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Election Scene

Waves, No; Currents, Yes

V. Balasubramanian

ALTHOUGH THE electorate's attention has been (sought to be) distracted by descriptions of the ailments of a nonagenarian leader of the people, greatly loved and widely respected, or of the sacrifices or self-denials of an elite family, famous in our freedom struggle, the election campaigns of the main political parties have been surprisingly positive, constructive and creative of informed public opinion. Even if regarded simply as exercises in educating "our masters", the manifestos and public speeches have on the whole kept to the expounding of the different political philosophies or programmes which the citizens of this country are being asked to vote on. Given the political context in which this election is being held, the ruling party has necessarily been on the defensive. For the first time since the (second) emergency was imposed, the prime minister and her colleagues in government and party have had to come forward in public and justify in open debate not only that extraordinary act of authority but also defend in detail the manner in which the administration has been exercising the sweeping powers it has acquired by a stroke of the presidential pen. That they have had to do it when much of the press is unforgivingly critical and a large part of the public is evidently in no mood to give the ruling party the benefit of doubt has not made their task easier for Mrs Gandhi or her fellow-campaigners.

It is therefore not surprising that theirs has been an up-hill fight for so much of the distance. The wonder is that they are still so steadily soldiering on. They have of course the clear advantage of being the functioning heirs and representatives, in an almost unbroken line of succession, of an evocative force in our national consciousness, viz., the Indian National Congress. Through the thick and thin of varying fortunes, the Congress party has kept its flag flying as the party of political stability indexed by a strong central government, economic progress synthesised through planned development and social amelioration or advancement advertised by ear-catching slogans. Quite naturally, therefore, the stalwarts and spokesmen of the ruling party have sought to sell the line that the declaration of emergency and the exercise of powers under it have been incidental to its discharge of its recognised duties and obligations to the people who gave it its massive mandate to govern when they last went to the polls. While regretting the necessity as they see it of the restriction of civil liberties or the normal functioning of various democratic institutions, they have argued that the greatest good of the greatest number, which is the *raison d'être* of a democratic political system, has clearly called for a regimen of order and discipline for safeguarding the basic values of national security, unity and progress—a call which, they emphasise, no responsible government, possessed of an effective majority in the legislature and enjoying decisive public support, could have had any excuse for not heeding or responding to with all the resources at its command.

Whether the electorate will go along with the ruling party in its claim that, by declaring emergency when it did and enforcing it how it did, the central government has saved the country from political chaos and economic disruption remains to be seen, but we have only to wait for about a week more. Meanwhile, it is a fair guess that a very large number of voters probably has no difficulty in believing the ruling party's claim to be best fitted to provide the country with a strong central government and through such a government ensure national strength and security and continuity of political stability and economic progress. In this sense, Mrs Gandhi and her party may have no cause to be dissatisfied with the course or impact of their election effort so far. What must and evidently does worry them are the fairly pronounced areas of discontent and disquiet in the national psyche from which has developed a sense of alienation from or even antagonism towards the ruling party. Mrs Gandhi and her comrades-in-arms were no doubt prepared for pockets of distemper,

but it must have come to them as a painful revelation that numerous and large sections of the people are nursing specific as well as general grievances against the government because of its various acts of commission and omission. What must be particularly galling to the ruling party is that the malcontents are not confined to those strata of society—for instance, liberal professions—which can be dismissed as having lost touch with the pulse of the people. Apart from the fact that the people at large seem to worry more over the curtailment of civil liberties or dilution of citizens' rights than the government has bargained for, there is also rapidly accumulating evidence of pent-up feelings of resentment in various economic or social categories of the public over acts, official or other, done by or in the name of the administration or the ruling party.

Opposition's Strength

The main strength of the opposition lies in the fact that it was able to swing into the offensive so very soon after the prime minister's announcement that a general election was to be held in March. Two major political happenings account for this momentum. The coalescing of the Organization Congress, the Jan Sangh, the Socialist Party and the Bharatiya Lok Dal into a Janta party as the main opposition has transformed the political scene by guaranteeing overnight the viability of a rival bid for power and office. The resignation of Mr Jagjivan Ram from the central government and the ruling party and the ease and speed with which he and many other prominent members of that organization have been able to hoist their flag of revolt, mobilize a new party of

Congress for Democracy and commit it to collaboration with the Janta party in a common election effort to defeat the ruling Congress have helped to create a broad-based political movement firmly turned towards an effective two-party system of parliamentary democracy. The emergence of this alternative to the domination of legislature and government by one particular party over the years has been strikingly clarified and emphasised by the frantic efforts of the two wings of the Leftist forces in the country to seek shelter wherever it is available and thus save themselves from being left out in the cold.

Rich Dividends

This unification of the main opposition forces has already yielded rich dividends to the Janta party. Powerful or popular regional forces, such as the Akalis in Punjab or the DMK in Tamil Nadu, have enthusiastically cooperated with the national opposition in the strategy of consolidating anti-ruling party votes through organizing straight contests to the maximum extent. Not less important is the highly enhanced ability of the unified opposition to counter the "charisma" of Mrs Gandhi with a thrust and force which a fragmented opposition could never have mustered. In fact, in the vastly changed political atmosphere of today, with the unified opposition charging the ruling party with authoritarian tendencies, the latter is finding that the scope for its exploiting Mrs Gandhi's charisma has suddenly become severely limited. If Mr D.K. Borooah has not yet swallowed a certain celebrated phrase of his, it is perhaps because he is afraid that he may not be able to digest it. It was said of the Athenians

that they drove Aristides into exile because they were getting tired of hearing him called "The Just". In fighting Mrs Gandhi's charisma, the opposition has, besides its unity, the advantage that Mrs Gandhi's over-exposure to the people on public platforms, pages of newspapers and periodicals, radio and TV may have made it easy for millions of Indians to appreciate the feelings of the citizens of that ancient city-state.

Grist to the Mill

The tacticians of the Janta party and its allies, then, are concentrating much of their propaganda fire on Mrs Gandhi's personal role in government, the Congress party and the country. The controversies raging around Mr Sanjay Gandhi's political role have provided grist to their propaganda mills. All the same, it is possible that the opposition may push its luck too hard. The Janta and CFD leaders will do well to face the truth that the Nehru name does hold sway over the minds of vast numbers of men and women in this country and that Mrs Gandhi herself is loved or admired as much and as widely as any public figure has ever been loved or admired in his or her own lifetime in any country in the world.

Opposition propagandists, if they are wise, will therefore rest content with the political mileage that they have already got out of the ruling party's unfortunate attempt to foist a personality cult on the country and steer their election oratory away from personalities to public issues. Otherwise, they might find a lot of public sympathy welling up for Mrs Gandhi and spending itself in

a flush of votes for the candidates of the ruling party.

Janta and CFD leaders should not find it difficult to take this advice, if only because so many things are going in their favour to an extent which must have exceeded their expectations. Much hyperbole has been indulged in on both sides about the choice before the electorate being between Democracy and Dictatorship or between Democracy and Anarchy. The real issue, of course, is, as Acharya Kripalani has pointed out, how best to reconcile Freedom with Discipline, the Liberty of the Individual with the Authority of the State.

No Clue

The ruling party, thanks to its record of the last 20 months, has demonstrated that it just does not have a clue to an acceptable answer. Consequently, a very large number of people, who have been affected, whether directly or through their sensitivity to their surroundings, by the suppression of civil liberties, restriction of personal freedoms or curtailment of citizen rights, genuinely doubt that it would be safe to renew the ruling party's lease on power and office.

These persons include not only those from the professions, learned or other, but also large sections of workers, both white-collar and blue-collar, big farmers as well as small and the poor who form the mass of the rural population or the fringe of urban communities. This extraordinary comprehensiveness is explained by the fact that the style of government practised since the declaration of emergency has convinced a cross-section of the public that the social and economic rights of

individuals can be safe from encroachment by the state only if certain norms of government are accepted and acted up to by the party in power. It is in this way that the amendment of the Constitution, the detention without trial of individuals for political dissent or on charges of economic offences, the censorship of the press, the interference with the rule of law or the due process of law, the curtailment of trade union activity, the measures taken for regulating movements or prices of goods and the measures adopted for intensifying the family planning campaign or urban slum clearance have been studied and assessed even by those people who may be in general sympathy with the ruling party's concern for national security, political stability and rapid economic and social progress. Among these people, there is clearly a broad disposition to consider the possibility of the country choosing an alternative style of government. It is this factor which has made this general election a wide open affair.

Bridges to Cross

There are of course bridges to cross for the opposition. The price level has been rising since March last year. In recent months, many essential commodities, such as cloth, cooking oils and pulses, have become very expensive and the spectre of renewed inflationary pressures is rising. Since public memory is short, the government's earlier successes in arresting inflation and forcing back prices are already being forgotten. It is generally believed that the latest developments in the economy will go against the government during the voting. An alternative reaction on the part of the

public, however, is just possible. It has been claimed on behalf of the government that traders have started misbehaving because of the relaxation of the emergency. There may be some truth in this allegation and the public may well start wondering whether it may not be wise to trust the party now in power for ensuring the continuity of discipline on the economic front. The rash of trade union demands in recent days may reinforce the feeling that a change of rulers at this stage may endanger economic stability. The Janta party and its allies cannot afford to make light of the impact such thinking may have on the electorate's preferences.

Building Faith

A far more serious problem which the opposition must ponder is how to build the people's faith in the prospects of its working as a single entity, especially in the event of its being able to form the government after the election. The formation of the Janta party and its alliance with the CFD or electoral arrangements with the Akalis, the CPI(M) and the DMK means at this stage no more than that the opposition forces have been able to come together to present a unified challenge to the ruling party at the polls. The Janta party is claimed to be a true merger, but this claim remains to be confirmed by post-election developments proving a union of hearts and minds. The CFD is, for the present, an ally of the Janta party. Whether it will lose its separate identity in a larger whole after the election is again in the lap of the future. The Congress president has likened the coming together of the Janta

party and its allies to a polyandrous wedding carrying the seeds of a prompt post-marriage abortion. The vigour of Mr Borooah's earthy imagery ought not to be allowed to divert our attention from the probabilities of his prognostication.

At this stage in the election process, at any rate, far too many people do seem to be sceptical about a true and solid monogamy emerging out of all these pre-election matrimonial arrangements. Disharmony might arise both on the personal plane and at the group level. Both the Janta party and the CFD can boast of leaders who have rich experience of office at the highest levels of government. Herein lies the rub. There are bound to be more than one claimant to the room at the top, especially if what is now the opposition were to find itself in the

position of forming the government. At the organizational level, those who are still strange bed-fellows will have to convert themselves into a confiding couple and, once again, the strains particularly of shared responsibility in government will have to be withstood. Voters will not be human if they do not speculate about these possible complications.

Nevertheless repeated declarations by the Janta and CFD leaders that they and their party men will not allow any personal or political differences among them to come in the way of their pulling together whether in government or in the opposition have not failed to make an impression on public opinion. The opposition has gone through an ordeal of fire and it will be strange indeed if it were to be found to have not learnt its lesson. There is therefore

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The political transition in India, for which now a limit has been set, has begun rather badly. The time between now and June 1948 is bound to be a highly critical one. And it is a grave political tragedy that the Indian National Congress, which has since 1921 led and made the nation, has now lost its political initiative. Freedom is near, definitely so now, but the initiative for the next critical turn in events lies not with the Congress but with the British Government and the Muslim League. They have brought about the deterioration in the Punjab situation and they will also cash it in as the saviours of the people from loot and bloodshed. Long-term history will, of course, record its own verdict. While the Mahatma walks on foot from place to place spreading good-will and human sympathy, the other man, who has for the last several years preached hatred and civil war, sits quiet watching the murder of innocent village-folk of Western Punjab. But in the short period, such analysis does not avail. The Congress must seize the situation in the Punjab just as it did the situations in Bengal and Bihar. True, it has suggested the partition of the Punjab, but it is easier said than done. It has either to be done by agreement of the two parties or by an Act of Parliament on the initiative of His Majesty's Government. And then why has the Working Committee said nothing about the partition of Bengal? When C.R. proposed all this in his famous formula, which was the basis of Gandhi-Jinnah talks, he was almost hounded out of the Congress. Now it is that the terrible events in Western Punjab have opened the eyes of the Congress leaders to the correctness of the C.R. solution, but is not a clever game being played on the Congress? The British troop operations in Western Punjab and the Frontier are being given deliberately the appearance of major war operations, to be flashed abroad as such. It does not strike anybody that notwithstanding this overwhelming troop protections by air and by land, the small Sikh and Hindu minority in this region is being systematically annihilated. Fortunately the Eastern Punjab is quiet, though tense. But what is happening is bad enough and must be stopped.

fairly widespread faith among the public that factionalism will not be allowed to raise its ugly head and that what are now the opposition forces particularly will realise that their and their country's salvation lies in the evolution of a healthy two-party system. A large part of the electorate may therefore be willing to give the Janta party and its allies a hand in establishing their presence in the new legislature and, perhaps, in the new government.

Election forecasting is like adultery. It has its risks as well as temptations. Pollsters, of course, are the professionals. It is the amateurs who must fear to tread. But tread they will. On this occasion, anything like an Indira wave is conspicuous by its absence.

Party Claims and Promises

R. C. Ummat

THE ENSUING poll to the Lok Sabha promises to be an exciting one. This is despite the fact that practical complete delinking of the elections to the Lower House of Parliament and the state legislatures effected for the first time in the annals of the country, the mere relaxation of emergency and press censorship and also the release of opposition leaders just about the time of the announcing of the poll and in some cases even at a much later date has put the opposition at a good deal of disadvantage.

The most important developments that have taken place in regard to the ensuing poll, of course, are the coming into existence of the Janta party into which four major erstwhile national parties—the Congress(O), the Jana Sangh, the Socialist Party and the Bhartiya Lok Dal—propose to merge for-

There is also no Janta wave, although there may be a strong anti-government current in some parts of the country. This rules out a massive mandate or even a decisive majority for either party. The Congress, however, has a hard mass of proven public support to start with. This gives it an edge over the opposition. The likelihood is that the ruling party will be returned to power with a working majority. Should this happen, it may before long be able to equip itself further with an effective majority—there will certainly be some crossing of the floor in these circumstances. It is less probable that a majority of seats will go in the direction of the opposition. If it does, it cannot be much

mally soon after the election (this formal merger has had to be delayed because of legal complexities) and the consensus among two other national opposition parties, namely, the recently formed Congress for Democracy (under the leadership of Mr Jagjivan Ram) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist), and two most important regional parties, the Akali Dal in the north and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in the south, along with some other small groups to have adjustment of seats with the Janta party with a view to avoiding triangular contests with the ruling party, the All India Congress, and its allies—the Communist Party of India in the states of West Bengal and Kerala, the ADMK in south India, the National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, the Muslim League in Kerala and a few other small parties and groups

more than a bare majority. In that event a major shake-up is bound to take place within the Congress party, with surprising consequences for both sides of the House. Once again the situation may develop in a way which brings added strength to the party (or alliance) which, in the first instance has assumed office. Broadly speaking, this pattern of possibilities makes a reasonably bright picture of an encouragingly stable administration and a reassuringly strong opposition. The nation deserves just such a juxtaposition. It will be balm to its tortured being—and the people, after all that they have gone through, ought to get, surely, the government they need and deserve.

elsewhere in the country. The result has been that not only in nearly 100 constituencies, out of a total of 542 constituencies, the contest is to be direct between the Congress and its allies, on the one hand, and the opposition parties, on the other, but also in another about 325 constituencies, it is to be virtually straight between the two sides. In these constituencies some independent candidates are there, but they are not expected to influence the poll any significantly. The number of contestants, therefore, has gone down substantially from 2,784 in 1971 to 2,439 this time, despite the fact that the number of seats in the Lok Sabha has been increased meanwhile from 522 to 542.

The major plank of the opposition parties for wooing voters, as reflected by their election manifestos which are reproduced elsewhere in this

issue, apparently is the restoration of democratic rights and civil liberties to the people and upholding of democracy as traditionally understood. Serious inroads are alleged to have been made in this by the ruling party, especially since the proclamation of emergency in June, 1975.

The Choice

All the opposition parties have not only called for the lifting of emergency and the repeal of the MISA and other arbitrary laws but also stressed that the choice before the electorate is between freedom and slavery, between democracy and dictatorship. The Congress too has sworn to preserve and consolidate democracy but has emphasised that freedom does not mean the licence to undermine national interests. Violence and disorder in all forms, the Congress manifesto says, would be put to an end so that people could live in peace and harmony. The position of the CPI is that it proposes to defend the parliamentary democracy system, the democratic rights of the masses and the cherished norms and values. But it has given a call for voting for the progressive democratic forces and not for the "right reaction". This to some extent explains why the CPI is having adjustment of seats with the Congress in some states and is supporting the CFD candidates in some others, while in some areas it has fielded its own candidates.

In regard to the emergency, while the Congress manifesto dwells at some length on the need for declaring emergency in June 1975, in the interest of preserving the integrity of the country as well as its stability, which allegedly was then imperilled, it asserts that this

timely and necessary measure saved the Republic from catastrophe and restored political stability. All the opposition parties, however, have assailed emergency in unequivocal terms. The Janta party, for instance, says the emergency has succeeded only in generating an atmosphere of fear and insecurity. The CPI(M) has expressed the view that it has shorn people of all their rights. The position of the CFD is that while there might have been some justification for proclaiming emergency to contain the position prevalent in June, 1975, when students could not appear for their examinations and the economy was threatened by strikes etc, continuance of emergency could no longer be justified. The manifestos of the DMK and the Akali Dal are highly critical of the governance of the country during the 19 months of emergency.

Emergency Misused

The CPI observes that after the initial period of some achievements, the emergency powers came to be more and more misused by the government against the working class, the peasantry, the common people and the democratic forces. The parliamentary democratic system and institutions were sought to be weakened and undermined on one pretext or another by the ruling party and concessions were provided to vested interests and progressive steps were reversed.

The emergence of extra-constitutional centres of power during the period of emergency too have been scathingly criticised by all the opposition parties, including the CPI, notwithstanding the fact that the Congress leaders, including

the prime minister, have vehemently denied this.

Most of the gains of emergency claimed by the ruling party have also been disputed by the opposition. These include the containment of the priceline, implementation of land reforms, industrial production and export trends, growth in employment, etc. The Janta party considers the record of the ruling party during the past ten years a record of failure and stagnation, growing inequalities, continuing injustice and a widening gap between promise and fulfilment.

No Rosy Picture

The economic situation in the country at present, according to the CFD, is not at all as rosy as is made out by the government. The CPI(M) has asserted that the prices of all necessities of life are beyond the means of the common man, there is inadequate purchasing power to absorb the industrial as well as agricultural outputs and there has been a massive increase in unemployment. Even the 20-point programme of the government, it says, stands unfulfilled and betrayed. The CPI has criticised the relegation of land reforms to the background, denial of workers' long-standing right to bonus, misuse of emergency powers against the working class, peasantry and the common people, grant of concessions to vested interests, etc.

In regard to the political situation in the country, the 42nd Constitution Amendment Act has been assailed by the opposition in unequivocal terms. According to the Janta party, the Constitution was amended to sanctify and insti-

tutionalise a total concentration of power in the hands of one individual—the prime minister. It has promised to restore to the people their fundamental freedoms and the judiciary its rightful role. It pledged to rescind this amendment. The CFD has opposed this amendment on the grounds that it gave the powers to the government to make laws declaring individuals and organisations anti-national without a guarantee of judicial review and powers to the centre to send troops to the states on the pretext of maintaining law and order. It has also opposed all curbs on the powers of the judiciary in matters of life and property. In the opinion of the CPI(M), this amendment has subverted the basic features of the Constitution by denigrating the importance of fundamental rights in the name of giving

priority to directive principles which were not being implemented. The amendment, according to the CPI(M), also attacks the basic rights, except the right to property. It denigrates the judiciary and subverts the federal structure of the Constitution by concentrating enormous powers in the hands of the central government. The CPI considers several clauses of the 42nd Constitution Amendment Act as anti-people and has called for their repeal. The Akali Dal has pledged itself to a re-appraisal of the Constitution with a view to imparting a real federal character to it, extinguishing the authority of the President to dissolve state assemblies and dismiss state governments, restoring civil liberties and democratic rights, etc. The DMK has charged that the amendment is being used to curb civil

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liberties and deprive the states of their autonomy.

The Congress, on the other hand, asserts that this amendment was made to overcome the various obstacles put by economic and political interests and not for the purpose of increasing the power of the executive at the expense of the judiciary or the legislature.

The supremacy of Parliament, the Congress manifesto says, has been affirmed by the amendment, but as Parliament is responsible to the people, the amendment really reaffirms the sovereignty of the people and their unfettered power to shape their destiny. The amendment, the Congress manifesto further says, has affirmed the primacy of the directive principles not with a view to denigrating fundamental rights but in order to ensure that the broader social and national good is given priority.

Family Planning

Another very controversial issue that figures prominently in almost all the election manifestos is that of family planning. The Congress manifesto asserts that while the party attaches great importance to checking the growth of population, it stresses that there cannot be and will not be any compulsion in the family planning movement. It will be a voluntary movement and a people's movement. The Janta party considers family planning essential for the country, but it is strongly opposed to the use of force and compulsion for this purpose. Equally vehemently, the sterilization drive has been criticised by the CPI(M) which says that no previous government had dared to insult and humiliate the nation as the present government did when it initiated the drive for forcible

sterilization. Never before were the Indian people, the poorer sections, treated like cattle. The Akali Dal has called for the removal of family planning measures discriminative to government employees and the working class and has also opposed coercion through government agencies. It has expressed itself against the imposition of those methods of family planning which are violative of the basic tenets of Sikh religion. The CPI is opposed to coercive sterilization. Some of the opposition parties have even declared that they would institute inquiries into the excesses in implementing the family planning programme—excesses of coercion and compulsion.

Economic Programme

All the manifestos dwell at length on the economic programmes of the parties. There is a common anxiety among all the parties to strengthen the economy and ameliorate the lot of the weaker sections of society.

The most significant point made by the Janta party and the CFD in their manifestos in regard to their economic programmes is that they would delete the right to property from among the fundamental rights and instead introduce in these rights the right to work. The two parties are not against holding property but this right, they stress, should be enforced only legally and not fundamentally. The CPI(M) also is in favour of making the right to work as a fundamental constitutional right and desires making of provision for unemployment relief. The Congress and the CPI manifestos, however, are silent on this issue; so also the manifestos

of the DMK and the Akali Dal.

In a broad sense, while the Congress promises to build up the nation as a society reflecting the visions of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and has pledged to step up its war against poverty, disparity and social injustice and for building a modern, prosperous, equalitarian and socialist society, the Janta party promises to assure the people both bread and liberty through the Gandhian alternative. The CFD wants to build India on the basis of scientific socialism; it stands for a modern India of the vision of Nehru. The CPI(M) and the CPI have reiterated in their manifestos their well-known stands on shaping the economy of the country. The Akali Dal has reiterated its faith in socialism. The DMK promises to continue its efforts for the uplift-

ment of the poor and the down-trodden in Tamil Nadu.

In its economic programme, the Janta party has promised to accord primacy to agriculture and rural reconstruction. These, it says, must constitute the base of our development and planning. The experience of the past three decades and a quarter-century of planning under the leadership of the ruling party, it points out, has failed to provide adequately to the mass of people any one of the six basic necessities of life, namely, food, safe drinking water, clothing, housing, education and public care. The Janta party, therefore, has envisaged to reorient planning goals and priorities to adopt a pattern of development based on an appropriate technology that answers the needs of full employment and better life for the people and will clear the path of the evils of capitalist or

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totalitarian industrialisation. The Janta party has further stressed that there must be safeguards against pollution and environmental degradation, and there has to be accent on conservation and exploitation of renewable resources and recycling principles.

The Janta party believes that time has come for a fresh look at the pattern and perspective of industrialisation. The two objectives must be to produce the wage goods necessary for mass consumption and a pattern of industrialisation that will provide full employment to the people. Without adequate emphasis on the production of mass consumption items, it feels that it will not be possible to hold back inflation, ensure the minimum needs of the people and secure a base from which further development could be launched. It considers succumbing to the

lure of western models a mistake.

The economic policies, the Janta party believes, should subserve the interests of workers in the agricultural and industrial sectors. It has, therefore, promised to introduce legislation to ensure minimum wages for all categories of workers. The wages will be sufficient for the maintenance of the worker and his family. The rights of workers and trade unions have been affirmed by the party.

In the agricultural field, agrarian reforms covering tenurial relationship, ownership of land and consolidation of holdings have been promised; so also the wherewithal of farming to all those engaged in this line of activity, however small the holdings might be—the wherewithal includes credit, irrigation, etc. All help has been promised for the

pursuit of other avocations also in the countryside, including cottage industries.

Decentralisation of economic power has been promised and according to the Gandhian precept that whatever can be produced in the decentralised sector will be encouraged to be produced in this sector. The party believes that there is room for heavy and large-scale industries but only where it is not possible to organise such production satisfactorily in the cottage and small-scale sector.

The economic programme of the Janta party envisages; (i) deletion of the right to property as a fundamental right; (ii) affirmation of the right to work and a full-employment strategy; (iii) stress on Gandhian values of austerity, 'Antyodya' and a decentralised economy; (iv) ending of destitution within

ten years; (v) use of appropriate technology for self-reliance; (vi) re-orienting of planning priorities—notably, the primacy of agriculture, agrarian reforms and more favourable terms of trade and higher allocations for the rural sector; (vii) narrowing down of rural-urban disparities and evolving of a new rural-urban nexus; (viii) emphasis on wage goods production for mass consumption; (ix) statutory reservation of spheres of production for small-scale and cottage industries; (x) drawing up and implementing of an incomes, wages and prices policy, raising the minimum tax exemption limit to Rs 10,000 and exemption of land revenue on all holdings below 2.5 hectares; (xi) redistributive taxation and excise in lieu of sales tax; (xii) formulation of a national water policy and a national energy policy; (xiii)

environmental care; (xiv) a fair wage as a minimum wage, proportional benefits for workers from increases in productivity; and making of workers partners in industry; (xv) acceptance of the principle of bonus as a deferred wage; (xvi) containment of prices of essential commodities within the buying capacity of the common man.

Growth of Industry

The Congress party, on the other hand, has promised to continue to give high priority to the growth and development of industry so that the country can rapidly take its place among the advanced nations of the world and reap the fruits of scientific and technical revolution. To stimulate industrial production, the Congress has promised to fully utilise existing capacities and to create new capacities and improve productivity. The sick mills which are otherwise viable are envisaged to be brought back to health through introduction of modern and scientific methods of management. The participation of workers in industry is to be steadily enlarged. Retrenchments, lock-outs, closures and lay-offs are not to be tolerated. Suitable housing has been promised for workers through the launching of a national housing fund to be contributed by employers and employees. Training programmes for dedicated and promising workers have been promised to enable them to move up to higher responsibilities. The reform in economic administration, begun in 1974, is to be carried forward.

The Congress stresses that it is irrevocably committed to land reforms, leading to peasant proprietorship. The re-

forms, it is claimed, are being put through rapidly in all states. Along with conferring on them land ownership, small farmers are to be made available adequate credit on easy terms and supplies of farm inputs without undue difficulty. An agriculture development bank is envisaged to be established to meet the credit requirements of farmers and to coordinate the work of co-operative institutions, rural banks, commercial banks in rural areas, farmers' service societies and extension agencies. Remunerative prices are proposed to be ensured for all major agricultural commodities and buffer stock mechanism is envisaged to be used to ensure remunerative prices, which, it is considered, will increase production and supply. A commodity stabilisation corporation to operate in the market is proposed to be set up for this purpose.

Employment Opportunity

Greater employment opportunities are envisaged to be created. Extensive programmes are promised to be launched for small and marginal farmers, rural artisans and the other backward sections of society. Great stress is envisaged to be placed on the programmes of minor irrigation, intensive cultivation, command area development, improvement of dryland farming areas, soil conservation, assistance to drought-prone areas, extension of poultry, animal husbandry and fisheries, development of small industries and rural handicrafts. The supplies of fertilisers and improved seeds are to be enlarged.

The Congress has promised to endeavour to transfer modern technology to the under-developed rural sector

and to give preference to such technology as will help eradicate poverty and reduce the drudgery to which the rural population, especially women, are subjected.

Infrastructure

Considerable investment is envisaged to be made to strengthen infrastructure in power, transport and communications. Greater facilities have been promised from government and financial institutions to the educated unemployed and small and medium entrepreneurs. Environmental and ecological balance in both the urban and rural areas is to be fostered through planting of trees, flood control and erosion control. The Congress promises to implement vigorously the 20-point and five-point programme launched during the emergency.

The CFD has stressed that in the economic field, it stands for building up the public sector to commanding heights and curbing of the growth of monopoly houses; supply of essential commodities at stable prices within the reach of the common man; full participation of workers at all stages in industry; completion of land reforms during the shortest possible time; ensuring of remunerative prices for agricultural produce; provision of houses and housing sites for both the rural and the urban population; strengthening of defence industries complex; fostering of the agro-based industries and growth of heavy industries to sustain future growth. The regional disparities in economic growth are to be curbed. The party also stands for integrated national development based on economic self-reliance. It proposes to cut non-planned expenditure.

The planning in the country, it says, has to be given a place of pride. The rights of workers in industry are to be protected. It proposes to substitute the right to work for the right to property in fundamental rights and build up an India of Nehru's vision through scientific socialism.

CPI (M) Philosophy

The CPI (M) has reiterated its economic philosophy of taking over foreign capital; banning of the entry of multi-nationals and investment of private foreign capital in the Indian economy; declaration of moratorium on foreign debt payments; nationalisation of monopoly houses and such industries as sugar, textiles, jute, cement and drugs; provision of adequate financial and other assistance for the development of small and medium industries; take-over of foreign trade; ending of corruption and bureaucraticism in the public sector undertakings; restoration of democratic and trade union rights and collective bargaining through trade unions whose representative character must be decided by secret ballot of workers; need-based minimum wage and full neutralisation of rise of cost of living; withdrawal of the Bonus Act and all measures against victimisation of workers; abolition of landlordism and distribution of the land thus released free to the landless labourers and poor peasants; fixation of a minimum wage of Rs eight per day to agricultural labourers; cancellation of debts of peasants, landless labourers and the rural poor and provision of cheap credit to them; supply of inputs and essential articles at cheap rates to the poorer sections of society; ensuring of remunerative prices for agri-



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cultural produce through government purchases; lowering of taxes and other levies on peasantry; bringing down of prices by drastically reducing the taxes and levies on essential articles; taking over by the state of wholesale trade in foodgrains and other essential articles and the distribution of these items under the supervision of people's committees; compulsory procurement of all marketable surplus of foodgrains of all landlords, etc.

Public Sector

The CPI has reiterated its resolve to strengthen the public sector by extending it to essential consumer goods production; prevent penetration of multinational companies into the national economy; democratise the public sector with a view to ensuring workers' effective participation in management at all levels; nationalise textile, sugar, jute and foreign drug companies and all banking business (significantly, the cement industry is not mentioned for nationalisation); cancel all concessions given to big business in the last two years; change taxation policies to reduce burden on the people; encourage small and medium industrial units through providing adequate credit and raw materials and marketing facilities; promote industry with high employment potential in the backward areas and agro-industries in rural areas; and orient planning to development of home market, rapid industrialisation, creation of employment and democratic structural changes. It proposes to set up popular committees for implementing land reforms and other democratic measures. The public distribution system is envisaged to be expanded and strengthened so as to make available essential commodities

to the people at reasonable prices. The wholesale trade in foodgrains and essential commodities like edible oils is proposed to be taken over. Bank credit for speculative purposes is envisaged to be banned. More funds are envisaged to be made available for scientific research and for orienting research programmes to self-reliance and development. Adequate opportunities are proposed to be provided to the scientific and technological intelligentsia for creative work and for stopping brain-drain. The working class is to be ensured minimum wages and a guaranteed bonus, lay-offs, lock-outs, retrenchments and closures are to be totally banned.

Union Rights

The trade unions rights, including the rights of collective bargaining and strike, are to be ensured. The government will consult the working class and trade unions in all matters of legislation concerning them. The peasantry is proposed to be ensured remunerative prices for its produce, adequate credit, extended irrigation facilities and cheap inputs for agricultural operations, and graded land tax and water and electricity rates. The tax burden on the working peasantry is envisaged to be reduced. The interests of tenants and sharecroppers are proposed to be protected.

Bonded labour is to be abolished. Living wages are to be ensured to agricultural workers. Land reforms are envisaged to be expedited and surplus land and government wastelands are proposed to be distributed amongst the landless. The weavers and artisans are to be brought into the cooperative fold and facilities are to be provided to them

for carrying on their vocations.

The economic programme of the Akali Dal includes: (i) initiation of land reform measures to remove disparity and increase agricultural production, distribution of all surplus land, inclusive of waste and nazul land, to Harijans and Rai Sikhs within a year; (ii) modernisation of agriculture; (iii) abolition of all excise duties and sales tax on agro-machinery to bring down its prices to 50 per cent; (iv) reducing of the prices of fertilisers to the 1970 level; (v) striving for remunerative prices for farm produce with the state governments having the authority to fix these prices; (vi) subsidising the prices for consumers; (vii) abolition of all restrictions on the movement of agricultural

products in the country; (viii) accelerating of industrial development to generate large wealth and provide greater employment to the people; (ix) setting up of public sector industries in a manner as to remove regional imbalances which have been created as a consequence of discriminatory policies pursued by the government; (x) development of agro-based industries in the rural areas to relieve pressure of population on land; (xi) proper representation to workers in the management of industries; and (xii) development of cottage industries.

The DMK manifesto lists the economic hardships the people of Tamil Nadu have suffered during President's rule and promises to alleviate these sufferings. It stresses that it

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has been implementing the 20-point and five point programmes of the central government for a long time and has achieved unbounded successes in this regard.

All the parties have shown in their manifestos special concern for the scheduled castes and tribes, the minorities and the youth and have listed specific programmes to improve their condition. Educational reforms have been promised by almost all parties; so also steps to redress the grievances of government employees and for improving their service conditions.

The foreign policy also figures prominently in the manifestos of all the five national parties. The Congress proposes to continue the policy of non-alignment, which, it claims, has kept the country out of military blocs, preserved its independence and integrity

and has allowed judging of international issues on their merits. The party, the manifesto adds, believes in peaceful co-existence, respect for the sovereignty of every nation and non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations. It seeks friendship of all countries, particularly of the immediate neighbours. The need for the establishment of a new international economic order has been stressed by the Congress manifesto.

The Janta party's manifesto says that the foreign policy of this party will reflect the nation's enlightened interest and its aspirations and priorities at home. The party will oppose all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism. It stands for friendship with all. It is committed to genuine non-alignment, free from attachment to any power bloc. The party will strive for the peaceful settlement of all international

disputes and will work with the other third world nations to establish a new and just international economic order. It will strive to resolve such outstanding issues as remain with some of the neighbouring countries and will consciously promote a good neighbour policy. It will foster regional co-operation for the common good and for global detente free of new blocs or spheres of influence and based on universal and general disarmament. It will uphold human rights and denounce their violations.

The CFD manifesto stresses that in the field of international affairs, we must steadfastly adhere to the true spirit of independence which underlined our tradition of freedom struggle. The tried and trusted friends of the country will remain secure in our friendship. The growing friendship with the socialist countries will be strengthened further and end-

cavours would be made to befriend those opposed to us. The CFD will strive its utmost to build bridges of friendship with the close neighbours, particularly Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The foreign policy of the CPI (M), the manifesto of this party says, will be aimed at close cooperation with the socialist countries. It will be a policy of consistent anti-imperialism.

The CPI proposes to defend and strengthen the country's anti-imperialist position and organise world opinion against foreign bases, strengthen non-alignment and anti-imperialist cohesiveness and expand and deepen the country's friendship and political and economic relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

Strengthening of defence has been promised by all the parties.

What Election Is About

Face to Face with Destiny

J. B. Kripalani

THE RELEASE of Morarjibhai and some other leaders of the opposition parties and of a few of rank and file of political workers though welcome, was rather tardy and hesitant as it was not accompanied by the release of all political prisoners who was confined to jail without the due process of law. Therefore, when the press approached me for my opinion then, I gave it in one cryptic sentence. I said: "Things done by half are never done right". I said this because several important leaders such as Madhu Limaye, Raj Narain, Nanaji Deshmukh, Jyotirmoy Basu, M.R. Malkani and some others had not been released then. It was known that they would stand for election to the Parliament. The belated release of some of them certainly has adversely affected to some extent their election campaigns.

Release of Leaders

People were happy at the release of political leaders because of the announcement that the present Parliament that had outlived its mandate and utility for more than a year was dissolved and fresh election promised by the middle of March, though emergency had not been entirely lifted.

I feel that there are many more things that the government will have to do before normal conditions prevail in the country which

This article was sent by Mr Kripalani early last month.

alone can ensure free and fair elections. For instance, censorship of the press must go at once. The authorities have been claiming since some time that there is no censorship of the press. They say that only the press has been given certain "guidelines".

Misinterpretation

The guidelines are of such a general character that it is possible to interpret them as desired by the authorities or by their censors, not a very bright tribe known for its intelligence and discrimination. My one-line statement given above was disallowed by the censors. The press is frightened today. Even some leading papers completely blacked out the statements made by such leaders as Morarji Desai and Jayaprakash Narayan. It is not only necessary for free and fair elections promised by the authorities that censorship should go, but along with it should go the office of the censor.

Further, there has been no release of all political prisoners. The authorities always say that the people are misguided by the leaders. If that is so, one cannot quite understand why ordinary political workers who have been detained under MISA without trial should not be released. Even before the second world war was over, the foreign government released all the leaders along with the bulk of the rank and file of political

workers even though some of them had undoubtedly indulged in violence. In the present case, the rank and file of political workers who were arrested and imprisoned after the declaration of emergency had ostensibly committed no violence. As a matter of fact, they could not have done so as most of them were arrested along with the declaration of emergency.

In Madras, a delegation of DMK leaders met the governor. They raised the question of the release of political prisoners detained without trial. His answer was that the "bureaucracy was hesitating." However, when there were general political arrests, the bureaucracy was not consulted. As it is, this is a political

matter in which the caution of state bureaucracy does not arise. If there is any hesitancy, it is not of the bureaucracy but of the powers that be. However, the leaders whom we have mentioned above were not arrested under the orders of the state government but by those of the central government.

Today, as on February 1, it is reported in the press that Mr Karpoori Thakur, ex-chief minister of Bihar, has been arrested. True, there was a warrant against him which he avoided. But what he avoided was a lawless law which gave no reasons for the arrest of individuals and no opportunity for them to defend themselves with or without their legal advisers. This law, as was promised by the authorities in

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In the Family Tradition

NEW DELHI, Feb. 9 : The Prime Minister told a big gathering of workers at her house in New Delhi today that Mr Sanjay Gandhi had come into public life not to help her, but to help the Congress.

It was the Congress president who had asked Mr Gandhi to put more life into the Youth Congress. Mr Gandhi had done so and the Youth Congress was now doing excellent work in all the states, Mrs Gandhi said.

On the basis of this, newspapers in India and abroad had spun a long tale that Mr Sanjay Gandhi was becoming the prime minister, she said.

Mrs Gandhi recalled that there had been an attack on her as well as Mr Gandhi in the Lok Sabha. After that he had felt that he should defend himself. That was why he had come out publicly.

Mr Gandhi had asked the Congress President what work he could do and was told to put more life into the Youth Congress. He had done so and the Youth Congress had held big sessions in the capital as well as in Gauhati. It was doing excellent work in every state.

Mrs Gandhi explained that Mr Sanjay Gandhi had to meet many people in connexion with the programmes of the Youth Congress.

She herself met a large number of people not only from India but other countries every day.

It had been the tradition of her family to meet everyone and "this tradition will always remain", Mrs Gandhi said.

"We all from this family are sevaks (servants) of the people", Mrs Gandhi said adding that there was hardly any other family that had given so much to the country not only in terms of service, but materially also.

"So many people have become ministers", but she was perhaps the only person who had gifted her house to the nation and had no house of her own.

both the Houses of Parliament, was not to be used against the so-called political offenders, but was meant to be used only against anti-social elements. Such was also the promise given to Mr Morarji Desai when he broke his fast on April 13, 1975. When the British government after a struggle brought about normal conditions, it squashed all pending criminal cases against political workers.

I do not know what has happened elsewhere. But in Madras, as on January 31, the ruling party has been allowed to hold an outdoor public meeting and it is said that this elementary privilege will be granted to other parties only after a week.

What rouses suspicion about the impartiality of the government is that they have chosen this time for superseding a

judge of the Supreme Court for the appointment of the Chief Justice on the retirement of the present incumbent. No reason has been given for this action. When some four years back three judges of the Supreme Court were superseded, it was said by the authorities that the country should have a committed judiciary. Even this plea has not been advanced at the time of the present supersession. So far as the legal profession and the public are concerned, Mr M.H. Beg has not superseded Mr H.R. Khanna on grounds of merit. The former is not known to be a superior lawyer or jurist than Mr Khanna. Mr Khanna had only six months left before his retirement. Whatever the legal merits of Mr Beg, the authorities could have conveniently waited for that period to make him the Chief

Justice of the Supreme Court. The time chosen for this inexplicable supersession makes one to suspect that it is done for political and communal reasons.

All this indicates no radical change in the mind and heart of the government. Apart from all this, people must realise the vital issues involved in the present election to the Parliament. Briefly stated, these are the freedom of expression, association and the press, independence of the judiciary, rule of law, restoration of our fundamental rights and civil liberties, as guaranteed in our original Constitution before the 42nd amendment was enacted by a truncated Parliament which had outlived its mandate. All these are of the essence of democracy.

There is always a dichotomy between freedom and authority,

between individual conscience and authoritarian discipline (anushasan). Synthesis between these two seemingly conflicting elements in a democracy can be brought about when the fundamental rights and civil liberties as mentioned above are guaranteed to the citizen and are considered inviolable. Only so can democracy be real and purposeful and the best possible form of government.

Knowing as we do what has happened during the past nineteen months, one shudders to think what would happen to the country if the present set up is to continue for another six years. It is, therefore, essential that at this critical period in the history of our nation, the voter will exercise his franchise independently undeterred by the frowns and favours of any authority—political, social or financial.

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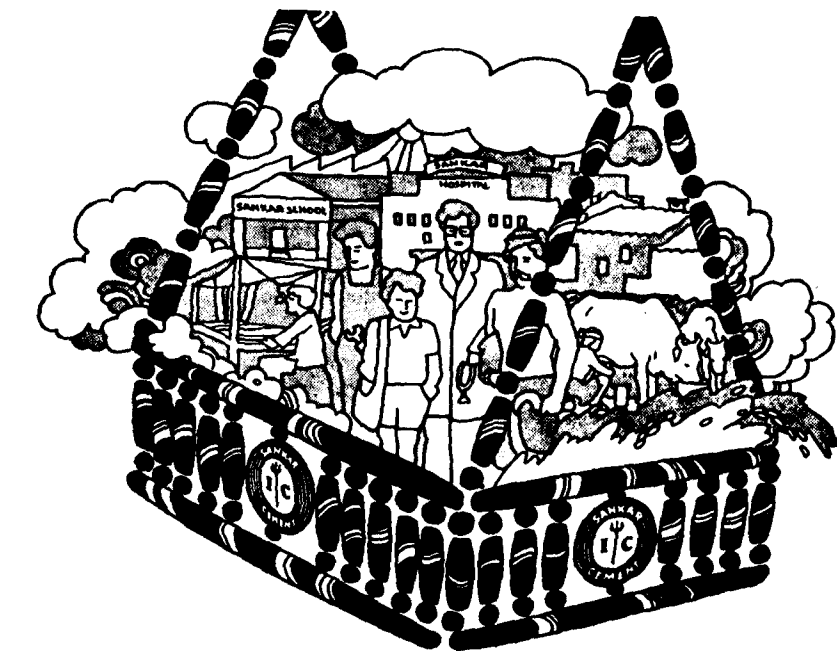
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Democracy at Crossroads

M. C. Chagla

EVERY COUNTRY gets the government it deserves and I may add, it desires. In the coming Lok Sabha election the issue has been fairly and squarely joined. Dictatorship versus democracy. The choice is between a government which is dictatorial, authoritarian and maintains a captive society—or do we want to live under a government where there is freedom, where a man can hold his head up, speak his mind, write what he thinks and has not to look behind him to see whether somebody is following him and whether he is likely to be hustled to the nearest police station to be detained, without a trial and without knowing why he has been detained, or without a right to go to court to prove his innocence.

Normally in election, the electors elect a party which is to constitute a majority in Parliament. Of course, every party places its programme before the electorate. But very little attention is paid to it. Election of a candidate largely depends upon the party he belongs to, his caste and his personality.

Clear Issues

But this time, as I have stated above, the issue is clear and simple.

There can be no doubt, and it is a matter of record that in the nineteen months during which the emergency has subsisted, there has been a marked erosion in democratic institutions.

Let us take judiciary. The judiciary is an independent organ under the constitution and its main function is to act as it were as an arbitrator between the exactions of the executive and the rights of citizens.

Supersession of three judges took place before the emergency. But it was an indication of the things to come and very recently we have a second supersession, Mr Justice Khanna being superseded for the grievous fault of having decided against the government in an important case.

Outstanding Judge

I agree that it is not necessary in every case to appoint the seniormost judge as chief justice. He may be unfit, or may not possess the stature of a chief justice. But nobody can suggest that about Mr Justice Khanna. He is an outstanding judge, able, impartial and intelligent; and his supersession is a warning to other judges that if they do not behave themselves they will not be considered for preferment to higher office.

But the more serious attack on the judiciary is the transfer of judges from one state to another. Although the then Law minister, Mr Ashok Sen, gave an assurance to Parliament that no judge will be transferred without his consent, the assurance has not been respected. It is a very serious thing for a judge to be far away from his home and hearth, to have education of his children seriously disturbed, to have to maintain two households if he wants to leave his family behind, and to come to a state where he is not known and where he may not know the regional language.

Already I am told judges in many high courts are toning down their judgements so

that they may not invite the wrath of the executive and be transferred.

Take the press. Not in the worst days of the British rule was the freedom of the press so completely curbed as during the last nineteen months. All that has been permitted to appear in the press is the doings of ministers and their officials. Criticism has been completely muted and information from outside the country has not been permitted to be published if it has been critical of the government. Civil liberties did not exist during this period. No man's freedom was assured. Every man walked in fear of being detained if in its wisdom the government felt that he should not be at large. Further, he was not given the reason for his detention. He could not go to court. Writ of habeas corpus was not available to him. Therefore to say that the government is wedded to democracy and has not departed from it is not only an understatement but a deliberate and calculated misstatement.

Greater Threat

It may be said that what has been done, has been done under the Constitution. That for the purpose of acquiring power the government has amended the Constitution according to the procedure laid down and the result is nothing more than a constitutional democracy. When a government relies on the letter of the Constitution and violates the principles, it poses a greater threat to democracy and freedom than a government which openly abrogates the Constitution and acts

according to its decrees. What we had during the nineteen months was the facade of the Constitution and legitimacy, but behind it, the spirit of the Constitution was violated.

Unique Election

The coming election is unique for two reasons. One with which I have dealt with is that the voter has a straight and simple issue before it. And our people, although a large majority of them is illiterate, understand the difference between democracy and dictatorship. It is a mistake to think that democracy is only for the rich and the elite. The poor and the downtrodden need it much more. Because the rich and the powerful can get round by ways and means they know well the arbitrary orders of the government. But the poor have only the judiciary to look to and if the judiciary is weak and lacks independence and impartiality, then the poor are completely at the mercy of the executive and its officers.

The other is that for the first time the Congress will be faced by a united opposition. Figures show that the Congress has never obtained the vote of the majority of the people. The vote has been somewhere around 40 per cent. It has succeeded because the opposition was fragmented and divided.

But the scene has now been changed and the fight is going to be a straight one between the Congress and the opposition. The people will have to give their verdict as to whether they want to be governed by a party which is all powerful, arrogant, unmindful of the rights of citizens and only an-

xious to preserve its own power or by a party which is pledged to revoke the emergency, to release detenus, restore complete freedom to the press and respect the independence of the judiciary.

The Congress has raised the issue that it is fighting for the sovereignty of Parliament. Sovereignty of Parliament is a false and vicious doctrine. It is totally opposed to the principles laid down under the Constitution. The sovereignty is not of Parliament but of the people. The Parliament is only the delegate of the people who at an election give a mandate to the party to carry out their wishes. It is also forgotten that the parliamentary sovereignty in practical terms means the sovereignty of the majority party and ultimately the leader of the party. There has not been a single instance in the last six years where the Congress party has voted contrary to the whip of the leader of the government. Therefore, when you talk of Parliament being sovereign and supreme, you are really asking to make the executive supreme and sovereign. It is precisely because of this that the Constitution has set up an independent judiciary and guaranteed to the people the fundamental right of freedom of expression and thought.

Tremendous Handicap

The opposition will no doubt be fighting the election under a tremendous handicap. The time factor is against it. It is true that it is the prerogative of the prime minister to decide when election should be held. But one must remember that tens of thousands the members of opposition were behind bars when the date of election was announced and although the prime minister has given

an assurance that the political detenus would be released, even today there are hundreds of political prisoners who are in jail. Under these conditions, it is difficult for a party to work in its constituencies, to collect necessary funds and to organise the election which is of such vast proportions. Add to this that there is openly or otherwise the whole government machinery geared up to support the Congress party. Further, money will be flowing in lakhs in favour of the Congress and it cannot be denied that money does and must play an important part in elections.

Revulsion

Even in America, a person who wishes to be elected as President has to spend millions of dollars in order to have a chance of entry to the White House. Therefore, if the opposition happens to succeed, it will not be through the use of money or through a powerful organisation or for continuous work in the constituencies but through the sheer revulsion of the people at large against the policies recently pursued by the government. I am not disputing the fact that during the past nineteen months, the country has progressed economically and otherwise. But there is no evidence to establish that this progress was due to the emergency and that it might not have taken place if there had been no emergency. The "twenty points" and the "five points" are practically accepted by the people. But the question is of the mode of implementing these points. If the implementation is without any regard to the citizens' needs and rights, then Gandhiji's famous saying "that however a good the end if the means are bad then the end itself gets tarnished" has to be remembered and invoked.

The mass media is completely under the control of government. The radio and the television are the exponents of government's policies and no critic of government has any place in either of these two media. The newly formed press agency—Smachar—was expected to be objective, but it only parades the information the government supplies to it and turns a blind eye to the views of the critics of the government.

It is unfortunate that the Election Commissioner, against whom I have nothing to say, is appointed by government. He should not only be impartial but seem to be impartial. The latter requirement is not possible when the Commissioner is a government appointee and can hold office of profit under the government after he ceases to be the Commissioner. Therefore, although it is a matter for the future, I am strongly of the opinion that the Election Commissioner should be ap-

pointed by the President in consultation with the chief justice and the leader of the opposition and should be disqualified from holding any office under the government after he ceases to be the Election Commissioner. He should be in the same position as the Auditor General or a member of the Public Service Commission.

My sincere hope, and this applies to both Congress and opposition, is that they will not put up any candidate on grounds of caste. Usually the first qualification to get the ticket is that he belongs to a caste which has a large number of voters in a particular constituency. Let a candidate seek suffrage of his fellow countrymen as an Indian appealing to Indians. This is the only way that caste can be abolished and national integration can be achieved. We glibly talk of national integration and all the time we are resorting to communal considerations.



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Congress for Stability and Growth

V. B. Raju

THE HISTORY of the Indian National Congress is the history of the independence movement and also the socio-economic transformation of India. During the course of its long history, the Congress identified itself with the political life of the people and it has emerged as the greatest single instrument of political unity and social change. From the very beginning the Congress has been an all-India organisation, a rallying point of various cross currents and nationalist and reformist movements and above all a truly national and secular organisation based on the concept of the unity of India.

The ideology of the Congress was not copied from any book but evolved with the national experience of the people during the struggle for political independence and later for national re-construction. Gandhiji's teachings, particularly his deep concern for the well-being of the masses and his emphasis on the right means and non-violence blended with western liberal thoughts, symbolised by individual liberty and the rule of law, and Marxian concept of a classless society constituted the Indian political synthesis.

Economic Freedom

The Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi always held the view that freedom could not mean merely the termination of an alien rule. It could have real significance only if it meant the ending of exploitation, eradication of poverty and the establishment of a free and egalitarian society. India's

national struggle was, therefore, not merely for political independence.

In free India, Nehru made a successful effort to reconcile the practice of democracy with the pursuit of socialism. In 1955, at Avadi (Madras), the Congress officially declared as its goal the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society and in 1964, it avowed its faith in a socialistic state.

India's struggle has been essentially for freedom from want and hunger, from poverty and squalor, from exploitation and discrimination. In this great pilgrimage to economic freedom, which is the new freedom added to the list of basic freedoms in the first half of the twentieth century, though much distance has been covered, yet there are many miles to go, many promises to keep and many pledges to redeem.

Bastion of Democracy

India is a bastion of democracy where the people are engaged in a great experiment to achieve socialism by democratic means. The nation is racing against time to catch up with the twentieth century to repair the neglect of centuries.

From the very inception, the Congress has been the sole hope of India's unity, stability, growth and change. The Congress can claim, without fear of contradiction, that it is the only effective political instrument which has unified the diverse elements inhabiting this great land in a single national endeavour. Gandhiji is rightly called the father of Indian nationalism.

After independence, Mr Nehru built laboriously, brick by

brick the democratic structure of this country and provided economic content to political independence. Nehru is, in fact, the father of Indian socialist thought. He was one of the world's greatest democrats of his time. The people of India gave to Nehru political support and personal affection in a very large measure and stood by him in his endeavour to make India strong and great.

The Congress strategy of economic growth is through planned development and mixed enterprise. India today can boast that it is the third largest country in possession of technical man-power.

Three Achievements

In the Indian context, three achievements are significant—the unity of the nation, a strong democratic tradition and orderly economic growth through planning. These three achievements would not have been possible if the people of India in the last five elections had not given their support in abundance. In the first Lok Sabha election in 1952, the Congress secured 364 seats out of a total of 489. In the second in 1957, it won 371 seats out of 494. In the third in 1962, the Congress secured 361 seats out of 494. In 1967, it was 283 out of 520 and in 1971 the Congress bagged 352 seats out of 518. The continuous return of the Congress to power has helped the country maintain continuity in policy and uninterrupted progress.

The legislative and administrative frame-work under the Indian Constitution is federal. The continuing presence of the Congress at the helm of affairs both at the centre and in the

states has helped to provide a political corrective to such strains that were present in the functioning of the federal mechanism.

The Congress is not fighting any political party in this election. It is only approaching the electorate to give a fresh mandate to help the nation to continue its journey of the pilgrimage to economic freedom.

Negative Politics

The two political parties, i.e., the Janta party and the Congress for Democracy were born after the announcement of election was made. They do not have any roots among the people. The Janta party is an alliance of disparate political groups and it has nothing to offer to the electorate except presenting a bogey that 'democracy is in danger'. The opposition parties depend for their vote-catching on the unhealthy practice of personalising politics. Their main plank is anti-Congressism. They are not prepared to take a bout with basic issues. Their battle cry is 'Do not Vote Congress'. They still continue to trade in negative politics. In the initial stages, their propaganda was that a strong opposition should be built against the Congress. When they realised that the people vote a party for forming a government and not for the fun of opposition, they changed their tactics.

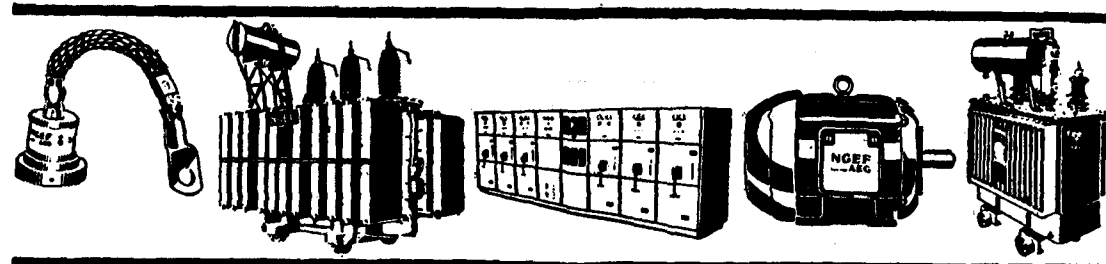
The Indian electorate is intelligent enough to perceive the opportunistic posture of the opposition and reject them. I am fully confident that they will only vote for stability, continuity and progress, which the Congress alone represents.

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Democratic Alternative in Sight

Surendra Mohan

THE PRESENT parliamentary election has been called by the prime minister even though in the last session of Parliament, the government has obtained extension of its life for another year. When the election was announced, prominent leaders of the opposition including Raj Narain, Madhu Limaye, L.K. Advani and Siddharaj Dhadda along with thousands of their workers were in jail. Even now, hundreds have not been released.

The government's calculation was that, with a fear-stricken people who had been fed upon one-sided propaganda for 18 months, a chained opposition which had been consistently calumnised through muzzled mass media, a committed judiciary, a captive press and a demoralised bureaucracy, a snap election would give her party an overwhelming majority and the popular legitimacy to the authoritarian measures and those far-reaching changes in the constitution which had upset the equitable balances which had upheld our democratic polity.

Calculations Falsified

However, the people even more than the intelligentsia and the opposition parties, falsified these calculations. They exhibited no sense of fear. After all, large sections among them had found money for the families of the detenus and shelter for underground workers, and had also started to fight against compulsory

Mr Surendra Mohan is General Secretary, Janta Party.

sterilisation and refusal to pay bonus or DA. They had begun to show dissatisfaction against price rise which started steeply since March 1976. And, although they did not come out on the streets during the emergency and silently suffered all the mounting corruption, arbitrary ways of a frightened and indecisive bureaucracy, extortion of money and demolition of houses, the resentment deep within their hearts welled out.

Alacrity Shown

The opposition parties also showed sufficient alacrity in creating a political democratic alternative against an authoritarian regime and the intelligentsia stood out in complete support of the restoration of civil liberties and democratic rights. But the biggest crash came as all those sections in the ruling party who were suffocated in the straitjacket called the Congress party and waited for an opportune moment to assert themselves for people's rights, left it and created a vertical division under the leadership of Mr Jagjivan Ram.

The prime minister's diversionary tactics of popularising the 20-point programme and assuring various reliefs to the weaker sections miserably failed because there was no conviction either on the part of the administration or the political leadership. During the last 10 months prices have risen by 40 per cent, making a mockery of one of the most prominent point in that programme.

In spite of various concessions given to big business, production did not show up and the recession that had hit the economy further deepened. The effect of the economic policies of the government during the emergency was to hit the poor, particularly because all the countervailing forces against the economic injustices had been throttled by suspension of civil liberties and fundamental rights.

In the same sense the weaker sections which have been socially oppressed could find no relief although post-emergency promises were galore. This also was the result of the concentration of arbitrary powers in the bureaucracy against which all democratic checks had been taken away.

Main Issues

The present election is now being fought on these main issues. Can a people thrive and prosper under conditions which resemble authoritarianism even if in the name of restoration of discipline or to rectify the derailment of democracy? The question is whether it is the people who will be trusted to maintain peace, to participate in the development of the country and to work for their cumulative economic amelioration. The second question is whether curbs on freedom of press and suspension of civil liberties can be justified only because there were some difficult moments for the ruling party or the prime minister. The third question is whether people's

rights are an impediment to economic equality as is wrongly propagated by the government? Or are they the necessary condition for the fulfilment of the people's aspiration? There is no doubt that the people will make a clear choice on these issues. Other questions which relate to stability are not so relevant today because while the Congress party which harps on this question has been vertically divided, various opposition parties have coalesced to create a unified and stable political structure.

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Progress Demands Discipline

Syed Mir Qasim

ELECTIONS ARE a renewal of faith in the power of the people. Indeed, this is the essence of a democratic set-up, in which the people's representatives have to "render account" to their constituents.

For us, in this country, democratic process has become an essential ingredient of the political ethos. Our freedom struggle, evolved out of this process, showed concern for the people's will and the belief that they should be masters of their own destiny. Expectedly, therefore, the Constitution of the free India made adult franchise a corner-stone of the polity and that too at a time when in some industrially advanced countries, sections of population were still struggling to achieve the right to vote.

Broad Consensus

It is important to remember this because it was the Indian National Congress and the governments formed by the party in the states which pursued these ideals and built up institutions to ensure that these were translated into practice. This was inevitable because the Congress party represented during the freedom struggle and after independence the broad political consensus of the people of this country. If the Congress has been described as a movement rather than a party, it is because it enfolds in itself the broad spectrum of the political opinion unified in the desire to restore to this nation the glory and the prestige due to it.

At this time when the coun-

Syed Mir Qasim is union Minister for Civil Supplies and Cooperation

try is poised for another election, it is necessary to see through the partisan rhetoric of the critics of the Congress party. Even if they pretend to forget, the people of this land cannot forget that the Congress party stands on deep democratic foundations and it is only this party which can ensure the growth of democratic processes aimed at solving the innumerable problems inherited by us during the centuries of feudal and colonial rule.

Democratic Traditions

The people of this country are wedded to democracy and the Congress party, which represents them, is a tapestry of democratic traditions, norms and practices. The charge of dictatorship against the Congress party, therefore, is as artificial as the grouping of the opposition segments which have been rejected by the Indian people again and again. If the Congress had not embraced the aspirations of different sections of the Indian people, it would have crumbled down long ago. Its resilience is because of its democratic fabric. It has inherited the deep concern for the down-trodden and the dispossessed from Gandhiji.

It is well recognised that Jawahar Lal, "The darling of the people", could have imposed any type of regime and got away with it. But he carried forward the traditions of the Congress and went out of his way to inculcate the democratic spirit and build up democratic institutions. The supremacy of the people, as

reflected in Parliament, was dear to him and he fostered this and other democratic institutions with great care and respect.

Timely Action

The same is true about our leader, Mrs Indira Gandhi. Throughout the eleven years she has been at the helm of affairs in this country she has stuck to democratic norms, many times against great odds. I am saying great odds because those very parties and groups, which have found it expedient now to swear by democracy, did their best to subvert democracy itself. They took advantage of the democratic institutions to undermine these very institutions. They might find it convenient now to forget the conditions which they created before June, 1975, but the fact remains that but for the timely action by the prime minister, they would have led to chaos—a fertile ground for dictatorship.

Even at the time of promulgation of emergency, the prime minister made it very clear that it was a temporary measure and the country would revert to the democratic functioning as soon as normalcy was restored. True to her words, she announced the elections on January 18, 1977, so that people are in a position to reaffirm their power.

Thus, the forthcoming elections are most crucial for the people and for democracy itself. The issue before the people is whether this country should be allowed to forge ahead as a great power, which is its destiny because of its

geo-political position and economic capabilities, or whether disparate parties are allowed to lead the country towards instability. As far as the Congress is concerned, it is wedded to democratic norms and is the only party which can lend stability and progress to the nation. The importance of the forthcoming elections lies in the fact that the choice before the people is very limited. They have to opt for democracy and progress or for chaos and anarchy.

We Shall Overcome

NEW DELHI, Feb. 24: Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan had in a letter to the Prime Minister on July 21, 1975, from prison stated that there was never any plan to paralyse the government. "If there was any plan, it was a simple, innocent and short-time plan to continue until the Supreme Court decided your appeal" against the Allahabad High Court verdict.

The letter, released by the Janta party, was not acknowledged. It says in part:

"You inherited a great tradition, noble values and a working democracy. Do not leave behind a miserable wreck of all that. It would take a long time to put all that together again. For it would be put together again, I have no doubt."

A people who fought British imperialism, and humbled it, cannot accept indefinitely the indignity and sham of totalitarianism.

The spirit of man can never be vanquished no matter how deeply suppressed. In establishing your personal dictatorship you have buried it deep. But it will rise from the grave. Even in Russia it is slowly coming up.

You have talked of 'drift' in the country. But was that due to the Opposition or to me? The drift was because of your lack of decision, direction and drive. You seem to act swiftly and dramatically only when your personal position is threatened. Once that is assured, the drift begins.

Dear Indiraji, please do not identify yourself with the nation. You are not immortal, India is."

People's Faith Must be Restored

J. P. Mathur

NORMALLY ELECTIONS are fought on issues that political parties and leaders place before the people and on which the people give their verdict. But conditions this time are very much otherwise. Political parties have receded into the background and it is the people, the real masters, who are deciding the issues. Some of these issues are being openly discussed from political platforms, but some others, though left unsaid, are causing undercurrents of doubt and expectations in the minds of the electorate. A verdict on these silent issues would prove decisive for the very existence of democracy.

Sudden Decision

The suddenness with which the prime minister announced the present Lok Sabha election is in keeping with the political tricks that she has been practising so far. The 1971 election also had been called as a surprise. But the difference between the election announcements then and now is that in 1971 there was no doubt in the minds of the people about whether the election would be held at all. Only the suddenness of the announcement was the same as at present. But this time not only the people but even the ruling party and government circles doubted if the election would take place at all and if it did take place whether it would be a mere farce as in communist countries.

Against this psychological background the minds of the people have been stirred as never before, and the basic issue of

Mr J. P. Mathur is Secretary, Bhartiya Jana Sangh.

democracy has come to the fore not only for the intelligentsia but also for the people at large, including the most illiterate persons.

The basic principles of democracy which the common man has so long taken for granted now confront him as decisive factors. During the last 19 months, people have seen how an absence of those things which they had taken for granted so far would lead them into a life that was worse than death. The nation has accepted Mr Jaya Prakash Narayan's declaration that the present election is a choice between dictatorship and democracy without reservation because it is the own view of the people and their own realisation. In a way J.P. and other leaders have only voiced the innermost sentiments of the people.

Popular Wrath

The ruling party, and primarily the prime minister, realising the popular wrath against them, are trying to sidetrack the real issue. This attempt at digression is being made in two forms. The first is the prime minister's repeated advocacy of stability. In truth, the stability she means is strictly on the individual level, for the frequent changes in the state governments and the portfolios at the centre prove that there is no stability for any Congress government or Congress minister. If and when the prime minister decides upon a change, she makes it. Even her sham stability is based upon fear. In the absence of fear, she would certainly have been swept away by her own partymen.

The prime minister's second attempt is to persuade the people to believe that the very fact of her holding the election is enough proof of her faith in democracy. The common people, and particularly the intelligentsia, are not prepared to accept this argument. Rather, this attempt by the prime minister has reduced her credibility. The failure to remove poverty and to check rise in prices has become secondary issues and the credibility or otherwise of the prime minister's words and claims has tacitly become an important election issues.

A Challenge

Credibility has become a challenge not only for the ruling party; it has also become a challenge for the opposition. This is not because the opposition has not lived up to its words, as its claims have not yet been tested at all. The reason for this is the basic popular feeling that all political parties and leaders are alike, that they forget their promises after the elections, and their main aim is to serve their personal and party ends. This cynicism among the people at large has not been caused by any one political party or person, but is the result of the general political atmosphere of the last 25 years. So the question is whether, during the election campaign and after, we can remove this deep suspicion entrenched in the minds of the people. If the present election results in ending or even reducing this cynicism, it would be to the credit of both the government and the opposition.

There is another democratic

principle at issue in the present election. There has not been a change in the government since independence, except for a short period in 1967 in some states. This has made the people feel that, whatever the circumstances, the government in this country cannot be changed by the ballot.

Change in Govt.

The prime minister's refusal to step down from office in the wake of the verdict of the Allahabad High Court and the terrible events that followed have all the more confirmed this belief among the people. Still, for the first time in the history of independent India, people now have come to feel that if there is no rigging and trickery, the government at the centre can certainly be changed. Yet there is lurking suspicion that in case the Congress loses, there could happen anything unpredictable. Although there is no sound basis for such a suspicion, there is certainly this type of cynicism among the people.

The prime necessity of a healthy democracy is the confidence among the people that they can choose the government they want and that the defeated party and leaders would step down with grace. Removing these doubts and cynicism besetting the minds of the people is something which is above the success or defeat of both the ruling and opposition parties. On this point both can share victory or defeat alike. Let us hope that both the opposition and the party in power would equally share a healthy and honest victory for democracy and the Indian people.

Parliamentary System at Stake

N. K. Krishnan

IN THE coming general election, the Communist Party of India will seek a mandate from the people for defending and extending democracy, for safeguarding and improving the living conditions of the people and for creating stable conditions for national economic development. We put special emphasis on the struggle for extending democracy and demand for this purpose the lifting of the emergency, removal of press censorship and the stopping of the misuse of Samachar, All India Radio and Television in favour of the ruling party.

At stake in the coming election battle are the parliamentary democratic system, the democratic rights of the masses and the cherished democratic norms and values of the nation. These face serious danger from reaction. Our party seeks the people's mandate to defeat this danger, to defend democracy and give it stronger popular mass foundation.

Crucial Issues

The direction and content of our nation's economic policy are also crucial issues for the coming election battle. Our party seeks a clear mandate for self-reliance, for rapid implementation of the 20-point programme which at present has been put into deep freeze, for urgently-needed anti-monopoly measures, for planning of the economy tied to national needs and expanded home market and for closer ties with the socialist world. We are coming out sharply against

Mr N. K. Krishnan is Secretary, National Council of the Communist Party of India.

the imperialist World Bank strategy of dependence on aid and export-oriented economy, against the penetration of the multi-nationals into our economy, against the wholesale concessions given by the government to the monopolists, against policies and measures helping speculators and hoarders.

Clear Mandate

The paramount issue of the livelihood of the masses is also in sharp focus in the coming election battle. Our party raises its voice against the government's policy of pampering the monopolists and speculators who have now brought back inflation, of snatching away the hard-won bonus of the workers, impounding of the dearness allowance and permitting lock-outs, closures and mass retrenchment by the monopolists on an unprecedented scale, imposing huge tax burdens on the masses and denying remunerative prices to the peasant. Our party seeks a clear mandate for a programme of guaranteed supply of essential commodities at reasonable prices, cheap and adequate housing, minimum living wage and eradication of unemployment.

We seek a clear mandate that the national gains won by the unity, sacrifice and struggle of our masses in the post-independence period be defended and carried forward and their benefits made to reach the masses instead of being grabbed by the vested interests.

The danger posed by reaction in the form of the rightist efforts at consolidation through

a one-party combine is now aggravated by the fact that reaction is seeking to gain positions of influence and pressure in the ruling party too and in the government and administrative apparatus. Extra-constitutional centres of power have been operating, even bypassing the national democratic processes of the ruling party itself. All the dangerous phenomena have manifested themselves sharply in the recent phase of the emergency period when the emergency powers were being more and more misused against the interests of the masses.

Old Alliance

Our party will rouse the people against the newly-formed Janta party which, according to us, is only the emergence of the old grand alliance in a new garb, despite its demagogic slogans. This party's alliance with reactionary regional parties like the DMK and the Akalis and with the CPI(M) on an all-India basis has added new dimension to the danger.

As regards the new party, "Congress for Democracy", we regard it as a revolt against extra-constitutional authority and open violation of democratic norms and assess it as a democratic party.

In three states—West Bengal, Kerala and Tamil Nadu—it has been possible for our party to come to an overall electoral understanding with the Congress. In other states, conditions do not exist for such an understanding. In these states, however, we shall extend our support to all democratic and progressive Congress candi-

dates, as well as to other left and democratic forces on a selective basis.

Our overall objective is to increase our party's strength and to help bring into existence a new Lok Sabha with a decisive majority for democratic forces.

Concrete Programme

Our party has put forth in its election manifesto a concrete programme of measures whose implementation will help strengthen democracy, improve the people's living standards and establish stable conditions for economic progress. Among these measures are: further strengthening of the public sector; nationalisation of textile, sugar, jute and foreign drug industries and take-over of wholesale trade in foodgrains and edible oils; prevention of penetration of multi-national companies; cancellation of all concessions given to the monopolies in the last two years; minimum living wage and guaranteed bonus for the working class and total ban on lay-offs, lock-outs, retrenchments and closures.

Our party calls for the enhancement of the anti-imperialist trend in India's foreign policy and further expansion of friendship with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

Damsel in Distress

BHUBANESWAR, Feb. 23 : Opening the Congress Party's election campaign in Orissa today, Mrs Gandhi made an ardent appeal to all, especially women, to support her and the Congress. "I have come to you not as the Prime Minister but as a 'sevika' (public servant) and a sister in distress who is being encircled only to be stabbed from all sides", she told a meeting in Cuttack district.

Magic Wand has Broken

—Jaya Prakash Narayan

BOMBAY, FEB 22: The Lok Sabha elections will decide the future of the country for a long time to come, declared Mr Jaya Prakash Narayan while addressing a massive public meeting at Shivaji Park here this evening.

If the Congress was returned to power once again, the nation was doomed to dictatorship. It was already established beyond doubt by the events of the last 19 months. Their own experience should convince the voters that vote for the Congress was tantamount to "hand-cuffing and shackling themselves with their own hands", he added.

Mr Narayan declared that the prime minister had miscalculated if she thought

of authoritarian rule long before she imposed the emergency. This was to cover her failure to improve the lot of the people and protect herself from the wrath of the masses and against the threat to her personal power.

He emphasized that unlike in the earlier elections this time there would be straight contests between the Congress and the Janta party for most seats. As a result, the Con-

Democracy or Disruption ?

—Indira Gandhi

NEW DELHI, Feb 18: Mrs Gandhi has said she will like the politics, policies and programmes of all parties in the country to be free of bitterness, hatred and violence.

"If there is any area at all in which they can cooperate, then they should do so in that area, and we should not let bitterness stand in the way", she said in an interview published in Friday's issue of *National Herald*.

Clarifying what she said at a public meeting early this week, she said: "What I said was that even though we may oppose one another in many areas, if there is any area in which there can be cooperation then we should cooperate. For instance, if there is an external aggression we have co-operated, although some groups did try to take advantage even at that time.

"Many people in the opposing groups are full of bitterness and hatred and we would like our politics, our policies and programmes to be free of

gress would not be able to secure a majority in Parliament even while polling minority votes. This was because a large number of opposition parties had, contrary to the Congress party's expectations, come together to form the Janta party. "The magic wand" of the Congress which had enabled it to gain a majority, in every election in the past has now been broken.

Concluding, Mr Narayan warned the people that if the Congress was voted back to power these would be last elections in the country.

bitterness, hatred and violence."

She described the opposition slogan—democracy versus dictatorship—as "a little pompous". The real choice, she said, was "between democracy and disruption".

She said everyone knew what the opposition parties were against. But they wanted to know what they were for. They had promised many things in their manifesto—in fact all things to all men. But she said, it was difficult to take it very seriously.

She thought the Janta party manifesto is "a charter to dismantle the approach of socialism, secularism and non-alignment which Jawaharlal Nehru had built and following which path we have achieved considerable success".

What did she think would constitute a threat to democracy? The prime minister replied that the real threat to the country was when economic progress was jeopardized. To solve any problem, the country must be strong. It must

withstand pressures from different forces outside the country.

Anything that weakened the country was a threat to India's democracy. "I am afraid that before the emergency we were sliding or drifting into that sort of situation. That was the reason for the imposition of the emergency," she said.

About Mr Jagjivan Ram and his associates, she said it was difficult to understand them. "Had the emergency been imposed just now, one could have understood that they felt bad about it. But it is more than one and a half years since that took place. The very fact that we have announced the elections when we need not have at least for a year more, refutes the charge of authoritarianism", she said.

She reassured "every person at every place" that family planning was a voluntary movement. She claimed that there was much false propa-

Who Pressurises Whom?

COCHIN, Feb 24: Mr B. G. Verghese, a leading journalist, former press adviser to the prime minister, fighting as an opposition-backed independent in the Mavelikara Lok Sabha constituency in Kerala, said here today that the restrictions imposed on the press by the government were arbitrary, illegal and unconstitutional.

Mr Verghese said the news management by the government, resulting in deliberate distortion and doctoring of news, either through compulsion or through denial of access to the source of true information, was worse than censorship.

It was a mistake to think of the freedom of the press in a narrow sense. The ownership pattern of the Indian newspapers might not be very desirable and might require changes. But the "essential mischief of the big industrialists' ownership of the press lies not so much in the proprietor pressurising the editor as in the government pressurising the proprietor", he said. If a newspaper owner did anything wrong, he could be corrected or fought. But if the government itself was to go wrong, there was no option for the people.

ganda not only about family planning but practically everything.

About the "gains of the emergency", she said the most important gain was the new

pride in being Indian. The question now was how to preserve the gains. "We have tried our best to do this by the constitutional amendments", she said.

On Gandhian Path

—Morarji Desai

MADRAS, Feb 20: Mr Morarji Desai to-day refuted the prime minister's criticism that the Janta party was a loose combination of parties with different ideologies, having no definite programmes.

Addressing a public meeting on the sands of the Marina, the Janta party chairman said the opposition parties had united under one banner after realising the futility of fighting the ruling party separately. The opposition was now on the Gandhian path and committed to a common programme.

Janta Manifesto

Mr Desai said the Janta party had made it very clear in its manifesto what it stood for and what it would do if voted to power. If this was not a programme, what else was it? "Is the Congress a united party and does it have the homogeneity"? he asked. The ruling party was kept together by the "terror" with which the prime minister governed it. The Congress was a "one person's party and the moment the person is not there, the party will be no more". Mr Desai said and claimed that the Janta party had several persons to run the government.

Mr Desai said the Janta party had alliance with regional parties like the DMK and the Akali Dal to prevent fighting against each other when they were all for a common purpose. "What we have done

is to deny the opportunity to the ruling party to defeat us". The Janta party was able to arrive at an understanding throughout the country to force a straight contest with the Congress.

Dual Role

Mr Desai said the Congress forged an alliance with the DMK in 1971 after accepting all the conditions put by the latter only to defeat "Mr Kamaraj and all of us". At that time the DMK did not even clearly say that it did not believe in secession. When the purpose was served, the DMK ministry was dismissed on the ground of "terrible corruption". Complaints had been made against the DMK leaders two or three years earlier, but these were not taken notice of because they were friends then. It was very amusing that the then governor had no reservation in praising the DMK government for its good work until the day he sent the report to the centre. They appointed a commission of enquiry straightaway. The appointment of a commission would have been all right if the same procedure had been adopted in regard to all those against whom complaints were made. "But it was not so when it came to their friends and temporary allies—'nobody could be their permanent allies'. Mr Desai said no commission of enquiry was appointed when several MPs,

gave a representation to the President with facts and figures of corruption involving crores of rupees in Haryana. Not only there was no enquiry but those against whom charges were made was "rewarded". But in the case of Akali ministers a commission of enquiry was appointed as soon as they left the government.

He felt an impartial agency which was judicial should look into the complaints of corruption—whether they were against the prime minister or the chief ministers or ministers—and the findings of that body should be binding on everybody. "We may not do the way they are now doing—one law for them and another for others. The same law should govern everyone. I do not see how the prime minister should be better protected than an ordinary person. She has to protect you and not protect herself at your cost", Mr Desai said.

Mr Desai exhorted the people and the opposition parties to face the elections

Emergency Outlives Utility

—Jagjivan Ram

NEW DELHI, Feb. 14: Mr Jagjivan Ram, chairman of the Congress for Democracy said today that in June, 1975 "when there were large-scale strikes, absenteeism in schools, postponement of examinations by universities and widespread work stoppages, one might say there was some justification for the imposition of the emergency," but there was no justification for it today.

He defended the speech he made in Parliament on July 2, 1975, while moving the motion for approval by the House of the proclamation of the emergency, but pointed out that he

confidently and see that the ruling party was taught a "proper lesson" through the ballot box.

Mr Desai said, the Janta party had been formed on the 'people's demand' and, if voted to power, would see that proper standards were established by the government and that all the wrongs done so far were rectified. It would also guarantee that such things were not repeated by making the constitution foolproof so that nobody could "play" with it. "If, at the end of three years, we do not proceed properly on the promised path, we shall not inflict ourselves on you and will certainly vacate", he said.

The Janta leader appealed to the people to exercise their judgment (in the coming elections) in the interests of the country and not be misguided by rumours that were being spread. "It is said that I want to force Hindi on you. In fact, I do not want to force not only Hindi but anything on you".

had written a letter to the prime minister asking her to revoke the emergency.

At his press conference, a reporter referred to the prime minister's reported characterization of the demand for withdrawal of the emergency as "a pompous slogan" and also to the assertion made by the AICC general secretary, Mr V.B. Raju, to the effect that the emergency had been practically lifted.

Mr Jagjivan Ram said: "Let us hope they will try to reconcile with each other on what they have to say. Why do you ask me to reconcile the two?"

He said that Mr Raju had

taken great pains and time to collect extensively from my speech made in the Lok Sabha (on July 2, 1975). But he had missed the point that "I did not support the continuance of the emergency any longer than it was necessary."

He said in his letter to the prime minister that he saw no justification for the continuance if the emergency. He did not argue about the past, "but I talked about the future."

When a reporter asked whether he found justification for continuance of the emergency for 19 months, Mr Jagjivan Ram replied: "I do not say that."

"If, as Mr Raju puts it, the emergency does not virtually exist, why not lift it completely then", he asked.

He also asserted that he was

PM Seeks Clear Mandate

—Y. B. Chavan

ROPAR (PUNJAB), Feb 23: External Affairs minister Y.B. Chavan today appealed to the Punjab electorate to shed casteism, regionalism and groupism while exercising its right of franchise.

Speaking at a public meeting here, Mr Chavan rebutted the opposition charge of dictatorship against the prime minister. He said dictators did not hold elections, they ruled the country at gun point. If Mrs Gandhi was a dictator why had she gone to the country when she had the constitutional right not to order elections for another year. It was her faith in democracy that made her do so, he said. She wanted to run the affairs of the country only with a clear mandate from the people.

He described as unholy the

not consulted for the proclamation of the emergency.

A reporter asked him to comment on Mr Kamalapati Tripathi's statement that "Mr Jagjivan Ram knew about the imposition of the emergency." Mr Jagjivan Ram replied: "I wish he had also known about it beforehand. Perhaps the prime minister had called him specially and consulted him before the proclamation of the emergency and also consulted him on the names of leaders who were going to be arrested. Will he say he was consulted in all this? I only know that I was not consulted."

Mr Jagjivan Ram said that his party would make a "good showing" all over the country in the coming elections. "The Janta party and we will have a comfortable majority." He had no doubt about it. He would spend only three days in his own constituency Sasaram.

alliance of the opposition parties which were responsible for creating anarchy in the country. It was in Gujarat that this was first let loose and if the prime minister had not taken timely action it would have spread to the whole country. The opposition's only aim now was to weaken the Congress so that they could impose their misrule on this great nation.

He appealed to the people to make the centre strong so that the country is not weakened. The opposition parties were aiming at weakening the centre. If emergency was not proclaimed these forces of destabilisation would have overawed the nation and jeopardised its interests. During emergency innumerable benefits have been derived by

the people and the whole world had hailed the progress made by India. While social disparities were removed poverty was also abolished to a great measure.

The External Affairs minister also said that India had pursued a sound foreign policy with the result that it had earned a great name in the world. "We have friendship with all the countries of the world," he said, but reminded the people that only those who were strong had friends. No one wanted to make weaker people their friends.

An Admixture

He said that the opposition parties were an admixture of different ideologies. Would they be able to keep the country intact? It was doubtful, he said. For the last so many years it was the Congress which had maintained the integrity of the country.

Mr Chavan said the opposition parties wanted to grab power so that they could undo the progressive policies of the government. They wanted to reverse the process of bank nationalisation and abolition of privy purses. It was because of this that they were against the 42nd constitutional amendment. The Congress was for democracy and people should vote only for this party, he said.

Mr Chavan ridiculed the Janta party's claim that it was an alternative to the ruling party.

He said the people of India had robust common sense and they could never be taken in by political gimmicks. They were seriously concerned with the progress of the country and their own progress and as such would refuse to opt for a party that had no programme

except that of removing Mrs Gandhi.

Ten years ago India's position was weak. Its economy had dipped low and its politics had become slippery. Then came the problem of Bangladesh. No sooner had this been solved, the opposition launched its attack with all its weapons in the armoury—strikes, agitations, disturbances and so on. On the top of all was given the call of total revolution by Mr J.P. Narayan.

The legislators in the elected assembly of Gujarat were forced to resign and such undemocratic acts were catching infection. These elements wanted to break up every assembly and in the end the Parliament.

The dissolution of an assembly can, however, be faced by imposing the President's rule but what would happen if the

A God's Good Man

NEW DELHI, Feb. 24: The Janta party today issued a Press release quoting the late Mr Kamaraj to say that he was deeply concerned over the arrests and the future of democracy when the emergency was clamped on the country in June, 1975.

When the emergency was declared, the Janta party claimed, he said "Our country is not on the right path now. It is on wrong track. When I see this my mind is filled with sadness. It was not to put a few people in power that so many sacrifices were made, so many miseries suffered."

The Janta party's published extracts from Mr Kamaraj's speeches after the proclamation of the emergency include the following:

"They put bans if they cannot obtain the confidence of the people. Leaders are arrested and sent to prison. If this country goes under a dictatorship it will be enslaved again. But dictatorship cannot survive for long."

"We do not know what is happening in Delhi. Neither does the radio give factual news."

"The situation is similar to being blind-folded and let loose in the woods. Even in 1971 their attitude and their bias caused alarm. It was because of this I said that democracy is in danger."

"If such things happen the government will not get a good name. It will only earn a bad reputation."

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Parliament is broken up under coercion and force, he asked.

It was only an irony that these breakers of democratic institutions were now posing themselves as saviours of democracy and trying to mis-

lead the people "But they won't succeed."

Their criticism against emergency had to be judged in the context of the threat for total revolution and all that chaos that preceded it.

Congress will Accept Verdict

—D. K. Borooah

NEW DELHI, Feb 22: The Congress president, Mr D.K. Borooah, asserted here today that his party would do well in the elections, "and we will certainly not do worse than we did in 1971" and would form the government again.

Should the verdict be otherwise, Mr Borooah said, the Congress would become "the President's loyal opposition". "The Congress will accept the poll verdict, whatever it is", he added.

Questioned at a press conference about the procedure that would be adopted to elect a new leader of the Congress party in Parliament if the party returned with a majority, Mr Borooah said "we have elected Mrs Indira Gandhi as our leader and she will continue to be our leader after the elections next month".

Excesses

Answering questions on "excesses" in the implementation of the family planning programme during the emergency, Mr Borooah said his impression was that no incident had taken place in very large parts of the country. He mentioned Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and other states in this connection. The only place where excesses had been reported were "the Indo-Gangetic belt".

Mr Borooah held that the electorate had faith in the

capability of the Congress to deliver the goods, whereas the parties of the opposition had still to prove their worth. The post-1967 election experiment with united front governments had disillusioned the people. They could not provide a stable government, whereas the Congress was the only party that could provide stability with growth and social justice.

The Janta party, Mr Borooah pointed out included the erstwhile Swatantra elements, such as Mr Piloo Mody and Mr Minoo Masani and the Jana Sangh's Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee. "I do not think anybody will take their promises seriously".

Political Philosophy

The political philosophy of a party did not grow overnight. The Congress party's political philosophy had grown over the years. But many of the other political parties had just appeared on the scene particularly the Janta party. In 1971, almost in the same garb and body, it was called "grand alliance", he said.

"Besides, we have had some experience of the functioning of this kind of alliance in 1967 and 1971 in various states—of disparate parties coming together and forming the government." In Bihar, for example, where he was once governor an SVD government came into power for a short duration by only adding more

and more ministers to the cabinet, so that the number of ministers rose to 51 "and I remember I had to administer the oath of office in the morning and at night," he disclosed.

It had been proved without any dispute that "this kind of disparate parties cannot form a cohesive government," Mr Borooah said.

So far as the Congress for Democracy was concerned, Mr Borooah pointed out, it had been said that it started as a "revolt of Congressmen"—a "revolt" against undemocratic

functioning of the government, and the Congress organization. "I do not like to be personal, but the leadership of the CFD was very much in the government and was a party to all the changes like the emergency, the constitution amendment and so on. No one ever protested even once. All these were discussed in the cabinet, the Congress Parliamentary Party, the Congress Working Committee and also in groups among Congressmen. There was not a word of dissent either from Mr Jagjivan Ram or Mr Bahuguna or Mrs Nandini Satpathy."

Choice : Stability or Chaos

—Siddhartha Shankar Ray

CALCUTTA, FEB 15—The chief minister of West Bengal, Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray, admitted today that there were "grievances" within the Congress in the state over the issue of nominations for the Lok Sabha election and "our alliance with the Communist Party of India".

Mr Ray, who was addressing a meet-the-press programme of the Press Club added, however, that he was confident that these grievances would not stand in the way of the party acting as a united body.

The chief minister said: "I shall write to all Congress MLAs asking them to ensure the victory of both Congress and CPI candidates". He was confident of winning the election with a "handsome majority".

Regarding the election, Mr Ray said, "the fight is not between democracy and dictatorship, as the opposition is trying to say, but between order and disorder, stability and chaos". He recalled that after the 1967 election, a large number of states had coalition gov-

ernments formed by the opposition parties but none of these could remain. There was no peace, constitutional functioning became impossible and the centre could only save the situation by imposing President's rule.

The chief minister warned the people that they should not forget that experience. If there is such a heterogeneous group in power at the centre then the country will be doomed as the constitution does not provide for the removal of a central government by the imposition of President's rule in Delhi.

To Mr Ray, the Janta party was "actually a front of disparate political elements without any common ideology. In the Hindi speaking belt it is totally dependent on the Jana Sangh and in West Bengal on the CPI (M). Can such a combination of forces offer a viable alternative to the Congress", he asked and added, "the front will last only up to the day the results are announced".

Asked for his views on the Congress for Democracy, Mr

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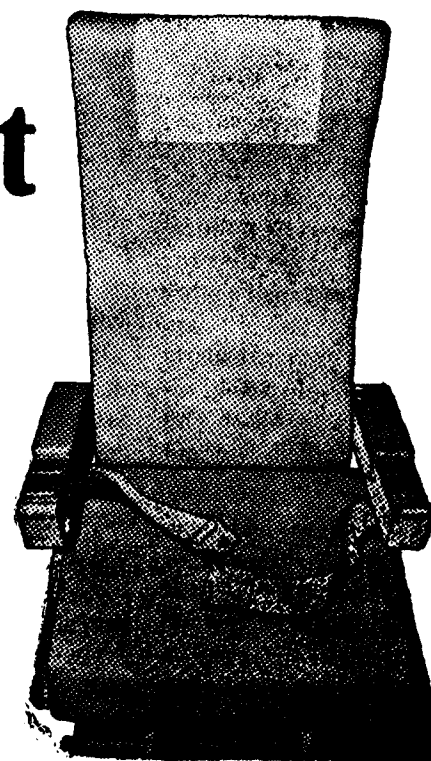
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Ray replied, "It consists of individuals who have not joined the Janta party, I would like to know what Mr Jagjivan Ram and others think of the constituents of the Janta party like the Jana Sangh and also the CPI(M)?"

Questioned on how such prominent Congressmen could leave the party, he said, "It has happened before. Acharya Kripalani had left the Congress. If some veterans had left the party, other veterans remained". The chief minister would not describe Mr Jagjivan Ram and his associates as 'undemocratic'. I have nothing against Babuji and others. It is only that their views do not tally with ours. In a democracy everyone is entitled to his view. "In this connection he added, "I also wish to rule out any possibility of my joining the Congress for Democracy".

Sanjay Gandhi

When a reporter suggested that Mr Sanjay Gandhi was bossing over the Congress party and had even humiliated Mr Ray, the chief minister said: "I am not so easily humiliated. With regard to Mr Sanjay Gandhi I wish to say that a mountain has been made out of a mole hill.

"Various reports were being circulated and it was even said that Mr Sanjay Gandhi took all the important decisions." It was said that he wanted a constituent assembly and that he did not want election to be held.

"It was also said that he wanted a change in the West Bengal leadership. But the fact that none of these things took place indicates that it is our prime minister who really takes the decisions". He quoted

Mrs Gandhi to say that "Sanjay is an insignificant worker of the Congress".

A reporter then asked, "How can an insignificant worker get VIP treatment all over the country". Mr Ray replied: "Personally I feel chief minister should not go to the airport to receive Mr Gandhi. It did not happen in West Bengal. If anybody did this in any other state, it must have been done out of love and affection

Turning of the Tide

—Jyoti Basu

CALCUTTA, FEB 22 : Mr Jyoti Basu, CPI-M leader, today said his party would render full help in the setting up of a government by the Janta party and the Congress for Democracy if they won the elections but it would not become a part of that government. "Ours is a truly Marxist party and its stand on economic issues and uplift of the people is widely different from that of the other two parties."

Speaking at a press conference here, Mr Basu voiced the fear that the Lok Sabha poll in West Bengal may be rigged in favour of the Congress. But he did not think rigging was possible on an all-India scale.

The CPI-M leader said elections were going to be held in strange circumstances when a large number of opposition workers and cadres was still in jail. They had submitted a list of the imprisoned workers both to the prime minister and the chief minister, but only six out of 267 had been released so far, he pointed out, CPI-M cadres were not being allowed to function openly over extensive areas in Calcutta, 24-Par-

for Mr Gandhi who is our leader's son."

On the question of the emergency, the chief minister said: "The emergency was proclaimed to save democracy in the country: It will not last forever. The prime minister has a fine sense of timing and it will be withdrawn at the right moment". Asked whether "full freedom" would be restored after the election, the chief minister said: "it depends on the situation".

ruling party but also its ally, the CPI, which had helped the Congress to subvert democracy. He said the Congress was a divided house in which there was a factional violence and "130 Congressmen had been killed by their rivals."

Mr Basu described as a sign of weakness the prime minister's remark at the Basirhat election meeting that West Bengal may find itself in difficulty in securing central assistance if it did not return large number of Congress candidates to the Lok Sabha.

The CPI-M leader ruled out the possibility of enlisting the Navalites into their party-fold in view of their desire to participate in the poll. "We have never regarded their policies and programmes as Marxist-Leninist", he said.

Mr Basu said that the basic objective of the CPI-M-Janta party poll adjustment was to "struggle against the one-party

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dictatorship imposed in India by a tiny leadership in the ruling party."

Describing the election as a "snap poll", he said "all the time before the announcement of the election, the people and the political parties were given to understand inside Parliament and outside that elections will not be held as the life of Parliament has been extended by another year."

Mr Basu said: "If the elec-

Property, A Legal Right

—A. B. Vajpayee

NEW DELHI, February 21: Mr Atal Bhari Vajpayee of the Janta party today said if his party were returned to power it would remove the Ninth Schedule from the Constitution. If the right to property were removed from the chapter on Fundamental Rights, this schedule would become unnecessary.

Mr Vajpayee told reporters that "a deliberate effort" was being made to mislead the people on the Janta party's stand on the right to property. The party did not oppose the right as such and looked forward to the day when every Indian owned some property.

Ordinary Right

But the party planned to delete property from the Fundamental Rights chapter and leave it as an ordinary statutory right like any other right that could be enforced in a Court of Law.

The reasons for this, he said, were that the "ruling party has no respect for fundamental freedoms. In the name of curtailing the right to property, it has sought to abridge all other Fundamental Rights."

The Ninth Schedule of the

tions are to ascertain people's verdict, the opposition parties should have been given a chance to consolidate and express their opinions on the political situation. Even now despite assurance by the prime minister and other responsible members of the government, all political leaders are not released."

In these circumstances the opposition parties "are at a terrific disadvantage," he said.

Constitution Mr Vajpayee said, was originally introduced to protect certain land reforms laws. But now it is being expanded to introduce such draconian laws like MISA, POMA and the recent amendment to the Representation of Peoples Act in order to shield them from being challenged as violative of the Fundamental Rights".

The Janta party, he said, would delete both the right to property from the Fundamental Rights chapter as well as the Ninth Schedule which he described "as a package". Once the right to property was deleted, there was no need for the Ninth Schedule.

Mr Vajpayee denied Mrs Gandhi's charge that the Janta party wanted textile and jute mills to be closed. He agreed he wanted its production reserved for export and added: "The textile industry is sick; no amount of money will make it healthy".

But it was incorrect to say that this would lead to retrenchment. The Janta party would ensure that there was no retrenchment without alternative employment.

A Possible Good Development

—Karan Singh

JAMMU, FEB. 22: Dr Karan Singh, union minister for Health and Family Planning, has described the emergence of the Janta Party as "a possible good development for the political future of the nation."

However, the new party, he said, would have to first prove by its performance in opposition that it was in fact an integrated political unit and not merely an "opportunistic alliance".

Addressing a press conference, he admitted that there might have been some instances of harassment in the family planning programme. This was the result of over-enthusiasm in stressing disincentives, while working out schemes of incentives and disincentives. However, in the perspective of a countrywide movement, a few unfortunate cases of overzealousness should not be allowed to distort the fact that there had been remarkable progress in family planning in the last year. This, he felt, would have a long-term beneficial impact.

The minister said that up to the end of January, 75 lakh sterilisations had been carried out, as against a target of 43 lakh. He said the programme

had been undertaken in the national interest, even though the government was aware it would get them some unpopularity. Dr Karan Singh said the family planning programme should not be made a political issue. When asked if a move to withdraw disincentives on the eve of the elections, could not be termed political, he said he had written on this subject to chief ministers before the elections.

He said the government accepted the view that there should be no coercion. It advised the states to emphasise incentives, more than disincentives. The minister said he was happy that the Janta party had also accepted the family planning programme. He felt this would help evolve a national consensus on the subject so that economic gains were not diluted by an uncontrolled growth of population. He said that as part of the government's policy not to use any coercion, the President's assent to the Maharashtra government's Bill on compulsory sterilisation had been withheld. He said the Bill would be returned to the state government for revision, in

No Grievance

NEW DELHI, Feb. 14: Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit today expressed the view that the Nehru family had been amply rewarded and compensated for the sacrifices it made in the freedom struggle.

At a press conference a correspondent referred to a recent statement by Mrs Gandhi on the great sacrifices made by the Nehru family for the sake of the nation and asked what Mrs Pandit thought about it.

She said Jawaharlal Nehru was frequently called "tyagamurti" (image of sacrifice). But he resented this. His reply used to be: "When you do something because of your inner urge, then it is no sacrifice, because you do something that your conscience asks you to do and as a matter of principle".

So when Nehru joined the freedom movement and saw it through, he never thought he was sacrificing for the country.

"Even if some of us made sacrifices, we have been amply rewarded", Mrs Pandit said.

As for herself she said she had played her role in her own "small way". But she knew she had been amply rewarded. She had been the head of the most important world organization; the ambassador "of this great country"; the governor of a state; and so on.

consonance with the policy of motivation and voluntary acceptance.

Speaking about his party's election prospects, Dr Karan Singh, who had just completed a seven-day-tour of his consti-

tuency, said he felt the Congress would capture all the three seats allotted to them in Jammu and Kashmir. He said he had found the response very encouraging during his tour.

Congress, Great 'Destabilizer'

—Chandra Shekhar

MOGA, FEBRUARY 22: Mr Chandra Shekhar, Janta party leader, said here today that Mrs Gandhi's statement that the Congress alone could provide stability was not true because Congressmen themselves destabilized that administration in many states when opposition leaders were in jail.

He told reporters that Mr Bahuguna was thrown out from chief ministership "in spite of having majority of legislators with him. The performance was more disgraceful in Orissa and the episode of West Bengal was in no way different", he added.

In reply to a question whether the Jana Sangh would adopt progressive policies, Mr Chandra Shekhar said those who would fail to appreciate new trend would lag behind. The need for survival had

forced the constituents of the Janta party to adopt progressive policies.

Mr Chandra Shekhar described the prime minister's 20-point programme as a big hoax to deceive the people. This programme was never placed before the AICC and could not be described as a national programme. No serious efforts were made to implement the promises made during the 1971 elections.

He said coercion was used in family planning in many states. He warned the people against the dictatorial trends of the prime minister during the emergency. Democracy was trampled upon, thousands of people imprisoned and the repression surpassed even those of the British days. He was sure that the Janta party would sweep the polls.

Extra-Constitutional Power

—Rajeswara Rao

NEW DELHI, February 9: Mr C. Rajeswara Rao, general secretary of the Communist Party of India, said here today that his party would work for a decisive majority for the democratic forces in the next month's elections to the Lok Sabha.

Releasing the party's election manifesto, Mr Rao was at pains to balance what a reporter had described as "obvious contradictions" in the party's position with regard to the Congress. There would always be

contradictions in the Indian context, he said. The CPI would have adjustment of seats with the Congress in West Bengal, Kerala and some other states while it had yet to determine its attitude in UP, Bihar and Orissa.

The West Bengal adjustment was attributed to the existence of a strong democratic content in the Congress there; the chief minister, Mr Siddhartha Shanker Ray, had stood up for democratic values. In Kerala, the CPI and the Con-

gress were partners in the government, offering a "model" that could be emulated by others. In Bihar, UP and Orissa as long as there were anti-communists in the congress and there were chief ministers owing allegiance to extra-constitutional centres of power his party could not think in terms of Bengal-like adjustments there.

He blamed the prime minister for having allowed these centres to develop round the personality of Mr Sanjay Gandhi. While acknowledging some positive gains made by the country during the emergency [unlike the CPI(M) to quote Mr Rao] the CPI leader took note of the "authoritarian trends and practices in the conduct of the government" which had begun to grow in its latter phase.

"There were increasing violations of the accepted norms

of democratic standards and procedures. Persistent efforts were made to encourage extra-constitutional methods and centres of personal power. The machinery and resources of the state were recklessly used to build up a personality who, has no official status," he said.

He said there was nothing to be ashamed of in his party having supported the emergency. They had done their "duty" to thwart the separatists, the reactionaries and the imperialists who were active then. It was only later when the emergency began to acquire certain negative aspects, such as compulsory sterilization, demolition of colonies in Delhi by the DDA and anti-communism that the CPI decided to "fight"

The Janta party, according to him, was the "old grand alliance in a new garb". He described the Congress for

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Democracy as "a revolt against extraconstitutional centres of power". It was a democratic party and he regretted that the Election Commission had

PM Advised on Emergency

—Sheikh Abdullah

SRINAGAR, MARCH 2:— Sheikh Abdullah told a Press conference today that through the Emergency had been welcomed by all initially, the excesses committed in its name subsequently had turned popular wrath against it.

He said he had often pleaded with the Prime Minister and others at the centre to relax the emergency but "certain people around the prime minister did not allow her to do it".

No Dictator

Despite these people's wishes the prime minister had decided to go in for elections and this showed that she was not a dictator. She did not hesitate to go to the people despite the wishes of her advisers.

Sheikh Abdullah said that all members of the Nehru family were brought up in a democratic atmosphere and it was not in them to turn dictators. He himself had been in jail for the longest period under Nehru. Even so his personal relations with Nehru had never been affected and they were like two brothers in a single family. It was so with Mrs Gandhi also and he had never hesitated to tell her when he differed with her. He had therefore made no secret of his reservations over the conduct of the emergency and excesses committed under it.

His administration went along with the emergency since it was an all-India affair but it

rejected its request for a separate symbol. The CPI(M) and the Congress (O) were given separate symbols in similar circumstances.

had tried to adopt as liberal an attitude as was possible in its enforcement in the state.

Sheikh Abdullah renewed his appeal to all political parties not to make Kashmir an election issue. He said their aim should be to consolidate the status quo in the state. It would be disastrous for Kashmir if the political infighting of the type in the rest of the country was extended to the state. In the heat of the elections it must not be forgotten that Kashmir had international implications. Pakistan had not yet given up its claim to Kashmir and until it does so everyone needed to be on guard.

It was in this context that he had deplored the coming together of elements which had

'Hotch-Potch', but Welcome

—C. Subramaniam

MADRAS, FEB 25: The union finance minister, Mr C. Subramaniam, today expressed "surprise" that the chairman of the Janta party, Mr Morarji Desai, had chosen to question the "economic recovery" witnessed in the country during the last two years and said that the unofficial value of the rupee during Mr Desai's stewardship of the Finance ministry was only half the official value.

Giving details of the "economic resurgence" witnessed during the last two years in a marathon 90-minute press conference here today, Mr

a vested interest in disturbing the status quo in Kashmir.

Even if a party other than the Congress came to power at the centre it was imperative that the state and the centre functioned with the basic understanding that Kashmir was a sensitive state and was different from other states.

Asked which party, the Congress or the Janata Party, would better safeguard the interests of Kashmir, he said whichever party came to power it could be expected to devote the same attention to the state since no one could afford to play with the destiny of Kashmir.

There was not only deep understanding but complete trust between him and Mrs Gandhi. So long as this trust prevailed all difficulties in the state could be faced. He would have preferred to have had the Assembly elections along with the parliamentary elections but he bowed to Mrs Gandhi's wishes in the matter. She had said that she had difficulties in ordering election to the Assembly now and he had realized her difficulties.

Subramaniam said that some opposition leaders are attempting to denigrate the national performance and "sap the country's confidence" merely for securing a small advantage in the polls. "This is the real difficulty with our opposition," he added.

Describing the Janta party as a "hotch-potch" combination, Mr Subramaniam said that "even this is a welcome feature from the point of view of Indian democracy. But unfortunately the major partners in the Janta party have conflicting approaches. The Jana Sangh has a completely rightist

and fascist approach while the Socialist party has nothing but a negative slant in all their activities. There is no cohesive approach at all among the members of the Jan'a combine," he said.

The Finance minister said that an analysis of the Janta party manifesto clearly showed that it was nothing but "contradictions, conflicts and confusion compounded." He said it was for the people to choose if they wanted a stable administration that can help the economy forge ahead or a "combination of hotch-potch parties which had no common ideology or programme."

Mr Subramaniam said that "it was rather strange that Mr Desai has justified the Janta party alliance with the DMK. Claiming to be a Gandhian how can Mr Desai justify an alliance with a party which has been found guilty of graft by a judicial commission, he asked. He said it was "sheer opportunism" to align with the DMK. Describing Mr Desai's views on the national language policy as "fanatical", Mr Subramaniam said the Congress had given a solemn assurance to the non-Hindi speaking people that English would continue to be the official language as long as

Promise of Good Behaviour

AMBALA, Feb. 19: The Defence minister, Mr Bansi Lal today expressed regrets for excesses that might have been committed by overzealous officials in implementing the family planning programme, reports Samachar.

"Never in future would any compulsion be allowed to be used for the purpose", he said at a public meeting here launching the Congress election campaign.

"Forgive us for our past mistakes and we will be careful in the future" he said, adding that "those who run the government and serve the people are apt to commit mistakes, but those who do not work do not make any mistake."

the non-Hindi people wanted it. "Can Mr Desai give such a specific assurance," he asked.

Criticising Mr Desai for his statement that the pact with the Soviet Union was an unequal one and would be rescinded if the Janta party

came to power, the Finance minister said he was "pained to read the statement. No responsible leader would ever make such a statement. This itself shows how fit he is to occupy the chair of the prime minister."

Single Stream of Policy

—Asoka Mehta

AHMEDABAD, FEB 25: A single parliamentary party of elected members of the Janta party, the Congress for Democracy the DMK and the Akali Dal will be formed after the March Lok Sabha elections, Mr Asoka Mehta told reporters here today.

While the Congress for Democracy was likely to merge in the Janta party, the DMK and the Akali Dal had conveyed their willingness to allow their elected Lok Sabha representatives to join a single parliamentary party, he said. The CPI(M) had also extended support to the Janta party, he added.

He reacted sharply to the off-repeated statements of Congress leaders that the Janta party and its allies were a "hotch-potch combination". During the past 18 months most of the leaders of the Janta party had the opportunity of being together and "evolving a single stream of policy."

Coalition Government

Answering what he called a hypothetical question, he said the Janta party would not hesitate to form a coalition government if necessary. There was nothing wrong in it. The Janta party would not, however, admit any defector to its fold to form a government, he added.

Mr Mehta did not want to discuss any names for leadership of the Janta party in parlia-

ment. This would be the job of the elected representatives in parliament, he said.

When told that often the leader of a party in the election campaign was elected leader of the party in parliament also, he said this might happen in the case of the Janta party. But he hastened to add: "I have no right to take away the right of voters (elected members of the Janta party in the Lok Sabha).

Mr Mehta, who will be touring Gujarat and who has already toured a number of states in the past few weeks,

said that he had noticed two significant developments. There was a tremendous awakening among the people after the relaxation of the emergency and the voter did not hesitate to disclose that he would vote for the Janta party.

The second significant factor was the speed with which the birth of the Janta party was known all over the country.

He discounted the fear that the prime minister would have some "gimmick up her sleeves" to stop the elections. On the other hand his information was that Mrs Gandhi would have to worry more about winning her seat from Rae Bareilly. He had noticed that in her speeches she was not talking about the 20 or 25-point programme but was more a "sevika". "Here was an opportunity to talk about the economic programmes of the party but she is not doing so," he said.

Extension of Jana Sangh

—Om Mehta

NEW DELHI, Feb 24: Mr Om Mehta, union minister of state for Home Affairs, said today that in the 1967 elections "a number of disparate political parties" came to share power in the states, leading to instability and administrative chaos. The 1971 elections "gave a fitting answer" to these parties by voting the Congress back to power in almost all those states. "The results of the forthcoming March elections cannot be different," he said in a statement.

He said that "in the 1971 elections, a 'Grand Alliance'—almost identical to the Janta party—had been formed to

defeat the Congress. The Janta party in 1977 had, as its ally, a new party, the Congress for Democracy, headed by Mr Jagjivan Ram. He quoted Mr Jagjivan Ram as saying on July 21, 1975, in the Lok Sabha while moving the resolution of approval of the proclamation of emergency: "During the 1971 election, the four parties had come together to form a 'chowkadi' (alliance) with the objective of defeating the Congress, but what was the outcome of their combined efforts is now a part of history. It is no use going into details. The country and world witnessed with astonishment and pleasure that during

the 1971 general elections also the people of India in spite of their great difficulties, sufferings and hardships gave their verdict in favour of the Congress".

Mr Mehta said the Janta party "is in reality an extension of the Jana Sangh". The Congress for Democracy had attracted a handful of disgruntled or frustrated Congressmen. It was inevitable that in a political organization of the size of the Congress a few individuals might defect sometimes.

The CPI-M, the DMK and the Akalis "have each a record of its own to answer.

Internal Conflict

The Janta party and its allies were projecting themselves as an alternative to the Congress. A perusal of their election manifesto would show their internal conflicts and divergence, he said. Even within the Janta party "we have seen how on the question of right to property its different constituents are talking in different languages, while the Congress for Democracy and the CPI-M have of course, their own separate ideas on the subject".

He said the Congress was irrevocably committed to land reforms leading to peasant ownership—a commitment which it had fulfilled to a large extent. "The 42nd Amendment of the constitution, which the Janta party, the Congress for Democracy and some of their other allies are now criticizing or have been threatening to repeal is intended primarily to enable the government to bring about rapid socio-economic reforms in the wider interest of our people, more especially, our rural masses and other poorer sections".

Congress Pledges to...

PLEDGING ITSELF to stepping up its war against poverty, disparity and social injustice, the Indian National Congress, in its election manifesto, asserts that it will work for the preservation and consolidation of democracy in the country. The party has reaffirmed its faith in socialism and secularism and promises to protect the interests of minorities and the right of every community to pursue its faith and way of life.

On the controversial issue of family planning, while the party stresses the importance of checking the growth of population, it categorically states that "there cannot be and will not be any compulsion in the family planning movement. It will be a voluntary movement and it will be a people's movement."

Untouchability

In a bid to reassuring members of the scheduled castes, the manifesto emphasises that the Congress will continue to crusade against the remnants of untouchability and work unremittingly to raise the living standards and social status of harijans and adivasis.

While workers have been assured that the Congress will not tolerate retrenchment, lock-outs, closures and lay-offs, the party had told the middle classes in urban areas that it will give urgent attention to their problems.

The establishment of a national housing fund to which employers and employees will

contribute, remunerative prices for farm produce and resolve to hold the priceline are some other promises in the ruling party's package for the voter. It will also give a push to land reforms.

Administrative Reforms

The Congress has promised that it will carry out major reforms in administration and continue to take ruthless steps to stamp out corruption from all walks of life. The party also promises to go in for major reforms in the education system.

On the economic front, the party has promised to make considerable investment in developing power, transport and communications and to take effective measures to increase self-employment opportunities.

The Congress will take steps to stimulate industrial production by providing for the full utilisation of existing capacities, creation of new ones and improvement of productivity.

Reforms in economic administration begun in 1974 will be carried forward so that the public sector can play a leading role in national development with higher production and expanded services. The party's attempt, according to the manifesto, will be to see that the benefits of development go down to the grass-roots level.

The Congress manifesto promises to carry forward the thrust of the fifth Plan projects,

the 20-point programme and the five-point programme.

The manifesto lists the achievements of the government and asserts that the 42nd amendment to the Constitution was made to overcome the various obstacles put by economic and political vested interests, and not for the purpose of increasing the power of the executive at the expense of the judiciary or the legislature.

In the field of foreign relations, the Congress proposes to continue the policy of non-alignment, which has kept India out of military blocs, preserved

a party in the vanguard of progress, wedded to the cause of the poor.

The Indian National Congress was the first to question the right of an alien authority to rule over India, first to voice the people's yearning for liberty, first to launch the struggle for freedom, first to oppose communalism and espouse the ideal of secularism, first to pledge the nation to democracy, first to resolve to end poverty, first to fight for economic and social justice, first to adopt socialism as a national goal and first to lead the

...Preserve Democracy

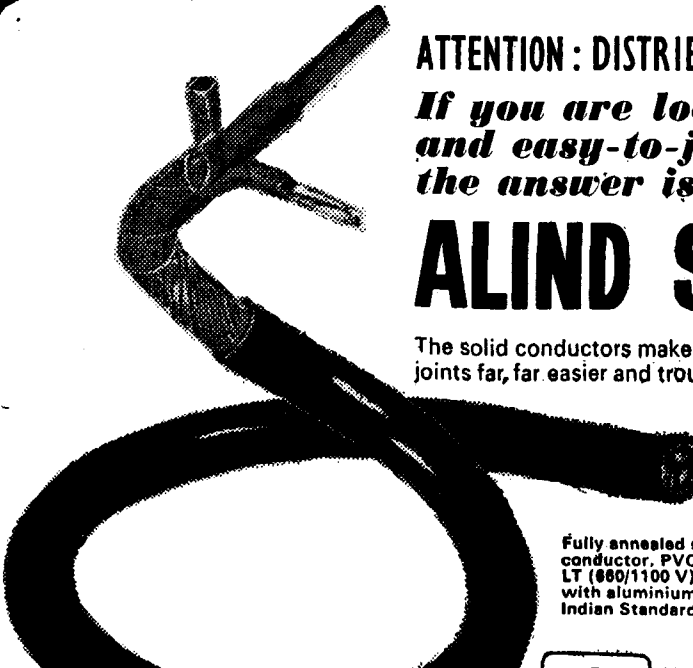
her independence and integrity and has allowed her to judge international issues on their merits.

The following is the full text of the Congress manifesto:

Through every crucial stage of the history of India in the twentieth century and in each momentous crisis which the nation has faced, the Indian National Congress has provided great and inspiring leadership through such illustrious figures as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Abul Kalam Azad, Rajendra Prasad and Subhas Chandra Bose. It has provided bold initiatives and unflinching dedication and service to the people at all times. The Indian National Congress has always been a party of the masses, a party of the people,

country from backwardness into the modern age.

Through three decades of freedom, the Indian National Congress has stood steadfast by the ideals that inspired the liberation struggle and to the principles that have activated the Indian revolution. It has resolutely rebuffed every attempt made, internally and externally, to undermine and undo the great purposes of the nation. It has squarely faced the latest desperate attack made upon the people. Despite the continuing threat, Congress, with undiminished faith in the people, calls upon all citizens to give it a clear and unequivocal mandate to carry the nation forward unitedly to peace, progress and prosperity through democracy, secularism and socialism, safeguarding the integrity of the nation.



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The record of the Indian National Congress in the years of freedom has been steadily to enlarge the power of the people. Democratic institutions have been built and nurtured. In the policy and decision making process the voice of the people has been made supreme. Spectacular progress has been made in agriculture and industry, in science, education and public health. In many areas our scientific and technological competence is comparable to that of the foremost industrialised countries. Today we have the third largest technical manpower in the world. Backward regions have been opened up and new opportunities brought to disabled sections, especially harijans, tribals and backward classes oppressed by centuries of discrimination. We are now in a position to launch a successful attack on age-long poverty. India is one of the few countries in the world which has set up specific and daring social and economic targets in the face of unimaginable odds. Recent months have shown that the political capacity and economic strength so built by the Indian National Congress can be put to the greatest advantage of the people through self-confident, self-reliant, disciplined and dedicated functioning.

Congress Ideals

In the 1971 elections, the people reiterated their faith in the Congress ideals of democracy, secularism and socialism. The Congress manifesto had promised to continue the advance to socialism, to subdue the forces of violence and disorder, to safeguard the interests of the minorities and weaker sections, to end privy purses and other such privileges to provide the basic

requirements of the people speedily through dynamic rural programmes, to provide new employment avenues, to enlarge the role and efficiency of the public sector, to give proper scope to the private sector to play a national role without concentration of economic power, to control prices and ensure supplies of essential commodities, to launch a vigorous programme of child welfare, to expand and improve education and, for these purposes, to amend the constitution suitably.

Congress has redeemed these promises in substantial measure, thanks to its firm, reso-

lute and farsighted leadership and the will of the people. This has been done in the face of the heavy burden, dislocation and distraction caused by the crisis in Bangladesh and the ensuing war forced upon the country in 1971, the international economic crisis since 1971, the severe droughts of 1972 and 1973, and the attempts by the opposition parties to obstruct and subvert government and our democratic institutions.

Most of the parties which have now entered into alliances or adjustments against the Congress had in 1971 combined under the name of the grand alliance. These parties wedded to communalism, reaction or left extremism had different and even conflicting ideologies and programmes. They united only to oppose the progressive policies of the Congress. Spurned by the people in the parliamentary elections of 1971 and the state elections of 1972, and alarmed and enraged by the various progressive measures of the govern-

ment, certain opposition parties took to extra-constitutional agitation. In 1973 and 1974 these parties, exploiting economic difficulties and the impact of global inflation, stirred up discontent to bring about the dissolution of elected legislative assemblies. In the name of democracy, but in collusion with anti-social elements, they sought to negate the working of democracy. By resorting to force, duress and brutal violence, duly elected governments were not allowed to function.

In this surcharged atmosphere, certain opposition leaders went to the length of inciting the armed forces to mutiny

...Fight Poverty

and the police and government officials to rebel. Forces of disintegration were unleashed and communal passions were roused threatening the very unity and integrity of the country. No government could have stood by and allowed the country's stability and integrity to be so imperilled.

Freedom does not include the licence to undermine national interests. But the aim of these opposition parties was to paralyse national activity and the government itself and to usurp power by unconstitutional means. The constitution-makers, envisaging precisely such internal disorders, had provided for the declaration of an emergency under the constitution. No option was left but to declare an emergency when such a situation did arise. This timely and necessary measure was ratified by Parliament. It saved the Republic from catastrophe and restored political stability.

Today with order and discipline restored, dynamic and mutually reinforcing socio-

economic programmes are being carried out, namely, the fifth Plan which envisages an investment of about Rs 20,000 crores in the last two years of the Plan, the twenty-point programme and five-point programme.

The new economic programme has contained and reversed inflation, an unparalleled achievement in the world. While a large number of countries are still struggling with the problem of inflation, India has succeeded, through bold and firm measures, in combating them. India is the only country where the price level today is lower than it was in October, 1974.

Among the many advantages of the successful anti-inflationary campaign, one has been to prevent the erosion of the earnings of the middle class with fixed incomes. Price rises were checked through increased production resulting from the hard work of our farmers, industrial workers and technologists. Vigorous, stringent and effective fiscal and monetary anti-inflationary measures taken up by the government contributed further to controlling prices. These measures included a crackdown on economic offenders such as black-marketeers, profiteers, smugglers and foreign exchange racketeers. Congress promises relentlessly to continue the drive against such economic offenders.

Last year food production reached an all-time record of 120 million tonnes, the growth rate of industrial production was 5.7 per cent and the gross national income went up by more than 6.5 per cent. The current year is expected to see a doubling of the rate of industrial production. There has

also been a striking improvement in power plant operations and in production in various sectors including coal, steel and fertilizers. We have made a major breakthrough in finding our own oil. The potential of Bombay High and adjoining areas has been firmly established and commercial production has begun, a great and proud achievement for our technologists.

Under the twenty-point programme we are reorganising both agrarian and urban economies to ensure a higher growth rate with greater social justice. Vigorous steps have been taken to carry out programmes of land reforms, to

and housing construction for the low-income and middle-income groups is being stimulated. Wherever possible people living in slums will be rehoused in clean and wholesome surroundings. A vigorous drive for slum improvement will be carried out at the same time. Congress is committed to the planned development of towns and cities. It will encourage the Habitat Movement, take up a massive programme for urban renewal and adopt measures to prevent pollution, preserve the natural environment and encourage the conservation movement. The middle classes, particularly in urban areas have their own

attached the highest importance to removing the social disabilities of the scheduled castes and improving their economic conditions. The Protection of Civil Rights Act 1976 provides enhanced punishment for preaching and practising untouchability in any form. Special steps have been taken to advance the interests of harijans in allotting land, hostel facilities, drinking water supply, credit and legal aid. Similarly, special programmes for scheduled tribes, sub-plans for tribal areas, intensive tribal development blocks and hill areas programmes, have been implemented. Congress will conti-

tion for building a strong and prosperous India.

Youth Power

Youth are the single largest repository of the nation's power. Our programmes have attracted youth who are enthusiastically participating in developmental and nation-building activities. Congress will promote all activities which channel their creative and constructive energy. It will widen the scope of the national service scheme and substantially expand programmes for physical education, games, sports and cultural activities for youth. Congress stands for a forward looking society in which the abilities of youth are encouraged.

The Congress is pledged to protect the rights of minorities. Its commitment to secularism is irrevocable. Respect for all religions and equal opportunities for all to pursue their faith is guaranteed. All minorities will have the continued freedom to establish, manage and run their educational and other institutions. Every effort will be made to prevent discrimination in service recruitment. Congress will also pay special attention to the socio economic and educational problems faced by Muslims, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs, Parsis and other religious and linguistic minorities. It will encourage literary pursuits of the minorities in their own language. In this context the development of Urdu will receive the special consideration that it richly deserves.

Congress will continue to give high priority to the growth and development of industries so that India can rapidly take its place among the advanced nations of the world

...Protect Rights of Minorities

distribute house-sites, to liquidate rural indebtedness, to abolish bonded labour, to enforce minimum wages for agricultural labourers and to ease the conditions of farm workers. These programmes will be pressed forward with even greater vigour.

We are maintaining the closest vigil on prices. We are taking steps to bring them down in essential commodities. The public distribution system is being strengthened. We shall further expand programmes to reinforce the handloom industry and to bring high quality controlled cloth to the people. We have already ensured that students get a larger supply of essential commodities at controlled prices in hostels. Text-books and exercise books are also now more readily available to students generally. Book banks have been opened to help the poorer students. This programme will be greatly expanded.

Conspicuous luxury in building activities has been curbed

difficulties and problems and Congress will give urgent attention to solve them. Already they have had income tax relief, lower priced essential goods made more easily available and banking credit facilities.

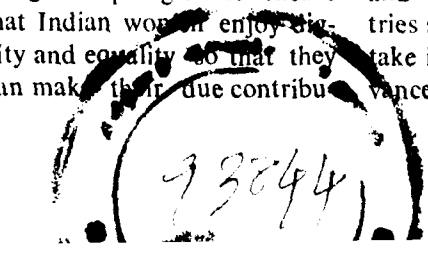
The problem in liquidating poverty is mainly linked with population growth. It would be unwise to allow our planned development efforts to be wiped out by a population explosion. But, the Congress categorically states that there cannot be and will not be any compulsion in the family planning movement. It will be a voluntary movement and it will be a people's movement. The movement can succeed only by educating and persuading the people, and popularising the benefits of a small family. This is the main thrust behind the adoption of the National Population Policy, which has been hailed at home and abroad as a far-sighted and comprehensive measure.

The Congress has always

nue its crusade against the remnants of untouchability and work unremittingly to raise the living standard and social status of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Any discrimination is wholly repugnant to the vision of a free and equal society bestowed on us by our leaders Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

Women have been in the forefront of the national struggle and they have held pre-eminent positions in free India. Congress is committed to enlarging the equality of opportunity for women in all walks of life, political, educational, economic and cultural. Accordingly, we shall work intensively to remove every form of economic and social discrimination against them and to end the crippling and outmoded dowry system which brings untold suffering in its wake. Congress pledges to ensure that Indian women enjoy dignity and equality so that they can make their due contribution

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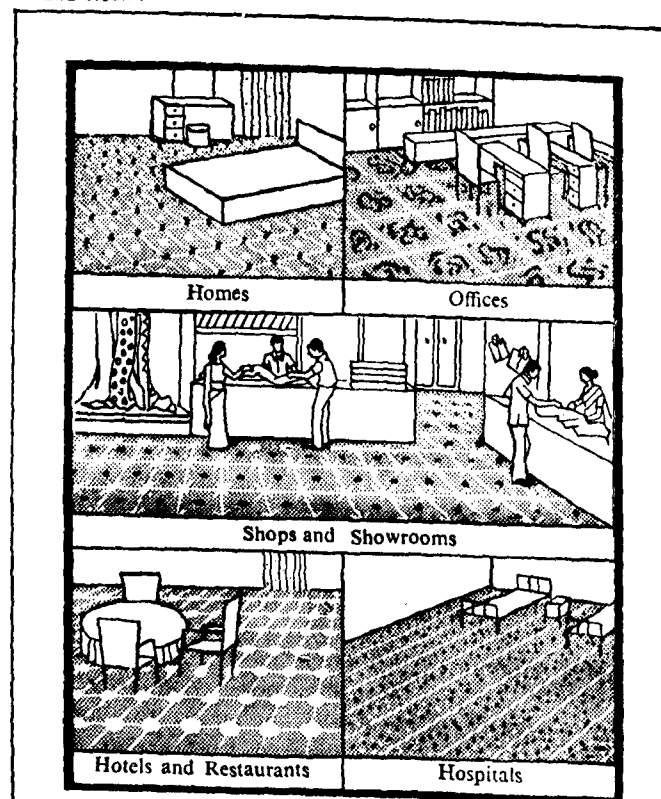
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and reap the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution. Efficient management in the economy, specially in the last two years, has led to a comfortable balance of payment, an excellent export performance, a record accumulation of over Rs 2,500 crores in foreign exchange reserves, industrial peace, a large reservoir of technological and scientific man-power, and business confidence. This has enhanced the country's prestige in the world community. Congress is determined that the nation should continue to derive full benefits from these favourable factors. To simulate industrial production, Congress will fully utilise existing capacities, create new capacities and improve productivity. It will take steps to bring sick mills which are otherwise viable back to health. It will also try to introduce modern and scientific methods of management in industries.

Cardinal Aim

Workers' participation in industries is one of the cardinal aims of the Congress. We regard the participation of workers in the production and management processes to be vital to improved industrial relations and industrial productivity, and will ensure that such participation is steadily enlarged. Congress will not tolerate retrenchments, lock-outs, closures and lay-offs which harm the economy or the nation. It will take all steps to preserve the interests of the working class.

Shortage of housing is a major problem for workers. To provide them with suitable accommodation, Congress will launch a special national housing fund to which employers and employees will con-

tribute. Congress promises training programmes for dedicated and promising workers to enable them to move up to higher responsibilities.

Reform in economic administration begun in 1974 will be carried forward so that the public sector can play a leading role in national development with higher production and expanded services. Small and middle entrepreneurs will get integrated consultancy, financial and technological services to enable them to play a more significant role in the national economy.

Congress is irrevocably committed to land reforms leading to peasant ownership. Such

vegetable oils. For all major agricultural commodities, a buffer stock mechanism has to be established to ensure remunerative prices, increased production and supply. For this purpose a Commodity Stabilisation Corporation to operate in the market for all principal crops will be taken up.

In the countryside, Congress will see that benefits of development go down to the grassroots level by creating greater employment opportunities. This can only be done by increasing production and productivity in agriculture and the sectors allied to it. Therefore, extensive programmes will be launched for the small

people and particularly to the villages. We intend to bring the creators of technology in closer contact with its users. Congress also attaches special importance to applying science to agriculture, mining, metallurgy, heavy engineering, power, chemicals, atomic energy, space and health, so that its benefits are spread evenly in the community. Equal emphasis will be given to basic theoretical work in science. The questing spirit of investigating scientists will find full scope for creative endeavour in India which Congress is building.

Considerable investment will continue to be made to

...Transfer Technology to Villages

reforms are being put through rapidly in all states. Along with ownership, small farmers will need to derive maximum returns from their lands and so contribute to national progress. To enable this, agricultural and rural credit procedures will be simplified so that farmers can get easier credit, supplies and services without undue difficulty. An Agricultural Development Bank of India will be established to meet credit requirements and to coordinate the work of cooperative institutions, rural banks, commercial banks in rural areas, farmers' service societies and extension agencies.

Remunerative prices are a major element in the strategy to raise agricultural productivity. Government procurement programme for wheat and rice last year played a major role in preventing a slump in agricultural prices and farm incomes. It is necessary to draw up more effective programmes to procure raw cotton and

and marginal farmers, rural artisans, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and the backward communities. We shall also place great stress on programmes of minor irrigation, intensive cultivation, command area development, improvement of dry land farming areas, soil conservation, assistance to drought-prone areas, expansion of poultry, animal husbandry and fisheries, development of small industries and rural handicrafts. The minimum needs programme, especially for drinking water and maternal-child health services will be expanded. Provision of fertilisers and improved seeds will be a major activity.

Congress will endeavour to transfer modern technology to the undeveloped rural sector and to give preference to such technology as will help eradicate poverty and reduce the drudgery to which the rural population, specially women, are subjected. Our aim will be to bring science nearer to the

strengthen our extensive infrastructure in power, transport and communications. Transport facilities will be expanded and improved, and more marketing centres set up. The public construction programme will be enlarged. Effective measures will be taken substantially to increase self-employment opportunities for the urban unemployed. Facilities from government and financial institutions will go to the educated unemployed and small and medium entrepreneurs.

Education, expansion of health and medical facilities and the extension of welfare programmes are of crucial importance to develop our human resources and improve the quality of the common man's life. Congress considers it an inherent right of the people to be liberated in mind through education. Congress will conduct a sustained campaign to spread literacy to all citizens to enlarge their minds and widen their awareness of the infinite potentialities of life and our

glorious cultural and intellectual heritage.

Congress has initiated steps to reorganise our educational system to make it more relevant to our life and economy. It will also strive to make it a more potent and dynamic instrument to strengthen the values of secularism and national integration, to imbue the scientific temper and to develop a humane, rational and self-reliant outlook. The education system will be restructured more fully to develop the students' personality and help them face the challenges of these rapidly changing times. Congress is committed to spreading universal primary

ed. We shall also take up a massive programme of farm-forestry which additionally provides extensive employment.

Congress is making changes in the administrative system to bring the administrator closer to the people. Its aim is to ensure a clean, honest and people-oriented administration. Congress notes with satisfaction the efforts made since the emergency to fight corruption, and it will continue to take ruthless steps to stamp out corruption from all walks of life.

In terms of the mandate given by the people, the Constitution (Forty-Second)

but in order to ensure that the broader social and national good is given priority. This is also the rationale behind the introduction of fundamental duties. In a democratic society rights and duties are inextricably intertwined, the one cannot be viable without the other. It was, indeed, this imbalance of an exclusive emphasis on rights without a corresponding commitment to duties that created a lack of discipline and respect for national institutions. The amendment, which reflects the hopes and aspirations of the nation, seeks to redress this imbalance and makes the constitution a more dynamic instrument of

lies in peaceful coexistence, respect for the sovereignty of every nation and non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations. It seeks the friendship of all countries, particularly of India's immediate neighbours, and notes with satisfaction the recent success of India's efforts to normalise relations with her neighbours.

New Economic Order

Congress calls for urgent measures to establish a new international economic order based on justice and equality. The evergrowing gap between the rich and the poor countries must be bridged. The international community must ensure the accelerated economic growth of developing countries. The developing countries, on their part, should also promote greater cooperation among themselves and strengthen the spirit of collective self-reliance. Congress rejects the doctrine of spheres of influence and balance of power. It is opposed to all forms of colonialism, imperialism, apartheid and racialism. Consistent with India's heritage and the values of her freedom struggle, it re-affirms its support for the struggle of the oppressed people in Africa and elsewhere against colonialism and racialism. Congress welcomes detente and wants it to be extended to all parts of the world. It also calls for the implementation of the UN Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

The Indian National Congress is committed to a purpose. That purpose is to consolidate the country's unity, modernise society without the loss of the Indian personality, develop and integrate industry and agriculture with

modern science and technology, uplift the masses and end archaic, hierarchical systems in which discrimination and exploitation have become entrenched. The aim of Congress is to wage war against poverty, unemployment, ignorance, disease and disparity. Its object is to remove peacefully and through the constitutional machinery of the democratic state everything that stands in the way of establishing a free, democratic and socialist society.

The bogey of "democracy in peril" has been raised by those opposition parties who were frustrated in their attempts to create disorder and thereby obstruct the fulfilment of the progressive policies of Congress. The commitment of Congress to democracy goes back to its very inception and its faith in democracy is absolute, irrevocable and unshakable. On the other hand, the people of India know that the left extremist parties do not believe in parliamentary democracy and that the main opposition on the right draws sustenance and support from elements whose profession and practice of undemocratic principles are open and manifest.

Radical Policies

Congress pledges itself to forge ahead in the service of the nation. It will never rest on its laurels. Congress is proud of the achievements of our great nation over the last decade under the inspired leadership of Mrs Indira Gandhi. The nation was able to initiate the radical policy of bank nationalisation in 1969, to abolish the privy purses and princely privileges, to face the Bangladesh crisis of 1971 with compassion, courage and determination, to give help

and assistance to millions affected by the droughts of 1972-73, to admit Sikkim into the Indian union, to carry out the peaceful and spectacular underground nuclear implosion at Pokhran in May 1974, to adopt stern but effective and successful measures to control inflation since the middle of 1974, to enter the field of space technology by launching *Aryabhata* in earth orbit in April, 1975, to consolidate the gains of the emergency that was declared in June 1975 for curbing the activities of disruptive and violent elements, to go forward with the twenty-point programme and the five-point programme which brought new

the minorities and the right of every community to pursue its faith and way of life;

2. preserve and consolidate democracy and put an end to all forms of violence and disorder, so that people can live in peace and harmony;

3. fight poverty, ignorance, disease and inequality and build a modern, prosperous, egalitarian and socialist society;

4. abolish all kinds of discrimination between one human being and another and end all forms of exploitation;

5. develop and modernise agriculture and allied activities, expedite integrated rural deve-

11. provide primary education to all children and improve the scope of secondary and higher education, and

12. expand health and medical facilities and welfare programmes for the people.

The motto of the Congress is: poverty must go, disparity must diminish and injustice must end. The Congress renews its pledge to the people to work and toil, ceaselessly and without respite, to build a society worthy of our great nation and reflecting the vision of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

The purpose of the elections must be to provide the nation

...Improve Urban Environment

education, and measures for it will be accelerated. It will also take steps to develop vocational and non-formal education and to improve college and university education. The present examination system will undergo radical reforms. Talented students of the deprived sections of the nation will be helped to get the best education. Every effort will be made to see that teachers at all levels get their due recognition and place of honour, and that their conditions of work are improved.

Closely interlinked with quality of life is the environment and ecological balance which affects both the urban and rural population. Congress will make strenuous efforts to promote a cleaner environment. The planting of trees is an important factor, not only to conserve the environment but also to control floods and erosion. Trees also add to the wealth of the country. A vigorous campaign to plant trees will be conduct-

Amendment Act, 1976 was passed. Congress emphatically states that the amendment was made to overcome the various obstacles put by economic and political vested interests, and not for the purpose of increasing the power of the executive at the expense of the judiciary or the legislature. The dignity and impartiality of the judiciary are a valuable part of our constitutional structure and are left intact. The amendment, in fact, reestablishes the harmony between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary as was originally contemplated by the constitution. The supremacy of Parliament has been affirmed by the amendment, but as Parliament is responsible to the people, the amendment really reaffirms the sovereignty of the people and their unfettered power to shape their destiny.

The amendment has affirmed the primacy of the Directive Principles, not with a view to denigrating fundamental rights

social change and national consolidation. The constitution embodied the philosophy of peaceful but dynamic revolution epitomized by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. The forty-second amendment carries that revolution forward in the larger interests of the nation and the vast masses of our people.

In the field of foreign relations, Congress will continue the policy of non-alignment, which has kept India out of military blocs, preserved her independence and integrity and has allowed her to judge international issues on their merits. This policy, which has been reaffirmed by the Fifth Summit of Non-Aligned Countries, has made a significant contribution to the cause of world peace, progress and stability. The pursuit of this policy has won new respect for India, and even long-standing critics of non-alignment now pay tributes to Jawaharlal Nehru, the fountain-head and architect of the policy. Congress be-

...Strengthen Industrial Base

hope and relief to millions, to finalise the fifth Plan in September 1976, which provides decisive evidence that the Indian economy has turned the corner, to increase production, improve the economy significantly and to make substantial advances in different fields in the past Indira decade. Congress is the only party which can place before the people not only its programme but also its performance for scrutiny. It is the only party which can give a lead to the country as a whole. It is the only party which has brought about and can continue to bring peaceful changes for the benefit of the common man, while maintaining intact the structure of political stability and national integration without which no progress is possible.

The Congress appeals to the people to return its candidates to the Lok Sabha in the 1977 elections with a massive majority, so that it can:

1. uphold the ideals of secularism, protect the interests of

development programmes and bring about a total rural regeneration;

6. promote the interests of the small and marginal farmers, agricultural workers, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and backward classes and communities;

7. strengthen and diversify the country's industrial base, enlarge the role of the public sector, give scope to the private sector to play its due role within the priorities of the Plan and without bringing about a concentration of economic wealth and power;

8. take up a massive programme to expand opportunities for productive employment,

9. protect the interests of the working class and give them their proper share in management and the fruits of their labour;

10. keep prices in check and ensure essential commodities to the people at reasonable prices;

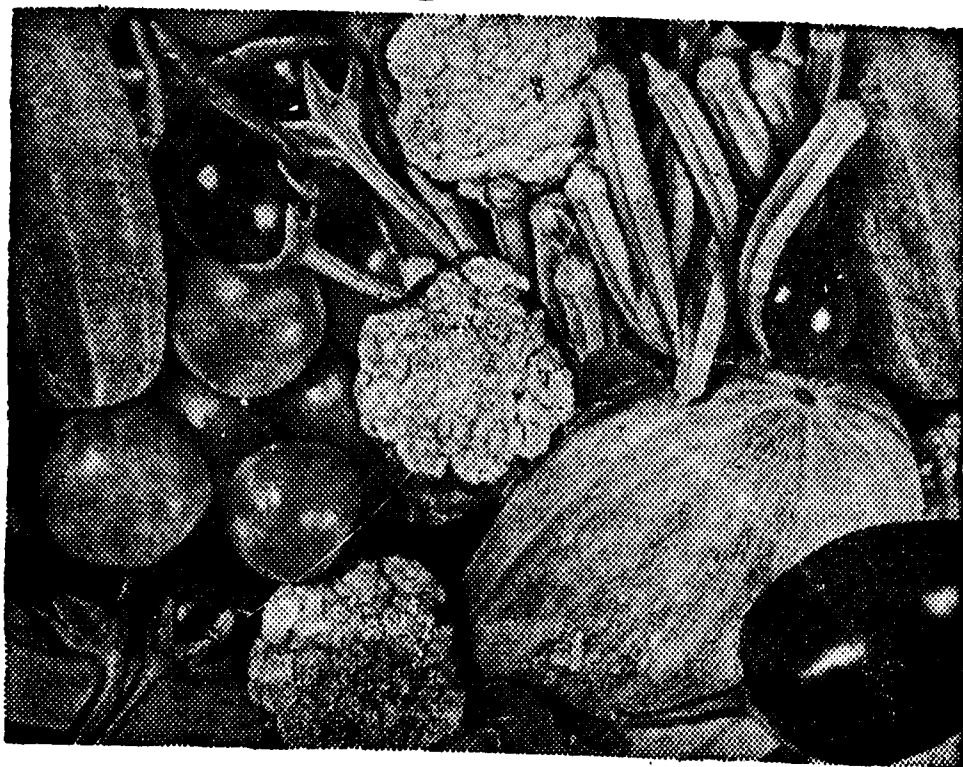
with a government at the centre strong enough to safeguard India's independence and interests in a rapidly changing world, wise enough to preserve the legacy of tolerance and peaceful change, and determined enough to carry forward the recent gains so that, with the self-reliant technological strength already gained, the nation can march forward.

In the words of the prime minister, "Every election is an act of faith. It is an opportunity to cleanse public life of confusion. So, let us go to the polls with the resolve to reaffirm the power of the people and to uphold the fair name of India as a land committed to the path of reconciliation, peace and progress."

The Indian National Congress alone has the dynamism, the policy, the programme, the leadership and the achievement displayed through ninety one years of sustained and devoted service to the people of India.

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Janata Party Stands for...

THE FORTHCOMING Lok Sabha poll constitutes, in the opinion of the Janata party, the most crucial election that the country has had since independence.

The choice before the electorate, the party says, is clear. "It is a choice between freedom and slavery; between democracy and dictatorship; between abdicating the power of the people and asserting it; between the Gandhian path and the way that has led many nations down the precipice of the dictatorship, instability, military adventure and national ruin."

The party promises "an open government in a free society" and assures that it will not misuse the intelligence services and governmental authority for personal or partisan ends.

One Entity

The party has described its manifesto as a "Gandhian alternative" that assures the people "both bread and liberty".

The party asserts that its four constituents, namely the Congress(O), the Jana Sangh, the Socialist Party and the Bharatiya Lok Dal, will merge into one entity after the election.

The economic programme of the party seeks to eliminate destitution within a decade by raising every family above the poverty line.

A national incomes, wages and prices policy will be speedily formulated and implemented. While the primacy of agriculture has been emphasised, the employment policy of the party is to aim at moving people away from the cities to

the countryside, through following the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi. In this context, shift has been favoured from capital-intensive to employment-oriented technologies and development. Land legislation will be honestly implemented. The approach to planning will be made dynamic. Special emphasis will be placed on the production of wage goods.

The growth of monopolies and concentration of economic power in the hands of a few will be curbed. The party promises to delete the right to property from the fundamental rights and instead affirm "the right to work". The pro-

ses in the implementation of the family planning programme.

The foreign policy of the party, the manifesto says, would reflect the nation's enlightened interest and aspirations and priority at home. A constructive and imaginative foreign policy would be drawn up and implemented. Defence preparedness would be fully maintained.

In regard to minorities, the Janata party manifesto stresses that the rights of linguistic minorities would be fully protected. The party is pledged to preserve the secular and the richly diverse character of the state. Any discrimination aga-

In fact, many gains of the emergency have been challenged by the Janata party.

According to the Janata party, the record of the last decade on the economic front is a record of failure and stagnation, growing inequalities, continuing injustice and widening gap between promise and fulfilment.

The following is the full text of the manifesto of the Janata party:

The forthcoming Lok Sabha poll constitutes the most crucial election that the country has had since independence. The choice before the electorate is clear. It is a choice between freedom and slavery; between

...Gandhian Alternative

party right, according to the party, could be enforced only legally. The party accepts the principle of bonus as a deferred wage and will safeguard the legitimate interests of the working class. Inflation will be contained. The prices of essential commodities will not be allowed to rise beyond the capacity of the common man to pay.

The party proposes to formulate and implement a comprehensive and integrated programme of social services, particularly in the fields of education, housing, health and social intelligence. Corruption is proposed to be severely dealt with.

While the party considers that family planning is essential for the country, it is opposed to the use of force or compulsion for this purpose. It proposes to hold an inquiry into the complaints of exces-

inst minorities—religious, cultural or linguistic—or against any citizen or groups of citizens would be prevented. Special plans for the backward and neglected areas are proposed to be drawn up and implemented.

Assailing emergency and dwelling at considerable length on the last 19-month experience of the country, the Janata party says. "The emergency has succeeded only in generating an atmosphere of fear and insecurity". The question before the electorate, therefore, is whether whatever might have been achieved during the past 19 months was achieved because of the emergency or whether the price in freedom, human rights and long-term economic and social destabilisation that the country has had to pay was necessary for, or commensurate with, whatever has supposedly been achieved.

democracy and dictatorship; between abdicating the power of the people or asserting it; between the Gandhian path and the way that has led many nations down the precipice of dictatorship, instability, military adventure, and national ruin.

Our people are being asked to make this choice in most abnormal circumstances. The emergency that was declared on June 25, 1975, has not been withdrawn. The sweeping and draconian powers with which the government armed itself, remain intact. Fundamental rights have not been restored. The citizen has no protection against arbitrary arrest and indefinite incarceration. The courts have been deprived of vital powers. MISA, with all its obnoxious provisions, continues in force. The Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Act has been

entrenched in the constitution. The press is not free. Thousands of political workers are still under detention in different parts of the country. The constitution has been amended and laws fashioned to sanctify the ruling party's definition of a "committed" judiciary, "a committed" press and a "committed" bureaucracy. The monopolistic control of All India Radio, Doordarshan and Samachar, that involuntarily "nationalised" news agency, is being used to convert these mass media into instruments of party propaganda and to deny the opposition fair opportunity to present its point of view to the people.

Unequal Contest

The government has made this crucial election a grossly unequal contest in relation to time, resources and the continuing application of emergency provisions. History is replete with instances where those who conspire against the rights of the people attempt to undermine freedom by portraying it as a luxury, dear only to those who wish to defend property and privilege. They cleverly conceal the fact that fundamental freedom are weapons that the oppressed and the poor need to fight tyranny, exploitation and injustice, vested interests, and opportunist governments. Bread cannot be juxtaposed against liberty. The two are inseparable.

Nightmare of Fear: The months through which the country has passed since the declaration of the so-called internal emergency have been a nightmare of fear and humiliation, reminiscent of the days of foreign domination. A fresh emergency was invoked after the judgement of the Allahabad High Court and the

verdict of the people in Gujarat. Behind the cover of censorship, a reign of terror was unleashed with the massive deployment of police and para-military forces. Indiscriminate arrests became the order of the day. A pall of fear was thrown over the country. The rule of law ceased to exist. The right of habeas corpus was taken away. The judicial process was gravely undermined and the citizens were placed at the mercy of the state.

The courts were solemnly told that while the emergency lasted, they were powerless to protect the citizen even if he should be starved to death or shot. The concept of equality

characterises a democratic polity.

Onslaught on Working Class: The worker found his cherished and hard-won rights eroded. Even the tardy increase in his dearness allowance was impounded. He was robbed of his bonus. The instruments of power were abused to suppress or subvert independent trade unions. Trade union workers were thrown into jail and attempts were made to manipulate union elections and bring these organisations under the control of the ruling party. While workers were denied the right to strike, employers were left free to declare lock-outs and to lay off

the cabinet system, the deliberate and consummate scuttling of democratic processes in the ruling party, and the concentration of all power in the hands of a leader who has been sought to be identified with the nation or even to be placed above it.

The emergency has succeeded only in generating an atmosphere of fear and insecurity. The question before the electorate is whether whatever might have been achieved during the past 19 months was achieved because of the emergency or whether the price in freedom, human rights and long-term economic and social destabilisation that the country has had

retrenched. The number of those who have been put out of employment since the emergency exceeds 1.5 million. Real wages have fallen.

Prices: The ruling party claims that the emergency has brought price down. Its own indices belie this claim. The final fifth Plan document notes that prices started declining from September, 1974, nine months before the emergency was proclaimed. It says that wholesale prices declined by seven per cent between September, 1974, and March, 1975, thanks largely to an excellent harvest. However, in the past eleven months prices have risen by 12 per cent and are now higher

whose export has led to shortages in the domestic market and a consequential rise in prices. In the name of adopting a strategy of export-led growth, we are in danger of scuttling the perspective of development that flows from the Gandhian ideals that we cherish. If we do not encourage the production of wage goods that our people need and, instead, allow Indian and international industrial interests to get together and give priority to the production of capital-intensive export goods that the advanced countries fancy, the masses must suffer and unemployment will mount.

Hungry Millions: A buffer

that the emergency has given a boost to the drive for family planning. In fact, a distinct disservice has been done to this national cause by abandoning methods of persuasion and education and by invoking coercive force and compulsion. Panic and anger have culminated in resort to firing and terror. Thousands of government employees and teachers have been denied their emoluments or other benefits for months for failure to deliver prescribed 'sterilization quotas'. In many states, ration cards and permits of various kinds are issued only to those who have undergone sterilization. Unsuspecting and ineligible persons have been

officials in the different fields of administration has led to a vast increase in corruption. Today any minion of the government can threaten the use of the absolute powers that he enjoys or imagines he enjoys under the emergency to blackmail or extort ransoms or bribes from the poor citizens who has no means of redress.

Extortions

The emergency has in fact exposed the common man to the extortions of policemen, petty officers and ruling party militants. The revenue intelligence and enforcement agencies have been grossly misused in many instances for political and partisan ends.

Stagnant Economy: The economy has stagnated. On an average, per capita income has grown by less than one per cent per annum. The per capita availability of essential goods like pulses, cloth and foodgrains has been stationary and, in certain cases, has actually fallen. The rate of net investment has not risen above the level obtaining in the early 1960s. Current steel production is less than the target set in the third Plan. The current output of coal is no more than the target for 1965-66. Food-grain production has touched 118 million tonnes. But even this is 11 million tonnes less than the fourth Plan targets. Over 68 per cent of the people are today below the poverty line, 28 per cent more than a quarter century ago.

Indices of Failure: Illiteracy, unemployment and rural pauperisation have increased. There are 11 million unemployed on the live-register today most of whom belong to the category of educated unemployed. Only a fraction of the unemployed register and

...Bread and Liberty for All

before law, precious to any democratic society, was jettisoned, and a constitutional amendment was sought to be enacted to confer immunity on the individual holding the office of prime minister. The Representation of the People's Act was amended to redefine corrupt practices and to legislate what was considered and found corrupt before the emergency. The press was gagged. Hundreds of printing presses were sealed. Papers and journals were compelled to close down. The academic world was not left untouched. Innumerable teachers and students were arrested. All democratic rights were whittled away.

Extra-constitutional Power Centres: Extra-constitutional centres of power were built up in the government and permitted to wield enormous official power without the trammels of legality or accountability. Consummate efforts were made to destroy the distinction between party and state that

workers with impunity, and aided to fatten on new concessions and new agreements with multi-nationals.

Constitution Amended: The constitution was amended to sanctify and institutionalise a total concentration of power in the hands of one individual—the prime minister. The authoritarian trends that had unfolded themselves over the past few years were embodied in the 42nd Amendment which was bulldozed through Parliament. To call it an amendment is a misnomer. It is a betrayal of the testament of faith that the founding fathers bequeathed to the people and subverts the basic structure of the 1950 Constitution. It vitiates the federal principle and upsets the nice balance between the people and Parliament, Parliament and the judiciary, the judiciary and the executive, the states and the centre, the citizen and the government. It is the culmination of a conspiracy to devalue democracy that started with the erosion of

to pay was necessary for, or commensurate with, whatever has supposedly been achieved.

"Gains" of the Emergency: The ruling party claims gains in production on account of the emergency. Some increases in production have indeed been registered after earlier lags on account of the government's own failures. At the same time, innumerable large and medium units and thousands of small units have been shut down during this same period. The cotton textile, jute and engineering industries are passing through one of the gravest recessions they have ever experienced. The steel industry today produces less than the target that it was set to achieve in 1965-66, and even this cannot be absorbed by the domestic economy because of a crisis in investment. The government has itself admitted that over half a million workers were laid off in the first six months of the emergency. This large and cruel figure does not include the thousands who have been

...Eliminating Destitution

than they were before the emergency. The retail price index has not been released since August, 1976. The recent increase in the prices of commodities, like sugar, cotton and oilseeds, all of which affect the common man directly, has been the result of speculation. Why has the government failed to deal with those speculators and hoarders in spite of the unlimited powers in its armoury?

Export-led Growth: The ruling party claims that the emergency has led to an increase in exports and foreign exchange reserves. Today, higher exports in many fields like steel, cement and aluminium are a symptom of the deep recession in our own country, or the result of a deliberate attempt to promote exports at the cost of domestic consumption. This is all the more distressing when we observe that some of the commodities exported have been sold at a loss while others, like sugar, are daily necessities

stock of foodgrains is essential. However, the fact is that 17 million tonnes of grain are currently being held in reserve while millions of Indians go hungry for lack of employment and purchasing power. Some of this grain should obviously have been utilised for providing mass employment under imaginatively conceived food-for-work schemes.

Smuggling and Tax Evasion: The ruling party claims that the emergency has enabled it to check smuggling and other economic offences. The claim is fallacious. Anti-smuggling and other measures were belatedly adopted by the government six months before the emergency was proclaimed in the wake of a public outcry for stern action. In fact, smugglers, black-marketeers, tax dodgers and foreign exchange racketeers were long permitted to buy immunity through contributions to the coffers of the ruling party.

Compulsory Family Planning: The government again claims

herded and forcibly taken to sterilization camps. Human dignity has been set at naught by those indefensible actions. The Janata party will institute an inquiry into allegations of excesses.

Jhuggis Demolished: The callous manner in which jhuggi colonies and pucca buildings in other areas have been razed to the ground in Delhi and elsewhere follow the same arrogant and coercive pattern. New ghettos of the poor have been built to relocate these unfortunate people on the periphery of metropolitan centres. These are scarcely better than planned slums and have divorced large populations from the economic activities in which they were engaged.

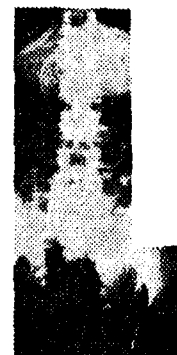
Rising Corruption: It is claimed by the ruling party that the emergency has enabled it to root out corruption. The experience of the common citizen is otherwise. The assumption of arbitrary power by the government and its delegation even to petty

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total unemployment is known to be several times higher. An increasing number of industries has gone 'sick' and official policy has created a vested interest in sickness. Banking has been politicised and threatens to place the entire credit structure in jeopardy. Investment, whether public or private, has not revived. The final "version" of the fifth five-year Plan, despite increased financial outlays, constitutes a smaller Plan in real terms and targets than the earlier draft Plan. With one or two exceptions, such as oil, all critical targets, whether in respect of agriculture, industry or the social services, have been scaled down. The minimum needs programme, once said to be the hallmark of the fifth Plan, has been decimated.

The record of the last decade has, thus, been a record of failure and stagnation, growing inequalities, continuing injustice and a widening gap between promise and fulfilment. There has been alienation, disenchantment and cynicism.

Real Reasons

Against this background, it is easy to see that the real reasons that prompted the ruling party to invoke the emergency were the need to cover up the hollowness of its programme of "garibi hatao", mask its retreat from planning and a genuinely socialist ideology, and move towards the assumption of absolute power.

Emergence of Janata Party :

It is in response to this situation—in order to defend the people's democratic rights and livelihood—that the Janata party has come into being. It is not a mere alliance of parties but a new national party to which the Congress(O), the Bharatiya Lok Dal, the Jana

Sargh, the Socialist Party, Independent Congressmen and many others stand firmly committed. This manifesto is a solemn reaffirmation of that common resolve.

The party acknowledges with pride and humility the heroism of tens of thousands of unknown Indians, men, women and children, in every part of the country and in all walks of life who have kept aloft the banner of freedom during the emergency. It salutes the martyrs who have fallen or suffered in the struggle and pledges that these sacrifices shall not go in vain.

Gandhian Values : The traumatic experience of the

initiative and participation in development and administration. The fundamental freedoms of speech, association and expression, judicial independence, and equality before law are absolutely essential if people are to retain democratic control over the exercise of power.

Public workers and public servants should maintain the highest standards of probity and integrity, and set an example of simplicity and selfless service. They should conduct themselves as true servants of the people, and not as masters or rulers. Self-restraint and the rule of law are the source of social discipline.

...An Independent Judiciary

An independent judiciary is the shield of the citizen against attacks from fellow citizens, employers or the state itself. If all else fails, the ultimate guarantee of democracy and the final safeguard against exploitation and abuse of power is satyagraha or peaceful, non-violent resistance.

The party affirms the right of peaceful and democratic dissent. It believes that fundamental freedoms are not only compatible with but necessary for real economic freedom and progress, and for the elimination of exploitation. The test of progress towards socialism and democracy lies in the life of the poorest and the lowest strata of society, and the extent to which equality of opportunity becomes real and discrimination and exploitation cease. The party, therefore, will orient its planning to these objectives and give priority to the task of raising the living standards and status of the poorest and weakest sections. It will level

The Janata party is dedicated to the values and ideals of Gandhiji. It is dedicated to the task of building up a democratic and socialist state in India, drawing inspiration from our rich heritage and the noble traditions of our struggle for independence and freedom. A high degree of centralisation or the concentration of power is inconsistent with democracy. The party, therefore, believes in a polity that ensures decentralisation of economic and political power. This is essential for the maximisation of individual

down as much as level up and redistribute incomes and wealth to build a just society in which austerity and sharing will replace, pomp, ostentatious consumption and waste.

Devolution and Participation: Government of and by the people can have no meaning without the widest possible popular participation at all levels. The Janata party will work for such devolution and decentralisation of power as is necessary for the attainment of these objectives. It will attempt to evolve a national consensus on the desirability of smaller districts and smaller development blocks so as to encourage democratic parti-

cipation and sound economic management, and micro-planning from below. Panchayat institutions and municipalities will be revitalised and vested with larger powers and responsibility so that they may play their true role as basic organs of popular government, initiative and planning. Regular and periodic elections to these bodies will be statutorily guaranteed.

Political Charter : As a party wedded to the ideals of freedom and democracy, it believes that fearlessness is of the essence. It will, therefore, take immediate steps to free the people from the bondage of fear. It will restore to the citizen his fundamental freedoms and to the judiciary its rightful role.

To generate fearlessness and to revive democracy, the Janata party will:

- (1) Lift the emergency;
- (2) Restore the fundamental freedoms that have been suspended by Presidential Order;
- (3) Repeal MISA, release all

political detenus, and review all other unjust laws;

(4) Enact laws to ensure that no political or social organisation is banned without independent judicial enquiry;

(5) Seek to rescind the 42nd Amendment;

(6) Amend Article 352 of the constitution to prevent its abuse in the interest of an individual or group;

(7) Move to amend Article 356 to ensure that the power to impose President's rule in the states is not misused to benefit the ruling party or any favoured faction within it;

(8) Introduce electoral reforms after a careful con-

sideration of suggestions made by various committees including the Tarkunde Committee and in particular consider proposals for recall of errant legislators and for reducing election costs;

(9) Repeal the amendment to the Representation of the People's Act which redefines corrupt practices and places electoral offences by certain individuals beyond the scrutiny of the courts;

(10) Re-establish the rule of law;

(11) Restore the authority of the judiciary and safeguard the independence and integrity of the bar;

(12) Ensure that all individuals, including those who hold high office, are equal before law;

(13) Assure the right to peaceful and non-violent protest;

(14) Abolish censorship and end all harassment to newspapers, journals, publishers and printing presses;

(15) Safeguard the freedom of the press by repealing the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Act, and restore the immunity that the Press previously enjoyed in reporting legislative proceedings;

(16) Ensure that All-India Radio, Doordarshan, and the Films Division are converted into genuinely autonomous bodies and are politically objective and free from governmental interference;

(17) Ensure that news agencies are completely independent of the government and are not given the right to monopoly;

(18) Delete property from the list of fundamental rights

and instead, affirm the right to work;

(19) Ensure that government employees are not victimised, are freed of political pressure, and are not compelled to execute illegal orders and unlawful actions. Their right to access to courts will be restored.

A New Economic Charter : Social justice is not an abstract concept indicating good intentions, but is a basic philosophy which must be translated into action and lead to the welfare of the masses on the principle of equality and prosperity for all. There cannot be two societies, rich and poor, in which the latter category is made to subserve the goals of elitism, consumerism and urbanism. The Gandhian values of "antyodya" and austerity must be accepted and implemented if the vicious circle of the poor becoming poorer and the rich richer is to be broken. Hence the Janata party affirms the right to work. This can become a realisable ideal only if we move towards

the establishment of an economy in which agriculture and cottage and small industries have primacy, and are not sacrificed to the big machine and the big city. Modernisation of industry must be based on improved technology. But the only way to steer clear of the evils of capitalism and state capitalism and to ensure full employment and the decentralisation of economic power is to follow the Gandhian precept that whatever can be produced efficiently by decentralised industry should be so produced. There is room for heavy and large-scale industry, but only where it is not possible to organise

such production satisfactorily in the cottage and small-scale sector. This spirit must inform the nation's economic policy.

Delete Property as Fundamental Right : The government has time and again resorted to the plea that fundamental rights and judicial processes have had to be curtailed in order to protect and further progressive social and economic measures and to prevent vested interests from thwarting them by resort to the courts. This is totally fallacious. Indeed, an official task force set up by the Planning Commission reported in 1974 that land reform measures had not been implemented because of a clear lack of political will.

In order to remove this specious alibi once and for all, the Janata party will move to delete property from the fundamental rights chapter of the constitution, leaving it as an ordinary statutory right like any other which may be enforced in a court of law. As a corollary to this, it will also

delete the Ninth Schedule to the constitution which was originally intended to protect vulnerable land legislation but which has increasingly come to be employed to entrench such repressive and unjust laws as MISA, the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Act, and the recent amendment to the Representation of the People's Act.

Right to Work

End Destitution in 10 Years : The Janata party believes that it is possible to eliminate destitution within a decade by raising every family above the poverty line. To this end, it will base its planning and policies on the directive principles of the constitution and particularly article 41 which lays down that "The state shall within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education, and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want."

Full Employment Strategy : It will attempt to achieve this objective through appropriate economic policies that promote self-employment and provide employment, education and social services to every citizen. It regards employment as a basic instrument rather than as a distant objective of development and social justice.

The country's growing population is both the consequence and cause of its poverty. Yet we cannot forget that people are our wealth. It is estimated that the country will have a population of over 900 million by the year 2000 A.D. 125 million people will be added to the labour force in the next 25 years. These new entrants

cannot be absorbed in the cities which have already become vast dumping sites for migrants from rural areas who are being squeezed off the land and from other traditional occupations. Cities have their place. But if rural India cannot provide economic opportunity and creative outlets for the growing masses in the countryside, we will be forced along the capital-intensive, urban-oriented and centralized path of development followed in the west. Gandhiji warned us against the danger and futility of attempting to borrow or transplant the western system of industrialisation without adapting it to the conditions and requirements of our country.

The experience of the past three decades has only underlined the relevance and validity of the values that Gandhiji placed before us. A quarter century of planning under the leadership of the ruling party has failed adequately to provide the mass of the people with any one of six basic necessities of life—food, safe drinking water, clothing, housing, education and health care.

Reorient Planning

The Janata party will, therefore, re-orient planning goals and priorities to adopt a pattern of development based on an appropriate technology that answers our need to find full employment and a better life for our people and to steer clear of the evils of capitalist or totalitarian industrialisation. There must be safeguards against pollution and environmental degradation and an accent on conservation and the exploitation of renewable resources and recycling principles.

Primacy of Agriculture : In

the economic sphere the Janata party will accord primacy to agriculture and rural reconstruction which must constitute the base of our development and planning. The relative neglect of the rural sector has created a dangerous imbalance in the economy. The farmer has been consistently denied reasonable and fair prices for what he produces. Allocations for agriculture and related development have been grossly inadequate and the need for improving conditions in the villages has received scarce attention. Typically, as many as 116 000 villages do not have even the most elementary facilities for drinking water.

The paucity of farm incomes

...Implementing Agrarian Reforms

and rural employment has led to tardy capital formation in the village sector. The Janata party will not only check growing disparities between town and country but pledges itself to initiate a comprehensive new village movement and rural growth centres. The farmer must get remunerative prices based on a principle of parity that balances the prices at which he sells his produce and the price he pays for the goods he buys. If the rural sector is to grow and flourish, it must be accorded favourable terms of trade as a matter of overall national policy. The farmer must be assured of inputs at reasonable prices. The agricultural sector must be provided with infrastructure facilities for extension, irrigation, land and water development, credit, processing, and marketing and also related technical and maintenance service.

Agrarian Reform : The party is committed to agrarian reforms covering tenurial

relationships, ownerships and consolidation of holdings. The party notes that owing to the tardy and insincere implementation of land ceiling legislation, the available surplus land declared, much less distributed, has been pitifully small. The party will honestly implement land legislation, provide machinery for scrutinising fraudulent transfers and dispossession and plug such loopholes as have come to light. Landlordism will be abolished. Surplus lands and other reclaimed lands will be distributed among the landless, particularly harijans and adivasis. They will also be provided the wherewithal effectively to cultivate their hold-

ings. Once these reforms have been effectively implemented, the party will make sure that uncertainty about frequent changes does not affect production or create instability in the agricultural sector.

Intergrated rural development demands a dynamic approach. Agriculture itself must be made more productive through proper land and water conservation and utilisation, agrarian reforms, mixed farming, animal husbandry, aquaculture, and the organization of agro and rural-based industries. Facilities should be available in the countryside for the processing of agricultural produce. Dairying has a great future based on the wealth of Indian cattle which can be upgraded. The Janata party believes that these objectives cannot be realised without an adequate increase in the allocation of funds to the agricultural sector. Rural resources, whether mobilised through

banks or otherwise, should be reinvested in rural development.

The Janata party will exempt holdings below 2.5 hectares from payment of land revenue. Care will be taken to see that this does not in any way impair their titles to the land by universalising the issue of pass-books to farmers. Recent increases in land revenue in some states have raised the incidence of this levy by as much as five times. These increase will be reviewed.

Traditional rural artisans like blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, leather workers and potters constitute a vast repository of skills and potential for increased production and addi-

tional employment. Recourse to modern technology and management are necessary to improve their tools, skills and market potential and provide a wider functional range for their products.

Stress on Wage Goods : The Janata party believes that the time has come for a fresh look at the pattern and perspective of industrialisation. Our twin objectives must be to produce the wage goods necessary for mass consumption and to choose a pattern of industrialisation that will provide full employment to our people. Without adequate emphasis on the production of mass consumption goods we will not be able to hold back inflation, ensure the minimum needs of the population, and secure a base from which further development can be launched. It is mistaken to succumb to the lure of western models.

Appropriate Technology for Swadeshi : The Janata party



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wants the benefits of science and technology to reach all our people. It is not opposed to advanced technology but it firmly believes this can be harnessed to our needs only if we employ appropriate technology—simple or sophisticated—that is compatible with the environment and, while maximising employment, will yield optimum socio-economic benefits in the circumstances that prevail in our country. The party will, therefore, review industrial and locational policies to derive the fullest advantage from the choice of appropriate technology in different sectors. Appropriate technology is a

cial and credit institutions earmark 20-25 per cent of their credit for projects and purposes designed to benefit that large segment of our population presently living below the poverty line. This must be over and above the allocation for agriculture.

While economic and industrial self-reliance must remain our goal, we must guard against the growth of monopoly and concentration of economic power. The Monopolies Commission has been allowed to become moribund in order to benefit monopoly capital and attract multinationals. The

and prices policy based on the following principles:

(i) A fair wage must be the minimum wage;

(ii) Workers must derive proportional benefits from increases in productivity;

(iii) The party accepts the principle of bonus as a deferred wage. It will safeguard the legitimate interests of the working class with due regard to sharing the gains of increased productivity;

(iv) An incomes, wages and prices policy must ensure that income disparities are reduced. Steps will be taken to see that

for training in managerial skills and provision will be made to ensure that specific quotas of new equity will be set apart for workers.

Taxation: The burden of taxation today falls heavily on the common man because of the level of a number of excise duties and sales tax on articles of mass consumption. The incidence of indirect taxation on the poorer sections has increased many times since independence. The operation of sales tax has also led to malpractices and harassment. The Janata party considers it desirable to replace sales tax with appropriate excise duties coupled with a formula which would ensure that the states derive steadily increasing shares from the total collections thus maintaining the element of elasticity that is today being provided by sales tax. The party will work towards a redistributive tax policy and will strongly encourage savings. As far as direct taxation is concerned, it will raise the minimum exemption limit for income tax to Rs 10,000.

Energy and Transport

The Janata Party attaches the highest importance to the development of cheap, alternative sources of energy and mass transport facilities. It will give high priority in working out schemes for the utilisation of solar energy, wind and tidal power, bio-gas and other non-conventional sources of energy, and synthesize these in a national energy policy. This is necessary to promote a decentralised and labour-intensive economy and the goal of Swadeshi.

National Water Policy: A national water policy and priorities for the use of water with water-budgeting and water-

...Safeguarding Workers' Interest

means of promoting individual and community self-reliance through a swadeshi movement.

Janata party will correct this trend.

Demarcated Areas of Production: Such an approach will prevent the growth of monopolies and the concentration of economic power, increase production, reduce the problems of urban conglomerations, take industry and employment to smaller towns and the rural areas, and create modern mini-industries in the textile, sugar, paper, dairy, cement, pottery and other sectors. There must be a shift from capital-intensive to employment-oriented technologies which are conducive to decentralised operation on low energy system. Such a policy will also have its implications in the field of credit and marketing. Appropriate measures will have to be taken to demarcate areas of differential technology and to provide for statutory reservations of spheres of production for small scale and cottage industries.

The party will see that finan-

Incomes, Wages and Prices Policy: The Janata party believes that economic policies should subserve the interests of workers in the agricultural and industrial sectors. It will accordingly affirm the rights of workers and trade unions. The party will introduce legislation to assure minimum wages for all categories of workers. Such minimum wages should be sufficient for the maintenance of the worker and his family.

While it believes that the erosion in real wages caused by fluctuations in prices and the values of money should be neutralised by dearness allowance, the party realises that one answer to the difficulties experienced in this field lies in the formulation and implementation of an equitable national incomes and wages policy on which the ruling party has singularly failed. The Janata party will lose no time in formulating and implementing a national incomes, wages

minimum incomes rise rapidly so that the difference between the minima and maxima income, after tax, is reduced to 1:20. It will strive progressively further to reduce this differential to 1:10 within a decade by a policy of income redistribution that raises floor levels and discourages bloated incomes.

(v) The prices of essential commodities will not be allowed to rise beyond the capacity of the common man to pay. Therefore, as long as shortages persist, a well organised public distribution system is absolutely necessary, coupled with a consumer movement to maintain vigilance over prices and quality.

(vi) Consistent with the Gandhian attitude to labour and industry, the Janata party believes that workers must be treated as partners in industry. They must not only receive adequate wages and bonus, but also be enabled to participate in management and equity. To attain these objectives, representatives of the workers will be provided with opportunities

audit are essential. The party will establish river basin commissions for the integrated development of watersheds, to provide protection from recurrent cataclysmic floods and erosion, and to utilize fully the potential for ground water, surface irrigation, hydro-electricity, navigation and pisciculture.

Basic Need

Drinking water is a basic need. The party will formulate and execute a programme to provide every hamlet and village with an assured water supply within five to seven years.

The Janata party's economic programme envisages:

1. Deletion of property as a fundamental right;
2. Affirmation of the right to work and a full employment strategy;
3. Stress on Gandhian values of austerity, 'Antyodya' and a decentralised economy;
4. An end to destitution within ten years;
5. Appropriate technology for self-reliance;
6. New planning priorities; notably, the primacy of agriculture; agrarian reforms and more favourable terms of trade and higher allocations for the rural sector;
7. Narrowing down of rural-urban disparities and a new rural-urban nexus;
8. Emphasis on wage goods production for mass consumption;
9. Statutory reservation of spheres of production for small-scale and cottage industries;
10. An incomes, wages and prices policy; raising the minimum tax exemption limit to Rs 10,000 and exemption of land revenue at all holdings below 2.5 hectares;

11. Redistributive taxation and excise in lieu of sales tax;

12. Formulation of a national water policy and a national energy policy.

13. Environmental care.

Social Policy : The party is conscious of the crucial role that social policy and social services have to play in raising living standards. It will formulate and implement a comprehensive and integrated programme of social services, particularly in the fields of education, health, housing and social insurance.

Population Planning : The Janata party fully accepts the vital need for family plan-

direction and degree of development. The party will take steps to see that education up to the middle level is provided to all within the next 12 years or less. The present system of education must be reformed to allow for non-formal, multi-point entry, continuing, and formal education with part time and locally available non-professional teachers wherever necessary. The content of education must be functional and related to the lives of the people and the environment in which it is imparted. It must be related to the perspective of social needs. The concept of the dignity of labour must be inculcated through work-

This has resulted in unhealthy trends and in the multiplication of unemployed educated youth in urban areas on the one hand and extreme shortages of trained professional personnel in the rural areas on the other. To remove this anomaly, the Janata party advocates short courses without sacrificing standards, improvements in the curriculum, and other corrective measures.

The party will develop the people's languages and utilise them progressively in higher education, administration and the courts. It will faithfully implement the three-language formula. The rights of linguistic minorities will be protected.

...Reforming Education System

ning as a means of individual and national development and well being. But it does not believe that a programme of this kind should be tarnished and brutalised by the use of force or compulsion of any kind. The coercive methods employed in the recent past constitute a gross violation of human rights and dignity and are in fact counter-productive.

The party will set up a committee to look into complaints of excesses in this regard. The party sees family planning as an integral part of a larger population policy package comprehending education, health, maternity and child care, family welfare and women's rights, nutrition, employment and rising living standards. To isolate family planning as foolish and futile.

The Janata party attaches the highest importance to the development and enrichment of our vast human potential. Investment in man is a critical factor that determines the

experience. Education must imbue the country's youth with the moral and social values and the skills that we wish to develop. Opportunities must be provided for earning-while-learning at all levels. The range of scholarships must be extended for deserving students and educational grants given to families belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes.

Ending Illiteracy : The Janata party will seek to improve the village school and make it a focal centre for development. Adults without schooling will be provided with non-formal, part time and functional education. Illiteracy will be eradicated within five to ten years. Teacher training will be strengthened and measures taken to revise the catastrophic fall in educational standards.

Higher and technical education will be similarly restructured. The tendency hitherto has been to follow western world models involving extremely capital intensive systems.

Urdu and Sindi, which are spoken by large sections, will be accorded due importance and encouragement.

Health to the Millions : The party will devote special attention to providing health facilities to the rural areas and all vulnerable sections of the population including the urban poor. It will attempt to bring simple medical aid within the reach of every citizen by organising a cadre of medical, para-medical and community health workers among whom trained practitioners of indigenous systems of medicines will be a part. These cadres will form a pyramid with appropriate dispensary, hospital and specialised services at the higher rungs. Adequate emphasis will be placed on preventive health, provision of safe drinking water, programmes to ensure sanitation and immunisation in the rural areas and the production of inexpensive drugs and medicines. The party will attempt progressively to im-

prove the quality of the contributory health insurance scheme and extend its coverage to all those who are in employment. The possibility of supplementing this with group health insurance schemes for rural communities will be explored.

Housing for the Poor : The present scheme of providing housing sites to the rural poor remains inadequate and has sometimes even been illusory. The Janata party will undertake programmes of public housing and will formulate proposals to make credit easily available to genuine housing cooperatives in the rural and urban areas.

...Relieving Domestic Drudgery

It will encourage low-cost building and develop means and organisations to translate these concepts into practice. Urban policy will be designed to locate working class housing near places of work and to develop composite neighbourhoods rather than segregated areas for rich and poor.

Policy Regarding Urbanisation : The Janata party sees urbanisation and rural development as two facets of the same coin. It will frame a national population and employment policy geared to developing a harmonious hierarchy of settlements, rising from the village and rural growth centres upwards. A new rural-urban nexus must be forged that is egalitarian and productive and not discriminatory and exploitative. The growth of mega-cities will be discouraged through fiscal and other measures and medium and small settlements assisted to grow as employment and service centres.

The Janata party is for the

prevention of the growth of slum cities and for the improvement of slums where they exist. Urban government will be reorganised and made efficient and more representative.

New Village Movement : The new village movement we envisage will bring new life, hope and dignity to rural India seen as viable communities of functional rural clusters with improved dwellings, clean water and modern sanitation, a congenial environment, dependable and convenient energy supplies, adequate transport and communication facilities that link it to the larger world, suitable health and educational services, access to

covering old age and disability.

Women's Rights : Women constitute half the population of any country. No progress is possible if their problems and interests do not receive due attention. The Janata party believes in the equality of all citizens. It will, therefore, ensure women equal remuneration and equal opportunities in all walks of life. The education and training of women and their status in every sector of employment, including the household sector, must receive special attention. The drudgery of domestic work must be relieved and simple conveniences provided.

credit and markets, culturally invigorated and no longer compartmentalised by barriers of caste and feudal distinctions based on land ownership or occupation.

The new village will be the focus of modern farms and thriving workshops providing gainful and varied employment for all. Privation, dirt, drudgery and dead habit will be no more. Women will emerge into their own. The money lender and bonded labour will be things of the past. The new village will be open to science and technology. It will have live democratic institutions in its panchayats, youth clubs and mahila mandals and facilities for recreation and entertainment.

Social Security : The old, infirm, orphaned, handicapped, retired and other disabled or retarded persons have a legitimate claim on society. The Janata party will seek to build up a comprehensive social insurance schemes

Dowry is a social evil that must be rooted out completely. The party will give due consideration to the many valuable suggestions contained in the recently published Report on the Status of Women in India.

Children and Youth : The children of India are its future. They have a right to health, education, recreation, employment and opportunities for cultural pursuits. The party will formulate and implement programmes for student and youth service and will encourage physical fitness and sports. It will attempt to provide youth with increasing opportunities to assume responsibility in every sphere and sector of life. Student unions and other democratic rights will be restored.

Minorities : The Janata party is pledged to preserving the secular and richly diverse character of our state. It will accord the highest respect to the rights and

legitimate needs of the minorities. It believes that all citizens are equal and should be treated as equals and that they should have full protection against discrimination of any kind. There are numerous complaints about discrimination against minorities in industry, trade, commerce and in the matter of employment. The Janata party pledges itself to prevent any discrimination against the minorities, religious, cultural or linguistic, or against any citizen or group of citizens in the country.

Civil Rights

The party will establish a civil rights commission, an independent and autonomous body, competent to ensure that the minorities, scheduled castes and tribes, and other backward classes do not suffer from discrimination or inequality.

New Deal for Weaker Sections : It is a matter of deep shame that even three decades after the advent of independence, the social and economic conditions of the weaker sections of our society, particularly the scheduled castes and tribes, continue to be abject. They are still subject to many forms of discrimination and have been victims of foul atrocities. The average income of most of those groups is below the subsistence level. Their social and economic backwardness have made it difficult for them to take full advantage of even the limited opportunities and facilities available. This in turn affects and inhibits the avenues of employment and promotion open to them, and the acquisition of the skills necessary to take up projects for self-employment or co-operative efforts in the fields

PUBLIC NOTICE

In is hereby notified for the information of the public that The Delhi Cloth & General Mills Co. Ltd., Unit : DCM Data Products, proposes to give to the Central Govt. in the Deptt. of Company Affairs, New Delhi, a notice under sub-section (i) of Section 21 of Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act 1969 for substantial expansion of its activities. Brief particulars of the proposal are as under :

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (i) Name of person(s) Body corporate owning the undertaking. | The Delhi Cloth & General Mills Company Ltd., Delhi. | | | | | | |
| (ii) Capital structure of the applicant undertaking. | <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Authorised Share Capital</td> <td>Issued Capital</td> <td>Subscribed & paid up Capital</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Rs 50 crores</td> <td>Rs 19.58 crores</td> <td>Rs 19.58 crores</td> </tr> </table> | Authorised Share Capital | Issued Capital | Subscribed & paid up Capital | Rs 50 crores | Rs 19.58 crores | Rs 19.58 crores |
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| Rs 50 crores | Rs 19.58 crores | Rs 19.58 crores | | | | | |
| (iii) Details of the proposed substantial expansion : | | | | | | | |
| (a) Name of new goods to be produced, supplied controlled or distributed or of new services to be rendered. | Data Entry System with the annual capacity of 400 Nos. | | | | | | |
| (b) In the case of substantial expansion of existing activities. | Not Applicable | | | | | | |
| (i) Name of goods | N.A. | | | | | | |
| (ii) Capacity before expansion. | N.A. | | | | | | |
| (iii) Expansion proposed. | N.A. | | | | | | |
| (iv) Location of the project for substantial expansion. | DCM Data Products, SBM Premises, Shivaji Marg, New Delhi-110015. | | | | | | |
| (v) Brief outline of the cost of the project, the scheme and sources of finances. | Rs 21.50 lacs. The investment is proposed to be made by the Company from their internal resources. | | | | | | |

Any person interested in the matter may make a representation to the Secretary, Deptt. of Company Affairs, Govt. of India, Shastri Bhavan, New Delhi, within 14 days from the date of publication of the notice, intimating his views on the proposal and indicating the nature of the interest therein.

S/d
S. RATNAM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dated this day 8th March 1977

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| Rs. 50 crores | Rs. 19.58 crores | Rs. 19.58 crores | | | | | |
| (iii) Details of the proposed substantial expansion: | | | | | | | |
| (a) Name of new goods to be produced, supplied controlled or distributed or of new services to be rendered. | Data Logging/Acquisition/Processing Equipment with the annual capacity of 500 Nos. | | | | | | |
| (b) In case of substantial expansion of existing activities. | Not applicable | | | | | | |
| (i) Name of goods: | N.A. | | | | | | |
| (ii) Capacity before expansion. | N.A. | | | | | | |
| (iii) Expansion proposed | N.A. | | | | | | |
| (iv) Location of the Project for substantial expansion. | DCM Data Products, SBM Premises, Shivaji Marg, New Delhi-110015. | | | | | | |
| (v) Brief outline of the cost of the project, the scheme and source of finances. | Rs. 50.50 lacs. The investment is proposed to be made by the Company from their internal resources. | | | | | | |

Any person interested in the matter may make a representation to the Secretary, Department of Company Affairs, Govt. of India, Shastri Bhavan, New Delhi, within 14 days from the date of publication of this notice, intimating his views on the proposal and indicating the nature of the interest therein.

S/d
S. RATNAM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR.

Dated this day 8th March 1977



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Add to this our service—and you have a 'System' to work with. We call it the Integrated Abrasive System. Something that takes into account all

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Service-conscious suppliers of basic tools for industry

of agriculture, industry and trade.

The Janata party believes that the disparities that separate these members of our society from the more educationally and economically advanced sections cannot be radically reduced without a policy of special treatment in their favour. It will accordingly provide preferential opportunities for education and self-employment to these sections.

Reservation of Seats

In this connection it will reserve between 25 and 33 per cent of all appointments to government service for the backward classes, as recommended by the Kalelkar Commission. Harijans will be provided house-sites.

The stigma of untouchability must be effaced through legal and educational measures and by social action. The carrying of head-loads for scavenging will be banned and alternative facilities provided. The party will formulate a special programme within the framework of the five-year Plans for the substantial advancement of the scheduled castes and tribes and other backward classes and will provide adequate funds for the purpose. Special machinery will be set up to implement the programme and assure fulfilment of the relevant constitutional guarantees.

Caste distinctions must be ended.

Tribal Interests : The land and forest rights of the scheduled tribes will be safeguarded. Forest policies should not be formulated or implemented at the cost of the adivasis. Nor should forest contractors be permitted to exploit these simple people. Forest villages should

be converted into revenue villages.

Tribal culture are part of India's varied heritage and will be given due protection and every encouragement.

Special plans will be drawn up for backward and neglected regions such as the northeast, J & K, the Himalayan belt, the desert areas and Kutch, the Sunderbans, the Maland Tract and the Outer Islands.

Cancer of Corruption : The Janata party will take immediate and firm steps to rid public life of the corruption that has crept into it at all levels, especially after the emergency. Unless those who

the pleasure of the government. The party will enact a law requiring holders of public office to declare their assets immediately on assuming and demitting office.

People's Initiative: The party will respect and foster the creative urges of the people and promote popular initiative. It will, accordingly, give every support to constructive voluntary action in all fields. Likewise, it will promote the arts and our tremendously rich folk culture in all regions.

The party will introduce reforms to make justice speedy

of a larger population policy package, without coercion;

10. A new deal for the scheduled castes and tribes with special machinery to guarantee their rights and interests;

11. A civil rights commission;

12. Automatic machinery for combating corruption;

13. Women's rights and youth welfare;

14. Legal aid and inexpensive justice;

15. Fostering people's initiatives and voluntary action.

Foreign Policy : The Janata party's foreign policy will

...Ending Caste Distinctions

hold office at the highest levels, including ministers, legislators and bureaucrats, set an example in probity and honesty, it will be impossible to restore integrity in public life. The party will, therefore, take drastic measures in this field. It will ensure that every one of its officers and cadres adheres to the highest norms of integrity. It will give effect to the recommendations of the Santhanam Committee on corruption in the administration and public life. It will also enact the long-pending Lokpal and Lokayukt Bill and will bring the prime minister and chief ministers within its purview.

The object must be to devise and establish special procedures and agencies for the automatic cognisance of complaints of corruption and misuse of authority so that allegations against persons in high places, not excluding the prime minister and chief ministers, are investigated and disposed of independently of

and inexpensive and bring it within the reach of the poor through legal aid. It deplores the punitive transfer and supercession of judges and will take steps to review all such processes as have tended to undermine the independence and integrity of the bench and bar.

Social Charter : The Janata party's social charter will comprise:

1. Education reform with middle schooling for all within 12 years;

2. Eradication of illiteracy;

3. Safe drinking water for all;

4. Stress on community and preventive health, and measures towards group health insurance;

5. A new village movement;

6. Low-cost building and mass public housing;

7. A policy regarding urbanisation;

8. A comprehensive scheme of social insurance;

reflect the nation's enlightened interest and its aspirations and priorities at home. It will oppose all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism. It stands for friendship for all. It is committed to genuine non-alignment free from attachment to any power bloc. It will strive for the peaceful settlement of all international disputes and will work with other Third World nations to establish a new and just international economic order.

The party will strive to resolve such outstanding issues as remain with some of its neighbours and will consciously promote a good neighbour policy. It stands for regional cooperation for the common good, and for global detente free of new blocs or spheres of influence and based on universal and general disarmament.

It will uphold human rights and denounce their violation wherever and whenever this might occur.

Defence : A constructive

and imaginative foreign policy is a country's best defence. The party will, however, fully maintain defence preparedness and ensure that the superior training and strategy of the armed forces is matched with the best possible weaponry and equipment, indigenously produced or procured from varied and dependable sources that will not be cut off in a crisis, with due regard to cost-effectiveness.

It will review the force levels and role of such paramilitary establishments as the BSF.

The Indian armed forces

constitute a splendid pool of trained and disciplined manpower which should not be lost to the nation on early retirement. Special schemes will be sought to utilise ex-servicemen for various constructive purposes including land and water conservation programmes which call for a variety of organisational and technical skills.

Open Government in a New Society : The Janata party promises an open government in a free society and will not misuse the intelligence services and governmental authority for personal or partisan ends. It will open and sustain a

dialogue with the people at all levels and on all issues. The new society it promises is not empty rhetoric like the ruling party's socialism of and for the new political zamindars and vested interests it has created. It will build from the bottom upwards, before all else to raise the marginal man above the poverty line in consonance with the Gandhian philosophy of "Antyodaya". This calls for a new type of planning, a new approach to administration, new values, and an altogether new ethos.

Faith in the Future : The Janata party has faith in the future of India because

it has unstinted faith in the Indian people—their traditions, their values, their courage, their humanism, their dedication. The people know just how near the precipice the country has been brought by our present rulers, and for what ends.

Steeled by this experience and determined to live as free people, the Janata party calls on every citizen to rally and fight the tyranny so that we may all, with goodwill and civility, join together in building the future: a free and just society.

Onward to victory, freedom, progress.

CFD Believes in...

PLEDGING ITSELF to full restoration of all democratic norms in the governance of the nation, withdrawal of emergency and repeal of the MISA and other arbitrary laws, the Congress for Democracy (CFD), in its manifesto, has appealed to the people to be fearless and vote with a clear conscience.

The nine-point political charter enunciated by the former minister for Agriculture and Irrigation, Mr Jagjivan Ram, while leaving the central government and the Congress party, has been reiterated in the manifesto. It has been stressed that these demands have not been conceded by the government.

Public Sector

In the economic field, the CFD, according to the manifesto, stands for building up the public sector to commanding heights and curbing of the growth of monopoly houses, supply of essential commodities at stable prices within the reach of the common man, full participation of workers at all stages in industry, completion of land reforms within the shortest possible period, ensuring of remunerative prices for agricultural produce, provision of houses and housing sites for the rural and the urban population, strengthening of the defence industries complex, fostering of the growth of agro-based industries for providing immediate employment in rural areas and growth of heavy industries and technology to sustain this growth.

The party also stands for integrated national development based on economic self-

reliance. It wants to curb non-Plan expenditure.

The CFD, the manifesto further stresses, wants to build India on the basis of "scientific socialism". It stands for "a modern India of the vision of Nehru". It proposes to delete the right to property as fundamental right.

Problems of Minorities

The party promises to pay special attention to the specific problems of minorities, the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. It will strive to secure the guarantee of real wages, service conditions and employment opportunities for them. To the youth, the CFD promises lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18 years. Women are to be provided such special benefits as maternity benefits, creches for children in factories and wages on the principle of "equal pay for equal work". Equality of opportunities of educational facilities has been promised to all children.

To talk of strong centre, the manifesto says, must not be confused with the urge for building up a strong coterie at the centre. Strong and stable centre, it stresses, can thrive only if all the components of the Republic are treated with equality and made to feel the importances of unity of the country in their day-to-day life. The party, therefore, stands for strengthening the federal structure of the constitution.

The CFD has expressed strong opposition to the recent amendments to the constitution which have empowered the government to make laws declaring individuals and organisations anti-national without a

guaranteed judicial review up to the highest court and conferred powers on the centre to send troops in states, irrespective of their wishes on the pretext of maintenance of law and order. It is opposed to all curbs on the powers of the judiciary in the matters of life and liberty.

In the field of international affairs, the manifesto says that we must steadfastly adhere to the true spirit of independence which underlined the tradition of our freedom struggle. The tried and trusted friends of the

fiance against injustice and oppression. He stood for the dignity of the individual and self-respect. Masses in action were his irrepressible power.

For some time past, all that the Congress stood for was in the process of liquidation. Democracy in the Congress was being destroyed systematically. Congressmen lost their voice.

The democratic institutions created by the constitution of India were reduced to convenient instruments for asserting personal power. The centre-

...Scientific Socialism

country shall remain secure in our friendship. The growing friendship with the socialist countries will be strengthened further and endeavours would be made to befriend those opposed to us. The party will strive its utmost for building bridges of friendship with the closer neighbours, particularly Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The manifesto points out that the coming election provides the last opportunity to revert back to democratic way of life.

The following is the full text of the manifesto of the Congress for Democracy:

The Congress for Democracy is the revolt of the conscience of the Indian National Congress to preserve and protect the rich traditions and objectives of this great organisation and to carry them forward.

Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation, taught us to be fearless and face the most powerful foreign ruler with love and without bitterness. He represented the spirit of de-

state relations had lost their real meaning and the chief ministers were reduced as obedient instruments of the prime minister to build and project extra-constitutional centres of power. Those who refused to compromise their self-respect and their constitutional obligations were destabilised. Attempts were made to destroy the parliamentary democracy and the constitution in the name of convening a new Constituent Assembly.

All these actions were the culmination of the continued denial of basic rights to freedom of speech and expression and the right to liberty which are the foundations of a democracy. This was made possible because of persistent refusal to revoke emergency even after it had lost its relevance and validity. The prime minister was gripped with fear. Personal power and still more powers for the government were found necessary for suppressing the voice of the masses.

Freedom from fear is the

KEEP YOUR STATION CLEAN

THERE IS NO DENYING THAT CLEAN SURROUNDINGS MIRROR THE CHARACTER OF AN INDIVIDUAL AND MOULD OUR ATTITUDE. SUCH SURROUNDINGS RADIATE JOY.

We keep our homes spick and span. Why not practise the same in public places also?

On railway platforms, in waiting rooms, in carriages, and in fact, anywhere where people gather in large numbers it is of paramount importance that surroundings are maintained clean.

We on the railways, have launched a cleanliness drive which has produced handsome results. The railways wear a more presentable look. We, however, realise much more needs to be done. We shall relentlessly strive to do better.

YOU CAN ALSO HELP RAILWAYS, KEEP STATION AND THE ADJACENT PLACES CLEAN BY TAKING CARE THAT AREAS AROUND YOU ARE IN PERFECT CONDITION. WHY NOT UTILIZE THE SERVICES OF THE RAILWAY SANITARY STAFF. THEY ARE THERE TO SERVE YOU.

ON YOUR OWN PART PLEASE DO NOT ALLOW LITTER TO BE THROWN EXCEPT IN DUST-BINS. EVERY SMALL ACT WILL HELP US SERVE YOU BETTER.

RAILWAYS ARE YOUR PROPERTY. KEEP IT CLEAN.

NORTHERN RAILWAY

first essential to make India strong. The involvement of masses was lacking to complete the unfinished economic revolution. Programmes were announced but the instruments were not created to implement them and powerful forces were unleashed to see that they were side-stepped and not implemented.

The Congress for Democracy was, therefore, born so that emergency is ended, liberties of the citizens are restored, fear is banished from public life and all of us march together to build India on the basis of scientific socialism in keeping with our rich cultural heritage.

The Congress for Democracy stands for a modern India of the vision of Nehru. This was a duty entrusted to him by the father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi, to wipe every tear from every eye.

Political Situation

Serious distortions in democratic values of our constitution are threatening this country with disintegration. A feeling of instability has overtaken several states. The Congressmen have been afraid of speaking their minds even when the Congress was being alienated from the people for obvious misuse of draconian powers.

The independence of judiciary stands compromised. The citizens do not feel secure since judicial review is ousted. The freedom of press is reduced to a mockery. Suffocation prevails all round.

The Congress for Democracy is opposed to the provisions in the constitution as amended giving powers to the government to make laws to declare individuals and organisations "anti-national" without a guaranteed judicial review up to the highest court.

It is also opposed to the powers given to the centre to

vention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Act.

(5) The restoration of the Feroze Gandhi Act ensuring immunity for the publication of parliamentary proceedings so that the communication between Parliament and the people is re-established.

(6) The declaration by the government that the police and the para-military forces shall not be used in the election in any manner that may intimidate the voters.

(7) The government machinery shall not be used in any manner for the purpose of promoting the interest and image of any person in political life.

(8) The government mass

...Restoration of Habeas Corpus

media, particularly the radio, Samachar and the television, shall observe the norms that prevailed before emergency.

(9) Restore the right to habeas corpus and the writ to judicial review.

These demands have not been conceded. The Congress for Democracy pledges itself to see that these demands are fully met and all democratic norms are revived back to life in the governance of the nation.

The Congress for Democracy stands for restoration of the federal principle without distortions as envisaged by the founding fathers of our Constitution.

The Congress for Democracy is opposed to the provisions in the constitution as amended giving powers to the government to make laws to declare individuals and organisations "anti-national" without a guaranteed judicial review up to the highest court.

It is also opposed to the powers given to the centre to

send troops in state irrespective of their wishes on the pretext of maintenance of law and order.

It is also opposed to all curbs on the powers of the judiciary in matters of life and liberty.

It stands for deletion of the right to property as fundamental right and guaranteed implementation of the directive principles of state policy.

The economic situation in the country is not at all as rosy as is made out to mislead the people. The workers in the public sector have increased production. The farmers have increased agricultural production. But both are groaning under the weight

of the government policies denying them justice, whereas in industry and in trade huge profits have been earned and policies have been manipulated in favour of favoured segments of private sector. The gap between promise and performance has eroded the credibility of the government. Rise in prices of essential commodities in spite of bumper crops and denial of just and remunerative prices to farmer has alienated both producer and the consumer. The nationalised banks and other credit institutions are subjected to all forms of manipulation resulting in rise in prices and introducing various distortions in the economic life of the nation.

The growth in the public and private sectors was sought to be diverted in export and thereby deny the people the fruits of modern industry resulting in perpetuation of India's backwardness.

No steps were taken to pre-

vent unjustified lock-outs and closures or to ensure full utilisation of existing industrial capacity. Large concessions were announced in favour of monopoly houses and chosen owners of industry, but the workers have been denied bonus which essentially is a deferred wage, dearness allowance and their just dues.

The Congress for Democracy stands for commanding heights of the public sector and curbs on the monopoly houses. It also stands for full utilisation of our industrial capacity and capabilities with a view to accelerating economic growth.

The Congress for Democracy stands for all steps to ensure the supply of all essen-

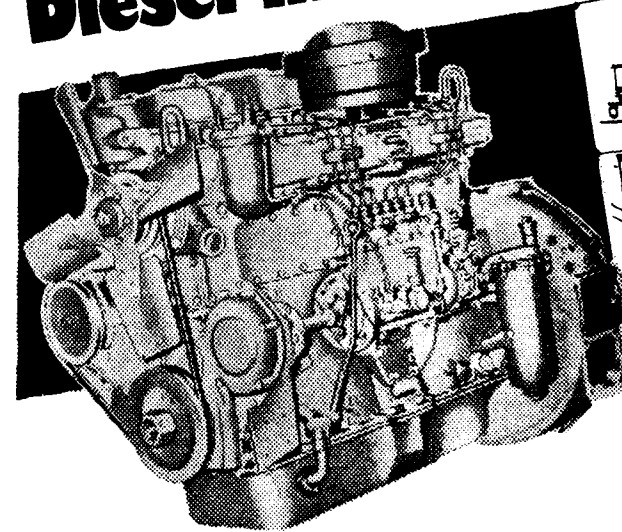
tial commodities at a fixed and stable price within the reach of the common man.

The Congress for Democracy stands for full participation of workers at all stages in industry.

The completion of land reforms within the shortest possible time is our foremost task. We stand for a just and remunerative price for agricultural produce and ensured supply of agricultural inputs at a reasonable price. We stand for the growth of agro-based industry for providing immediate employment in rural areas and for the continued growth of heavy industries and technology to sustain this growth.

The planning in the country has to be given its place of pride. We stand for checking the dangerous process of growing regional disparities. We also stand for integrated national development based on economic self-reliance. We

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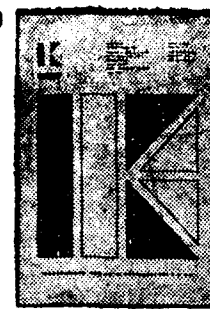


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want curbs on non-planned expenditure.

We stand for providing house and house-sites for the rural and urban poor immediately. We also stand for providing them with easy and cheap credit and concerted efforts to increase opportunities of gainful employment for them.

We stand for strengthening the defence and defence industry complex aiming at self-reliance and for avoiding wastage of trained defence manpower.

We shall ensure democratic functioning in such a concrete manner that the apparatus of state must reflect the aspirations of the common man at

come groups. In fact, our education has to be oriented towards the upliftment of the downtrodden. We stand for uniform service conditions, pay scales and other amenities to teachers of various categories in India. With education being brought on the concurrent list in the constitution, the centre should form grants commissions for primary and secondary education on the pattern of the present University Grants Commission. The CFD stands for restoration of full autonomy for the university.

For the millions steeped in ignorance and illiteracy, it shall be our single-minded endeavour to bring education free or at least within the reach

communities, religious, ethnic or linguistic. It is for us to instill the confidence into the minorities that they are not to beg for opportunities but to assert for their long-neglected rights. While their economic disabilities have to be removed, their social disabilities have to be consciously combated. Necessary administrative measures should be taken to ensure for the minorities not only their protection but their rights as well. Urdu will be given its rightful place. We pledge to spread the sense of equality and fraternity among all communities.

Special regard has to be paid to the difficulties, both economic and social, faced by the

that in the selection of our legislative bodies, the youth may have a greater say.

Role of Women

Our country has the tradition of active participation of women in political, cultural and social life. The principle of equal pay for equal work should be implemented. Special benefits should be provided such as maternity benefits, creches for children in factories.

It is important for us to strengthen the federal structure of our constitution. The talk of a strong centre must not be confused with the urge for building a strong coterie at the centre. It is to be realised that strong and stable centre can thrive only if all the components of the Republic are treated with equality and are made to feel the importance of unity of the country in their day-to-day life.

In the arena of international affairs, we should steadfastly adhere to the true spirit of independence which underlined the tradition of our freedom struggle.

Our tried and trusted friends shall remain secure in our friendship. Our growing friendship with the socialist countries will be strengthened further. Those who have opposed us we shall endeavour to befriend. We shall strive our utmost for building bridges of friendship with our closer neighbours, particularly with our brothers in Pakistan and Bangladesh.

While working sincerely with all the weight at our command in favour of comprehensive disarmament on world scale, India shall continue to maintain its independence in respect of peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We shall always safeguard our national dignity

...Uplift of the Downtrodden

every tier of governance from the village to the district, to the state and to the centre.

We shall review all arbitrary actions taken against honest and conscientious men in the administration and distortions in administrative machinery during and before the emergency. We shall encourage the initiative of our own gifted scientists, engineers and technocrats. Tax authorities shall be instruments of justice and equity and not of suppression and personal vendetta. Merchant adventurers, black marketers, smugglers, tax evaders and other economic offenders shall be ruthlessly eliminated.

Congress for Democracy stands for a uniform pattern of education for the masses, meaning thereby provisions of equality of opportunities of educational facilities for all children, rich or poor, high or low. The so-called public schools are to be maintained for all outstanding students drawn from families of all in-

everybody. The cost of education which has been increased several times during emergency will be reduced to its pre-emergency level. Equality of educational opportunity has to be enforced and not to be allowed to be a paper scheme. In the choice of syllabus, there should be conscious effort at correcting distortions of history so that the rich and composite culture of India is fully reflected in our educational system.

Our cultural life has to be enriched by bringing about a harmonious blend of the rich heritage of the past with the significant contributions of the modern times. Along with the advance of science and technology in our country, of which we have every reason to be proud, we shall, by precept and practice, dedicate ourselves to inculcating scientific temper among our people.

We shall pay special attention to the specific problems and needs felt by all minority

scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The Untouchability Act should be effectively implemented to drive out the curse of untouchability from our society. We shall strive to secure the guarantee of real wages, service conditions and employment opportunities for them.

Our economic set-up and the government policies can hardly solve the problem of unemployment which is largely the root cause of youth discontent. Apart from presenting an enlightened outlook before the youth, it is necessary that their material well-being should be our constant concern. With this end in view, we should try to cut down non-development expenditure and investment should be directed to labour-intensive programmes of development. This will help to enlarge the scope for employment even under the present set-up.

It will be important to lower the voting age to 18 years so

and national honour — not in words but in deeds. In keeping with the mandate of our movement for independence, we shall actively consolidate our solidarity with all those struggling to be free from colonial and racial domination.

We shall set up judicial enquiry into all administrative excesses during emergency and review all the arbitrary and anti-people and anti-democratic legislation passed during emergency.

Our appeal is directed to the poor and the dispossessed in our country. Our appeal is directed to the millions of our youths, intelligentsia, teachers in the schools and colleges of India. Our appeal is directed to the working class of India and the vast mass of our kisans and the landless labourers. Our appeal is directed to all those who feel and think about the future of our country. Be fearless and vote with clear conscience.

Last Chance

People of India — you are face to face with life and death, liberty and slavery, people's rule and open society or rule by a caucus. The coming election provides the last opportunity to revert back to democratic way of life bequeathed to us by the Father of the Nation. If this occasion is lost, if we fail to discharge our obligation correctly, a dark night shall descend on our people which will continue for decades to come.

The choice is limited. The occasion is rare. The task is historic. Destiny has ordained that we shall in a generation face one more occasion either to live in light and make the future safe for generations to come or be condemned to live in perpetual darkness. Our cause is just. Our victory is assured. Jai Hind.

COMPANY NOTICE

Hindustan Aluminium Corporation Limited

Registered Office :
'CENTURY BHAVAN',
Dr Annie Besant Road,
Bombay 400 025

NOTICE is hereby given that the Eighteenth Annual General Meeting of the Shareholders of the Company will be held on Monday, the 11th April, 1977 at 4-00 P.M. (S.T.) at Birla Matushri Sabhagar, 19, Marine Lines, Bombay 400020 to transact the business as contained in the Notice dated 1st March, 1977 which together with the Explanatory Statement relating to the relevant business specified therein is being posted to all the members individually at their registered addresses.

NOTICE is also hereby given pursuant to Section 154 of the Companies Act, 1956 that the Register of Members and Transfer Books of both Equity and Preference Shares of the Company will remain closed from 12th March, 1977 to 28th March 1977, both days inclusive.

By order of the Board of Directors

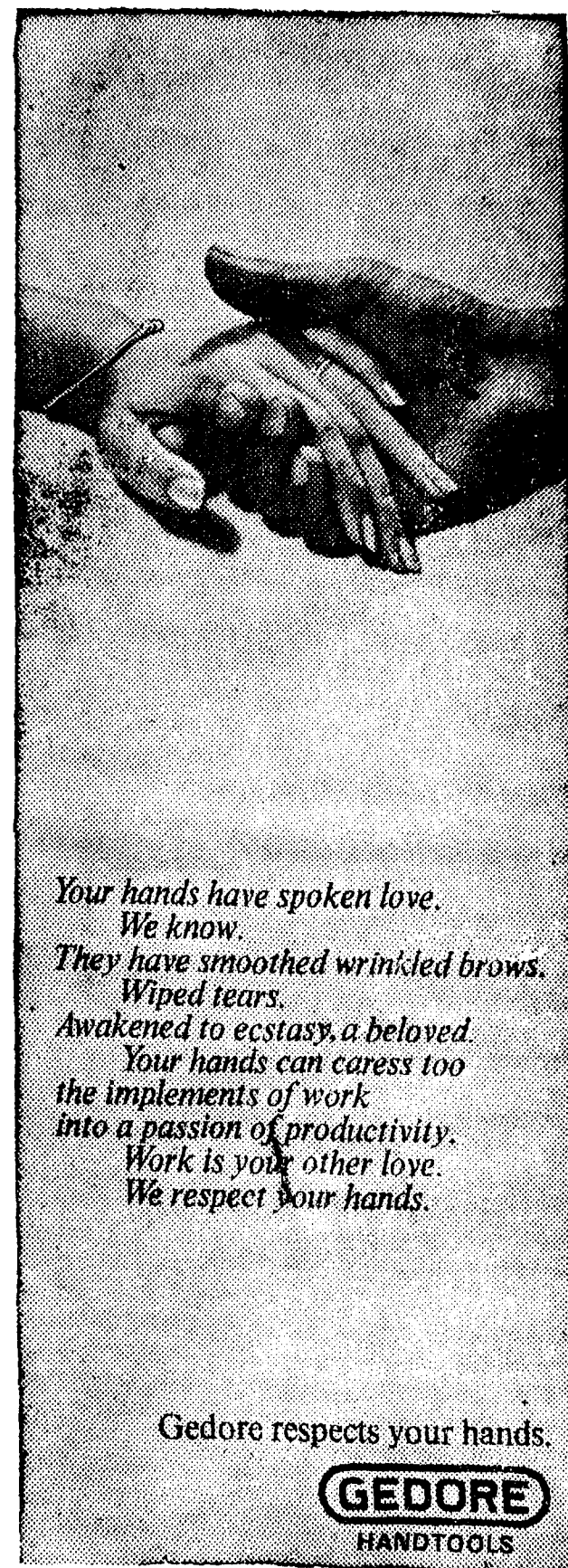
Bombay, M.K. Jain
Dated the 1st day Secretary
of March, 1977

Notes :

(A) A member entitled to attend and vote is entitled to appoint a proxy to attend and vote instead of himself and the proxy need not be a Member.

(B) The dividends on the Equity and Preference Shares as recommended by the Directors, when sanctioned at the Annual General meeting, will be made payable on and after 12th April, 1977 to those shareholders whose names stand on the Register of the company as on 28th March, 1977 to whom dividend warrants will be posted.

(C) Shareholders are requested to intimate to the Company changes, if any, in their registered addresses.



*Your hands have spoken love.
We know.
They have smoothed wrinkled brows.
Wiped tears.
Awakened to ecstasy, a beloved.
Your hands can caress too
the implements of work
into a passion of productivity.
Work is your other love.
We respect your hands.*

Gedore respects your hands.

GEDORE
HANDTOOLS

MT-GT-3574 A-1

CPI(M) Warns Against...

THE COMMUNIST Party of India (Maxists), in its manifesto, has appealed to the people to be on the alert against the impending danger to all democratic rights and civil liberties and parliamentary democratic institutions at the hands of the Congress and to vote enmass to inflict a crushing defeat on the Congress party.

The party will strive its utmost to prevent the division of the votes of the opposition parties—a division which in the past has enabled the Congress to secure seats utterly disproportionate to the votes secured by it. It is desirous of avoiding mutual contests with the Janata party and seeks seat adjustments with all opposition parties and groups which are ready to fight the emergency and inflict a defeat on the ruling Congress party.

Fighters for Democracy

The CPI(M) and its allies, the manifesto says, are the most consistent fighters for democracy and social transformation. The manifesto expresses extreme distress over the right Communist party leaders lending support to the emergency rule and the constitutional amendments made through the 42nd Constitution Amendment Act.

The 42nd Constitution Amendment Act, the CPI(M) says, has subverted the basic features of the constitution by denigrating the importance of fundamental rights in the name of giving priority to the enforcement of directive principles which were never sought to be implemented (by the government). The amendment also attacks basic rights, except

the right to property, while incorporating the word socialism in the preamble. It as well denigrates the role of the judiciary and subverts the federal structure of the constitution by concentrating enormous powers in the hands of the central government.

The CPI(M) manifesto notes that the elections will be held under the emergency which has shorn people of all their rights. The Congress party and its government dare not lift this attack on people's rights and allow them the free right to exercise their vote. The so-called relaxation in emergency, it says, is only a showpiece to deceive the Indian people and the world.

The release of political prisoners and leaders of opposition parties, the manifesto says, does not change the truth that the leaders and the political parties will not be allowed to function normally and tell the whole truth about the anti-people policies of the Congress party, the truth of repression and deprivation of the people suppressed through the censored and controlled press. MISA, the manifesto points out, still stands there as a threat to be used against the cadre of any political party whose activities endanger or affect Congress chances or carry the truth to the people. Never before was a parliamentary election held under more restrictions and repressive conditions and also under conditions one-party dictatorship, the manifesto adds.

Referring to the performance of the government during the

last six years and particularly during the 19-month period of emergency, the CPI(M) manifesto says that no previous regime has committed so many crimes against the common people as the Indira Gandhi government. The gathering drive for one-party dictatorship has completed its most important phase—getting constitutional sanction for the supremacy of the executive over every organ of the state and the people themselves. The nation has been converted into a nation of suppressed people. The ministry and the bureaucracy run the

particularly highlighted in the manifesto which points out that the people must starve with a bumper harvest when the government and traders' godowns are bursting with grain and there is no place to store them. The people are just too poor to buy and consume the grain, sugar, fruits, vegetables, fish and cloth produced in the country. In a nutshell, the economy of the country, the CPI(M) says, has been mismanaged by the Congress party—all because it wants to serve the interests of the monopolists and landlords.

Referring to the 20-point

...Impending Danger

show. Parliament has become a decoration to be shown to the outside world. The CPI(M) called upon the electorate and the people to denounce the conspiracy against them, the design to transform them into abject slaves, and demand withdrawal of emergency as well as the new constitutional amendments.

Referring to the economic conditions in the country, the CPI(M) points out that not only the prices of all necessities of life today are beyond the means of the common man—be he an agricultural worker or a peasant, an industrial worker or an employee—there has also been a massive increase in unemployment. Never before since independence, it is claimed in the manifesto, was the common man, every family, so much haunted by high prices, the robbery of the market as during the present regime.

The lack of purchasing power of the people has been

programme, the CPI(M) points out that this programme also stands unfulfilled and betrayed. Facts and figures have been quoted in support of this contention.

The sterilisation drive too has been vehemently criticised in the CPI(M) manifesto. No previous government, it says, dared to insult and humiliate the nation as the present government when it initiated the drive for forcible sterilisation of the people under the pressure of the World Bank. Never before were the Indian people, the poorer sections, treated like cattle.

The following 13-point programme has been put forth by CPI(M) around which it wants the left and democratic parties and forces to rally round:

1. Withdrawal of the emergency; release of political prisoners and withdrawal of warrants; repeal of the 42nd Constitution Amendment and other

repressive laws like MISA and the Press Objectionable Matters Act;

2. Take-over of foreign capital; ban on entry of multi-nationals and investment of private foreign capital;

3. Moratorium on foreign debt payments;

4. Nationalisation of monopoly houses; nationalisation of sugar, textile, jute, cement and drug industries; adequate financial and other assistance to small and medium industries;

5. Take-over of foreign trade;

6. Ending of corruption and bureaucratism in the public sector undertakings;

7. Restoration of democratic and trade union rights and collective bargaining through trade unions whose representatives character must be decided by secret ballot of the workers; need-based minimum wage and full neutralisation of the rise in the cost of living; withdrawal of the Bonus Act; measures against victimization;

8. Abolition of landlordism by taking over the entire land of the landlords and their distribution gratis to landless labourers and poor peasants; minimum wage of Rs 8 per day to agricultural labourers;

9. Cancellation of debts of peasants, landless labourers and rural poor and provision of adequate and cheap credit to them; supply of inputs and essential articles at cheap rates to them, remunerative prices for their produce to be ensured through government purchase; lowering of taxes and other levies on the peasants; firm measures against social oppression of harijans;

10. Bringing down of prices by drastically reducing taxes

and levies on essential articles; state takeover of wholesale trade in foodgrains and other essential articles and their distribution under supervision of people's committees; compulsory procurement of all the

marketable surplus of foodgrains of all landlords;

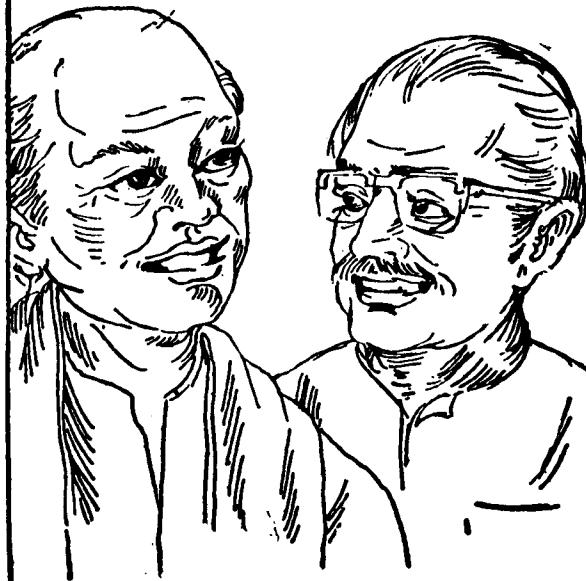
11. Right to work to be made a fundamental constitutional right and provision to be made for unemployment relief;

12. Compulsory free education up to the age of 14 and eradication of illiteracy;

13. A foreign policy of consistent anti-imperialism and close cooperation with socialist countries.

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CPI Calls to Vote for...

In its election manifesto, the Communist Party of India (CPI) has called upon the people to give a decisive majority in the forthcoming elections to the Lok Sabha to progressive and democratic forces. The people, it says, have to make a momentous choice for the advance to full-fledged democracy leading to socialism. At stake are the impressive gains the country has won through unity, sacrifice and struggle of the masses and of patriotic and democratic forces; the economic advance made through the building up of a powerful and dynamic public sector; the move towards economic independence; the direction and context of economic policy; the progressive objectives and policies of the nation; the parliamentary democratic system, the democratic rights of the masses and the cherished democratic norms and values; and the paramount issue of livelihood of the masses.

Emergency Misused

About emergency, the manifesto says that after the initial period of some achievements, the emergency powers came to be more and more misused against the working class, the peasantry, the common people and the democratic forces. The parliamentary democratic system and institutions were sought to be weakened and undermined on one pretext or another by the ruling party.

Concessions to vested interests went hand-in-hand with coercive sterilisation, demolition of dwelling houses of the poor, denial of the workers' long-standing right to bonus and impounding of their dearness allowance. Land reforms were

shelved and the 20-point programme (of the government) put in the background. Authoritarian trends and practices in the conduct of the government and also otherwise in the affairs of the states began to grow. There were increasing violations of accepted norms of democratic standards and procedures. Persistent efforts were made to encourage extra-constitutional methods and centres of personal power. The machinery and resources of the states were recklessly used to build up a personality who has no official status. All this has caused tremendous discontent and revulsion among the

masses and all democratic forces.

The CPI, the manifesto adds, while supporting the progressive measures and programmes, has consistently opposed the negative features. About the Janata party, it says that the rightist grand alliance has now reappeared in the garb of this party and is posing a new danger which must be fought.

To defend and extend democracy, to safeguard the living conditions of the people and to create stable conditions for national economic development, the party has put forward the following 10-point programme and seeks the mandate from the electorate for it:

1. To Safeguard and Extend Democracy—Lift the emergency; remove press censorship and stop misuse of Samachar, All India Radio and TV in favour of the ruling party; repeal MISA and the Publication of Objectionable Matters (Preven-

tion) Act; restore the "Feroze Gandhi Act"; repeal the anti-people clauses of the 42nd Constitution Amendment Act; set up popular committees for implementation of land reform and other democratic measures.

2. For Holding the Priceline—Strengthen and expand the public distribution system; supply essential commodities at reasonable prices; take over wholesale trade in foodgrains and essential commodities like edible oils; adjust retail traders in the public distribution system; ban bank credit for speculative purposes.

3. For Economic Independence and Revitalisation of

lities; promote industries with high employment potential in backward areas and agro-industries in rural area; more funds for scientific research; orient research programmes to self-reliance and development; adequate opportunities to scientific and technological intelligentsia for creative work; stop brain drain.

4. For the Working Class—Minimum living wage and guaranteed bonus; scrap compulsory deposit scheme and refund the deposits; restore the dearness allowance cuts; total ban on lay-offs, lock-outs, retrenchment and closures; full recognition of trade union rights,

Economy—Orient planning to development of home market; rapid industrialisation; creation of employment and democratic structural changes; resist pressures of the World Bank and neo-colonial offensive of imperialists, prevent penetration of multi-national companies; strengthen the public sector and extend it to essential consumer goods production; democratise the public sector; ensure workers' effective participation in management at all levels in the public sector with real power to go into and check all aspects including balance sheets and pricing policies; nationalise textile, sugar, jute and foreign drug industries and all banking business; cancel all concessions given to big business in the last two years; change taxation policies to reduce burden on the people, encourage small and medium units through adequate credit and provision of raw materials and marketing faci-

including the right to collective bargaining and strike, and right to be consulted by the government in all matters of legislation regarding the working class and trade unions.

5. For Peasants, Agricultural Labour and Tribal People—Remunerative prices for produce of peasants; adequate credit, extended irrigation facilities and cheap input for agricultural operations; graded land tax and water and electricity rates; reduction in tax burden on the working peasantry; protect interests of tenants and share-croppers; abolition of bonded labour; living wages to agricultural workers; implement the revised minimum wages; complete land reforms expeditiously; distribute surplus and government wastelands among the landless; restore alienated tribal lands to their rightful owners.

6. For Weavers and Artisans—Supply of cheap yarn and

...Democratic Progressive Forces

Other raw materials and provision of marketing facilities; cooperatives to cover all weavers and artisans.

7. For Women—Effective implementation of all laws providing for equal status for women; equal pay for similar work in all spheres; comprehensive family welfare programme with emphasis on mother and child care, no coercive methods of family planning; provision of maternity homes and creches at work centres.

8. For Youth, Students and Teachers—Right to work; labour-intensive schemes in urban and rural areas; voting right at 18; overhaul educational system to give it secular and socialist content; representation to students in administration of educational institutions; cheap textbooks and messing facilities; better emoluments to primary and secondary school teachers; implementation of UGC scales for college teachers; democratic rights and security of service to all teachers.

9. For Muslims, Other Minorities and Harijans—Administrative and other steps to give effective protection to the rights of Muslims, other minorities and other backward sections of the people; end all discrimination against them; strengthen the Untouchability Act; punitive action against those who commit atrocities and practise social boycott against harijans.

10. To Defend and Strengthen Foreign Policy—Defend and strengthen India's anti-imperialist positions; organise world opinion against foreign bases, particularly Diego Garcia; strengthen non-alignment and its anti-imperialist cohesiveness; expand and deepen India's friendship and political and economic relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

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Akali Dal Assails...

THE AKALI Dal, in its election manifesto, has reiterated its firm faith in democracy, socialism and secularism and also reiterated its well-known stand for greater autonomy of states, appointment of a permanent autonomous commission like Lokpal for the prevention of ministerial and official corruption and misconduct—both at the centre and in the states—and declaration of their assets by persons assuming public office. If it comes to power at the centre in alliance with the Janata party and the Congress for Democracy, the party has proposed to set up a special commission to go into the charges of misuse of official machinery, corrupt practices and coercion and harassment of common citizens during the period of emergency.

Damocles' Sword

The emergency, according to Akali Dal hangs like a Damocles' Sword over the heads of patriotic and democratic forces in the election. But despite this, the party, it says, has accepted the challenge of election. It has assailed the emergence of authoritarian and dictatorial trends in national policies.

The crisis of the Congress party, in the opinion of Akali Dal, has resulted in serious erosion of individual freedom, usurpation of all civil liberty, perversion of democratic institutions and strangulation of the inner spirit of Indian constitution.

The Akali Dal has called upon the nation in general and the people of Punjab in particular (it being a regional party) to stand up for their

freedom and protection of the inalienable sovereignty of the people. It has pledged itself for the re-appraisal of the constitution with a view to:

(a) imparting a real federal character to the Indian constitution with greater autonomy for the federating states;

(b) extinguishing of the authority of President to dissolve state assemblies and dismiss state governments;

(c) appointing a permanent autonomous commission at the centre and at state levels to supervise protection of the rights of national, social, religious, cultural and linguistic minorities such as, Harijans, Muslims, Christians, Parsees, Sikhs, etc;

(d) appointing an autonomous commission with equal representation for the concerned parties for settling inter-state disputes with regard to inter-state boundaries, sharing of national natural resources, promotion of long-term projects such as the Thein Dam;

(e) providing for the right of employment for every citizen and payment of unemployment allowances; and

(f) restoring of civil liberties, democratic and trade union rights, repealing of black legislations like MISA, Press Objectionable Matters Act and the 42nd Constitution Amendment and revoking of emergency.

On the economic front, Akali Dal has stressed that it stands for the uplifting of the down-trodden and the weaker sections of society, particularly

the harijans, the labourers, the peasants, the low-paid employees, the shop employees, etc. Its economic programme includes;

(i) initiation of land reform measures to remove disparity and increase agricultural production, distribution of all surplus land inclusive of waste and nazul land to harijans and Rai Sikhs within a year;

(ii) modernisation of agriculture;

(iii) abolition of all excise duties and sales-tax on agro-machinery to bring down its prices to 50 per cent;

(iv) reducing of the prices of fertilizers to the 1970 level;

(v) striving for remunerative prices for farm produce with the state governments having the authority to fix these prices;

(vi) subsidising the prices for consumers;

(vii) abolition of all restrictions on the movement of agricultural products in the country;

(viii) accelerating of industrial development to generate large wealth and provide greater employment to the people;

(ix) setting up of public sector industries in a manner as to remove regional imbalances which have been created as a consequence of discriminatory policies pursued by the government;

(x) development of agro-based industries in the rural areas to relieve pressure of population on land;

(xi) proper representation to

workers in the management of industries; and

(xii) development of cottage industries.

Referring to family planning, Akali Dal has called for the removal of family planning measures discriminative to government employees and the working class and has also opposed coercion through government agencies. It has expressed itself against the imposition of those methods of family planning which are violative of the basic tenets of the Sikh religion.

In regard to government

employees, Akali Dal has promised to:

(i) strive for the appointment of pay commissions, both at the centre and the state levels, every five years to ensure dignified pay structure for the various sectors of employees;

(ii) repeal the provision for arbitrary compulsory retirement of public employees;

(iii) restore the writ jurisdiction of high courts in matters concerning service affairs and to abrogate the service tribunal provided in the 42nd Constitution Amendment for government employees.

(iv) defreeze additional dearness allowance under the compulsory deposit scheme;

(v) provide a minimum bonus of 8.33 per cent to all industrial and commercial employees, irrespective of surplus available;

(vi) strive for permanent absorption of 30,000 workers of the Beas-Sutlej project who

...Dictatorial Trends

are threatened with discharge by immediately starting new projects like the Thein Dam (till the new projects are started, these employees would be paid regularly); and

(xii) enhance the status of teachers in the eyes of the people.

In respect of the territorial issues, Akali Dal pledges its support to the struggle for the incorporation of Chandigarh and the other Punjabi speaking areas in Punjab, restoration of control of the Bhakra Dam and

the Sutlej-Beas project to Punjab; annulment of the arbitrary division of Ravi-Beas waters which has been done to the complete detriment of the state of Punjab; enactment of all-India Gurdwara act; and extension of status of second language to Punjabi in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir.

Among the other points made by Akali Dal in its manifesto are:

(I) the quota system from

each state for the recruitment to the defence services of India on population basis, which is repugnant to the spirit of the constitution, should be scrapped and the only valid criteria for recruitment to these forces, which include physical fitness and martial attitude, should be introduced;

(II) youth organisations will be promoted; sports will be organised right from the village to the national level; all facilities will be created to enhance and promote quality of leader-

ship into the youth; the youth will be given due representation in all walks of life; and

(III) special attention will be paid to uplift the harijans and the scheduled tribes; free housing sites will be provided to harijans and scheduled tribes according to their choice; other facilities for building houses on those sites will also be made available.

The Akali Dal has promised to strive for free and compulsory education for all upto the tenth class.

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DMK Promises to End...

DEMOCRACY OR dictatorship—that is the main issue before the people in the coming Lok Sabha election, according to the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK). The election manifesto of the party says that the time has come for the voters to assert themselves in favour of democracy.

The manifesto has also raised a series of posers before the electorate : whether it wants a people's rule with several parties functioning side by side or a one party rule—"the rule of the jungle"; whether the people want the judiciary to be unfettered where every one is equal before the law, or there should be an end of the rule of law; whether there should be "discipline and democracy" or a "disciplined democracy"; whether there should be an atmosphere of peace where people would enjoy their rights or a climate of fear and political vendetta. The party says the election provides an opportunity to the voters to give their considered reply to these questions.

Human Rights Curbed

The manifesto concentrates more on reviewing the events in the state of Tamil Nadu since the dismissal of the DMK ministry last year than on spelling out concrete promises to the people. It states that to-day not only the autonomy of states but also the human rights has been curbed.

Charging the central government of using the emergency and the constitutional

amendment to deprive the states of their autonomy, the manifesto states that the DMK had been demanding state autonomy not because it was an attractive slogan, but the party wanted to emphasise the need for conferring more powers on the states. It seeks to clarify that in raising the autonomy demand, the party is not inspired by any thought of separation or anti-national feeling.

Explaining how people's liberties were curtailed during the emergency, the manifesto says that if the government wanted, it could deprive any citizen of his rights and ban peaceful activities, political parties and movements declar-

The incentive bonus given by the former DMK government for paddy procurement has been stopped. No alternative sources of credit have been created for the rural people after the enactment of the Debt Relief Act. Cooperatives are unable to extend timely credit to farmers. The tax burden on the farmer has increased. Textile mills have been closed. Partymen supporting the central government have intervened in the administration. Government servants regarded as being against the ruling party have been victimised.

The manifesto further states that there has been a slanderous campaign against

government had met with unbounded success in its efforts at implementing the 20-point programme and the five-point programme. To illustrate how even before the 20-point programme was announced, the DMK government, it is pointed out, had started fulfilling one of the main objectives of the language as against national programme, namely, extension of irrigation to new areas.

The manifesto says that the DMK government had brought 16 lakh additional acres of land under irrigation during its nine years of rule. It points out that since independence till 1967, only eight lakh acres had been added to the area under irriga-

...Tamil Nadu's Hardships

ing them anti-national. Citizens could be detained in prison indefinitely without assigning any reason and without any trial, freedom of speech and expression could be curbed with a political motive. It alleges that the central government has not only imposed these curbs but has even clothed itself with powers to continue these curbs.

The manifesto lists the sufferings of the people of Tamil Nadu during the President's rule as : "Prices are not controlled. Food production has gone down. A situation has arisen where even the Cauvery will fail the agriculturists of the state. Agriculturists are unable to get credit facilities for production.

the party through the AIR, television, information department and newspapers (by forcing them). Trends which decry love for the Tamil integration have been encouraged.

The manifesto asserts: "The DMK was dismissed from power because it made the 'first call' to save democracy after the declaration of emergency and demanded repeal of the emergency, release of MISA detenus and restoration of press freedom." The party pledges itself to reverse "this situation" and to remove hurdles to democracy.

Outlining the achievements of the DMK ministry, the manifesto claims that in the nine years of its rule, the DMK

tion in Tamil Nadu. The record of the DMK in implementing land ceiling and land reforms had won praise even from the Congress Committee.

The party has pledged to reverse the conditions created in the country to "crush" democracy and alleviate the sufferings the Tamils have experienced during President's rule in Tamil Nadu.

The manifesto draws attention to the "new responsibilities that await those who get elected to the Parliament." The majority of MPs in the new house, it says, should be those who cherish the ideal to alter conditions created by the enactment of the 42nd Constitution Amendment Bill.

Pre-election Figures

Number of Seats in Lok Sabha							Number of Electors in General Election to Lok Sabha—1977		
Name of state/ union territory	As on 1-1-1973			Subsequently constituted			Name of state/union territory	Total number of electors in	
	Total	SC	ST	Total	SC	ST		1971	1976
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3
States							States		
Andhra Pradesh	41	6	2	42	6	2	Andhra Pradesh	22,697,905	2,75,35,572
Assam	14	1	2	14	1	2	Assam	6,268,273	71,78,805
Bihar	53	7	5	54	8	5	Bihar	31,019,951	3,48,67,841
Gujarat	24	2	3	26	2	4	Gujarat	11,535,312	1,41,10,096
Haryana	9	2	—	10	2	—	Haryana	47,68,740	57,41,904
Himachal Pradesh	4	1	—	4	1	—	Himachal Pradesh	17,08,667	19,56,620
Jammu & Kashmir	6	—	—	6	—	—	Jammu & Kashmir	20,97,623	24,70,580
Karnataka	27	4	—	28	4	—	Karnataka	1,37,89,106	1,68,49,487
Kerala	19	2	—	20	2	—	Kerala	1,02,17,893	1,14,12,612
Madhya Pradesh	37	5	8	40	5	8	Madhya Pradesh	1,95,78,837	2,27,68,196
Maharashtra	45	3	3	48	3	3	Maharashtra	2,40,08,058	2,87,94,212
Manipur	2	—	1	2	—	1	Manipur	5,43,407	7,84,913
Meghalaya	2	—	2	2	—	—	Meghalaya	—	5,28,680
Nagaland	1	—	—	1	—	—	Nagaland	2,75,459	4,68,158
Orissa	20	3	5	21	3	5	Orissa	1,08,64,978	1,26,28,579
Punjab	13	3	—	13	3	—	Punjab	69,50,385	81,12,008
Rajasthan	23	4	3	25	4	3	Rajasthan	1,32,44,556	1,52,18,400
Sikkim	—	—	—	1	—	—	Sikkim	—	1,28,037
Tamil Nadu	39	7	—	39	7	—	Tamil Nadu	2,30,64,985	2,69,86,490
Tripura	2	—	1	2	—	1	Tripura	7,03,736	8,61,400
Uttar Pradesh	85	18	—	85	18	—	Uttar Pradesh	4,57,66,709	5,18,42,408
West Bengal	40	8	2	42	8	2	West Bengal	2,20,63,684	2,50,28,148
Total States	506	76	37	525	77	36	Union Territories		
Union Territories							Union Territories		
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	—	—	1	—	—	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	63,122	78,999
Arunachal Pradesh	1	—	1	2	—	—	Arunachal Pradesh	—	2,11,722
Chandigarh	1	—	—	1	—	—	Chandigarh	1,16,685	1,51,554
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	—	1	1	—	1	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	33,012	37,496
Delhi	7	1	—	7	1	—	Delhi	20,16,396	24,08,230
Goa, Daman & Diu	2	—	—	2	—	—	Goa, Daman & Diu	4,35,168	4,70,783
Lakshadweep	1	—	1	1	—	1	Lakshadweep	14,977	18,750
Mizoram	1	—	1	1	—	1	Mizoram	—	1,97,617
Pondicherry	1	—	—	1	—	—	Pondicherry	2,46,789	2,93,356
Total Union Territories	16	1	4	17	1	2	Total	27,40,94,413	32,01,41,573
Grand Total	522	77	41	542	78	38			

Total Number of Constituencies, Number of Electors and Polling Stations for the 1977 Lok Sabha Election (Statewise)

Name of state/ union territory	Total No. of constitu- encies	Total No. of electors	Total No. of polling stations	Name of state/ union territory	1971	1977
				States		
States				Andhra Pradesh	207	165
Andhra Pradesh	42	27,374,565	30,711	Assam	78	40
Assam	14	7,189,580	8,373	Bihar	421	340
Bihar	54	34,233,510	41,007	Gujarat	118	112
Gujarat	26	14,099,926	18,294	Haryana	63	50
Haryana	10	5,690,976	6,311	Himachal Pradesh	20	14
Himachal Pradesh	4	1,918,151	3,361	Jammu & Kashmir	32	29
Jammu & Kashmir	6	2,544,624	3,580	Karnataka	104	98
Karnataka	28	16,700,261	20,498	Kerala	67	63
Kerala	20	11,350,840	10,688	Madhya Pradesh	170	152
Madhya Pradesh	40	22,505,193	27,619	Maharashtra	235	211
Maharashtra	48	28,490,646	33,656	Manipur	11	11
Manipur	2	784,484	910	Meghalaya	—	7
Meghalaya	2	527,238	698	Nagaland	2	2
Nagaland	1	647,162	843	Orissa	85	61
Orissa	21	12,626,873	14,118	Punjab	83	79
Punjab	13	8,040,582	9,261	Rajasthan	129	102
Rajasthan	25	15,172,042	18,980	Sikkim	—	1
Sikkim	1	122,696	150	Tamil Nadu	111	195
Tamil Nadu	39	26,861,460	29,770	Tripura	9	8
Tripura	2	863,877	1,055	Uttar Pradesh	543	443
Uttar Pradesh	85	51,674,319	59,728	West Bengal	195	171
West Bengal	42	25,052,735	29,035			
Total States	525	314,291,740	368,646			
				Union Territories		
Union Territories				Andaman & Nicobar Islands	5	2
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	79,125	165	Arunachal Pradesh	—	4
Arunachal Pradesh	2	216,564	607	Chandigarh	11	10
Chandigarh	1	153,423	148	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	3	3
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	37,495	43	Delhi	64	41
Delhi	7	2,585,674	2,785	Goa, Daman & Diu	13	15
Goa, Daman & Diu	2	469,295	618	Lakshadweep	1	2
Lakshadweep	1	18,750	27	Mizoram	—	4
Mizoram	1	197,475	273	Pondicherry	4	4
Pondicherry	1	293,061	372			
Total Union Territories	17	4,050,862	5,038	Total	2,784	2,439
Grand Total	542	318,342,602	373,684			

Party Position in the Dissolved Lok Sabha

Name of the party	1962	1967	1971	on January 18, 1977
Indian National Congress	361	283	352	355
Communist	29	—	—	—
CPI	—	23	23	24
CPI(M)	—	19	25	26
Indian National Congress (O)	—	—	16	11
Swatantra	18	44	8	—
Bharatiya Jana Sangh	14	35	22	16
Samyukta Socialist	6	23	3	—
Praja Socialist	12	13	2	3
Republican	3	1	—	—
Other Parties	31	54	53	44*
Unattached	20	25	14	28
Vacancies	—	—	—	17
Total	494	520	518	524

*DMK	: 12	Anna D.M.K.	: 6
BLD	: 9	Kerala Congress	: 3
United Independent		Muslim League	: 3
Parliament Group	: 8	Forward Block	: 3

Lok Sabha Elections Party Performance Since 1962

Name of the party	1962		1967		1971	
	C	E	C	E	C	E
Indian National Congress	488	361	515	283	414	352
Communist	137	29	—	—	—	—
Indian National Congress(O)	—	—	—	—	238	16
Swatantra Party	173	18	179	44	59	8
Bharatiya Jana Sangh	196	14	251	35	157	22
Samyukta Socialist Party	107	6	122	23	93	3
Praja Socialist Party	168	12	109	13	63	2
Communist Party of India	—	—	110	23	87	23
Communist Party of India(M)	—	—	58	19	85	25
Republican Party of India	68	3	70	1	—	—
Other Parties	168	31	90	44	427	53
Independents	480	20	865	25	1134	14
Total	1985	494	2369	520	2784	518*

*Himachal Pradesh in 1967 had 6 seats which were reduced to 4 in 1971 Elections. C—Contested. E—Elected.

Vote Polled by Various Political Parties in the Elections to Lok Sabha in 1962, 1967 and 1971

Name of the party	Valid votes polled and percentage		
	1962	1967	1971
1	2	3	4
Indian National Congress	51,509,084	59,402,750	64,040,246
	(44.72)	(40.73)	(43.68)
Communist	11,450,037	—	—
	(9.94)		
Indian National Congress(O)	—	—	15,279,051
			(10.42)
Swatantra Party	9,085,252	12,659,540	4,498,188
	(7.89)	(8.68)	(3.06)
Bharatiya Jana Sangh	7,415,170	13,715,931	10,786,921
	(6.44)	(9.41)	(7.35)
Samyukta Socialist Party	3,099,397	7,171,627	3,554,839
	(2.69)	(4.92)	(2.42)
Praja Socialist Party	7,848,345	4,456,487	1,526,076
	(6.81)	(3.06)	(1.04)
Communist Party of India	—	7,564,180	6,935,627
		(5.19)	(4.73)
Communist Party of India (Marxist)	—	6,140,738	7,510,889
		(4.21)	(5.12)
Republican Party of India	3,255,985	3,607,711	—
	(2.83)	(2.48)	
Other Parties	8,755,807	11,096,342	20,199,884
	(7.60)	(7.62)	(13.77)
Independents	12,749,813	20,051,200	12,270,555
	(11.08)	(13.75)	(8.36)
Total	115,168,890	145,866,510	146,602,276

Contest According to Parties in Lok Sabha General Elections—1971

Name of state/union territory	No of seats	INC	INC(O)	SWA	BJS	CPI	SSP	CPM	PSP	Others and Independents	Total contestants
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
States											
Andhra Pradesh	41	37	12	9	5	11	2	5	—	126	207
Assam	14	13	10	1	1	5	4	2	5	37	78
Bihar	53	47	24	3	28	17	28	4	12	258	421
Gujarat	24	23	19	4	5	—	1	—	1	65	118
Haryana	9	9	4	—	3	—	1	1	2	43	63
Himachal Pradesh	4	4	3	1	2	1	—	—	—	9	20
Jammu and Kashmir	6	6	—	—	3	—	—	—	1	22	32
Karnataka	27	27	17	5	2	1	1	2	5	44	104
Kerala	19	7	4	1	3	3	2	11	1	35	67
Madhya Pradesh	37	36	5	1	28	4	5	1	9	81	170
Maharashtra	45	44	9	—	13	8	9	2	8	142	235
Manipur	2	2	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	5	11
Meghalaya	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nagaland	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Orissa	20	19	6	13	1	3	2	1	6	34	85
Punjab	13	11	4	—	5	2	3	3	1	54	83
Rajasthan	23	23	4	8	7	1	2	3	—	81	129
Sikkim	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tamil Nadu	39	9	29	9	1	4	1	6	—	52	111
Tripura	2	2	—	—	1	2	—	2	—	2	9
Uttar Pradesh	85	78	44	3	37	9	25	3	7	337	543
West Bengal	40	31	34	—	4	15	4	38	3	66	195
Union Territories											
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	5
Arunachal Pradesh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chandigarh	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	9	11
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	3
Delhi	7	7	5	1	7	—	2	—	2	40	64
Goa, Daman and Diu	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	13
Lakshadweep	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Mizoram	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pondicherry	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	4
Total	518	441	238	59	157	87	93	85	63	1561	2784

Contest According to Parties in Lok Sabha General Elections—1967

Name of state/ union territory	No of seats	INC	SWA	BJS	SSP	CPI	CPM	PSP	Others and independents	Total contestents
Andhra Pradesh	41	41	19	6	3	20	11	1	63	164
Assam	14	14	1	3	2	4	—	4	19	47
Bihar	53	53	25	48	34	17	2	32	104	315
Gujarat	24	24	21	—	2	—	—	3	30	80
Haryana	9	9	2	7	5	3	2	1	38	67
Himachal Pradesh*	6	6	1	3	—	1	1	1	12	25
Jammu & Kashmir	6	6	—	3	—	—	—	—	6	15
Karnataka (Mysore)	27	27	11	5	2	—	2	5	48	100
Kerala	19	19	3	4	3	3	9	1	19	61
Madhya Pradesh	37	37	2	32	11	6	—	15	71	174
Maharashtra	45	45	4	26	5	7	—	8	90	185
Manipur*	2	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	6	10
Nagaland	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Orissa	20	20	17	2	2	3	—	5	16	65
Punjab	13	13	6	8	1	3	2	—	42	75
Rajasthan	23	22	14	7	3	3	1	1	65	116
Tamil Nadu (Madras)	39	39	8	4	—	7	5	1	63	127
Tripura*	2	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	4
Uttar Pradesh	85	85	38	77	43	17	6	27	214	507
West Bengal	40	40	3	7	3	11	16	2	58	140
Andhra & Nicobar Islands	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	4	6
Chandigarh	1	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	6	10
Dadar and Nagar Haveli	1	1	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	5
Delhi	7	7	—	7	2	—	—	—	30	40
Goa, Daman and Diu	2	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	13	16
Lakshdweep	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5
Pondicherry	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	3
Total	520	516	178	251	122	107	61	109	1025	2,369

*Union territories in 1957, 1962 and 1967.

Contest According to Parties in Lok Sabha General Elections—1962

Name of state/ union territory	No. of seats	Congress	Communist	Swatantra	Praja Socialist	Jana Sangh	Socialist	Others & IND	Total contestents
Andhra Pradesh	43	43	20	20	1	8	—	47	147
Assam	12	12	4	—	8	—	2	15	41
Bihar	53	53	16	43	32	13	24	52	233
Oujarat	22	22	—	14	6	5	1	20	68
Himachal Pradesh	4	4	—	2	—	2	—	3	11
Karnataka (Mysore)	26	26	3	7	12	7	—	33	88
Kerala	18	14	14	1	4	4	—	13	50
Madhya Pradesh	36	35	3	5	19	28	14	55	159
Maharashtra	44	44	6	3	13	17	—	85	168
Manipur	2	2	1	—	1	—	2	5	11
Orissa	20	20	2	1	5	—	3	18	49
Punjab	22	22	4	6	—	17	1	57	107
Rajasthan	22	21	5	10	—	11	6	58	111
Tamil Nadu (Madras)	41	41	14	16	5	1	2	73	152
Tripura	2	2	2	—	1	—	—	2	7
Uttar Pradesh	86	86	18	33	48	74	51	133	443
West Bengal	36	36	24	4	12	4	1	31	112
Delhi	5	5	1	—	1	5	—	16	28
Total	493	493	137	173	168	196	107	716	1985