought uppermost in their minds is how to retrieve the situation. A great deal will rest on the Prime Minister of India. Whoever becomes the Prime Minister must be capable of dealing with the Communist Party in Kerala, the D.M.K. in Madras and the Swatantra in Orissa. A conflict between a Congress Government at the Centre and a non-Congress Government in the States is not unlikely. If the D.M.K. promises three measures of rice per rupee, how can it be done except by asking the Centre to produce the rice and also the money to subsidise it? In fact what is causing anxiety among Congressmen is that a weak and indecisive leader can contribute to the rapid disintegration of the country. (Courtesy:—The Hindu, Madras)

## CHAPTER : NINE

# Democratic Revolution

—*K. M. Munshi*

India has achieved a democratic revolution. Peacefully, democratically, it has thrown off the octopus control of twenty years of uninterrupted one-party rule over the whole life of the people.

The Indian National Congress was originally forged by giant leaders as an instrument for gaining freedom. After freedom, it was converted by Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel into an instrument for retaining and wielding power for the welfare of India and her teeming millions.

So long as Sardar was alive, the vague idealism of Nehru was controlled by the hard-headed pragmatism of Sardar.

No sooner Sardar disappeared from the scene, Nehru converted it into a power-hungry party machine to implement the chimeric policy of securing Marxist achievements through democratic means—a policy which placed the life of the people increasingly under the joint control of the bureaucracy and power-hungry cliques.

Nehru achieved his purpose, observing the Constitution only in forms and processes.

No sooner the Supreme Court construed the provisions of the Constitution contrary to his wishes, he countered



the judicial decisions by amending the Constitution, thus destroying the sanctity of the Constitution.

When there was a difference of opinion between one State and another, or between the Centre and a State, the Constitution provides for an appropriate machinery for resolving the conflict ; he rejected it.

He set up the Planning Commission which is not answerable to the Parliament as a super-Cabinet. He invited the Chief Ministers to help him to lay down the policy of the Centre. Step by step, the Congress Parliamentary Party and the Cabinet lost their importance. The plenary powers of the Centre were eclipsed.

After Nehru's death, Kamraj set up an extra-Constitutional centre of power, which Dr. Michael Brecher calls "the Grand Council of the Republic", consisting of the Congress Working Committee, representatives of the Congress Parliamentary Party, members of the Union Cabinet not already on the Working Committee and special invitees.

As Shastri's election showed, the Congress Parliamentary Party was reduced to an ornamental body, and the Cabinet, to a rubber-stamping agency. The most vital centre of parliamentary democracy was just paralysed.

After Shastri's death, Kamraj, finding the Grand Council rather unwilling to go his way, mobilized the Chief Ministers to vote Sm. Indira Gandhi to the premiership. Thus the Chief Ministers of the States became baronial chiefs of mediaeval England.

Leading members of the Congress Party in the Parliament as well as seven major leaders in Opposition, protested against this unconstitutional step. The Constitutional importance of the Congress Parliamentary Party as the instrument of Centre's authority was saved by Morarji Desai when he insisted upon the Parliamentary Party electing the Prime Minister by ballot.

In the current General Election, the Congress Party was on the run. In spite of the power, patronage and enormous funds at its disposal, the Congress Party as a monolithic power overarching all our life was destroyed.

The rejection of V. K. Krishna Menon and K. D. Malaviya by the electorate gave no hope to the fellow-travellers to consolidate their position with Communist support. The Communists—one section subservient to Russia and another to China – was largely rejected by the people.

The Congress has paid heavily for its belief in its divine right to rule this country. The situation today is : in the Parliament the Congress has got a majority of less than 50 over the combined Opposition and Independents ; it has lost its self-confidence. The super snobbish attitude of the Congress in attributing to Opposition Parties of always talking fantastic nonsense has disappeared. It may continue to rule by the help of 50 odd members, but its conceit of being the representative of the nation is “wiped out”, in the words of S. K. Patil.

The Opposition Parties have captured the mind of the people.

The Planning Commission will no longer be the super-Cabinet that it was. The Grand Council of the Republic has been virtually dissolved ; if it survives the blow, it will do so in an attenuated form.

The Congress Working Committee will have to take into account the formidable Opposition in the Parliament and in several other States.

There would no longer be democratic centralism even in the Congress Party. Whichever party is in power at the Centre, it will have to give due respect to the Opposition ; it will not dare to resort to extra Constitutional devices to suit its policies.

Before the General Election, the country was drifting towards chaos. There was an air of helplessness.

Frustration had gripped the people. Parliamentary democracy in this country appeared to have failed.

All these things have changed now. A new hope, a new urge, a new mission, is in the air. And if the Swatantra Party, the Jan Saugh and the D.M.K, come together, the country will have a new future before it. However, they can only do so successfully if they adhere to the Constitution.

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Adapted from 'Kulapati's Letter' dated March 12, 1967.

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## CHAPTER : TEN

# Congress Poll Results in West Bengal

—*Atulya Ghosh*

The Congress leadership has failed to realise that 20 years after independence, the Congress will have to go to the polls as a political party and not as an entity symbolic with liberation as during the decade or so following the transfer of power.

The electorate's behaviour has been most erratic. It was not generally known that the Congress had actually improved its position in areas formerly regarded as anti-Congress, while its performance belied expectations in pockets known as Congress strongholds.

If the reverses in Nadia, Midnapore, Hooghly and the 24 Parganas cost the Congress the election in West Bengal, it was equally true that the party had made impressive gains in Burdwan, Howrah, Murshidabad and other areas.

It was "not correct" to say that the Congress feared straight contests because the results showed that it had fared better in such contests than in previous elections.

In the CPI-M leader, Mr Hare Krishna Konar's own stronghold in Burdwan, he won very narrowly in a straight fight. Similarly, in Baranagar, Mr. Jyoti Basu had won by a margin of less than 3,000 votes. For the Congress, Mrs. Purabi Mukerjee scored a good straight fight victory in Bankura. In the Burdwan

Parliamentary contests, the Congress candidate, Mr. C. R. Chatterji, lost only by about 8,000 votes to Mr. N. C. Chatterjee (Ind.), who had the support of the ULF.

Murshidabad, with a predominantly Muslim population, registered the highest districtwise proportion of votes for the Congress. The Congress won more than half the seats in the district. In Tollygunge, Calcutta, the Congress candidate, Dr. A. Das Gupta, secured 24,000 votes, 90% of which was the refugee vote.

In Midnapore, Congress won only 12 out of the 35 seats. The Bangla Congress scored important gains in Midnapore as it had entered into a "complete fusion" with the CPI. Even in Midnapore the electorate's behaviour had been erratic. While the Bangla Congress did well at Tamluk, in the adjoining subdivisions of Ghatal and Contai its performance was no seat and one seat, respectively.

The election slogan of stable government, democracy and defence preparation was not adequate in clinching the issue in the 1967 elections. This his party had not realized in time.

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Adapted from an interview with 'The Statesman' Representative.

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## CHAPTER : ELEVEN

# Nation's Verdict

—*Frank Moraes*

"It's the silent revolution," a friend exclaimed commenting on the electoral events of the past few days. So it is. India's people have spoken, and their voice, unheeded over twenty years, has now registered its grim, silent verdict on the guilty men of yesterday and today.

If it was a massacre, it was a most selective massacre. In choosing their victims the electorate, of whom nearly 75 per cent are illiterate, showed a sense of judgment and discrimination which would flatter a far more sophisticated electorate. Resentment at food shortage and spiralling prices accounted for the major number of casualties. But other factors also weighed. The corrupt politician was given short shrift. So was the incompetent. The power-drunk politician was cut down to size.

In the ensuing holocaust the Congress has lost both men and moorings. Of the many disastrous blows it has suffered none was more humiliating than the manner in which Mr. Kamaraj and his party were bundled out of Madras once rated as the impregnable Congress citadel of the South. The Congress has also failed to carry Uttar Pradesh, its much vaunted stronghold in the North, though it may succeed in establishing itself as a government there by the usual political sleight-of-hand.

Besides Madras, Kerala repudiated the Congress decisively, while in three other States—Orissa, West Bengal and Bihar—the totality of the combined opposition votes outnumbers that of the Congress. In three other States—Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Punjab—the Congress has failed to secure an absolute majority but has emerged as the strongest single Party, which, allowing for the permutations and combinations of intra-mural politics, may succeed in enabling it to form governments in all the three States. But to do this the once arrogant Congress must go humbly cap in hand to such groups and individuals whose cupidity it can exploit.

How are the mighty fallen! The verdict of the electorate is justified and in the eyes of most Indians the Congress has at last got what it long deserved. Yet, the character and extent of the Congress debacle raises problems which gravely impinge on the stability and development of the country as a whole. The breaking of a monolith inevitably looses shower of spinters. With the DMK in the saddle in Madras and the Communists in power in Kerala there is the prospect of a Swatantra-Jana Congress combine in Orissa and possibility of other power patterns emerging in the so-called marginal States of Bihar and West Bengal and may be in Rajasthan and Punjab. Even in Uttar Pradesh the Congress must pay a price for power.

India's political map has changed overnight. The electorate has registered its verdict but obviously the problem does not end but begins there. It would be foolish and futile to leave it to the politicians to sort out the ensuing tangle. Yet an appeal to them to place, even for this one occasion, country before party will not be amiss. The eyes of the country are on them, and on the manner in which they conduct themselves in the crucial days, weeks and months ahead will depend not only their future but the future of democracy in India.

Above all, a grave responsibility devolves at this moment on the President as head of State. Though above the tumult and shouting Dr. Radhakrishnan, as guide, philosopher and friend to all parties is in a unique and especial position to exercise is not inconsiderable influence to induce a climate of wisdom, moderation and tolerance. The country comes before any party, and that should be the dominating thought and spur in the mind of every single Indian from President to peasant.

It may be that constitutionally the powers of the President are limited and thereby the ambit of his political authority restricted. The range of the President's constitutional powers have never been put to the test yet. If ever there was the occasion it is now and if ever there was the man he is here. Dr. Radhakrishnan can be depended upon to rise to the occasion.

The President's first duty is to help resuscitate it without delay, and this is only possible if the Congress Parliamentary Party elects its leader without delay. Into this exercise, the President obviously does not enter. But public opinion can and should do, for the outcome will affect not only the party but the country.

If the victory of the D.M.K in Madras proves anything, it demonstrates that a highly sensitive and sensitivised South has its antennae bristling against any hint or so called Hindi imperialism from the North. A Hindi-committed Prime Minister at the Centre would be a red rag to the Tamil-inflamed South. The D.M.K's victory as also the victory of the Jana Sangh is largely the victory of youth against age, and is the first significant trend towards a new pattern of political, economic and social thinking. For the Congress to turn against the tide by preferring age to youth is to petrify the party even further in the old mould and diminish its chances of staging a come-back in the future.

Age has had its day in India. The future belongs



to the young. These considerations cannot but weigh in the mind of the philosopher who happens to be our President today. It would be no bad thing for India in the present crucial stage for national or coalition governments to emerge at the Centre and in some of the States even if they do so from the sheer compulsion of developments and events. A Congress Government now seems certain at the Centre and that again is no bad thing provided the Congress can shed its narrow party parochialism and adopt a truly national outlook.

This also applies to the Jana Sangh, clouded unhappily by its communal overtones which must prevent it from ever being a national party, to the D.M.K., equally narrow and to the Communists, whether of the Right or the Left whose basic loyalties are outside their own country and mortgaged to foreign governments. For Messrs. Annadurai and Namboodripad to clamour at this juncture for more power to the States is symptomatic of a myopic diseased political mentality which the new India should scotch with no compunction.

(Courtesy : Indian Express.)

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Adapted from an article in the Indian Express.

## CHAPTER : TWELVE

### **Fourth General Elections : Its Dimension and Dialectics**

—*Sulekh C. Gupta*

What has happened in India as a result of the Fourth General Elections is a virtual political revolution. The Indian National Congress has lost the right to rule in eight states of UP, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madras, Kerala, Punjab and Rajasthan and in the Union Territory of Delhi.

These States in themselves comprise an absolute majority of the Indian population, the Indian electorate, and of the total Assembly seats in all the states of India. Of the 495 million people (1966 estimates) of India, as many as 301 millions live in these States. Of the total 250 millions of voters, as many as 150 millions (approximately) live in these areas. And of the total 3457 Assembly seats, as many as 1818 are in these States (excluding Delhi). It is thus evident that the Congress has lost the right to rule in the major part of India after the elections. This is a serious breach in the Congress monopoly of political power.

The political parties to which this right to rule has been lost are different in different states. In Kerala and West Bengal, this right has been taken away by a group of Left parties among whom the Communists are the most prominent. In Madras, the DMK has wrested

power from the well-established leaders of the Congress. In Orissa, the Swatantra and Jana Congress alliance has liquidated the miniature political empire of Sri Biju Patnaik. In Bihar, UP, Punjab, and Rajasthan, the situation is fluid. Yet a mixed group of parties, including Swatantra, Jan Sangh, SSP, PSP and the Communists as well as Independents and other parties have won in the State Assemblies a majority of seats.

These election results have stunned everyone in the world, including even those millions of illiterate, ill-fed and ill-clad voters themselves who have brought them about. Little did they know individually while going to cast their votes in the innocuous-looking ballot box, that they have opened up the possibilities of achieving over large parts of India what the Jacobins in France in 1789, the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917 and the Red Army in China in 1949 were able to achieve only with bayonets and bullets. Little did they imagine as individuals that while casting a vote, they were literally in the process of seizing political power from the hands of the corrupt, fossilized and rootless leaders of the Congress governments in as many as eight largest states of India. And that is the reason why, when they began to learn from the All India Radio what every voter had done at the polls, they were all excited, shocked, surprised and almost overwhelmed. And as he listened, he felt a tremendous release of new life and new energy within himself. It came like a volcanic dynamic power. He is imbued with a new faith, a new self-confidence which came from the feeling of collective strength. He acquired a new consciousness of himself, a new sense of self-realisation and a new sense of power which came to him as one of this vast collectivity of 495 million people that is India.

Thus, the results of the General Elections as they were announced have already become an intense emotional

experience of the nation. This fact, in itself, has taken the roots of democracy deep into every Indian heart and made it safe for long.

During the past three years, especially since the death of Jawaharlal Nehru, the deviations, from the accepted national policies of the country had been the most blatant. The Congress ruling circles had forgotten their own moral and political codes, their own laws and constitution, their own principles and policies. They had begun to behave entirely contrary to the law of history we have mentioned.

Amongst them there had arisen groups and factions, cliques and syndicates, sophists and word-magicians, *dadas* and *goondas*, all of whom acted and lived as if they were above the laws of nature and history. They indulged freely in palace intrigues, mutual rivalries, personal aggrandisement, and ugly battles of succession on a gigantic scale. In their arrogance and drunkenness with power, they forgot that this is the land of Gandhi and Nehru whose major weapons of struggle against the British also had to be essentially moral, namely, truth and non-violence. The direct heirs of these two great men indulged in actions and policies contrary to this moral heritage, and derogatory to this national tradition. They behaved with callous disregard for the national interest and the working people. They roamed about in the country like gladiators and impressaries, shedding crocodile tears over people's misery and making empty, meaningless, insincere and hypocritical speeches. They treated the country as if it is their fathers' private property which they could squander with open hands. It is these attitudes and behaviour, policies and pursuits, which are the major cause of the Congress debacle at the polls in the General Elections.

Politics in India has been so much invested with this moral tradition in the past that almost every individual

who wants to take politics is obliged to live an austere selfless, sincere personal life. Mahatma Gandhi was the first man who stirred the Indian masses into political action in recent times. From him the Indian working people have known the high standards of social morality which their political leaders are required to attain. Not that they expect every political leader to be a Gandhi. Yet, they hope that some of the basic qualities of India's moral tradition which unites this land are possessed by those who claim to lead them. These qualities are a sense of *personal* detachment to power, a sense of *selfless* dedication to service of the unity that is India, and no *personal* aggrandisement at the cost of society.

Consequently, political work in India requires a high sense of social morality, an almost puritanical sense of self-sacrifice and dedication. It imposes a strict social discipline the observance of which in India is watched from day to day, almost moment to moment. Anyone who disregards these standards is almost instinctively identified and marked as a target of attack at the opportune moment. And the social guillotine almost invariably acts with a degree of precision which is amazing for its accuracy and artistic in its execution.

It is this social guillotine which has been in active operation during this General Election on an unprecedented scale. It is this weapon which has brought down so many well-entrenched giants and pillars in so many parts of India. The corrupt has paid the price of corruption. The timid and the weak in the Congress has paid the price of cowardice and cringing servility. The opportunist has paid for his opportunism. The individualist has paid for his unethical individualism. The mighty have paid for their social arrogance. The bully has paid for his bullying methods. In short, the voters, in their instinctively moral and collective wisdom, have cut almost everyone to his proper size. And those who have

escaped this time will not be able to escape for very long.

It is this elemental moral fury of the collective masses of India which explains some of the puzzling and paradoxical features of the elections. It is this basic factor which explains the downfall of so many individuals and of the Congress Party in so many regions of India.

In this perspective, it is evident how irrelevant have been the election propaganda and all the money that has been wasted on it, Indian and foreign. The Indian voter had already made a choice very much before the election campaigns had even begun. Over the past years, he had been keenly watching each and every individual in India's political life. And he had chosen his targets of attack. One wishes that our political leaders would at least understand the basic ethos of their own people they lead.

Another important factor in the Congress debacle has been the youth of the Indian electorate. This is important not merely because more than half of the electorate was below 45 years of age. But this acquires significance mainly because the moral sensibilities of the youth are far more sensitive and volatile in matters moral than of age. Young people's reactions against tyranny of corruption, irregularities of administration and social and economic injustice against their countrymen are loaded with dynamite. Their compassion for the poor and the needy, their capacity for selfless service and their love for the country possess a raw elemental vitality and a virgin innocence about it. Once the young men of a nation take it into their heads to do a thing it does not take much time to do it. India replenishes her population every year by as many as 12.5 million children. All of them grow young and hence the dynamic vitality of India always continues undiminished. In that lies India's hope for the future, which no political party can take away from her.

The Congress had not only neglected the youth but had positively antagonised them by their hypocritical moralising. Their holier-than-thou attitude towards the student community, when they themselves were loaded with so many sins, had bitterly angered the youth and alienated them for ever. In fact, it is no mere coincidence that the Congress has failed to gain absolute majorities only in those States where students had been drawn into the whirlpool of political struggles during the past few years.

This is also partly the reason for the phenomenal success of Jan Sangh which has provided some sort of an ideal of service and sacrifice for the young. This ideal is shrouded in mystical, theological terms of a Hindu Nation. But it provides an outlet for the nationalist urges of the middle-class youth, and their innate desire to serve the country. They flock into it in view of the complete vacuum left by the withdrawal of all other parties from amongst the student community in the regions where the Jan Sangh has succeeded.

The Congress debacle in the General Elections has therefore come because a qualitatively new situation had been created by the ruling party in the last one year by their corruption and hypocrisy, sophistry and word-magic. For that reason, all the contradictions of social, political and economic life in India had been acutely sharpened in the pre-election year. The values of political life had deviated dangerously beyond the inherent political and moral ethos of the Indian people. Gap between promise and performance had widened to an unnatural extent. Duplicity between words and deeds had become alarming. Accepted national policies had been flouted in a manner which gave a slap on the face of the entire national freedom movement. Surrender of national sovereignty had reached a dangerous point of no return.

National humiliation all over the world was complete. And, to crown it all, the standards of personal life and conduct of the leaders and their minions had become outrageously ostentatious and immoral in the context of Indian values. It became inevitable, therefore, that this shell of artificiality and hollowness in political life must burst asunder, and the leaders made to face the socio-economic realities of India's material life. And the Indian people have done so in one brilliant stroke.

(Courtesy : Mainstream)

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Adapted from an article in the Mainstream, New Delhi, dated March 7, 1967.

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## CHAPTER : THIRTEEN

# Dilemma for Tomorrow

—*Aswini K. Ray*

A 'Bloodless Revolution' has just been enacted. It is a big jolt for those who were sceptical about the possibility of a revolution in India because of the "blind ignorance and dumb inertia of the multitude." But, the verdict of history is that, all bloodless revolutions have not been necessarily 'Glorious', although, as in this, it has always had excesses, innocent victims.

The old Gods have failed. New *avatars* have emerged to fill the vacuum. The moloch of Congress has cracked up, possibly beyond repair, and sooner than one anticipated. Its remnants still remain; the same amorphous assortment individually less equipped even to facilitate its easy liquidation and give it a decent burial. Will the new leaders of the old rule be able to withstand the onslaught of the inevitable death-bite of fallen giants?

The arrogance of the political pundits, in taking the electorate for granted, has been exposed. The unstated assumption in all the political calculation had been a mass that was goaded by inertia, ignorance or by patronage. The electorate, by a wild swipe of mad frenzy has forced itself upon the sphere of political calculation. The three elections, if nothing else, have enabled the common man to realize the effectiveness of the 'secret' ballot, and a sense of his own importance.

Presumably, as the pre-election optimism of the felled giants indicates, the common man did not appear being self-righteously moral; he only voted the way he wanted. No mean achievement for democracy. So much for the common man's uncommon courage.

Nevertheless, it was the courage of desperation, not of desire. It would have perhaps required greater courage, faith and determination to give another chance to the old order. Such was the misery of the people.

That is why it appears like the mad frenzy of a hopeless individual. The only method, if any, is that, the axe has fallen upon all that represented the old order against which was the reaction. It has cut a cross ideology. Patil and Menon have been defeated in nearly-identical constituencies; Dange and Barve have won from similar assortment of voters; the Big Bosses have been defeated, while their portages preferred. It was almost a banal glee that greeted the fall of successive Goliaths. Cynicism has led almost to a nihilism. It is this situation that is replete with ominous possibilities.

The forces that have emerged stronger out of this mauling have yet to establish their bonafides, as not willing to cash in on this prevalent nihilism. Moreover, erroneous have emerged, fanned by opportunistic calculations. Here also lurks the danger of a further disillusionment and a violent swing back in case the expectations turn out to be over-ambitious and erroneous. Can this democracy sustain the shocks of such violent swings? Henceforth, any analysis of the board political pattern of India has to be regional. Nothing in the recent trend allows room for comprehensive national evaluation, except in a negative sense—the collapse of the Congress.

Orissa still remains under feudal tutelege; Gujarat and MP, in near status quo, unstable coalitions in more than one state; Kerala and West Bengal playing island

politics ; Tamilnad under DMK rule ; and a strong upsurge of communal Rights Reaction in the Midland of India ; urban Delhi included. Can such a situation be conducive to the unity and integrity of the country, despite the avowed commitments to it, by all the parties, may be, also their honest intention. The way to hell, they say, is also paved with good intention. Besides, all the parties which gained out of the Congress debacles have specific issues, than which, according to them, the nation's integrity cannot be more important. Forum of Free Enterprise and Cultural Freedom for the Swatantra, Hindi and cow protection for the Jan Sangh and a series of 'antis'-from anti-God and anti-Hindi to anti-north, for the DMK.

The Congress is in disarray. There has been no all-India alternative given to the electorate for its choice. The CPIs remain entrenched in two far-flung pockets. Swatantra, at least its modern wing, has failed to emerge in the way a polarisation of the Right forces was expected and desired.

The two parties that have gained are the Jan Sangh in the North and DMK in Tamilnad ; and unfortunately, they have to remain regional, because of the overwhelming regional character of their appeal and vote-catching images. What can the possible lines of communication be, between the DMK-dominated Tamilnad and the Jan Sangh dominant North India ? Can we feel safe about the unity and integrity of the nation ?

Some might argue that the Jan Sangh is likely to curve off its rough edges and behave more responsibly, and they say, so the DMK will be. It is difficult to imagine what will remain of the two parties if they mellow down on issues which have sustained them. What alternative do they have in terms of popular appeal ?

Moreover, for the Jan Sangh, they have another

compulsion why they should not soften. It is right near the periphery of power, without actually wielding it. It is conscious of its strength and righteousness without having responsibility of power. Why should it slacken at a stage where its strength could give it power ?

With these regional parties in the two parts of India, sustaining their strength through mutually incompatible, often hostile, issues and slogans, is a dangerous situation particularly when the uniting force—common enmity against the Congress—is taken out of the situation. The insular inclination of the South and the aggressive nationalism of the North is likely to be more pronounced, and provide a test case whether ours also is an “indestructible union of indestructible state”. But is our democracy strong enough to sustain the shock of the test ?

Since the ideological Left and Right, both have failed to emerge as of any all-India force to reckon with, the possibility of Congress perpetuating itself as a shock-absorber may defer the unwelcome eventuality of a North-South showdown.

The Congress can do it in two ways : either by taking up the gauntlet and gathering all its power, whatever is left of it, to gear up the machinery and give the people a clean, incorrupt and efficient administration which could deliver the common man with those bare necessities of life, without which he remains aggrieved ; the other is to take the wind out of the sails of the communal parties by taking up regional issues and communal postures in an opportunistic way, and somehow perpetuating itself in power.

Of the two possible ways, the former though rational and paying in the long run, is more difficult, particularly in this difficult political situation and a defunct leadership. It looks more likely that the Congress will

adopt the latter course and try and beat the communal parties in their own games.

Such a situation calls for a spell of homework for all those who have a stake in the values of democracy, to preserve which this generation has deprived itself of many necessities and most of the luxuries.

Can there be no foil against the growth of communal, and regional politics in India? After all, in the context of every country's particular history, there is some grave danger like private enterprise in the Soviet Union, socialism in the US, revisionism in China, fascism in Germany, racism in the UK and monarchism in France. Each of these countries has been ruthless and nearly uncompromising in trying to root them out of its social context and political relevance.

So should communalism and regionalism be, in this country. The only foil against communal politics is to hasten the polarisation between ideological Right and Left, I concede. But to start with, can some common front not be found on the basis of relevant national issues having national projection on which two broad alternatives be placed before the people? At the risk of being dubbed un-Marxian, even anti-Marxian, I would even suggest in the context of India, to have a workable agreement between the Right and the Left to fight communalism. This will be a service both to the country as well as humanity at large.

To those, who say that, it is not possible; and the very nature and composition of the Right and Left makes it impossible for any workable agreement; it is enough to remember that what is found desirable could not be all that impossible. It needs the will to agree (Courtesy : Mainstream, New Delhi)

## CHAPTER : FOURTEEN

### *WHO IS TO BLAME ?*

**Below are the reported observations made by some Members of the Congress Working Committee on the reverses of the Congress at the polls :**

*Mr. Kamaraj :*

The Government was responsible, not the organisation. It was strange that the supply of rice was stopped in Madras three weeks before the polling.

*Mr. Y. B. Chavan :*

The blame could not be put on the Government. What was done in the case of Bihar where the administration was not found adequate to deal with the situation ?

*Mr. G. L. Nanda :*

The Government was to blame for not attending to discontent, both on economic and religious points. But organisational weakness had also been evident at certain places.

*Mrs. Indira Gandhi :*

Efforts should be made to revitalise the organisation.

*Mr. S. K. Patil :*

It was not the organisation but the government that was to blame. Its policies had not stood the test.

*Mr. Morarji Desai :*

The government must share the blame for not paying attention to the needs of the people.

*Mr. Biju Patnaik :*

Now where do we go from here ? How is the Centre going to deal with the States which are not having Congress Government ?

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## CHAPTER : FIFTEEN

### *Some Opposition Leaders' Views*

*Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia :*

The Congress which had been reduced to a minority in a number of States in the fourth general elections is doomed to be wiped out from the country within a few months. It may take months—may be six or sixteen—for it depends on several factors including their insistence on sticking to power by hook or crook. Something great should be done in the realm of agriculture and pricing. All machine-making and electricity in whichever state they are able to produce them must be directed at once to irrigation. Land revenue should be scrapped.

*Mr. Madhu Limaye :*

The S.S.P. would seek reapproachment with the Praja Socialist Party pending complete unity to form a United Socialist bloc in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and other States. This Socialist bloc would also seek co-operation of the other progressive parties. Congress must now reconcile itself to the fact that it had lost its political monopoly and should try to evolve a new relationship between the Centre and the States.

*Mr. S. A. Dange :*

The people would throw out the Congress Government this time without holding any elections—if it did not correct its anti-people policies and improve the administration within six months. The election had



clearly shown that the people were in no mood to tolerate the Congress misrule. Victories of opposition candidates were not personal victories but victory for their policies. Defeat of such Congress stalwarts like Mr. S. K. Patil and Mr. Atulya Ghosh, clearly showed that the people did not favour the pro-American and anti-people Congress policies.

*Mr. S. M. Joshi :*

The 'rout' of the Congress in so many States showed that all sections of the people were dissatisfied with the ruling party. This dissatisfaction was not ideological but was mainly because of the growing corruption in all walks of life as a result of Congress policies. Even though the election results were no clear "ideological mandate" from the people, I was happy because the "process of polarisation had begun shattering the myth of the Congress that it alone could rule".

*Mr. N. G. Goray :*

The results of the elections showed no indication of the voters' preference for any socio-economic programme of any political party. The voter had behaved like a naughty child who, getting tired of playing with the same set of toys, threw it out of the window. If the voters had preferred the socio-economic programme of any party, they would not have voted solidly in favour of the Congress in Maharashtra and so decisively against it in Madras. However, the voter had undeniably said "no" to the Congress in many states but it would be incorrect to read much into this "gesture of revolt." We should be grateful to the electorate for bringing currents of fresh air into the stifling monopoly of the Congress Raj which was threatening to become almost hereditary. All the

political parties should now turn their attention from politics to social reconstruction.

*Mr. S. N. Dwivedy :*

It shows maturity of the Indian people. It is a determined bid to save Indian democracy and break the monopoly of power enjoyed for a long period by a single party.

The people as a whole have rejected the Congress leadership by defeating top and key men in the organisation. The defeat in the election cannot be accounted by any single lapse on the part of the Congress leadership and the Government. But it is a cumulative reaction to the misdeeds, failure and mis-governance of the country.

In fact, particularly after the assumption of power by the Congress since the 1962 elections, it has failed the country in all respects and in all spheres.

*Mr. E. M. S. Namboodripad :*

The Congress defeat is not fortuitous. It is the result of the utter bankruptcy of the economic and political policies pursued by the Congress Government leading to acute mass discontent.

If there is any thing surprising, it is the fact that it took so long for the people to inflict such a defeat in such a bankrupt Government.

*Prof. Humayun Kabir :*

Congress misrule in the past twelve months has dissipated the goodwill created by sixty years of service before independence and eighteen years of it after.

The inefficiency and corruption of the Congress leaders have so disgruntled the people that they have rejected the Congress. Corruption and bribery, mal-administra-

tion on the food-front and inadequate attention to the enlargement of employment opportunities have acted against the Congress.

*Balraj Madhok :*

The Congress has lost good leadership and its policies were totally exposed in the last five years.

For the first time the people of India have asserted their democratic rights to change the Government.

They are conscious of their power which is sovereign. This is a healthy sign.

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## CHAPTER : SIXTEEN

### *In the Eyes of Foreign Press*

It is a great electoral earthquake which has thrown the Congress from so many of its familiar seats of power. Party leaders are beginning to return to Dehli like defeated generals from war, many having lost all their armies.

—Times, London

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India has shaken herself in exasperation. Like a pantheon after an earthquake, the Lok Sabha is full of fallen statues that were once part of its architecture. The successes and failures certainly showed a vigorous stirring of popular discontent.

—Daily Telegraph, London

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The outstanding facts which have emerged from the elections—one, that Indian valued their democratic franchise, and secondly, they continue to exercise it with shrewdness and moderation. An impressive majority rejected any kind of political extremism. Gloomy observers who said Indian democracy would die with Mr. Nehru had been given the lie.

—John Grigg  
(in the 'Guardian')

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The Congress party, whose claim to govern India has been based on the fact that it guided the Indianisation

of India, still has a chance to assert a new claim based on what it can do for an India independent for 20 years.

Has India, or has it not, moved out of what has been called the system of one party plus? Is it moving into an era of Fourth Republic instability? Less probably, is it approaching the happy state Indian democrats have been longing for—where the Government of the day is challenged by an opposition, ready and able to provide the alternative? Will the Congress perform its long foreseen ideological split? Will its difficulties spur or paralyse the administration? Only tentative answers can be offered yet.

—Economist, London.

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“I witnessed three previous parliamentary elections and frankly speaking, I did not expect the National Congress to lose so much of its prestige and authority, built up particularly in the struggle for independence.

—N. Pastukhov  
( in ‘New Times’ )

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There seems to be no nationwide opposition party willing or able to take over the central government. The centrifugal force of the various oppositions in India is undoubtedly dangerous in a country whose union is still tenuous.

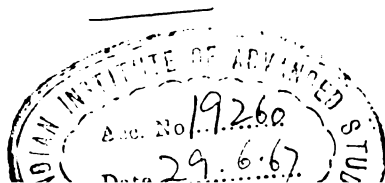
This is the kind of situation in which Army officers begin to wonder whether they should step in to keep the country together, and what does happen to India in this regard during the next few months will be a test of the Indian democracy strength.

—Financial Times

—The Scotsman

—The Washington Post.

—The Washington Daily News.







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