

Election Posters and Political Culture in Post Independence Bengal, 1947–1971

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Abstract: *Posters have long served as powerful visual media that combine text and imagery to communicate political messages and mobilize public opinion. In Bengal, posters became an important medium of mass communication within the social and political landscape. Initially used by the colonial administration for public notices and propaganda, the medium was later adopted by political parties and social groups as a tool of political expression. This article examines election campaign posters in Bengal between 1947 and 1971 as valuable historical sources. By analyzing their imagery, slogans, and symbolism, it explores how posters reflected political tensions, ideological conflicts, and social crises while promoting competing political agendas. The study highlights the significance of election posters as visual documents for understanding the political culture and electoral dynamics of post independence Bengal.*

Keywords: *Political Posters, Election Campaigns, Visual Political Culture, Political Propaganda*

Posters have long served as an important medium of visual communication, combining text and imagery to convey political, social, and cultural messages to a wide audience. In societies with diverse linguistic communities and varying levels of literacy, posters serve as an accessible form of mass communication, reaching people across social strata. In Bengal, posters became particularly significant within the public sphere, where they were widely used to disseminate political ideas, mobilize public opinion, and communicate ideological positions. The use of posters in the Indian subcontinent dates to the colonial period, when the British administration used them primarily for public notices, wartime propaganda, and administrative announcements. Over time, however, nationalist groups, political organizations, and social movements appropriated this visual medium, transforming posters into instruments of protest and political mobilization. By the mid-twentieth century, posters had become deeply embedded in the political culture of Bengal, especially in urban spaces where walls, streets, and marketplaces served as sites of political communication.

Kroeber Riel describes pictures as “fast shots into the brain,”¹ emphasizing the immediate impact of visual communication. In election campaigns, posters are particularly effective in attracting public attention and announcing the approach of an election. Displayed in public spaces, they reach a large mobile population and often draw the attention of both voters and the press. Although posters share certain features with other campaign tools such as television advertisements, their combination of fixed text and imagery, visibility in open spaces, and need for long range visual impact give them distinctive communicative characteristics. After India's independence in 1947, the expansion of electoral democracy created new opportunities for political parties to communicate with a broad electorate. Election posters became an important medium of political propaganda, helping parties promote candidates, spread ideological messages, and familiarize voters with party symbols—particularly in a context where literacy rates were relatively low. At the same time, posters reveal much about their production context and the political, economic, and social conditions in which they were created. Through their visual language, typography, colour schemes, and tone, they reflect political culture and the strategies used to address social conflicts.² Since the number of symbols, motifs and messages is rather limited, yet central in political posters, it can be quite useful to see them in a context where pictorial elements are referred to as ‘syllables’, ‘words’, and ‘sentences’, similar to the way in which a language is built up and formed according to rules, its ‘grammar’. The compositional units can have ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ contexts and can be dealt with both in sections and as complete entities.³ This article examines election campaign posters produced in Bengal between 1947 and 1971, treating them as valuable historical sources. By analysing their imagery, symbolism, and textual messages, the study explores how posters represented and shaped political consciousness in post independence Bengal and highlights the role of visual culture in democratic politics, mass mobilization, and ideological contestation. Nonetheless, the most common use of posters is in political campaigning, making the election poster an instrument of strategic communication to the public.

Sources and Methodology

This study is based on the collection and analysis of election campaign posters produced by various political parties in Bengal. The posters were collected from multiple sources, including political party archives, personal collections, online archives, and contemporary newspapers where such posters were reproduced or discussed. Additional visual materials such as leaflets, pamphlets, and graffiti were also examined, as they served similar functions in political communication and mobilization. Since posters are ephemeral objects and are rarely preserved systematically, locating them in archives remains challenging, with many having been lost or damaged over time. Despite these limitations, a substantial body of visual material was gathered from diverse sources. The

research employs an analytical approach that examines the visual composition, symbolism, slogans, and political messages of these posters, treating them as valuable historical sources that reflect the broader political and social dynamics of the period.

Historical Study of Election Campaign Poster

The study of election campaign posters is part of a broader scholarly interest in political propaganda, visual communication, and mass political mobilization. Steven A. Seidman, in *Posters, Propaganda, and Persuasion in Election Campaigns Around the World and Through History*, analyzes how posters use visual design, symbolism, and slogans to influence voters and shape political identities. Similarly, *Election Posters Around the Globe: Political Campaigning in the Public Space* highlights the role of posters in occupying public spaces and serving as effective tools of electoral communication. Gary Yanker's article "The Political Poster: A Worldwide Phenomenon" also emphasizes their global significance as a medium that blends artistic expression with ideological messaging. In the Indian context, however, focused studies on election posters remain limited. Shukla Sanyal's *Revolutionary Pamphlets, Propaganda and Political Culture in Colonial Bengal* provides insights into the use of printed propaganda in shaping political culture during the colonial period, offering a background for later visual propaganda in Bengal. Works such as *Electoral Politics in India: The Resurgence of the Bharatiya Janata Party*, edited by Udayan Misra and B. Datta Ray, discuss broader electoral strategies and political mobilization, helping contextualize the role of visual propaganda. Despite global scholarship on political posters, research specifically on election posters in India, particularly in Bengal, is relatively scarce. This study aims to address this gap by examining election posters as visual historical sources that reveal the political culture and electoral dynamics of post independence Bengal, while also exploring their influence on public opinion, voter perception, and political communication.

Global Election Posters: Nature, Style, and Political Character

Election posters have long been one of the most recognizable symbols of electoral campaigning.⁴ Their importance has varied across political systems, laws, and cultural contexts, but in many countries, they have significantly influenced voters.⁵ The rise of election posters is closely connected to the expansion of electoral politics and mass democracy. As voting rights widened during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—through the extension of suffrage to broader sections of society in Europe and the United States—political parties increasingly relied on visual propaganda to communicate with large electorates.⁶ Across different countries, posters often used powerful imagery to construct political identities and heroic representations of leaders. In nineteenth-century France, lithographs portrayed Napoleon Bonaparte as a heroic figure,

while in the United States, candidates were frequently depicted in military attire to evoke nationalist sentiment. A well known example is the 1840 campaign poster of William Henry Harrison, which presented him as "The Washington of the West."⁷ Throughout the twentieth century, countries such as Germany, Chile, Great Britain, Poland, South Africa, Mexico, and Japan continued to use posters as important tools for promoting political leaders and mobilizing voters. Political posters were also adapted for wider audiences. Cuban and Chinese communist propaganda, for instance, produced multilingual posters in languages such as English, French, Spanish, and Arabic to reach international viewers.⁸ Similarly, Palestinian organizations printed posters in Arabic and English to communicate their message beyond local audiences, while Soviet propaganda posters circulated internationally despite being primarily written in Russian. In India, election posters became especially significant after independence with the introduction of universal adult franchise. According to Lars Willnat, Roshni Verghese, and Rashad Mammadov, posters communicate political messages through visual imagery, slogans, and party symbols, enabling them to reach even illiterate voters and overcome linguistic diversity. Party symbols displayed on posters also help voters identify the same symbols on ballot papers, making posters a vital medium of electoral communication in India.

Election Posters in India: Visualizing Political Crisis

After India's independence, election posters became a central medium of political campaigning in West Bengal. Political parties widely used them to promote candidates, communicate ideological messages, and familiarize voters with party symbols. Posters also served as a visual platform for highlighting contemporary political crises. Opposition parties often used posters to draw attention to the failures of the ruling government and to mobilize public opinion during election periods, while various pressure groups also expressed their concerns in the volatile political atmosphere of elections. At the same time, ruling parties used posters to emphasize their achievements and development initiatives. This article highlights how election posters functioned as reflections of these political tensions and debates.

One major issue frequently depicted in political propaganda during the 1950s was the food crisis in Bengal. The crisis emerged from a combination of factors, including population growth, shortages in food production, problems in distribution, and the continuing effects of post Partition displacement. The situation was aggravated by the loss of nearly 20 million acres of fertile rice-growing land to East Pakistan, disrupting the region's traditional food supply.⁹ Rising food prices and scarcity of essential commodities led to widespread public dissatisfaction and protests. Political parties actively used this issue in their campaign materials, either portraying the food crisis as evidence of administrative failure or emphasizing government efforts to address the

shortage. During the period of food crisis, an extraordinary drawing by Käthe Kollwitz titled 'খিদে পেয়েছে' (Feeling hungry) was used as a poster¹⁰ (Figure 1). The Congress government's inability to address the growing food shortage led to sharp criticism from opposition groups, particularly the Communist Party of India (CPI). As public discontent intensified, the issue developed into a mass movement across Bengal. Political parties and affiliated organizations widely used posters to criticize the state government led by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and the Congress administration. Many posters carried powerful slogans such as "Chal Dao, Na Holey Gaddi Dao" ("Give us rice, or give up power"), presenting food as a symbol of both survival and political justice. The police firing during the 1959 Food Movement shocked the state and provoked widespread public outrage. In response, strikes, mourning processions, and silent marches (moun michhil) were organized to commemorate those who were killed, who were remembered as the "martyrs" of the movement. An image shows a group marching with a large portrait of a deceased protester, symbolizing sacrifice.¹¹ In another image, another section of the silent march is captured, with posters featuring symbolic art – one depicting the face of Bharat Mata (Mother India) mourning her children, linking the food crisis to national suffering¹² (Figure 2). The opposition highlighted various scenes from the Food Movement time and again through posters and slogans – 'নিরন্ন আমার দেশ আজও তাই উদ্ধত জেহাদ'¹³ (My country is still hungry; the struggle rises in defiance). It captures both the emotional and political intensity of the anti-government movement led by leftist forces during the Food Movement. The impact of the subsequent food movement was also evident in contemporary posters. "গত মার্চ মাসে খাদ্য আন্দোলনের শহীদদের আত্মত্যাগ ব্যর্থ হতে দেবেন না।" (Do not let the sacrifice of the martyrs of the Food Movement last March to go in vain.) Before the election, the CPI(M) created posters that reminded people of the martyrs of the Food Movement and directed criticism at the Congress government. The poster also recalls the brutal repression carried out by the police during that movement. Therefore, the slogan written on it declares: 'এই পুলিশি রাজকে খতম করার শপথ নিন' (Take a pledge to end this police rule.)¹⁴

After independence, the teachers' movement emerged as an important struggle for social and economic justice in West Bengal. Teachers demanded better salaries, job security, and greater professional recognition, as many felt neglected despite the crucial role of education in national development. Organizations such as the All-Bengal Primary Teachers' Association¹⁵ and the Nikhil Banga Shikshak Samiti¹⁶ played a leading role in organizing protests and mobilizing teachers. Posters became an important medium of awareness and protest during the movement. They highlighted teachers' grievances and called for collective action, including meetings, strikes, and silent rallies.¹⁷ Demonstrators often carried posters with strong slogans demanding fair wages, respect for educators, and reforms in the education system. These posters sometimes included symbolic imagery—such as teachers with books and

students supporting their cause — emphasizing the connection between teachers' rights and the future of society. In many cases, members of the general public also joined the demonstrations, carrying posters and expressing solidarity with the teachers' demands.¹⁸ Many more posters portrayed political and social crises to evoke sympathy and anger among the people. One such poster showed an anguished mother holding her dead child, captioned with lines from Tagore's poetry: 'বীরের এ রক্তস্রোত/ মাতার এ অশ্রু ধারা/ এর যত মূল্য সে কি/ আবার ধুলায় হবে হারা?রাত্রির তমসা সে কি আনিবে না দিন?' ("This stream of heroes' blood, / this flow of a mother's tears — shall all their value be lost again in the dust? Will the darkness of night never bring the dawn?") Below, the question was starkly asked: 'এরপরে ও কি কংগ্রেসকে ভোট দেবেন?'¹⁹ (Will you still vote for Congress?) (Figure 3).

Strengthening Public Engagement through Election Posters

After independence, peasant movements in West Bengal continued to play an important role in shaping the region's political and social landscape. Despite the end of colonial rule, peasants still faced land inequality, exploitation by landlords, and economic hardship. Left-led organizations such as the All India Kisan Sabha and parties like the CPI and later the CPI(M) organized protests, rallies, and conferences demanding land reforms, fair rent, and security of tenure. Posters, leaflets, and wall writings became important tools for mobilizing rural populations and communicating political messages to largely illiterate or semi literate communities.

Peasant conferences also relied heavily on posters for publicity and political messaging. For instance, a poster announcing the Pradeshik Krishak Sammelan (Regional Peasant Conference) held from 4-7 July in Chinsurah depicted the hardships of rural life, highlighting poverty, famine, hunger, and oppression faced by peasants. An image published in *People's Democracy* shows artists of the Painters' Front preparing posters for the 21st session of the West Bengal Kisan Sabha in Chinsurah, illustrating the central role of visual media in political mobilization.²⁰ The poster imagery portrayed emaciated peasants and rural women sitting on barren land or raising their hands in distress, symbolizing agrarian crisis and suffering while calling for unity and collective action.²¹ Another depicted agrarian unrest with the text: পেট জ্বলছে, ক্ষেত জ্বলছে,/ হজুর শুনো রাখুন/ খাজনা এবার মাফি না হলে/ জ্বলে উঠবে আগুন।²² (Stomachs are burning, fields are burning— Listen well, sir: if the rent is not remitted this time,/ the flames of revolt will rise). Such imagery directly reflected the political and economic tensions of the time. These posters highlight the hardships experienced by the people under Congress rule. Posters also functioned as tools of grassroots mobilization. Party workers, including peasants and laborers, often participated in producing and distributing posters, which strengthened solidarity within the movement. Notices in party newspapers such as *Ganashakti* informed supporters where to collect posters and how to circulate them, showing that poster campaigns formed an organized part of political communication alongside meetings and

rallies. “প্রিয়াকে আমার কেড়েছিস তোরা,/ ভেঙেছিস ঘর বাড়ী, / সে কথা কি আমি জীবনে মরণে কখনো ভুলিতে পারি?/ আদিম হিংস্র মানবিকতার যদি আমি কেউ হই/ স্বজন হারানো শ্মশানে তোদের চিতা আমি তুলবই।”²³ (“You have taken away my beloved, You have destroyed my home and hearth— How can I ever forget that, in life or in death? If I still carry the primal fury of humanity within me, then in this cremation ground of lost kin I will raise your funeral pyre”). It is as if the common people themselves are roaring with rage, vowing to destroy the Congress government. The central figure is a muscular worker holding a hammer, a classic symbol of strength, labor, and revolution. The hammer and sickle emblem seen in the background reinforces the communist ideology, emphasizing solidarity between workers and peasants. Below, a female figure struggling under oppression seems to symbolize the exploitation of the poor and working classes under capitalist or imperialist systems. The accompanying Bengali text calls for resistance against oppression and injustice, urging people to rise and fight for equality, dignity, and the empowerment of labor. “জেগেছে শ্রমিক, জেগেছে কৃষক/ জেগেছে সর্বহারা। / নির্বাচনে বিজয়ী হবে/ কান্ডে হাতুড়ি তারা।”²⁴

The accompanying slogans call for ending exploitation and injustice, urging people to rise against oppression and support the CPI(M) as the voice of the masses. The burning huts in the background further evoke images of rural violence, poverty, and hunger, showing the harsh realities faced by ordinary people. This poster highlights two contrasting forces—the oppressors and the oppressed—and appeals to the people’s emotions, encouraging them to vote for change, justice, and equality through the Marxist movement.²⁵ Various groups of workers, including those in ports, postal services, railways, and journalism,²⁶ organized movements to voice their demands. They carried out several nationwide strikes and made extensive use of posters and placards to communicate and promote their demands. Adivasi women workers from Nadia participated in the march to the DYF rally at the Maidan, carrying posters as part of the protest.²⁷ One of the posters also shows that this government is necessary not only for peasants and workers but also for the middle class. This message is conveyed through the poster.²⁸ For the May Day observance, people gathered at the Kolkata Maidan carrying placards and posters.²⁹ The All-India Peasant Conference was organized, and the poster symbolized unity and resistance, depicting figures raising a flag with the hammer and sickle—an emblem of communist or socialist ideology. The accompanying text highlighted the struggles of workers and peasants, emphasizing class-based resistance movements.³⁰ To capitalize on the prevailing distress and hardship, various political groups sought to strengthen mass politics by mobilizing peasants, workers, and other professional groups.

Promoting Party Identity through Election Posters

For lesser-known parties, posters were crucial in establishing visibility. Logos, slogans, and distinctive colors conveyed the party’s ideology. One CPI(M) poster read: “কংগ্রেসি বাস্তবদের পরাস্ত করুন : ইউ সি সি প্রার্থীদের পাকা বাড়ি চিহ্নে ভোট দিয়ে জয়যুক্ত করুন।”³¹

(Defeat the Congress landlords—ensure victory for the UCC candidates by voting for the house symbol!).”Slogans were central to poster design—short, accessible, yet ideologically powerful. An example includes: ‘ভোট দিন বাঁচতে, তারা হাতুরি কাস্তে’³² (Vote to live — for the star, hammer, and sickle). A large number of logo-only posters were produced. In other words, their purpose was to make the party’s symbol widely recognizable to the public.

Projecting and Popularizing Political Leaders through Posters

While the opposition attempted to draw attention to the crises of the period, the Congress government focused on promoting its leaders and showcasing its achievements. The primary purpose of election posters was to familiarize the public with the party’s leader. While national figures were central, local leaders were also represented. For instance, a 1971 Ganashakti poster stated: “আসন্ন নির্বাচনের শ্রমজীবী মানুষের সংগ্রামকে এগিয়ে নিয়ে যেতে হলে সিপিআই (এম) এর নেতৃত্বে গঠিত সংগ্রামী মোর্চা বামপন্থী ফ্রন্ট এর প্রার্থীদের জয় করতে সর্বশক্তি নিয়োগ করুন! অনিলা দেবী ও পীযুষ দাশগুপ্তকে ভোট দিন!!”³³ (To advance the struggle of the working people in the coming election, devote all your strength to ensure victory for the Left Front candidates formed under the leadership of the CPI(M)! Vote for Anila Devi and Piyush Dasgupta!)

This reflects how recognition of top leaders often outweighs that of local candidates. In post-independence India, voter behavior was largely influenced by the popularity and image of central leaders like Nehru and Indira Gandhi. As an example, an election poster featured Jawaharlal Nehru, with the Bengali text reading “শান্তি এবং কল্যাণের জন্য কংগ্রেসকে ভোট দিন” (“Vote for Congress for peace and prosperity.”) The visual elements blend Nehru’s portrait with images of factories, communication towers, and agricultural fields, symbolizing industrial development, modernity, and agricultural progress. These images reflect Nehru’s vision of a balanced economy—combining industry and agriculture—as part of India’s modernization and nation-building process. The Congress party’s election symbol, the pair of yoked oxen, appears beside a ballot box, reinforcing the call to vote. The poster conveys themes of peace, progress, and national development under Congress’s leadership, appealing to voters’ aspirations for a stable, prosperous India³⁴ (Figure 4).

The Use of Caricature and Satire in Election Posters

This cartoon poster functioned as a visual propaganda tool reflecting political discourse in Bengal. Leftist organizations portrayed the electoral contest with the Congress not merely as a political rivalry but as an ideological struggle between socialism and capitalist imperialist forces. Before the 1971 elections, satirical posters published in Ganashakti criticized the Congress and Indira Gandhi while promoting the agenda of the Left. The poster depicts the Congress Party as a chariot driven by a leader calling for “imperialism,” symbolizing corruption and alliance with foreign capitalist powers, while followers burdened with moneybags struggle behind it. In contrast, the United Left Front (সংযুক্ত

বামপন্থী ফ্রন্ট) is shown as a strong fortress firing a cannonball marked with the hammer and sickle, representing united resistance. The accompanying slogan urges voters to support Left Front candidates in the Lok Sabha and State Assembly elections. This satirical style of poster painting made the political message more appealing and impactful for the public³⁵ (Figure 5). In another cartoon, a satirical election illustration shows the Congress Party leader (Indira Gandhi) riding a decorated donkey, symbolizing false pride and weakness. A man beats a drum labeled “Congress Campaign”, while people laugh and mock from behind, suggesting that the party’s campaign is hollow and deceptive. The caption below urges voters to ensure the victory of the United Left Front candidates in the Lok Sabha and Assembly elections, portraying the Left as the genuine alternative to Congress’s empty showmanship.³⁶

In an election cartoon poster of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the poster uses satire to criticize the Congress and its allies. The Bengali text at the top reads, “একতায় শক্তি ভোটে জিতব,”³⁷ meaning (In unity there is strength — we will win the election.) The cartoon portrays a group of politicians from rival parties, tied together and marching awkwardly, symbolizing their opportunistic coalition formed only for electoral gain. This CPI(M) political cartoon poster strongly criticizes the Congress government and its allies while presenting the Communist Party as the true representative of the people. The visual depicts a large bridge symbolizing the path toward progress and people’s power, with workers, peasants, and ordinary citizens marching across it under red flags bearing the hammer and sickle. In contrast, figures representing corrupt politicians, capitalists, and reactionary forces are shown falling from or fleeing the bridge, symbolizing the decline of their exploitative rule. Through its slogans and imagery highlighting workers’ struggles, land reforms, and people’s rights, the poster portrays the communists as builders of a new and progressive social order.³⁸ Not only leftist groups but also right wing organizations criticized Congress’s policies during election campaigns, often using cartoon based posters and satire. One such example is a poster produced by the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, a right wing party founded on 21 October 1951 by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee with the support of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). The poster titled “After the Quit India Movement by Mahatma Gandhi — the Kick India Movement by Indira Gandhi! India’s honor buried in Rabat”³⁹ used sharp political imagery and slogans to attack Congress leadership and Indira Gandhi’s policies. Though the exact date is uncertain, it likely belongs to the period between 1965 and 1980 and illustrates how right wing parties also used visual propaganda to influence public opinion during elections.

Representing and Mobilizing Women Voters through Election Posters

That posters remained one of the most important means of mass awareness, even in post-independence India, is evident from announcements. It was written — “Raise your voice in meetings and processions, put up posters

everywhere”⁴⁰ (Figure 6). Many posters depicted both men and women, emphasizing women's political participation. In several designs, female figures appeared in the foreground, symbolizing both rural identity and rising female agency. One such poster displayed a peasant woman with the slogan: ‘গ্রাম শহরে জাগালো সাড়া, হাতুড়ি আর কাস্তে তারা’⁴¹ (Figure 7) (From village to city, the call resounds — the hammer and sickle are our stars!). In another poster, the following lines appear: দুঃখে জীবন জীর্ণ ভাই/ জোট বেঁধেছি বাঁচতে,/ ধরেছি প্রতিক চিহ্ন এই/ তারা হাতুড়ি কাস্তে।” (Life is worn down by suffering, brother;/ We have united to survive,/ We have taken up this symbol — The star, the hammer, and the sickle.) In this poster, a large crowd of people is shown, expressing their trust and faith in this party. The image also reveals that posters and placards were important tools of the Communist Party's movement. It shows people joining the movement in large numbers, each holding posters and placards, symbolizing organized struggle and collective participation. The image depicts a large group of workers and peasants rallying together under the red flag bearing the hammer and sickle, symbolizing unity, labour power, and class struggle. Men and women are shown advancing side by side, emphasizing gender equality and collective participation in the socialist movement⁴² (Figure 8). These visuals underlined the importance of rural and women voters in political mobilization, reinforcing inclusivity within campaign imagery.

Conclusion

Posters, billboards, and banners have long functioned as important tools in the propaganda arsenal of election campaigns, aimed at persuading voters to support particular parties or candidates. As a form of propaganda, they seek to influence public opinion and shape political perception.⁴³ From the perspective of visual history, election posters serve as valuable historical sources that reflect broader transformations in cultural ideas, social norms, political expectations, and visual language, including the use of symbols, color, design, and printing techniques.⁴⁴ The effectiveness of posters largely depends on their design. As Prakke argues, a successful poster must capture attention, communicate its message clearly, and leave a lasting impression on the viewer.⁴⁵ Because of their ability to convey condensed messages through powerful imagery and slogans, posters function as a form of “flash communication” that brings political issues and actors directly into public space.⁴⁶ As this article has shown, election posters in Bengal not only served as campaign tools but also reflected the political tensions, ideological conflicts, and social crises of their time, making them valuable visual documents for understanding the political culture of the period.

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Figure 1: “খিদে পেয়েছে” (Feeling Hungry): Käthe Kollwitz’s Drawing Used as a Poster during the Food Crisis



Figure 2: Silent March during the Food Crisis Feature with Posters Symbolic Art



Figure 3 : Poster Portraying the Cruelty of the Congress Government



Figure 4: Congress Election Poster Promoting Peace, Progress, and National Development



Figure 5: Satirical Poster Criticizing Congress Leader Indira Gandhi and Her Policies

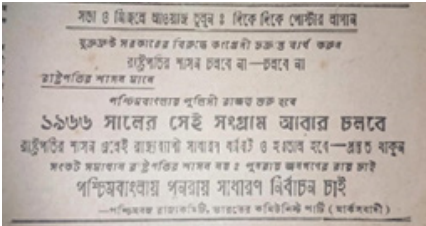


Figure 6: Textual Poster Calling for Meetings and Poster Campaigns to Raise Public Awareness



Figure 7: Election Poster Depicting Men and Women to Emphasize Women’s Political Participation



Figure 8: Election Poster Depicting Mass Public Support