

national 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....

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:

i) uphold the ideals of secularism, protect the interests of the minorities and the right of every community to pursue its faith and way of life.

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

iii) fight poverty, ignorance, disease and inequality and build a modern, prosperous, egalitarian and socialist party,

iv) abolish all kinds of discrimination between one human being and another and end all forms of exploitation.

v) develop and modernise agriculture and allied activities, expedite an integrated rural development programmes and bring about a total rural regeneration.

vi) promote the interests of the small and marginal farmers, agricultural workers, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and backward classes and communities,

vii) strengthen the diversity of 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,

viii) take up a massive programme to expand opportunities for productive employment.

ix) protect the interests of the working class and give them their proper share in management and in the fruits of their labour,

x) keep prices in check and ensure essential commodities to the people at reasonable prices,

xi) provide primary education to all children and improve the scope of secondary and higher education, and

xii) expand health and medical facilities and welfare programmes for the people...

CPI Manifesto

Following is the text of the CPI election manifesto:

I MOMENTOUS CHOICE

The coming elections to the Lok Sabha are a crucial battle. Our motherland and our people have to make a momentous choice. At stake are issues which are decisive for national destiny and for our people's advance to fullfledged democracy leading to socialism.

At stake are the progressive objectives and policies of our nation. The inclusion of socialism in the preamble of the Constitution, the secular and democratic system, the anti-imperialist foreign policy of peace, nonalignment, friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist States — all these have been and are under constant attack from reaction. The people must give a clear mandate of reinforced support for these policies and against their opponents.

At stake are the parliamentary democratic system, the democratic rights of the masses, the cherished democratic norms and values. These face serious danger from reaction. The people must give a clear mandate to defeat this danger, defend democracy and give it stronger mass foundations.

At stake are the direction and content of our nation's economic policy. The people must give a clear mandate for self-reliance, for rapid implementation of the 20-point programme, for anti-monopoly measures, for planning of the economy tied to national needs and internal mass market and for closer ties with the socialist world. The people must give a clear mandate against the Imperialist

World Bank strategy of dependence on aid and export oriented economy, against the wholesale concessions by the Government to the monopolists, against policies and measures helping speculators and hoarders...

II NATION'S TRIALS — OUR RECORD

Six turbulent years have passed since the previous Lok Sabha election. The struggles of the masses have written the history of these years. Countless have been their sacrifices and militant actions for land, bread, jobs and the right to a better life....

The Communist Party of India along with other democratic parties and forces supported the declaration of the Emergency in 1975, which had been made unavoidable by the grave threat internal and external, of destabilisation. It backed the steps against smugglers and speculators, the 20-point programme with its anti-landlord thrust and certain, other declarations and actions which raised high hopes among the masses for a better life and democratic advance of the nation. Some legislations, which were enacted and measures taken by the Government in this direction were fully supported by the Communist Party of India and other democratic forces.

But, after the initial period of some achievements, the Emergency powers came to be more and more misused against the working class, peasantry, the common people and the democratic forces. Even our Parliamentary democratic system and institutions were sought to be weakened and undermined on one pretext or another from inside the ruling party.

Concessions to the vested interests went hand-in-hand with coercive sterilisation, demolition of dwelling houses of the poor, denial of the workers' longstanding right to bonus and impounding of their dearness allowance. Land reforms were shelved and the 20-point programme put in the background.

Authoritarian trends and practices in the conduct of the Government and also otherwise in the affairs of the State 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 State were recklessly used to build up a personality who has no official status....

It stood in the forefront of the battle to restore the bonus right of the workers and against the compulsory deposit scheme and the attack on trade union rights. It opposed the heaping of tax burdens on the working peasantry. It opposed the demolition of the houses of the poor. It opposed the drive for compulsory sterilisation. It opposed the bureaucratic abuses.

III THE MANDATE WE SEEK

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, Publication of Objectionable Matters (Prevention) 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 PRICE LINE — 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 on bank credit for speculative purposes.

3. FOR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND REVITALISATION OF 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 burdens on the people; Encourage small and medium units through adequate credit and provision of raw materials and marketing facilities; Promote industries with high employment potential in backward areas; 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....

...5. FOR PEASANTS, AGRICULTURAL LABOUR AND TRIBAL PEOPLE — Renumerative prices for produce of peasants; Adequate credit, extended irrigation facilities and cheap inputs for agricultural operations; Graded land tax and water and electricity rates; reduction in tax burden on the working peasantry; Protect interests of tenants and sharecroppers; 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.

IV OUR APPEAL

Our country is at a crucial historic juncture. Poised as it is for big advances, it is also faced with terrible danger. The outcome of the fight between the forces of democracy, patriotism and progress on the one hand and that of reaction on the other will be the decisive factor for our country's future. A clear popular mandate for the progressive and democratic forces in the forthcoming Lok Sabha election will be of the utmost importance for the future of the country and its people....

Janata Party Manifesto

The following are excerpts from the Janata Party Manifesto.

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 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...

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

It is not a mere alliance of parties but a new national party to which the Congress (O) the Bharatiya Lok Dal,