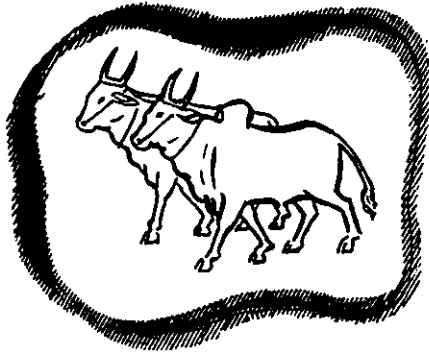


CONGRESS

AND THE SECOND

GENERAL ELECTIONS



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GENERAL ELECTIONS

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PREFACE

The recent General Elections, the second since the Republican Constitution came into being, have been a great and exciting experiment in democracy. The Congress as the biggest party in the country entered the contest, as it did during the First General Elections, with the prestige of having brought peace and stability to the country during the five years it had been in office. This brochure provides a brief and factual account of the course and conduct of the election campaign by the Congress Party and the verdict of the electorate.

Conditions have changed since the country went to the polls in 1951-52. The electorate has increased. People have become more conscious politically. There is more determined opposition to the Congress organisation. But the innate strength of the Congress as well as the growing sobriety and discriminating capacity of the electorate have brought the Congress back to power at the Centre and in all the States except one. Congress had set to itself a high and dignified standard in the conduct of its election campaign as also in the manner and method of its propaganda. To the publicity department must go the credit for producing a large volume of propaganda material in conformity with this high standard.

As Convener of the Central Publicity Committee, Shri T.N. Singh worked ceaselessly and without respite. He was fortunate in having colleagues who worked ungrudgingly with zeal and devotion.

Our thanks are also due to Shri M.V. Ramana Rao and Shri Sunil Guha for compiling this narrative in a very short time.

SHRIMAN NARAYAN

May 28, 1957

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE story of the Second General Elections in which the Congress participated as the major political party in the country, is not less significant or spectacular than that of the first General Elections, after India attained freedom in 1947.

The Congress which, as a national institution, served the country for over seventy years, bringing to her freedom through a non-violent movement and establishing a democratic Government, had risen in prestige and won the faith and confidence of the people. The leaders of the Congress who, through terrible travail, through trials and tribulations, fought for and won the freedom of the country, have been governing as the true and trusted representatives of this glorious institution and of the people. They have given the country a democratic Constitution, adult franchise and security and stability for ensuring peaceful progress.

First General Elections

India is today the biggest democracy in the world. The first General Elections under the new Constitution which came into force on January 26, 1950, was a successful democratic experiment which dispelled the doubts of sceptics and compelled the Western critics to pay exuberant tributes to the orderly conduct of elections under adult franchise and to the political consciousness of the unlettered Indian electorate.

Indeed, the questions whether India was fit for democracy, whether adult franchise was wise or otherwise, whether the new Constitution which was the handiwork of the Congress, was workable, have been answered by the facts of history. After the General Elections in 1951-52 and the formation of governments in the States and the Centre, impartial observers have been convinced that the tradition of democracy long imbedded in the people of the country, has been maintained untarnished. The Congress which has been in power has been administering the country with the consent and for the good of the people. With the record of service it has accumulated to its credit it had confidently faced the electorate after five years and came out victoriously, to the discomfiture of carping critics at home and abroad. To the charge that the Congress had been developing a monolithic tendency or totalitarian complexion, the discerning electorate had given a clear and crushing reply, by returning the Congress in all but one State, and in the Centre, in an overwhelming majority.

Two Features

Two outstanding features for which the Congress had been responsible during the five-year period that intervened between the first and second General Elections, namely, the evolution of a 'socialistic pattern' and the reconstitution of the States of India on a more rational basis, had drawn the people towards the Congress in a more devoted measure. The victory of the Congress at the polls was primarily due to the manner in which the democratic process was going on for the establishment of a popular government.

The way in which the Congress prepared itself for the elections had created confidence among the people. The Congress was determined to go about the stupendous task of selecting candidates for the General Elections in a methodical manner, having primarily in view the loyalty to the Congress and the integrity of the candidates, besides providing adequate representation to women and minorities and the infusion of new blood.

Selection of Candidates

The qualifications of candidates had been clearly laid down by the Central Election Committee which included the six members of the Parliamentary Board, namely, Shri U.N. Dhebar, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shri Jagjiwan Ram, Shri Morarji Desai and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant and five members elected by the A.I.C.C., Smt. Indira Gandhi, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Shri K. Kamraj, Dr. B.C. Roy and Shri U.S. Malliah. In general, enquiries were made regarding the candidates on the following lines:

(1) Active membership of the Congress, (2) Political, social economic and cultural contribution of the candidate, (3) Social outlook, (4) Reputation for honesty and integrity, (5) Participation in constructive work, (6) Local body or Parliamentary activity, (7) Disciplined behaviour in the organisation, (8) If a sitting member, the nature of contact with the constituency.

Procedure of Selection

Thus, in the process of selection of the right type of candidate, nothing was left to chance or speculation but a strict and scrupulous check was contemplated. With regard to procedural rules, there was also no scope for allowing nepotism to play its part. The procedure for selection may be briefly described. (1) The PEC should invite suggestions from the members of the DCC with regard to candidates to be put up in various constituencies in the district, (2) Each member of the DCC may suggest one name, (3) The PEC should in consultation with representatives of CEC, choose its representatives to visit different areas for ascertaining local opinion,

(4) The PEC representative will then fix a meeting of the DCC Executive and have discussions with the members regarding their suggestions. He will gauge the sense of the Executive. He will later invite members of the DCC who are not in the Executive and discuss with them. He will also meet other persons to assess public opinion, (5) He will then prepare a panel of names, not exceeding 5 in each constituency and forward them to PEC. He will send his report explaining his recommendations (6) The candidates whose names are included in the panel should pay a deposit of Rs. 50/- each for election to State Legislature and Rs. 100 for election to Parliament. After final selection by CEC, the candidates will have to pay Rs. 50 for the State Legislature and Rs. 100 for Parliament. (7) The PEC sitting with the representatives of the CEC will consider the panel for each constituency sent by its representatives. It will then make its own recommendations to the CEC along with the panel of names giving reasons for the choice. If recommendations are not unanimous, the views of dissenters should also be sent. (8) The PEC may also consider names not included in the panel so as to give due representation to women, minorities, persons working in the Labour field and persons of outstanding ability, (9) The CEC will scrutinise the recommendations of the PEC and will make final selection. The CEC is competent to include persons not recommended or considered by the PEC, (10) Canvassing is prohibited either for oneself or for any other candidate and no approach should be made directly to the members of CEC or PEC. Representations can however be made to the PEC or the AICC representative or through them to the PEC or CEC. (11) The PEC representative concerned should be invited to attend PEC sittings when the names of candidates from the particular district are considered.

The procedure for selection had in this manner been devised to ensure that the candidates selected had the general approval of the organisation at all levels. Of course, the adoption of this new procedure and the idea of infusing new blood and of making provision for adequate representation to women and minorities, created resentment in some quarters, as obviously it worked against vested interests. A strict view was taken with regard to indiscipline in whatever form it manifested itself and action was taken ruthlessly to weed the organisation of disruptive and rebellious elements.

The New Criteria

As we have said already, the Central Election Committee was particular about giving adequate representation to women, minorities and fresh blood. The proportions in connection with these three categories had been fixed in the following manner: (1) Fifteen percent of the Congress seats in the legislature be allotted to women, (2) the proportion of the seats for minorities be in accordance with

their population ratio in the State, (3) efforts be made to replace one-third of the sitting Congress members by new members in the legislatures. Of course, the representation given to women and minorities was to be taken into account in securing the above quota.

The Central Election Committee was very particular that the candidates recommended by the DCCs should sign a pledge form, to enforce strict discipline among the applicants for candidature. The habit of setting at naught the final selection and applicants standing for election against official candidates, had to be discouraged. The pledge form runs: (1) My name having been proposed by Congress friends, I hereby give my consent to contest the election as a Congress nominee, (2) I give an undertaking that if I am not selected for any constituency on behalf of the Congress, I will not contest any seat against any Congress candidate in this election and will support Congress candidates and comply with the directives issued by the Central Election Committee from time to time, (3) I declare that I will follow and carry out the principles and policies laid down or directives given by the Indian National Congress, the AICC, the Working Committee or the Central Parliamentary Board and will after election observe the rules formed by the Party Organisation and all instructions and whips issued by competent authority, (4) I undertake to resign my seat whenever I am called upon to do so by the Central Parliamentary Board."

Representation to Women

For the first time, it has been found necessary to fix a quota for women who had participated equally with men in the struggle for Independence. It was noted with regret that although women formed almost half the electorate, they were not occupying their proper place in the legislative field. Therefore, it was found necessary to secure for them, by fixing a very modest quota, respectable representation. The walls of custom and prejudice had to be broken down and the women given their rightful place in moulding the political life of the country. The effect of this insistence on proper representation to women, minorities and the infusion of fresh blood, had been salutary.

Judicious and Balanced Selection

With the principles and procedure for selection of candidates defined in a clear and convincing manner, its final consideration of the recommendations received from Pradeshes was made by the Central Election Committee with utmost care and judiciousness. The P.C.C. Presidents and Leaders of the Congress Parties were invited to the meetings of the Central Election Committee to help finalisation of the list. While making his observation on the process of selection, Shri U.N. Dhebar, the Congress President, said that the whole

process was gone through in a "judicious and balanced way." "Even our own critics tell us that the Congress had done the job of selection very well" said Shri Dhebar. He further stated: "I feel that we have done a very steady job, screening each case and considering it strictly on merit, studying carefully individual complaints and trying to find out how far they are true and, above all, taking into consideration such things as introduction of fresh blood, representation of minorities and women. It was however not possible for us to evolve a list satisfactory to all, especially when 25,000 candidates were in the field, seeking Congress nomination, from whom nearly 3,500 had to be finally chosen. I am fully confident that we have done our duty." Shri Jawaharlal Nehru who commented on more than one occasion that he was not satisfied with some of the selections, remarked that they had to be made not on the basis of individual judgment but on the collective will and wisdom of the Committee.

Good Candidates Selected

Speaking on the same subject, on the question of selection, Shri Shriman Narayan, General Secretary of the Congress, said: "So far as selection of candidates is concerned, the Central Election Committee had tried to do its best. The C.E.C. representatives met thousands of prospective candidates in each State headquarters. Later, in Delhi also, thousands of people were met by the President and the General Secretaries and other members of the Central Election Committee. The Congress President himself daily interviewed 300 people in the A.I.C.C. Office. Besides, we had sent special representatives from the A.I.C.C. to each State to submit their reports about Congressmen whose names had been proposed for various constituencies. We had received thousands of representations and complaints which were carefully gone into by our Election Department before finalising the lists of Congress candidates. We have thus taken every care to see to it that good candidates are selected for various Parliamentary and Assembly seats."

Minorities Represented

It must be a matter for pride that the principles laid down for selection had resulted in setting up only 239 former Lok Sabha members out of a total of 468 selected. The introduction of fresh blood was evident. With regard to representation of women and minorities, the following figures reveal interesting features. In the Lok Sabha, out of a total of 494 seats, 27 (including 2 ladies) were allotted to Muslims. To women 28 seats were allotted (including 2 Muslims and 1 Christian). To Sikhs 11 seats were allotted and to Christians 9 (including one lady). The total number of seats in Legislative Assemblies which Congress contested was 2906. Out of this number, the Muslim nominees were 212 (including 7 ladies),

women were 268 (including 7 Muslims, 2 Sikhs and 1 Christian). Sikhs were 62 (including 2 ladies). Christians were 25 (including one lady) and the Parsees were 4.

Election Manifesto

The Election Manifesto issued by the Congress after a process of democratic deliberation was a remarkable document. It was a striking illustration of a sober approach to the electorate. What the Congress Government and the Congress had achieved during the five preceding years, specially, the accomplishment of the targets of the First Five-Year Plan, of the evolution of the concept of 'Socialist Pattern of Society' and legislation for nationalisation of the Imperial Bank of India and Insurance Companies and Hindu Marriage and Hindu Succession Acts, had been placed before the electorate in simple terms and with no exaggeration. The implications of the Second Five-Year Plan were interpreted to the electorate with a fervent appeal for their unstinted cooperation so as to make it a real Peoples' Plan. No violent social or political upheavals were envisaged. No exaggerated claims were made. No ambitious plans to entice the public or deceive the electorate had been placed before them. A realistic view of what was capable of achievement and implementation alone was presented.

New Procedure

The Congress Election Manifesto, before it took the final form, was discussed at different levels. The draft was prepared after the A.I.C.C. which met at Calcutta in November, 1956, gave its considered suggestions. This draft was scrutinised by the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Indore and suggestions emanating from those deliberations were incorporated. It was placed, with the amendments, before the general session which approved of it and only then was it placed before the electorate for its verdict. As we see, the people had given their verdict by returning the Congress in a clear majority in all but two States—Orissa and Kerala—and in the Centre. The numerical strength of the Congress in the Lok Sabha constitutes a vindication of the country's faith and confidence in the Congress.

Election Issues

i. Socialism

The issues before the electorate had not been characterised by any sharp or outstanding differences in political or economic theories. If in the past, either the Socialists or the Communists had accused the Congress of capitalist-mindedness or befriending big business to the detriment of the common people, today the wind had been taken off their sails. Congress had never been capitalist in outlook. The whole freedom movement under Gandhian leadership had been

motivated by one consideration, the amelioration of the poor from their economic degradation. The Congress was always imbued by a spirit of undeviating and unselfish service of the people. The Government, in its policies, had always been inspired by the sole interest of the common man. The content of this policy of helping the liquidation of the common man's handicaps like poverty, illiteracy and ill-health, was given a name at Avadi where the Congress passed a specific resolution for evolving a 'Socialistic Pattern of Society'. This was reiterated with greater emphasis and in bolder terms at Amritsar and embodied in the Objective Article of the Congress Constitution at the Indore Session of the Congress. The Socialists who could not any more find a plausible agreement to sustain their vapid contention that Congress was the prop and protector of capitalism, could only glibly say that Congress attempt at socialism was an eye-wash and a camouflage, knowing that their contention was a negation of truth. They ceased to harp too much on their brand of socialism or communism which they wanted to push down the throat of the people. They had been known, too well, as the incoherent spokesmen of imported ideas which were alien to the genius and tradition of India. The Socialist and Communist Parties had perforce to raise other issues, primarily, the issue of the reorganisation of States. This issue attained a prominence out of all proportion, in the Bombay State and as a result of the virulent propaganda carried on by the Opposition by parading in the streets big pictures portraying ghastly scenes of shootings and posters and placards with sinister slogans, the Congress met with reverses in Maharashtra and some parts of Gujerat, namely, Ahmedabad and Mehsana. Almost all parties opposed to the Congress had to hang on to this perilous thread of linguistic passion and make strange bed-fellow coalitions to fight the Congress.

ii. *Foreign Policy*

The foreign policy of the Congress was not in fact a vital issue in the elections. Generally, it received the approbation of the Parties opposed to the Congress, though at one stage, the Security Council Resolution on Kashmir and the demand for withdrawal of India from the Commonwealth owing to the very hostile attitude of Britain, threatened to assume major proportions. India's attitude in the Security Council over Kashmir was however hailed with acclamation. Shri Nehru wanted the electorate to signify its approval of India's stand at the Security Council by voting solidly for the Congress. The Goa question did not figure much as an issue in the elections.

iii. *Economic Planning*

The Economic planning embodied in the Second Five-Year Plan was the target of much abusive attack. One could wax eloquent over it or make it the subject of exaggerated animadversion,

because one could look at Planning from different angles. Planning in a democratic country like India, in a democratic manner as envisaged, is something of a new concept in an underdeveloped economy. Is India fit for it? Is the money allotted sufficient? Is the programme not too ambitious? Is it capable of implementation? Is the socialist concept that the Second Plan adumbrates, really, genuinely socialist? Is Private enterprise compatible with socialism? Various questions of this nature had been repeatedly raised by Opposition Parties, both reactionary like the Jan Sangh or Hindu Mahasabha and radical and revolutionary like the Socialists and the Communists. The basic facts were often wilfully overlooked or forgotten. The Congress was wedded to democratic principles. It did not want to plant socialist ideas or implement its socialist policies over the heads of the people without their willing consent or cooperation. Force, coercion or violence as under totalitarian regimes, were unthinkable under a democratic system of Government. The Congress explained in its manifesto its policy and exposed, to the discomfiture of the Opposing Parties, their hollow promises and illusory claims. The verdict of the electorate was embodied in the final result.

iv. Reorganisation of States

Over the reorganisation of States, there was acrimonious wranglings. The Congress Government had given the fullest scope for expression of views by political Parties and other institutions. There were orgies of violence as for instance in Orissa and in Maharashtra and Gujerat over either adjustment of boundaries or constitution of new States. After enabling the people of the country, of all sections and views, to express themselves, not only freely but even passionately, the States Reorganisation Commission's recommendations were modified in certain particulars to bring them into conformity with reasonable popular opinion. As a result, feelings which had been frayed by linguistic passions had to a considerable extent subsided. The Communists and the P.S.P. who were irritated by the success of the Government's democratic method and the comparative quiet which came to reign, after a period of intense excitement, found a handle in the creation of bilingual Bombay where in combination with forces of linguistic separation which were played up, they raised the problem of separate Maharashtra and Gujerat as an election issue. Ugly and violent scenes of rowdyism were enacted during the elections which were a disgrace to the country.

Creation of Opposition Parties

An issue, rather of an academic nature, was raised during the elections by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, that there was need for a strong Opposition Party to enable the Parliamentary system of Government to work effectively. His contention was that the

Congress was or was becoming monolithic and that this tendency could best be curbed by creating a strong Opposition Party. He called on Shri Nehru himself, strangely enough, to help the creation of such an Opposition. An effective reply to this issue (if we can call it so) was given by Shri Nehru and Shri Dhebar. An opposition Party could not be expected to grow out of a negative policy nor by the vicarious help of the major political party. It should stand on its own legs and develop enough strength through a positive popular programme. Except for deflecting political theorists into an academic controversy over this problem, it never assumed the proportions of an election issue among the intelligent voters of the country. The Congress, it was rightly said, could not be blamed for the weakness of the opposition.

Campaign on a High Level

The Congress carried on its campaigning in a missionary spirit. Its basic principle of election campaign was defined in a resolution of the Congress at its Indore session. The resolution enjoined on Congressmen that their election campaign should be conducted on a "high level and without any recrimination or bitterness". It further says: "The object of widespread democratic elections is not merely for individual candidates to gain success in them, but also to educate public opinion and the masses of India. Because India enjoys adult suffrage for both men and women, a general election offers a unique opportunity to reach the vast masses of India and to carry out an educative campaign in regard to objectives, ideology and domestic and internal problems. It is these subjects, as well as the achievements of the Congress Governments since independence, and the Second Five-Year Plan, that should be emphasised before the public. This should be done with dignity and without personal attacks on opposing candidates and always remembering that every Congressman has to set a high example of personal conduct". What greater ideal could there be for a Party organisation in the battle of the polls. It was only a Party which was steeped in the moral idealism which Gandhiji left as legacy, that could plan to conduct its election campaign on such a lofty plane. Speaking on the question "How to approach the electorate", Shri Nehru said: "I want to approach the electorate with the fullest strength, talking to them about our failings as well as our achievements, treating them as comrades and taking them into my confidence. *We must approach the Indian people absolutely frankly without inhibitions, frankly confessing what we have not done and telling them about our difficulties in the future, telling what they will have to do and how we cannot solve these problems without their cooperation*". This new kind of approach, this realisation of the need to take the people along with you in the exciting adventure of building up the nation, this insistence on converting the election campaign into an educative mission—were

peculiar and significant features of the Congress electioneering on this occasion. When Shri Nehru wanted the General Elections to be a kind of "vast university for the masses of the people to discuss political and economic subjects and domestic and international problems", he was raising the election campaign from a common humdrum plane to exalted moral levels.

Frenzy of Opposition

One of the remarkable features of this election was the frantic and frenzied temper of the Opposition Parties. Each of them was animated by the crude and narrow ambition of defeating the Congress, not on the basis of an alternative policy, calculated to encompass the good of the people but with the selfish motive of defeating the Congress. The common aim of vanquishing the Congress threw them into queer and quixotic alliances, like, for instance the electoral alliance of the P.S.P. and the Muslim League in Kerala. The triumph of Communists in Kerala (where they now formed a Government), of the emergency of Ganatantra Parishad, the party of ex-feudal lords, as the second strongest in Orissa and the victories of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in Bombay, were only stray instances of a strange political aberration resulting from imperfections of the Congress in specific areas and the irritations caused by local frustration. They were not, however, a symptom of basic defects in Congress policies or principles. They are, no doubt, significant proofs of deficiencies in the political training and education of the masses. It was a recognition of this irrefutable fact that led the Congress to treat the election campaign as an educative process.

Tours of Leaders

Prominent Congress leaders, Shri Dhebar, Shri Nehru, Shri Pant, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Shri Jagjiwan Ram and the General Secretaries of the Congress—Shri Shriman Narayan, Shri K.P. Madhavan Nair and Shri M.M. Chaudhury—toured from one end of the country to another, carrying the democratic message of the Congress, and educating the electorate on subjects of national and international import. And what crowds, as usual, had Shri Nehru attracted, wherever he had gone, whether in Communist infested Kerala or in Orissa riddled by dispossessed Zamindars who led the reactionary Ganatantra Parishad or in Bombay State where linguistic passions were roused to infernal pitch. It was during one of these election tours, that he had a near-accident from which providentially he emerged unscathed when the plane he was travelling in had a forced landing. The P.S.P. with its rapid economic theories, the Communists with their violent methods, the Communalists with their reactionary orthodox programmes—had been subjected to searching criticism by Shri Nehru who unmasked their hollow pretensions to popular support.

And so the Congress carried on its election campaign, reckless of results but only anxious to educate the electorate. The Congress never existed apart from the people. It rested its claim for popular confidence on service rendered and if in the general election, this confidence was re-affirmed, it is a tribute to its unfaltering devotion to the masses.

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE APPROVE MANIFESTO

THE Congress Election Manifesto received enthusiastic support from all sections of people who are for ordered and peaceful progress of the country. The Press had generally welcomed it and showered praise on it as a sober and realistic account of what had been achieved and what was proposed to be achieved. No false or exaggerated picture was presented to the electorate. No hyperbolic claims were made. The hard and difficult way of building up the nation was described baldly and boldly. A brief summary of the Manifesto may usefully be given.

“ Seventyone years ago ”, said the Manifesto at the very start, referring to the origin and growth of the Congress, “ the Indian National Congress was born. Its early beginnings were small but significant. This infant organisation was to grow into a mighty organ of the Indian people representing their wishes and urges for freedom. Year by year, it grew in scope and outlook and great men and women, famous in India’s story, took part in moulding it so that it might play its destined part to bring independence to this country ”.

The Manifesto referred to the peaceful and revolutionary struggle for Swaraj and the attainment of freedom on the 15th August 1947. “ At that solemn and historic moment ” the Manifesto recalled, “ when India stepped out from servitude to freedom, we took another pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity ”.

After thus defining and describing how the Congress was born and served the country and brought her freedom, the Manifesto went on to say: “ The Congress had fulfilled its old pledge for independence, but the other pledge to fight poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity remained and the Congress set itself to this tremendous task ”.

Betterment of Masses

What did the Congress stand for. It had always stood for the betterment of the masses and the underprivileged. The Manifesto referring to this aspect stated: “ A precise direction was given to this objective by the famous Avadi resolution of the Congress laying down as its objective a socialist pattern of society for the

country. While we aimed at socialism, we also adhered to a democratic structure of society and we proclaimed afresh that our means would be peaceful. *Thus the Congress stood for democracy and socialism and for peaceful and legitimate methods.* These are the basic policies of the Congress on which we have laboured to build the noble edifice of new India". There we have the objective of socialism defined clearly and concisely.

Planning

The Congress envisaged a planned approach to the solution of the many problems confronting India. The First Five-Year Plan emphasised on greater production; Projects like Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, Tungabhadra made substantial progress. The Manifesto then referred to the first General Elections under the new Constitution. Never before, anywhere in the world, had democratic elections taken place on such a vast scale. "*Through these elections the people of the country proclaimed afresh their faith in the Congress and gave it strength.* The country gained stability and confidence to plan for the future", said the Manifesto.

Turning to the Second Five-Year Plan, the Manifesto stated: "In this Plan, emphasis was laid on a more rapid development of industry and at the same time the importance of greater production in agriculture was pointed out". Three new iron and steel plants were being erected in addition to expansion of the old plants. Mineral resources were being exploited. The chemical industry was being developed. Ship-building, and aircraft production were being stepped up.

Social Reform

Apart from numerous activities in the economic sphere, there were social and cultural activities. Legislation was passed for the reform of Hindu Law in regard to marriage, divorce and inheritance by women. To secure the rights of Harijans, the Untouchability Offences Act was passed. The Scheduled Tribes were given special privileges and facilities so that they might catch up with the civilised communities of the Plains. In these ways the Congress has striven to establish social and cultural equality among the various communities composing the Indian society and took special steps towards raising the status of women and securing them equality with men and demolishing barriers built by custom and sanctioned by law.

The New Map

The reorganisation of States was an achievement of the greatest magnitude. By the democratic process of discussion and consultation, a common measure of agreement was secured and a new map

of India was drawn. The Manifesto stated: "In spite of the strong feelings which these changes had aroused, the people of India showed their basic resilience and vitality and their capacity for peaceful adjustment, even when they disagreed. It is this capacity which gives strength to our people and the hope that however much there might be occasional disagreements, unity prevails and good sense reasserts itself".

Minorities

To the minority communities in India, whether they were religious or linguistic, the Congress had shown considerable sympathy. "Minorities in India, whether religious or linguistic or other, must have the assurance and the feeling of playing their full part in the varied activities of the country", said the Manifesto.

Casteism

The Congress was determined to exterminate communalism and casteism which had a corrosive effect on the growth of healthy nationalism, said the Manifesto: "We realise fully the dangers of communalism and have struggled against them throughout Congress history..... Caste is an evil which has weakened our society, introduced innumerable fissiparous tendencies and resulted in the suppression and humiliation of large numbers of people. The Congress is entirely opposed to this system, as it is opposed to everything that creates divisions and inequality".

Socialism

Explaining the ethical longings of the Congress, the aspiration to mould the life of the people on a high plane and the philosophy behind the type of socialism that the Congress was intent on achieving, the Manifesto said: "Socialism does not merely signify changes in the economic relation as of human beings. It involves fundamental changes in the social structure, in ways of thinking and in ways of living.... The Socialist order is a way of life based on the people and not merely on the effect of Government. It is in the measure that the people develop their strength, their discipline, their capacity to work and their cooperative activities that socialism comes into being. Governments derive power from the people and reflect that power as well as the other urges of the people".

Reduction of Disparities

The Manifesto said that the major problem of India was to fight poverty, to eradicate unemployment and raise the standards of the people. This necessitated greatly increased production and equitable distribution. The pace of progress depended on resources and, principally, the burden of finding resources fell on the people

themselves. "This burden had to be borne," said the Manifesto "but it should be spread out in such a way as to fall chiefly on those who are in a better position to shoulder it. The structure of taxation is being reconstructed with this object in view. This process will also help in reducing disparities in income and wealth." The Congress was thus mindful about not only greater production but equitable distribution. The burden of providing resources was also to be shared in proportion to the capacity of the people. Nationalisation and the role of public and private sectors in the industrial field were defined in the Manifesto. The Congress welcomed nationalisation of State Bank and life insurance. "The resolution on Industrial policy of the Government of India defines the areas reserved for the public and private sector. It is not intended to nationalise the existing private industries except where such is considered necessary in terms of planning or where they occupy strategic position in the economy of the country. Private industry be encouraged but always in the context of the Plan."

With regard to land policy, the Congress was determined to eliminate intermediaries, progressively, so that land was owned by the cultivator himself. The principle of ceilings on land holdings had been accepted and should be progressively introduced so as to bring about a better distribution of land.

Unemployment

The Manifesto dealt with the knotty problem of unemployment. This was to be brought about through the growth of industry and more especially, through small scale and village industries. Conscious about the large number of educated unemployed, the Manifesto said: "At present there are large numbers of unemployed among those who have received some education. This unemployment is partly due to their not having received the proper type of education which would fit them into the nation's activities today. Apart from absorbing them in such vocations as may be suitable, an attempt should be made to give them some additional technical or specialised training so as to enable them to find suitable work more easily."

Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of the Congress was guided by the principles of *Panch Sheela*. India had no territorial ambitions. She wanted to live in peace and friendship with other countries. Referring to Goa, the Manifesto said that it still remained a symbol of the "worst type of colonial rule and degradation." "It is impossible for India to tolerate a colonial enclave in any part of its territory and the continuation of it is an affront to the people of India. Nevertheless

attempts to solve this problem have been peaceful and will continue to be peaceful. These attempts must and will succeed." Relations with Pakistan were strained and attempts at friendly approaches had proved vain and infructuous. India would however continue peaceful solutions for Indo-Pakistan problems. The Manifesto further said: "In international affairs, India has consistently pursued the path of peace and friendship with all nations. In a world full of the spirit of conflict and hatred and violence, she has endeavoured to free herself from these passions and avoided military pacts and alliances.....India's relations with the countries of Asia and Africa have been particularly close and the Bandung Conference was a historical example of the coming together of all these nations. India and China first enunciated the five principles for the governance of international relations which have subsequently become famous as the *Panch Sheela*.....India's foreign policy has had for its objectives the avoidance of war and the maintenance of friendly relations with all countries."

The Manifesto concluded by saying that the Congress had served the people of India for three generations and identified itself with the people of India. People had shown their confidence in it. Because of the people's confidence, it had become a strong and well-knit organisation, capable of preserving the unity and integrity of India. The work it had done in Government or among the people during ten years was before the country for the people to judge. The Manifesto stated: "The great adventure still beckons to every person in India and to the success of that adventure the Congress has dedicated itself. It seeks again, therefore, a renewal from the people of India, of that faith and confidence which they have given it in such abundant measure in the past. With renewed strength firmly based on the good-will of the people, it is determined to labour for the advancement of the Indian people and for world peace."

The humble but earnest and confident approach of the Congress to the electorate was apparent from the Manifesto. It was this approach that paid rich dividends at the end. Congress alone could make such an approach with its historic record of solid achievement, not only as the architect of India's freedom but as the builder of the nation, identifying itself with the natural and emotional longings and aspirations of the people, inspiring faith and trust in the organisation that it alone could secure to them peace, security and prosperity and ordered Government. The people marched to the polls to vote for Congress in festive processions, with their hearts throbbing and their pulses beating, to join the great adventure the Congress had undertaken for building up the new nation on sound and solid foundations.

The Press

The important newspapers of India which could not be accused of being indiscriminately pro-Congress had generally welcomed the Congress election manifesto. Their comments showed impartial judgement and wise discernment and broadly reflect the temper and tenor of the electorate.

The "*Times of India*," never very generous and often critical of the Congress said : "There can be indeed no greater tribute to the Congress than that the P.S.P. in its manifesto should have borrowed a large part from the programme to which the Congress has been resolutely committed for the last five years.....The Manifesto does not try to beguile the people into the belief that the implementation of the Plan is going to be an easy task."

The "*Amrita Bazar Patrika*", celebrated for its sobriety and staunch patriotism said : "The present draft manifesto would convince all sceptics and detractors that the Congress adopted the establishment of a socialist pattern of society as its objective, not as a political strategy but out of sincere faith in socialism and democracy."

The "*Hindusthan Standard*," frank and fearless in its criticism of Congress said : "The Congress election manifesto is by and large a reaffirmation of faith in the basic postulates of the Party's creed as it has evolved after the acceptance at Avadi of a Socialist Pattern of Society as its objective..... The Manifesto not only reiterates the Party's pledge to fight poverty and ignorance, but also records in brief the highlights of its achievements during a decade of governance..... The Opposition can no longer argue that the Congress approach to economic and social questions is fundamentally wrong."

CHAPTER III

LEADERS SPEAK

BY all accounts and by even the severest of assessments, it was Shri Jawaharlal Nehru who not only travelled the largest, spoke the oftenest, exposed the Opposition to the fullest and explained the Congress view-point to the completest extent. He travelled north, west, east and south, and touched places where the Opposition was considered strongest and the most violent. Never did he falter or give quarter to the Opposition and he was most vehement in his denunciation of wrong methods which were calculated to endanger national solidarity or encourage disruptive or disintegrating forces. He loved the masses and the masses loved him and they loved him the more when he admonished them for treading the wrong path, for being Communalist or caste-ridden or for becoming the victims of false propaganda.

Let us recall what he told the millions of people who crowded at every gathering he addressed. His voice carried solace to them in their sufferings. His assurances served to assuage their agonies. They did not listen to him as to a Party leader but as to a national hero, the giver of their freedom and the redeemer of the evils which surrounded them.

Socialism

Socialism was not a new concept in the Congress ideology. It was only a new word in the Congress dictionary. It was said that he had stolen the word from the Socialist Party. But he would say: "why should they object to the use of the word "Socialism." It was not an exclusive preserve of the Socialists or Communists. It was a word of the language. If we go near our Socialist brothers, they should be happy. Why should they become angry," he asked. Explaining his conception of socialism, Shri Nehru said: "We do not envisage the establishment of a socialism where everyone becomes equal in terms of poverty. We do not believe in pulling down the few who may be better off for the moment. Socialism means, we take all the people forward and not pull anyone down. I do not want a big gap between the high and the low. . . . Broadly speaking I want every individual in India to have an equal opportunity of growth from birth onwards, equal opportunity of work according to his capacity. *I want a welfare State. It is true a welfare State need not be a Socialist State, but a Socialist State must be a welfare State. That is, socialism is a welfare State plus something else.*"

Democratic Congress

There was the charge, recklessly hurled at the Congress, that it was developing as a monolithic Party. Shri Nehru answering the charge said: "This Congress is essentially, and even more so than almost any Parties that I can think of in any country, a democratic institution. . . . After all here are these elections. Anybody can stand and anybody can get elected, that is to say, if people vote for him. Our Election Commission is independent of the Government. It can do what it likes. What more can we do. Are we to give our support to the candidates of opposing Parties or to put up dummy candidates. Is that the way democracy grows."

It was asked why the Congress Election Manifesto was only content to give a record of progress made and explain the targets of the Second Five-Year Plan, when other Parties made so many enticing promises. Shri Nehru replied: "The Congress cannot say anything with any sense of irresponsibility. Whatever we say we have to fulfil it because if we do not do so, it will, like a boomerang, come against us and we will have to face the charge of breaking our promises. We cannot lead people up a rosy garden path, make all kinds of promises and then let them down. We have to put before people in precise and clear terms only what we have determined to achieve."

Opposition

Shri Nehru never minced words when he had to criticise the Opposition Parties, inspired by a genuine indignation at the camouflage and counterfeit of democracy with which they were deluding the people. At Bombay, inaugurating the election campaign, he said that the Communist talk of the dictatorship of the Proletariat was sheer 'nonsense and humbug.' They could not have this dictatorship of the Proletariat and it was not possible anywhere in the world today under the existing circumstances. "Do the Indian Communists," he asked "think that they could run the country in the way they were acting. Often they had proved they had no mind of their own. They had shown the bankruptcy of their mind in the past few months." The Praja Socialist Party was "shutting its eyes to realities and turning its face away from them. . . . Their only obsession was to oppose the Congress and for that they were even prepared to join the Communists. The Hindu Mahasabha and Jan Sangh were communal, irresponsible and utterly immature Parties."

Asking voters to vote for the Congress, he said: "You have seen the Congress at work. You have seen the Congress leading the independence struggle. You know its strength and weakness. In the circumstances existing in the country today, the Congress is the only Party which will achieve the goal for you. This makes it

your duty to make the Congress strong. If you want orderly development and progress of the country, then it can be done only by the Congress."

A Challenge

"The General Election is a challenge to the people of India. I trust that they will answer this challenge by rising above all petty differences and giving their verdict in favour of the high principles for which the Congress stands." That is the clarion call which Shri Nehru issued to the electorate on the eve of the elections. So far as selection of candidates was concerned, he said it was a difficult task. Not to be chosen involved no discredit, for it was impossible to accommodate even all deserving persons. He said: "As a soldier of the Congress I accept the decisions made on behalf of the Congress and I appeal to the voters all over India to support the Congress candidates."

"A vote for Congress is a vote for progress" he said in Poona, the centre of Maharashtrian linguistic passions and the stronghold of Samyukta Maharashtra movement. The people should have to consider, he said, as to which was the most effective force in the country that could deliver the goods, before casting their vote. It was only a strong and well-organised party like the Congress, having the confidence of the people, that could achieve progress.

If Congress Was Defeated

What would be the fate of the country if the Congress was defeated. Shri Nehru posed the question and answered. If by any mischance, he said, Congress was defeated in the elections, it would be a bad day for India. If instead of a strong ruling Party, there were a dozen groups, it would lead to one group intriguing against another. "Elections are not prize-giving competitions when you give prizes to the most beautiful or others you may like. Elections ultimately are the test of the policy which a country should pursue and that test had to be applied correctly."

So Shri Nehru moved from place to place, carrying the glorious message of the Congress, giving a new impetus to the workers, a new hope to the masses, a new slogan to the voters, clearing their minds of doubts and purging them of the poison injected by false propaganda. He warned the people; he challenged the opponents; he enthused the workers; he exhorted the voters. Speaking at Lucknow, he said that any replacement of the Congress by an alliance of heterogeneous elements would undermine progress and in fact the very freedom of the country. A vote for any communal party was a vote against the fundamental unity of India. It was a vote for weakness and strife. Never in history had any country made

progress so speedily while preserving individual democratic freedom. What had been achieved in Western countries in 100 years would be achieved in India in 15 years. He wanted the unity of the country. He said : "We, all the 36 crores of people of India, are fellow pilgrims. We have to march together to our destined goal and participate in the great adventure of building India which has a tremendous future."

Support Sought For Foreign Policy

To India, its foreign policy was no less important than its internal policy. Shri Nehru was the architect of this policy and he was the builder of the enormous prestige which India enjoyed in the world. He was therefore very much concerned to preserve this prestige and this could be secured only when the country unitedly supported him in his stand on the Kashmir issue and other issues like Suez. "I want India's firm voice to be heard in the neighbour country and in the rest of the world. This can be done when the country remains united and the Congress is strengthened."

Imbued and inspired by his ardent love of the country and his inordinate desire to mould the destiny of this ancient land he was eager to take it onward to the goal of happiness and prosperity. At one of the election meetings, he said : "*I have not come here for your votes only. If you give them to the Congress, I shall be grateful. But more than that, I want your cooperation to take this country forward towards progress and prosperity.*" To such emotional heights he leads the people and leaves them there to ruminate over the follies of mankind, the fervour of patriotism and the fruits of united endeavour. To the critics of his foreign policy, he presented an exalted ideal. He did not believe in temporary expedients or shifting policies. He took his firm stand on fundamental verities when he said : "I have no doubt in my mind that our foreign policy is the right policy. We cannot adopt a course which may be expedient and may give us some benefit today. We should not do anything which may bring us harm tomorrow or the day after."

Need Of Unity

Wherever he went, and whenever he spoke, Shri Nehru appealed to the people about the paramount need for unity and about thinking not in terms of this or that State but about the nation as a whole. In Kerala where the Communists were holding a vantage position and it was apprehended that the Congress might be routed, he stressed this aspect with his usual vigour and sincerity. "The country cannot progress except through unity, not only political unity but also emotional and psychological unity." Kerala, the most highly educated State in India had set up a remarkable record

of instability in the last few years, he said, addressing a meeting at Ernakulam. Were they going to repeat their former performance? He said : "We do not like President's rule and it is only when we are forced to do it that it has been done. I want your people and your representatives to take up the reins of Government in their hands and go ahead in Kerala. But you have to make up your minds to come out with a certain measure of unanimity about what is to be done. I hope you have learned this lesson and in this election, you will show it that you stand strongly for progress and that you will build up the State on that basis."

Elections—A Vast University

Shri Nehru had intense faith in the people of the country, their discernment, their democratic temperament and their ripe judgement. As he said on many occasions, he was not thinking of the elections as a vote-securing opportunity. He was thinking of the election campaign as an educative mission. "I want the general election to be a kind of a vast university for the masses of the people to discuss political and economic subjects and domestic and internal problems," he said to the people of Kerala. He warned them against the ways of the Communists who did not blush to set up communal candidates. Communalism disrupted India. He condemned their sense of irresponsibility. "They think they can lay down anything they like because nobody is going to give them the authority to do so. They say they will raise the quota for Kerala in the Second Five-Year Plan to Rs. 200 crores. Why could they not put it down at Rs. 1000 crores. They must have a sense of responsibility. Unfortunately the Communist Party here and in other parts of India stopped thinking long ago when it learnt by heart a number of phrases and slogans in some books written long ago which have no relation to India. *The clock of the World moves on while the clock of Communist minds stopped long ago. Is this the way of building up Kerala?*"

Opposition Parties' Trickery

He exposed the deplorable ways of the Opposition Parties in making electoral adjustments reckless of principles, just to spite the Congress. The P.S.P. which talked of the pure milk of Socialism, had electoral alliance with the Communalist Muslim League in Kerala. In Banaras he found a candidate parading posters proclaiming the support of the P.S.P., Communists, the Hindu Mahasabha and Jan Sangh. He asked : "Is India going to be governed by frustrated individuals and people who have lost touch with realities." Why was the Congress strong today, he asked and answered : "In spite of many failings the Congress had aimed right and it had some of the finest material in India. Its leadership is good.....It is a living and vital organisation."

Shri Nehru called upon the people to vote for the Congress which was the spearhead of India's struggle for freedom and symbol of their aspirations and tell the challenging world with one voice that they stood to a man for the cause and prestige of India. Some critics had said that because India did not align herself with any bloc, she had not received the support of any bloc in the Security Council over the question of Kashmir. To them he gave a crushing answer when he said : *"I am not in favour of selling India's honour and freedom to come under the protection of any bloc."*

President Preaches Congress Gospel

The Congress President was moving about indefatigably, meeting the people and the Congress workers and giving them encouragement to carry on their work vigorously and addressing the people on their responsibility in voting for the Congress and warning them against the peril of returning hybrid combinations of splinter parties.

Addressing Kerala people at Ernakulam, he said he regretted that Kerala was being converted into a laboratory for experimenting with political ideologies. He warned the Kerala Electorate: *"If you make a mistake in the choice of Parties in the coming elections, you would do harm not only to yourselves but also the country. You cannot take the risk of entrusting the reins of Government to hands that will not prove efficient..... The Congress was like the devoted Hindu wife serving the country for 70 years."* The crucial question before the electorate, said Shri Dhebar, was not which individual should occupy a seat in the legislature but which Party's representatives should be returned to form a Government.

Not Authoritarian

Was Congress becoming authoritarian. The question had been posed and answered by the Congress President at one of the election meetings. He said: *"The fact that three candidates could file their nominations against Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and the fact that except for a few dozen out of nearly four thousand, all the remaining seats will be contested, provides unmistakable proof that there is a climate of freedom in India."*

The Congress was serving the People, fighting poverty and unemployment and ignorance "and every house and every family bears witness to the fact that it has been reasonably successful in fulfilling to an extent humanly possible what it had promised to the electorate." Shri Dhebar said: *"The Congress is approaching the electorate with a record of service and with a clear picture of what it aims at. Its picture is both realistic and workable. It has confidence in its capacity to fulfil the same."*

Electoral Alliances

In West Bengal, there was a combination of several parties having differing ideologies. Shri Dhebar addressing an election meeting at Calcutta stated that the main object of such heterogenous combination was solely to give Congress a tough fight and defeat it at the elections. It seemed to him that in spite of their heterogeneous character, these had come together because they were afraid of fighting the Congress alone. Shri Dhebar asked the people not to be duped by the cheap slogans of the Left Parties and appealed to the people to vote Congress to power to lead the country to the path of progress.

The message of the Congress in its authoritative form was also carried throughout the length and breadth of India by eminent leaders of the Congress like Shri G.B. Pant, Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Shriman Narayan, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and others, while in the States, the local leaders incessantly went about and called on the masses to make their choice between democracy represented by the Congress and anarchy which would follow its defeat. The message percolated through the towns and through the villages and into the hearts of the masses which had never known any want of deep faith in the Congress. To the doubting minds and wavering hearts, the message had carried reassurance about the great destiny of the Congress which had dedicated itself for 70 years to the cause of the impoverished masses.

CHAPTER IV

PUBLICITY

TO the Party in power, conducting the election campaign is a difficult and delicate task. With a unique record of service and people's unshakable faith and confidence in her, the Congress of course had nothing to fear. But nothing was left to chance. While in conformity with its traditions, the election was decided to be utilised as an opportunity for reaching the message of the Congress throughout the length and breadth of the country, elaborate arrangements for effective publicity through the various media were also made.

A Central Publicity Sub-Committee was appointed with Shri Gulzarilal Nanda as Chairman and Shri T.N. Singh as convener. Other members of the Committee were Shri Feroze Gandhi, Dr. B.V. Keskar, Shri Banarasidas Chaturvedi, Dr. W.S. Barlingey, Shri Amolakh Chand and Shri Sailen Chatterjee. Congress Election Chief, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the three General Secretaries of the Congress, Shri Shriman Narayan, Shri K.P. Madhavan Nair and Shri Mahendra Mohan Choudhury and Shri K. Iswara Dutt, also took active interest, attended all the sittings of the Sub-Committee and made valuable suggestions regarding publicity and propaganda material. The Sub-Committee had altogether 8 sittings during which drafts of various publicity literature and rough designs for posters, folders, etc. were examined and approved.

Under the able and energetic guidance of Shri T.N. Singh, Convener of the Sub-Committee, a separate Publicity Department with Shri Sunil Guha as in-charge got into stride by November, 1956. Every member of the Department worked late hours ungrudgingly, and produced the great volume of publicity literature.

A 90-page 'Handbook For Congressmen' in English, Hindi and Urdu was prepared and printed and distributed widely among Congress workers. The six chapters of this Handbook, contributed by Shri M.V. Ramana Rao, Shri Sunil Guha and Shri Nakul Das, made available to every Congress worker and candidate, in a lucid and concise form, the objectives as well as the approach of the Congress to the various problems confronting the country. The Handbook also furnished useful data and information on various economic and social issues.

Five sets of questions and answers on topical issues such as Land Policy, Industrial policy, the unemployment problem, the relation between the public and the private sector in the 'Socialist

Pattern of Society' and the Foreign Policy of the Congress Government' as also five leaflets were specially prepared for the workers and trainees undergoing training in Congress camps organised by the Pradesh Congress Committees. Cyclostyled copies of these questions and answers and leaflets were sent to the Pradesh Congress Committees with necessary instructions to utilise them in their election campaign.

The five leaflets were:

- (1) How to approach the electorate ? (English and Hindi)
- (2) The Achievements of the First Five-Year Plan
- (3) Technique of Propaganda (English and Hindi)
- (4) The Second Five-Year Plan
- (5) A Brief History of the Congress.

An "*Election Guide*" was prepared for the use of the Candidates and their Polling Agents. This Guide along with its pocket edition entitled 'Candidates and Elections' were printed in large numbers and distributed amongst the candidates through the Pradesh Congress Committees. These brochures were edited by Shri Dipak Choudhury and Shri Ramdutt Dube under the guidance of Shri H.V. Pataskar and Shri Jaisukhlal Hathi.

Four attractive colour folders with suitable illustrations were also printed in English and Hindi: These were: (1) Employment Problem; (2) Social Revolution; (3) Kisans Decide To Vote Congress; and (4) The Story Of Gajadher. Advance cyclostyled copies of these folders were sent to the various Pradesh Congress Committees so that they could get these translated in their respective regional languages and distribute them among the masses.

Besides, two pamphlets—'Why Vote Congress' and 'Rural India' were also brought out in English and Hindi. These two pamphlets were also published by some of the Pradesh Congress Committees in their regional languages. Two Urdu pamphlets entitled 'Whom should we vote' and 'Kisans decide to vote Congress' were also prepared by Shri Anisur Rahaman.

A Weekly news feature entitled the '*Election News*' and its Hindi edition '*Chunao Samachar*' the former edited by Shri M.V. Ramana Rao and Shri Sunil Guha and the latter by Shri K. Lalit under the guidance and supervision of Shri Shriman Narayan, were also published by the Publicity Department.

The "*Election News*" published from week to week election news from Pradesh Congress Committees and special articles by eminent Congress leaders besides striking extracts from election speeches of

Shri U.N. Dhebar, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Govind Vallabh Pant and others who went to the far corners of the country and carried to the people the invigorating message of the Congress. Among those who contributed to the '*Election News*' stimulating articles on what the Congress stood for and why people should vote Congress, were Shri Shriman Narayan, Dr. B.C. Roy (Chief Minister, W. Bengal) Shri Atulya Ghosh (President, W. Bengal P.C.C.), Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddi (Chief Minister, Andhra), Shri V. Venkatappa, (President, Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee), Kumari Mukul Mukherjee, Kumari Vatsala Subrahmanian (on Why Women Should Vote Congress), Prof. D.C. Sharma, M.P., Shri T.N. Singh M.P. and others. The editorials of the weekly were devoted to a balanced and sober appraisal of election issues. The following editorial captions will indicate the nature of the subjects dealt with: "The Message and Mission," "The Call of Indore," "Coalitions What they mean," "The Unaffiliated Voter," "Selections and After," "Congress and the Opposition," "Towards Stability and Unity," "Rights and Duties," "Only Alternative" and "Umistakable Verdict." The Weeklies had always maintained a high journalistic standard and were the recipients of commendation and wide admiration.

Renowned artists were engaged for the preparation of suitable poster designs and out of 20 and odd rough designs, 4 were finally approved for printing. These were printed in lakhs in English, Hindi, Urdu and all other regional languages and were distributed to the Pradesh Congress Committees for display during the elections. One poster displayed an attractive profile of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru with the slogan 'For Peace and Prosperity, Vote Congress'; another showed two happy kisans with plough on their shoulders with the slogan 'Tillers to the Fore'; a third contained a big size line drawing of the Congress symbol—'A pair of bulls with the yoke on'—with the suggestive slogan 'Symbol of Service'; and the fourth poster carried the Congress President, Shri U.N. Dhebar's message to the electorate 'Peace Our Message; Service Our Mission.' The printing of these posters and other publicity literature were entrusted to nine big printing presses in Delhi, Agra, Calcutta, Lucknow, Kanpur and Bombay, all of which worked round the clock to complete the printing well in time. To the indefatigable and assiduous attention and devotion of Shri N. Balakrishnan, who is in charge of A.I.C.C. Publications Department, the prompt and proper printing of the publicity literature and its despatch to various P.C.Cs. must be attributed. It is however regrettable that in a few cases, owing to unforeseen causes, the publicity material could not reach some areas in time.

Fifteen documentaries prepared by the Films Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India,

were provisionally selected and were exhibited at Garh Mukteswar Fair with a view to watching the reactions of the villagers. English and Hindi version, of the following films were purchased from the Films Division and sent to some Pradesh Congress Committees :

- (1) India Independent
- (2) Freedom Marches On
- (3) It is Your Vote
- (4) Glimpses of Gandhiji
- (5) Democracy in Action

With a view to popularising the Congress election posters among the electorate, colour slides of all the posters were prepared and sent to the various Pradesh Congress Committees for regular display at Cinema Halls and public meetings.

Two gramophone records—one containing an appeal in Hindi by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru to the electorate and two Hindi songs on the glory of the Congress by Shri Ramesh Gupta were specially prepared and hundreds of copies were distributed to the Pradesh Congress Committees.

Besides, metal and paper badges of different sizes with the picture of the Congress symbol as also that of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru were distributed to the different Pradesh Congress Committees in large quantities for the use of workers and volunteers.

Thus no effort was spared in connection with publicity work. Every care was taken, meticulously to see that the message and the mission of the Congress was understood by people in remotest corners. It was significant that scrupulous attention was paid to the presentation of a factual situation to the people, leaving them to decide to vote as they liked, after being fully made aware of what the Congress stood for. The resolution of the Indore Congress was strictly adhered to in the preparation of publicity material to keep up a high and dignified level in the course of election propaganda.

While this was the case in regard to the election publicity campaign conducted by the Central Publicity Board, the same standard of decorum, decency and dignity was maintained by the Pradesh Congress Committees in carrying on propaganda and in the preparation of publicity material in regional languages. Among the media used by them were film features as in Tamil Nad where a Tamil picture of a very high level was produced. Pamphlets in local languages were freely distributed explaining the Congress message. Short dramas were also enacted in some places, their theme relating to the First Five-Year Plan; the uplift of the Kisan,

the abolition of untouchability, etc. The sobriety and the dignity with which the publicity material was prepared, shorn of all exaggeration and devoted to factual presentation of the case, helped to win the hearts of the people.

CHAPTER V

THE VERDICT OF THE ELECTORATE

WITH some 20 million more voters than in the 1951-52 General Elections and with the Election Commission holding the scales admirably even between the contesting Parties, which created a sense of confidence among candidates and electors alike, India went to the polls for the second time between February 24 and March 15, 1957. In the hurricane of electioneering, pulled and pressed by a multitude of Parties, each of them trying to impress the superiority of its claims, people were apt to get disgusted and even refuse to go to the polls. But this time there was less surface excitement, not because of political apathy but because of growing political maturity of both the Parties and the electorate. This was evident from a much larger participation without exuberant demonstration.

Larger Participation

While the number of the electorate increased from 173 million in 1951-52 to 193 million during 1957, the number of votes polled jumped from 103.8 million to over 112.3 million or about 49.2 per cent of the total voting capacity of the country. The comparative figures for 1952 was 44.9 per cent. As in the first general elections, voting for Parliamentary seats was slightly higher than for the Assembly elections. The total count was over 121.4 million votes compared to 112.3 million for the Assembly elections in 13 States. Nearly 25,96,000 of the 121.4 million votes had to be rejected. Comparative figures for the 1951-52 elections were 105.9 million valid votes for Parliament and 103.8 million valid votes for the Assemblies. This time, however, there were no Assembly elections in Delhi, where polling was only for Parliamentary seats, being Centrally administered after the reorganisation of States. Himachal Pradesh which was the first to poll in 1951-52, will be the last to vote in the Second General Elections, the region along with Kulu Valley being snowbound in the months of February and March. Here also the elections are limited this time to Parliamentary seats with the territory losing the character of a State and being administered Centrally under the States Reorganisation Act*. The Parliamentary vote also takes into account the poll in Tripura and Manipur where local elections were held for the Territorial Councils.

Overwhelming majority for Congress

The task of the electorate was herculean. They had to sift, sort and select their 2901 representatives from 9840 candidates put up by as

* At the time of going to the press results of 5 seats in Himachal Pradesh elections have been announced, Congress having won 4 seats.

many as 26 parties from the small Mizo Union, restricted in its activities to a part of hills areas of Assam, to the vast Congress organisation. To the vast majority of the electorate, the Congress case of course needed no special pleading. It was clear from the beginning that this time actual performance in the legislature and not merely wild promises was to play an important role in the final judgment by the electorate. The Congress had naturally taken its stand on what had been achieved during the last five years of its rule. Even the Opposition Parties which made what they claimed as the failures of the ruling party their main election issues, never expected any appreciable dent in the formidable Congress majority in the Parliament. It was therefore a foregone conclusion that the Congress would win easily. And so it did.

For the 2901 seats in the Parliament and various State Assemblies, the Congress Party put up 2,881 candidates. Of these, 1889 Congressmen were returned. This amounts to roughly 65.1 per cent of the successful candidates. In the first general elections, the Congress had claimed 2246 of the 3283 seats in the 22 Part A, B and C States. The 2881 Congress candidates in all polled 4,76,32,427 votes which is about 38,00,000 more than in the first general elections. This works out at a percentage of 43.3 as compared to 42.20 in 1951-52. The Congress Party won 365 out of 488 seats in the Lok Sabha for which elections had already been held. It had claimed 365 seats out of 489 in the first General Elections.

The Congress tally of 1889 seats was made up of 69 seats from Andhra (In Andhra, only the Telengana Part went to polls to fill seats in the State legislature, while for Lok Sabha election only, the whole State voted); 71 from Assam; 210 from Bihar; 232 from Bombay; 43 from Kerala; 232 from Madhya Pradesh; 151 from Madras; 150 from Mysore; 56 from Orissa; 118 from the Punjab; 119 from Rajasthan, 286 from Uttar Pradesh and 152 from West Bengal.

The biggest democracy in the world, with an electorate of over 193 million, thus voted for Congress Government at the Centre and in eleven States out of 13. In Kerala the Communist Party got a mandate to form a Government. In Orissa, though emerging as a minority, the Congress formed the Government hoping to make it stable with the help of the sober sections of the legislature.

Rise in Women, Scheduled Caste and Tribe M.P.'s.

Out of the 27 women elected to the Lok Sabha and 195 to the various State Assemblies, 23 and 179 respectively belong to the Congress (See Statement on p. 32).

The Congress, in adopting a democratic procedure, in paying meticulous and scrupulous attention to the interests of women and

GENERAL ELECTIONS—February—March, 1957

STATEMENT REGARDING THE ALLOTMENT OF SEATS BY CENTRAL ELECTION COMMITTEE TO WOMEN AND MINORITIES

Total Seats

Lok Sabha—494 (Excluding 6 seats allotted to Kashmir)

State Assemblies—2,906

Sitting Members	WOMEN		MUSLIMS			SIKHS		CHRISTIANS		PARSIS	
	Seats allotted by C.E.C.	Seats won by Congress	Sitting Members	Seats allotted by C.E.C.	Seats won by Congress	Seats allotted by C.E.C.	Seats won by Congress	Seats allotted by C.E.C.	Seats won by Congress	Seats allotted by C.E.C.	Seats won by Congress
LOK SABHA											
22 (Cong.—17)	28	23	22 (Cong.—20) (Including four Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir)	28	18	12	11	9	6	1	1
STATE ASSEMBLIES											
92 (Cong.—79)	257	179	172 (Cong.—155)	212	126	64	57	28	21	4	4

*These figures exclude Scheduled Tribes Christian.

minorities, and in showing concern for the infusion of fresh blood, had won the hearts of the people. The electorate had not only increased with the rise in India's population, but had shown a fairer political sense and discretion and judgment. More people had gone to the polls and a larger percentage than on the previous occasion had shown its leanings towards the Congress, thus manifesting a keener appreciation of what was to the good of the country. That they refused to be hustled by the manoeuvres of Opposition Parties or beguiled by their false propaganda, is a tribute to the level-headedness and the democratic tradition of the people.

CHAPTER VI

FOREIGN PRESS ON INDIAN ELECTIONS

THE Indian General Elections had aroused world interest. For one thing, during the ten years of freedom, India had acquired a distinguished place in world affairs, as a champion of freedom for oppressed people and as a fighter for their rights in the U.N. forum. For another, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had earned universal fame as Asia's undisputed leader and people all over the world were watching his future when the Party which he led was entering the elections. For a third, the nations of the world were anxiously awaiting the conduct of elections in the biggest democracy of the world. Therefore the comments in the Press of the world on the General Elections should be of more than passing interest.

Exciting Experiment

The well-known German political commentator, Giselher Wirsing, in a lengthy dispatch to the *Hamburg Die Welt* from India where he was touring, published on February 22, 1957, commenting on the Indian elections and the political awakening in India states: "The experiment of genuine democracy in Asia is exciting enough... 200 million people are to give their votes between February 25 and March 12. There are election meetings attended by 20,000 to 300,000 people when Nehru speaks."

Idol of Masses

The Daily Telegraph of Feb., 23, has Mr. Rushbrook William's article on the General Election under the caption "Captain with no first mate." The article states.

"Whatever criticisms may be directed against Mr. Nehru's foreign and domestic policies by some of India's intellectuals and educated classes, he remains the idol of the masses. This fact will be his Party's strongest asset in the general elections which begin tomorrow.

"Experience in India's last election showed that a large section of the population voted for the Congress Party simply because he told them that it was the right thing to do. It was this section that returned the Party to power ten years ago.

"Only Mr. Nehru today can work this kind of spell; he

seems indispensable, both to the country and to the Congress Party machine.

Interesting Problem

Commenting on the Kerala Communists' victory the *Manchester Guardian* said: "Now in India by peaceful and constitutional means they seem to be about to get control of the Kerala State; the general election has given them a majority. The Indian Communist party doubtless sees in this a long period for 'liberated area', but, if it is to expand from here it will have to use the base in a different way from that of Mao at Yen-an. The Central Government in Delhi is almost certain to tolerate the Communist Government in the unit of federation as long as it acts constitutionally but, if it begins to exceed its rights or to infringe (beyond measure) the fundamental principles of the Constitution, Delhi will intervene and set up Presidential rule. Thus, the Indian Communist party is faced with interesting problems. In order to keep its hold on Kerala, will it behave so correctly that Communism will lose its essential nature? Will it decide that it is unsafe to use Kerala as a base for planning subversion elsewhere in India? Delhi may see in the Communist victory in Kerala a way of taming the Indian Communist party and detaching it from some of its international associations."

Result Foreseen

The Baltimore Sun (March 16) in an editorial said:

"To one's surprise, Mr. Nehru and his Congress party are walking away with the Indian election. On the basis of the unofficial returns (it will be a week or so before the count is completed) the Congress Party should receive about 47 per cent of the total vote for the State Assembly seats, a gain of about five per cent. In the Parliamentary election, Mr. Nehru's party has so far achieved a four to one lead over all the other Parties combined.

"This outcome of the election has been foreseen for the past year. 3 years ago, it was quite otherwise. Then, the election was looked forward to as somewhat fearful by the non-Communists who had reason to think that it might result in a considerable increase of Communist representation.

"Since then, the Indian Communist Party has been getting feebler and feebler and this election exposes it as a negligible political force under the prevailing Indian conditions. In that respect, the election is a double victory for Mr. Nehru and the line of conduct he has pursued."

Interesting Situation in Kerala

Under the heading "Red State in India", the *New York Herald Tribune* (March 22) editorialised on Kerala. The paper said:

"India's Communists have been in a rather anomalous position some time. They even found it necessary to deplore the Soviet intervention in Hungary in order to keep in line with the public opinion."

Analysing the success of the Communists, the paper said that unemployment and the grievance of the peasants "provided a fertile field for the Communists." Referring to the Communists' declaration that nothing "wonderful" would be done in Kerala, the paper said: "If they do not come off, their supporters may become disenchanted. And if they do start working at cross purposes with New Delhi, the Government of Nehru may become somewhat disenchanted with his friends in the Kremlin. It is a situation which the free world will be watching with interest and concern."

Great Experiment

The *Washington Post* (March 7) in an editorial "India's Great Experiment", said: "Regardless of the transient differences with Nehru, the free world has an enormous stake in the democratic orientation of India as exemplified by the current elections. During the balloting through mid-March for 494 seats in the lower house of the national legislature and for 3102 seats in the State assemblies, some 193 million Indians will be entitled to express their wishes at the polls. The voting methods are necessarily simplified—the voting among the illiterates is by party symbols—but the very fact of election in the world's most populous free nation is stirring in itself. The candidates have been quick to adopt familiar electioneering techniques used elsewhere, including the jeep treks and parades with live elephants. The Americans who have had some experience with political oratory can afford to discount some of the more extreme statements on world affairs made during the campaign."

Watched With Interest

The Ankara News Magazine, the *Akis Weekly* under caption "Free Election," says (March 9) "The world is watching India's general elections with as much interest as a match between the home and the visiting foreign teams. Nowhere in the world there have been free elections in which so many people participated. The official results would be known only after a month, but it is clear that the opposition parties would not win a majority in any State. The opposition parties can only hope to capture 60 to 70 seats in the Indian Parliament, the Congress Party would get the rest. In spite of Mr. Nehru's wish in the beginning to make the Indian Parliament a second

Westminster, the Indian voters were not electing a powerful opposition group. Some opposition leaders, who did not know how to make the people elect them, said that since Mr. Nehru is a democrat he must help to create the opposition. But, the solution of the economic and social problems seems to Mr. Nehru more important than creating a powerful opposition. In fact, the opposition develops by itself and is not created by others."

Little Fear for Future

"In an editorial entitled "India Polls", the *Argus* of Kampala (Feb. 28) said "There appears little doubt that the Congress will again come home as winners and by an easy margin. Mr. Nehru and his followers have little fear for the future and they may well come back with a greater majority than before as a result of intense feeling over the Kashmir issue."

Experiment in Democracy

The *New Times* of Burma, Rangoon (Feb. 16) writes:

"Whatever the golden prospects of the Congress Party in the Parliament, it is believed that the Congress position is being threatened in individual states; but, viewing the elections in general, one can be sure that this great experiment in democracy will indicate all the principles and ideals on which modern India has been founded."

No Blind Voting

The *St. Louis Post Dispatch* (March 23) in an editorial "India Knows How to Vote," said:

"With the exception of the Communist showing, this closely contested election—and in consequence a Government with less than overwhelming support—is the sign of democratic strength rather than weakness. It indicates that despite great respect for Nehru, the people of India did not vote blindly for every candidate who wore his political badge. The regional interests and individual candidates obviously were considered. Yet the differences did not run to the extreme as in Indonesia.

"There will be a reasonably strong Government in New Delhi but one which is well aware that it is held accountable to the voters."

Citizens' Voice

The *Dayton Ohio News* (Feb. 28) commenting on Indian Elections said:

"For all who love liberty, there is high excitement in India's election spectacle that bears no relation to the issues or the outcome. It lies in the revolutionary achievements of the country under an

entrenched democracy with an electorate now nearing 194 million. The peaceful national balloting is the citizen's voice.

Democracy's Strength

The *Des Moines Tribune* (March 5), commenting on the elections said:

"The election with the members of the Brahmin and the warrior castes standing in line with the farmers and scavengers to cast their ballots is a stirring demonstration of the strength to democracy in the world's largest free nation."

Contrast

The *Kansas City Missouri Times* (Feb. 28) said: "The free Asians can take note of the contrast between how the Indians elect their rulers and how the 600 million people of Red China have a Government imposed on them by dictatorship."

APPENDICES

I
PARTY POSITION
IN
LOK SABHA AND STATE ASSEMBLIES

Final returns to the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies, according to information reaching the Election Commission, show the following party position:

<i>Party</i>	<i>Lok Sabha</i>	<i>State Assemblies</i>
Congress	365	1889
Praja Socialist Party	19	195
Communist Party of India	.. 27	162
Bhartiya Jan Sangh	.. 4	46
Peoples' Democratic Front	.. 2	22
Scheduled Castes Federation	.. 6	20
Praja Party	.. —	1
Jharkhand Party	.. 6	32
Chota Nagpur Santhal Parganas Janata Party (CNSJP)	.. 3	23
Peasants' & Workers' Party	.. 4	32
Hindu Mahasabha	.. 1	8
Ganatantra Parishad	.. 7	51
Forward Bloc (Marxist)	.. 2	8
Ram Rajya Parishad	.. —	22
Independents	.. 42	390
Total	.. 488	2901

Polling for four seats in Lok Sabha from Himachal Pradesh and two from Punjab will be held later.

Also, elections for one seat in Assam State Assembly and four in Bombay Assembly, and the polling for two seats in Punjab Assembly will be held later.

II
LOK SABHA

(The figures below include the unopposed returns also which are indicated within brackets)

State	No. of seats	Results declared	Cong.	P.S.P.	C.P.I.	B.J.S.	O.P.*	Ind.
Andhra Pradesh	.. 43	43(4)	37(4)	—	2	—	2	2
Assam	.. 12	12(2)	9(2)	2	—	—	—	1
Bihar	.. 53	53(2)	41(2)	2	—	—	9	1
Bombay	.. 66	66	38	5	4	2	9	8
Kerala	.. 18	18	6	1	9	—	—	2
Madhya Pradesh	.. 36	36(1)	35(1)	—	—	—	1	—
Madras	.. 41	41(1)	31(1)	—	2	—	—	8
Mysore	.. 26	26(2)	23(2)	1	—	—	1	1
Orissa	.. 20	20	7	2	1	—	7	3
Punjab	.. 22	20	19	—	1	—	—	—
Rajasthan	.. 22	22	19	—	—	—	—	3
Uttar Pradesh	.. 86	86	70	4	1	2	—	9
West Bengal	.. 36	36	23	2	6	—	2	3
Delhi	.. 5	5	5	—	—	—	—	—
Himachal Pradesh	.. 4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Manipur	.. 2	2	1	—	—	—	—	1
Tripura	.. 2	2	1	—	1	—	—	—
GRAND TOTAL	.. 494	488(12)**	365(12)	19	27	4	31	42

*In the column 'O.P.' are included:

Andhra: Peoples' Democratic Front 2.

Bihar: Jharkhand 6; Chota Nagpur Santhal Pargannas Janata Party (CNSJP) 3.

Bombay: Peasants and Workers Party 4; Scheduled Castes Federation 5.

Madhya Pradesh: Hindu Mahasabha 1.

Mysore: Scheduled Castes Federation 1.

Orissa: Ganatantra Parishad 7.

West Bengal: Forward Bloc (Marxist) 2.

**Polling for four seats in the Lok Sabha from Himachal Pradesh and two from Punjab will be held later.

III
STATE ASSEMBLIES

(The figures below include the unopposed returns also which are indicated within brackets)

State	No. of seats	Results declared	Cong.	P.S.P.	C.P.I.	B.J.S.	O.P.**	Ind.
*Andhra Pradesh	301 105+2	107(4)	69(4)	1	—	—	24	13
Assam	108	107(6)	71(4)	8	4	—	—	24(2)
Bihar	318	318	210	31	7	—	55	15
Bombay	396	392(3)	232(3)	36	13	4	43	64
Kerala	126	126(1)	43	9	60	—	—	14(1)
Madhya Pradesh	288	288(9)	232(9)	12	2	10	12	20
Madras	205	205(3)	151(3)	2	4	—	—	48
Mysore	208	208(8)	150(7)	18	1	—	4	35(1)
Orissa	140	140(1)	56(1)	11	9	—	51	13
Punjab	154	152(1)	118(1)	1	6	9	5	13
Rajasthan	176	176(5)	119(5)	1	1	6	17	32
Uttar Pradesh	430	430(5)	286(5)	44	9	17	—	74
West Bengal	252	252(1)	152(1)	21	46	—	8	25
GRAND TOTAL	2906+2	2901(47)	1889(43)	195	162	46	219	390(4)

*In Andhra only the Telangana area went to the polls to elect 105 members to the 301 member State Assembly. The above figures relate to these 105 seats and the two bye-elections in the former Andhra. Party-wise position of 194 members of the old Andhra Legislative Assembly who continue to be members of the new Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, is :

United Congress Legislature Party	..	..	..	..	147
Communists	..	..	..	..	13
Socialists	..	..	..	..	12
Nationalists	..	..	..	..	19
Independents	..	..	..	..	3
TOTAL	..	..	..	..	<u>194</u>

**In the column 'O.P.' are included :

Andhra Pradesh

Bihar

Bombay

Madhya Pradesh.

Mysore

Orissa :

Punjab :

Rajasthan :

West Bengal

Scheduled Castes Federation 1 ; People's Democratic Front 22 ; Praja Party 1.

Jharkhand 32 ; Chota Nagpur Santhal Parganas Janta Party (CNSJP) 23.

Peasant's and Workers' Party 30 ; S.C.F. 12 ; Hindu Mahasabha 1.

Hindu Mahasabha 7 ; Ram Rajya Parishad 5.

Scheduled Castes Federation 2 ; Peasants' and Workers' Party 2.

Ganatantra Parishad 51.

Scheduled Castes Federation 5.

Ram Rajya Parishad 17.

Forward Bloc (Marxist) 8.

IV

LOK SABHA

NUMBER OF WOMEN WHO CONTESTED AND OF THOSE WHO WON

State	TOTAL		Cong.		P.S.P.		C.P.I.		B.J.S.		O.P.		Ind.	
	Set up	Elected	Set up	Elected	Set up	Elected	Set up	Elected	Set up	Elected	Set up	Elected	Contested	Elected
Andhra	5	3	3	3	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Assam	2	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bihar	7	5	4	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	2*	2*	—	—
Bombay	5	3	4	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Kerala	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Madya Pradesh	8	5	5	5	—	—	1	—	—	—	1**	—	1	—
Madras	3	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
Mysore	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Orissa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Punjab	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rajasthan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Uttar Pradesh	6	3	3	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
West Bengal	5	3	4	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Delhi	2	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Himachal Pradesh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Manipur	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tripura	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	45	27	28	23	3	—	5	2	—	—	3	2	6	—

*Chota Nagpur Santhal Parganas Janata Party (GNSJP).

**Scheduled Castes Federation.

• V •
STATE ASSEMBLIES

NUMBER OF WOMEN WHO CONTESTED AND OF THOSE WHO WON

State	TOTAL		Cong.		P.S.P.		C.P.I.		B.J.S.		O.P.*		Ind.	
	Set up	Elect ed	Set up	Elect ed	Set up	Elect ed	Set up	Elect ed	Set up	Elect ed	Set up	Elect ed	Cont ested	Elect ed
Andhra	17	11	11	10	1	—	—	—	—	—	2*	1*	3	—
Assam	8	5	7	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Bihar	51	32	38	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	4**	2**	9	—
Bombay	51	25	41	24	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	9	—
Kerala	10	6	6	3	1	—	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Madhya Pradesh	36	27	28	27	—	—	—	—	1	—	2@	—	5	—
Madras	24	12	13	11	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	8	1
Mysore	23	18	20	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1
Orissa	9	5	5	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	3@@	3@@	1	—
Punjab	18	9	13	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	1
Rajasthan	21	9	15	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	1
Uttar Pradesh	51	26	38	26	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—
West Bengal	28	10	17	8	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	4	1
TOTAL	342	195	252	179	8	—	7	4	1	—	11	6	63	6

*People's Democratic Front.

**C.N.S.J.P.

@@Ganantra Parishad

@Ram Raja Parishad & Scheduled Castes Federation.