APPENDICES
APPENDIX - I

CONSTITUTION OF THE JANATA PARTY

Article II / Aims and Objects

The name of the Party is JANATA PARTY.

Article II / Aims and Objects

The Janata Party is dedicated to the task of building up a democratic, secular and socialist state in India on Gandhian principles, drawing inspiration from our rich heritage and the noble traditions of our struggle for national independence and individual liberty. The Party believes in a polity that ensures decentralisation of economic and political power. It affirms the right of peaceful and democratic dissent, which includes satyagraha or non-violent resistance.

Article III / Organisational Structure

The Janata Party shall consist of:

1. National:

(a) The plenary session or special session of the Party;
2. State Units:
   (a) The State Councils;
   (b) The State Executives.

3. District Units:
   (a) The District Councils;
   (b) The District Executives.

4. Intermediate Units:
   (a) Block or Constituency Councils;
   (b) Block or Constituency Executives;
   To be decided by the State Executive.

5. Primary Units: Primary Committees.

Note:
(i) The area of the Block or Constituency and Primary Units will be determined by the State Council concerned.
(ii) For the purpose of this Constitution the word 'State' includes 'Union Territory'.
(iii) All cities with Municipal Corporations shall be treated as separate districts for the purpose of this Constitution.
(iv) A Metropolitan area with more than 15 lakh population may be
Article IV / Area of State Units

1. The State Units of the Party shall conform to the States and Union Territories, mentioned in First Scheduled of the Constitution of India. Provided, that the National Executive may sanction setting up a Council for the Metropolitan areas of Bombay, with regional status, which shall be within the jurisdiction of the Maharashtra State Unit of the Party. The powers and functions of this Council shall be defined under the rules by the National Executive. Provided further, that the National Executive may not set up a Party Unit in any state or Union Territory, if exceptional circumstances so warrant.

2. The Headquarters of the State Unit shall be located in the capital of the State or the Union Territory concerned, provided that a State Council may, with the previous sanction of the National Executive, change its headquarters.
Article V/ Membership

(a) (i) Any person of the age of 18 or over, who accepts Article II shall, on making a written declaration in Form 'A' and on payment of biennial subscription of Rs.1.00 only, become a primary member of the Janata Party, provided that he is not a member of any other political party, communal or other, which has a separate membership, constitution and programme.

(ii) No person shall become a primary member, except in his permanent place of residence or where he carries on his work.

(iii) The term of membership, primary and active, shall be from 1st January to 31st December of the following year.

(b) Any person may become an active member, on payment of subscription of Rs.25 or on enrolling 25 primary members biennially, if he fulfils the following conditions and signs a declaration in Form 'B'.

1. He is of the age of 21 or over;
2. He is a habitual wearer of hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi;
3. He abstains from alcoholic drinks and intoxicating drugs;
4. He does not observe or recognise untouchability in any shape or form;

5. He believes in communal unity and has respect for the faith of others;

6. He undertakes to have a minimum training and to perform a minimum task, as may be prescribed by the National Executive;

7. The 'minimum task' shall include the task of enrolling at least one subscriber to any one of the periodicals, published by any Janata Party Committee.

Note: The clause shall come into operation after two years of the next National Conference of the Party.

(c) Primary and active membership shall be continuous, so long as the biennial subscription is paid according to rules made thereunder and the other conditions prescribed are fulfilled. Renewal of primary and active membership will be deemed to have been completed by depositing of requisite membership fee or fees and by filling the renewal of membership forms, primary or active, as the case may be.

(d) The biennial subscriptions paid by primary and active members shall be distributed in the following proportions between the following councils:
National Council 10%
State Council 25%
District Council 25%
Other Units 40%

Note: 40% share of primary and active membership subscription to be proportionately distributed amongst various subordinate units below the District Committee. The proportion shall be determined by the State Council concerned.

**Article VI / Term of Councils**

The term of every Council, every Committee and all office bearers thereof, shall ordinarily be two years.

**Article VII / Register or List of Members**

1. Permanent lists or registers of active and primary members shall be prepared by the District Executive, duly authenticated and certified by the State Executive, in accordance with the rules prescribed. The State Executives shall supply lists of their active members to the Central Office of the National Executive and keep it informed of the changes made therein, from time to time.
2. The lists or registers prepared by the District Executives shall contain the full name, address, age, occupation, date of enrolment and serial number of membership forms of every member.

3. Membership shall cease by death, resignation, removal or non-payment of biennial fee.

Article VIII/ Qualification of Voters and Candidates:

1. Every primary member, on the primary members' roll, prepared in accordance with the rules, framed in this behalf by the National Executive, shall be entitled to vote in the election to the Primary Committee.

2. Only an active member, whose name has been entered in the Register or list of active members, shall be eligible for election to any Council or Executive above the level of the primary Unit.

Article IX/ Co-opted Members:

The National Executive and the Executives at the State and lower levels, may co-opt up to 10% of the total membership of the National Council, State and other lower level Councils concerned.

A co-opted member of the National Councils at the State and lower levels, shall not exercise any voting right in any organisational election nor shall be contest any election in the organisation;
however, no person who is a co-opted member shall be debarred, for that reason, from seeking election to full membership of any Committee in the normal manner.

Article V/ Primary Committee:

1. A Primary Unit may be set up where there are at least 25 Primary members.

2. The Primary Committee shall consist of a minimum of 5 and a maximum of 11 members, including the President elected by the Primary members of the Unit.

3. The President of the Primary Committee shall be an active member of the Party.

4. The President may appoint a Secretary from among the members of the Committee.

Article XI/ Block or Constituency Council:

1. A Block or Constituency Council shall consist of:

   (1) Members elected by primary units, within the area of the Block or Constituency Council at the rate of one member per primary unit, having a primary membership of up to one hundred and two members, if the membership is more than a hundred;

   (ii) Ten representatives elected by Party members in Panchayat Samities and Municipal bodies situated within the area of the Block or Constituency Council, from amongst themselves;
Co-opted members.

2. No Block or Constituency Council shall be set up unless in 50% of the Primary Unit areas, there are duly constituted primary committees.

3. The Block or Constituency Executive shall consist of 15 members including the President elected by the members of the Block or Constituency Council, in accordance with the rules prescribed. The President shall appoint the following office-bearers from among the members of the Block or Constituency Executive; Two Secretaries.

**Article XII /District Council:**

1. A District Council shall consist of:
   
   (i) Members of the Block or Constituency Executive, falling under its jurisdiction.
   
   (ii) Members elected in accordance with the rules prescribed, from the local bodies situated within the area of the District Council, not exceeding 10% of the total number of party members in such bodies.
   
   (iii) Ex-Presidents of the District Council who have completed one full term and are active members.
   
   (iv) Members of the Janata Party Legislature Parties, both Central and State from the District, provided that they are active members.
(v) Leaders of the Janata Party in Municipal Corporations, Municipalities and District Board, Zila Parishad or Janapada in the District, provided that they are active members.

(vi) Co-opted members.

2. A District Executive shall consist of 21 members, including the President elected by the members of the District Council in accordance with the Rules prescribed. The President shall appoint the following office-bearers from among the members of the District Executive:

Two Vice-Presidents,
A Treasurer and not more than
Three Secretaries
provided that in case of a large district, the National Executive may, on the recommendation of the State Executive, increase the number of members upto 31.

Article XIII / State Council:

1. The State Councils shall consist of:

(ii) Representatives elected by the District Councils at the rate of one per each Assembly or Metropolitan Constituency.
(ii) Ten per cent of the members of the Legislature Janata Party of the State concerned, elected from among its own members; and ten per cent of the Janata Party members of Parliament, elected by them from among themselves, subject to a minimum of five, provided that they are active members.

(iii) Ex-presidents of the State Council who have served one full term and are active members of the Janata Party.

(iv) The leader of the Janata Legislature Party.

(v) Presidents of the District Council, provided that they shall not be eligible to become either President or the Secretary of the State Janata Party.

(vi) The National Council Members who reside in the State.

(vii) Co-opted members.

2. Every member of the State Council shall pay a biennial fee of Rs. 15 to the State Council.

3. The State Executive shall consist of 35 members including the President, elected by the State Council, in accordance with the rules prescribed. The President shall appoint the following office-bearers from among the members of the State Executive:

Three Vice-President,
A Treasurer and not more than Five General Secretaries.
Article XIV/ National Council:

1. The National Council shall consist of:

(i) Representatives elected by members of each State Council, equivalent to the number of Lok Sabha members which the State is entitled to elect by proportional representation, with the single transferable vote.

(ii) All Presidents of the State Councils, leaders of the Legislature Parties and Metropolitan Council and the Leader of the Janata Parliamentary Party.

(iii) 10% of the total members of the Janata Parliamentary Party elected from among its members.

(iv) Ex-Presidents of the Janata Party who have completed one full term and are active members of the Janata Party.

(v) Co-opted Members.

2. The National Council shall have power to frame Rules, not inconsistent with this Constitution, for regularising all matters connected with the Janata Party which shall be binding on all the subordinate units. The National Council shall meet as often as required by the National Executive, or on a joint requisition addressed to the National Executive, by not less than 20% of the total number of National Council members, having full voting rights. A requisition shall specify the
purpose for which the requisitionists desire a meeting of the National Council. A requisitioned meeting shall be held within 2 months of the receipt of the requisition, provided that not more than one requisition can be moved in one year. At any requisitioned meeting, additional items of business may be brought up by the National Executive for consideration.

3. At all meetings of the National Council, other than requisitioned meetings, at least 4 hours shall be allotted for consideration of propositions, of which due notices have been given by the members of the National Council, in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

4. Seventy-five or one-fifth of the total number of members, whichever is less, shall form the quorum for a meeting of the National Council.

5. Every member of the National Council shall pay an annual fee of Rs. 25/- . He shall receive a certificate, duly signed by one of the Secretaries of the National Council to the effect that he is a member. A member will not be permitted to take part in any meeting of the National Council, Subjects Committee or any Janata Party plenary session, without paying the fees.

Article XV / Subjects Committee

1. The National Council shall meet as the Subjects Committee, under the Chairmanship of the President,
Immediately preceding the plenary session, the National Executive shall submit to the Subjects Committee the programme of work, including the draft resolutions, for the Janata Party plenary session.

2. As far as possible, four hours shall be allotted for the consideration of propositions, of which due notice has been given by the State Councils of the members of the National Council.

Article XVI / Delegates:

All members of the State Councils and National Council shall be delegates of the Janata Party Plenary Session.

Article XVII / Plenary Session:

1. A plenary session of the Janata Party shall ordinarily be held once in two years, at the time and place, decided upon by the National Executive.

2. The Plenary Session shall consist of the President and all other delegates.

3. The Plenary Session shall consider resolutions, recommended to it for adoption by the Subjects Committee in the first instance. Thereafter, the session shall take up any substantive motion, not included in the draft resolution referred to above, but which 50 delegates, have before the commencement for the day's
sittings, requested the President in writing, to allow them to place before the session; provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed, unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and received the support of at least a third of the members, then present at the Subjects Committee meeting.

4. The State Council in whose jurisdiction the Plenary Session is held, shall act as the Reception Committee and may co-opt additional members for the purpose.

5. The Reception Committee shall make all necessary arrangements, including collection of funds, of which separate and full accounts shall be maintained. These accounts shall be audited by the auditors appointed by the National Executive within 6 months of the Session.

6. Surplus funds and assets shall be divided between the National Council and the State Council equally.

**Article XVIII/ Special Session**

1. A Special Session of the Party may be held, if the National Council so decides or if a majority of the State Councils, through their resolutions, make a request to the President, to convene such a special session for, discussing agenda, specified in the resolution.
2. Delegates of the Plenary Session shall be delegates for the Special Session.

3. Such a session shall be organised by the State Council of the State, selected for holding the session.

**Article XIX/ Election of the President**

1. The National Executive shall appoint one of the General Secretaries of the National Council to work as Returning Officer for the election of the President; provided that no General Secretary, who is a candidate for presidentshi p, shall be appointed. If all the General Secretaries are such candidates, the National Executive shall appoint some one else, to work as the Returning Officer who shall not hold any office-bearer's post at the national level for two years. The Returning Officer shall appoint Presiding Officers and make arrangements for the poll, as per rules prescribed.

2. Any delegate may jointly propose the name of any delegate for election as President of the Party. Such proposals must reach the Returning Officer, appointed by the National Executive, in accordance with the rules prescribed.

3. After eliminating the names of those who have withdrawn, he shall publish the names of the remaining candidates. If, after elimination, there remains only one candidate,
he shall be declared duly elected as President of the Party.

4. On a date fixed by the National Executive, which shall not ordinarily be less than seven days, after the final publication of the names of contesting candidates, each delegate shall be entitled to record, for the election of President, his vote in the following manner. On the voting paper which shall exhibit the names of the candidates, record his vote for one of them. If there are more than two candidates, the delegate shall record at least two preferences by writing the figures 1, 2 etc. against the names of the candidates. In such a case, he may give more than two preferences if he wishes to do so, but any voting paper showing less than two preferences, will be regarded as invalid. The voting paper shall be deposited in a ballot box, provided for the purpose. Presiding Officers shall forward the ballot boxes to the Returning Officer. After the receipt of all the ballot boxes, the Returning Officer shall count the votes of the first preference recorded for each candidate. If a candidate secures more than 50% of the first preferences, he shall be declared elected as President. If no candidate secures more than 50% of the first preferences, candidate who has secured the smallest number of first preferences shall be eliminated, and the second preferences, recorded by the voter who gave him the first preference, shall be taken into account, in counting the
votes of the remaining candidates. In this counting, the candidates who secure the smallest number of votes shall be eliminated. By this process of elimination, the candidates who secure the smallest number of votes in subsequent counting, after the transfer of votes according to recorded preferences, the candidate who secures more than 50% of the votes shall be declared elected as President.

6. In the event of any emergency arising by reason of any cause, such as the death or resignation of the President elected as above, the National Executive shall forthwith fix a date for a fresh election by the delegates as prescribed above. The new President shall be elected within a period of six months. Until a new President is elected, the National Executive shall elect an acting President from amongst its own members.

7. The President shall preside over the Plenary Session of Special Session of the Party held after his election and he shall exercise all the powers of the National Executive, when it is not in session.

Article XX / National Executive:

1: The National Executive shall consist of the President and fortyfive members who will be elected by the National Council, as per rules, prescribed by the
National Executive. The President shall appoint a Treasurer and not more than five General Secretaries from amongst the members elected by the National Council.

2. The quorum for a meeting of the National Executive shall be fifteen.

3. The National Executive shall be the highest executive authority of the party and shall have the power to carry out the policies and programmes, laid down by the Session or by the National Council and shall be responsible to the National Council. It shall be the final authority, in all matters, regarding interpretation and application of this constitution.

4. The National Executive shall place before every meeting of the National Council, a report of the proceedings of the previous meeting of the National Council and also an agenda of business for the meeting and shall allot time for non-official resolutions, of which due notice may have been given by the members of the National Council, in accordance with rules prescribed in that behalf.

5. The National Executive may appoint one or more auditors or inspectors or other officers, to examine the records, papers and account books of all party units. It shall be incumbent on all such units to furnish all the required information to the auditors, inspectors or other officers, and to give them access to all offices, accounts and other records.
6. The National Executive shall have the power:
(a) to frame rules, for the proper working of the organisation. Such rules shall, as early as possible, be placed before the National Council.
(b) to issue instructions to various units, not inconsistent with the Constitution.
(c) It shall be the final authority in all disciplinary matters.
(d) in special cases, to relax application of provisions under Article V and VIII.

7. The National Executive shall have the accounts of the National Council, audited annually by an auditor or auditors, appointed by it.

8. The National Executive shall fix the date, by which formation of subordinate, District and State Units and National Councils shall be completed.

9. The National Executive shall appoint a Board of Trustees for holding properties, belonging to the National Council. The term of the Board shall be for four years and the President shall be ex-officio Chairman and the Treasurer of the Party shall be an ex-officio member of the Board.

10. To meet any special situation, the National Executive shall have the power to take such action in the interest of the Janata Party, as it may deem fit; provided however, that if any action is taken which is beyond the
powers of the National Executive, as defined in this
Constitution, it shall be submitted as early as possible
to the National Council for ratification.

Article XXI / Treasurer:

The Treasurer shall be in charge of the funds of the Janata
Party and shall keep proper accounts of all investments, income
and expenditure.

Article XXII / General Secretaries:

Subject to general control of the President, the General
Secretaries shall be in charge of functioning of the Janata Party
and shall be responsible for the preparation and publication of
a report of the proceedings of the Janata Party plenary session,
including its audited accounts, as soon as possible after the
session; they shall prepare a report of the work of the National
Council and the National Executive, including an audited state­
ment of accounts for the period, since the last submission of
such a report and submit the same to the meeting of the National
Council, held at the beginning of each year and have it circula­
ted to the members, sufficiently in advance of the meeting.

Article XXIII / Scrutiny of Membership:

The State and District Executives shall arrange for
periodical scrutiny and disposal of complaints regarding the
enrolment of primary and active members, in accordance with
the rules prescribed by the National Executive, but when com-
plaints of a grave nature are reported to the National Execu-
tive, it may enquire into such complaints and take such action as
may be deemed necessary.

Article XXIV/ Election Disputes:

The State and District Executive shall arrange for dis-
posal of complaints regarding party elections, in accordance
with the rules prescribed by the National Executive. The National
Executive may entertain and dispose of appeals against the deci-
sion of the State Executives, in the manner prescribed.

Article XXV/ Election Machinery:

1. The State Council shall, within a period of two months,
from the beginning of its term, appoint by majority of
two thirds of its members present and voting, a State
Returning Officer.

2. If any State Council fails to appoint a State Returning
Officer, within the prescribed time, the National Execu-
tive shall appoint a State Returning Officer.

3. The State Returning Officer shall conduct all Party ele-
cctions in the State. He shall, in consultation with the
Executive of the State and District Executives, appoint
Assistant Returning Officers and such other officers, as
may be necessary, for the proper conduct of elections in
the State. He shall also perform such other functions, as
are allotted to him by the National Executive, from time
to time.

4. The State Returning Officer shall hold office ordinarily
for one term but he will continue to function till a new
State Returning Officer is appointed or he is removed
from office, in accordance with the rules framed in this
behalf by the National Executive.

Article XXXVI / Flag:

The flag of the Janata Party shall consist of two horizon­
tal colours, saffron and green, in the ratio of 2 : 1 with the
symbol of the Party. The flag shall be made of handspun and hand­
woven khadi.

Article XXVII / Election Symbol:

The election symbol of the Party will be a man with a
plough and encircled in a wheel.

Article XXVIII / Parliamentary Board:

1. The National Executive shall set up a Parliamentary Board
consisting of the Janata Party President and eight other
members, one of whom will be the leader of the Janata Party in Parliament, with the Party President as Chairman for the purpose of regulating and co-ordinating parliamentary activities of the Legislature Janata Party and shall frame rules in that behalf. One of the General Secretaries shall be nominated as Secretary of the Parliamentary Board by the President.

2. A Central Election Committee shall be set up consisting of the Parliamentary Board, and seven other members, elected by the National Council for the purpose of:

(a) Making the final selection of the Candidates for the State and Central Legislature.

(b) Conducting election campaigns.

**Article XXIX/State Election Committee**

1. The State Election Committee shall consist of the President of the State Council, the leader of the Janata Party, Legislature Party and not more than ten and not less than four other members, elected by the State Council, in the manner prescribed.

2. The President of the State Council shall be ex-officio Chairman of the State Election Committee.

3. Keeping in view the recommendations of the Committees in the Constituency, the State Election Committee shall recommend candidates for the Central and State Legislature.
to the Central Election Committee and it shall also select party candidates, for the election to the various local bodies, in accordance with the directions of the Central Election Committee.

4. The Central Election Committee shall frame necessary rules, to give guidance to the selection of candidates and other matters, relating to the conduct of elections.

Article XXX / Disciplinary Action Committee:

Disciplinary Action Committee shall be constituted at various levels, to deal with cases of indiscipline, as per the rulers prescribed.

Article XXXV / Vacancies:

1. The Office of a delegate or a member of any Unit or Board constituted under this Constitution, shall fall vacant by resignation, removal or death.

2. All vacancies shall, unless otherwise provided for, be filled in the same manner in which the previous incumbent was chosen and members, so elected, shall hold office for the unexpired term.

3. In the absence of any provision to the contrary, a Unit or Board, once it is properly constituted, shall not become invalid by reasons of any vacancy on it.
Article XXXII/ Miscellaneous:

1. The Chairman shall be a member of more than one committee at the same level.

2. A Council or Committee may delegate any of its powers to a smaller Committee.

3. Where there is a question of the value of fraction, a fraction of one-half or more shall be treated as one, and less than half as zero.

4. Wherever, in this Constitution, the word 'vote' or any of its inflection occurs, it means refers to a valid vote.

5. Any question or dispute arising under this Constitution, with regard to provision, contents, interpretation of the procedures laid down therein, between members and between members and Councils or between councils and councils, shall be determined by the appropriate authorities, indicated in this Constitution, and the decision of such an authority shall be final and binding on all members and councils of the Party.

6. Any member who does not attend three successive meetings of any Party Unit, without prior intimation of his absence, shall cease to be a member of the Unit concerned.

7. The words "Full term" wherever it occurs, signify the interval between two elections or two years whichever is less.
Article XXXIII/ Changes in the Constitution:

The Constitution can be amended, altered or added to, only by a Plenary Session of the Party, provided that the National Council, on the recommendation of the National Executive, shall have the power to amend, alter or add to this Constitution, except Article II, by a majority of two-thirds of its members present and voting after due notice. The changes made by the National Council shall be placed before the next Plenary Session of the Party for ratification, but they may come into operation even before the ratification, from such date, as may be prescribed by the National Council.

Source: The Janata Party.
APPENDIX II

THE JANATA PARTY MANIFESTO, 1977

BOTH BREAD AND LIBERTY

A Gandhian Alternative.

The forthcoming Lok Sabha poll constitutes the most
crucial election that the country had had since Independence.
The choice before the electorate is clear. It is a choice be-
tween 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 adven-
ture 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 Constitu-
tion. 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.

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 freedoms are weapons that the oppressed and the poor need to fight tyranny, exploitation and injustice, vested interests and opportunistic 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 citizen was placed at the mercy of the State. The courts were solemnly told that while the emergency lasted, they were powerless to protest the citizen even if he should be starved to death or shot. The concept of equality 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 Act was amended to redefine corrupt practices and to legalise 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 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 workers with impunity, and aided to fatten on new concessions and new agreements with multi-nationals.

42nd Amendment: 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 it 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 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 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 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 prices 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 7% between September 1974 and March 1975, thanks largely to an excellent harvest. However, in the past eleven months prices have risen by 12% and are now higher 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 inspite 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 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 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
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 against claims 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 herded and forcibly taken to sterilization camps. Human dignity has been set at naught by these 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 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 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 citizen who has no means of redress. 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. Foodgrain production has touched 118 million tonnes. But even this is 11 million tonnes less than the Fourth Plan target. Over 63% of the people are today below the poverty line, 28% 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 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.

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 (0), the Bharatiya Lok Dal, the Jana Sangh, 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 Emergency has been a great eye-opener. We have had a taste of what happens when democracy is eclipsed. The time has come to examine whether we have not strayed from the path that we walked when we fought for Independence; whether we have adhered to the ends and means that Gandhi placed before us, and the values which led us to independence and brought the masses into their own.

The Janata Party is dedicated to the values and ideals of Gandhi. 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.

Decentralisation: 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 initiative and popular 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.

Executive, Judiciary and Satyagraha: 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 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.

Austerity: The Party affirms the right 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 dis­

crimination 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 down as much as level up and
redistribute incomes and wealth to build a just society in which
austerity and sharing will replace pomp, ostentations 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 revita­
lised and vested with larger powers and responsibility so that
they may play their true role as basic organs of popular govern­
ment, 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 consideration 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, as well as for reducing voting age from 21 to 18.

(9) Repeal the amendment to the Representation of the People 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 that 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 Policy

Social justice is not an abstract concept indicating good intentions, but is a basic philosophy which must be translated into action and led 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 "antyodaya" 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 that 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 Gandhi­ an precept that whatever can be produced efficiently by de­ centralised 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 project 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 Act.

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 provisions 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 our 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 camping 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 countrywide, 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.

New Planning Priorities: 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 to provide adequately the mass of the people with any one of the six basic necessities of life, food, safe drinking water, clothing, housing, education, and health care. 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.

Princmcy 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.

Rural-Urban Disparities: The paucity of farm incomes 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 promote rural growth centres. The farmer must get remunerative prices based
ona 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 services.

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 holdings. 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.

Dynamic Approach to Rural Development: Integrated 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 possbooks to farmers. Recent increases in land revenue in some states have raised the incidence of this levy by as much as five times. These increases 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 additional 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 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 localional policies to derive the fullest advantage from the choice of appropriate technology in different sectors. Appropriate technology is a means of promoting individual and community self-reliance through a swadeshi movement.

**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 systems. 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 financial 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.

**End Monopoly**

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 Janata Party will correct this trend.

**Wage and Price 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 price and the value 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 wage and price policy in which the ruling party has singularly
failed. The Janata Party will lose no time in formulating and implementing a national wage and price policy based on the following principle:

(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 wages. It will safeguard the legitimate interests of the working class with due regard to the need for increased productivity.
(iv) A wage and price policy must ensure that income disparities are reduced. Steps will be taken to see that 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 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 levy 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, biogas, and other non-conventional sources of energy, and synthesise 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-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 utilise fully the potential for groundwater, surface irrigation, hydro-electricity, navigation and pisciculture.

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 ENVISOGES:

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, 'Antyodaya' 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. A wage and price policy; raising the minimum tax exemption limit to Rs.10,000 and exemption of land revenue on 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;

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 planning 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 is foolish and futile.
New Directions in Education

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 direction and degree of development. The Party will take steps to see that education up to the middle level is provided to within the next 12 years or less. The present system of education must be reformed to allow for non-formal, multi-point entry, continuing any 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-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. 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.

Languages

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. Urdu and Sindhi, 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 medicine will be a part. These cadres will form a pyramid with appropriate referral, 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 improve 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. 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 neigbourhood 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 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 scheme covering old age and disability.

**Women's Rights**

Women constitute half the population of our country. No progress is possible if their problems and interests do not
redeive due attention. The Janata Party believes in the equality of all citizens. It will, therefore, ensure to 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. 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 of 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 Commission**

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 these
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 cooperative efforts in the fields 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. 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.

**Ending Untouchability**

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 cultures are part of India's varied heritage and shall be given due protection and every encouragement.

Backward Areas

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 Malnad 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 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, and not excluding the Prime Minister and Chief Ministers, are investigated and disposed of independently of 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.

Legal Reform

The Party will introduce reforms to make justice speedy and inexpensive and bring it within the reach of the poor through legal aid. It deplores the punitive transfer and supersession 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.
9. Family planning as part 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.
13. Women's rights and youth welfare.
14. Legal aid and inexpensive justice.
15. Fostering people's initiative and voluntary action.

Foreign Policy

The Janata Party's foreign policy will reflect the nation's enlightened interest and its aspirations and priorities at home. It will oppose all forms of colonialism, neocolonialism 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 B.S.F.

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 upward, 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 and 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.

Source: The Janata Party: Office of Public Information.
GENERAL ELECTION OF BIHAR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1977

1. Total Number of population- 5,63,53,369
   Rural- 5,07,19,403
   Urban- 56,33,966.

2. Total Number of Electors. 3,48,82,008
   (Excluding 1,09,025 electors of 283 Mirsa Assembly Constituency).

3. Total Number of Assembly Constituency- 324
   Reserved for S.C. 46
   Reserved for S.T. 28
   General 250

4. Total Number of Polling Stations- 40,938

5. Total Number of contesting candidates- 2,973
   Men- 2,884
   Women- 89

Chief Ministers

3. Dr. Jagannath Mishra- 3th June 1980.

Source: S.E.1977, Bihar Legislative Assembly, Statistical Analysis.
APPENDIX - IV

Lok Sabha Poll 1977-1980 (Hindi belt), Bihar, Haryana, M.P., Rajasthan & Delhi.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1977</th>
<th>1980</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Constituencies</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>221</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Electorate</td>
<td>133,207,781</td>
<td>149,174,437</td>
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<tr>
<td>Votes Polled</td>
<td>77,804,468</td>
<td>77,831,333</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentage Polling</td>
<td>55.38</td>
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<tr>
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<td>18,00,628</td>
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Poll Analysis

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>contested</td>
<td>won</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress I</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Congress II</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Janata</td>
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<td>215</td>
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<tr>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>637</td>
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APPENDIX - V

29.6.1977

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mr. Karpoori Thakur-</td>
<td>Chief Minister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mr. Kailash Pati Mishra-</td>
<td>Finance Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mr. Jageshwar Mandal-</td>
<td>Co-operation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mr. Kapildev Singh-</td>
<td>Agriculture and Parliamentary affairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mr. Thakur Prasad-</td>
<td>Industries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mr. Anuplal Yadav-</td>
<td>Public Works.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mrs Sumitra Devi-</td>
<td>Urban Development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mr. Sachidanand Singh-</td>
<td>Irrigation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mr. Zabir Hussain-</td>
<td>Health and Family Planning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mr. Kameshwar Paswan-</td>
<td>Welfare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mr. Lalit Croan.</td>
<td>Six Forestry.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mr. Jaghandha Adhikari -</td>
<td>Rural Development.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mr. Sarkar-</td>
<td>Information and Public Relations &amp; Transport.</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Mr. Upendra Nath Verma-</td>
<td>Revenue &amp; Land Reform.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mr. Prof. Mahabir Prasad-</td>
<td>Law, Food Supply.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mr. Sarwar-</td>
<td>Secondary Education.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mr. Puran Chand-</td>
<td>Mines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Mr. Gigambar Thakur-</td>
<td>Primary Education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mr. Mohan Ram-</td>
<td>Tourism &amp; Religion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mr. Thakur Prasad Singh-</td>
<td>Higher Education.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
22. Mr. Shamsher Jang Bahadur- Labour.

State Minister

1. Mr. Siyaram Thakur- Co-operatives.
2. Mr. Personnel & Transport.
4. Mr. Shukdeo Shukla- Rural Development.
5. Mr. Gajendra Prasad Himanshu- Irrigation.
6. Mr. Sahay- Home
7. Mr. Janardan Yadav- Industries.
8. Mr. Sivanandan Paswan- Revenue.
11. Mr. Zarwar Ram- Jails & Excise.

Karpooori Thakur elected leader or Chief Minister on 21.6.77 and resigned on 19th April 1979, after defeated in the Janata Parliamentary contest, he was defeated by 30 votes.
APPENDIX - VI

CABINET

Chief Minister

Ministers.

1. Sri Ram Sunder Das-

2. Sri Muneshwar Pd. Singh-

3. Sri Lalit Uraon-

4. Sri Rej Narayan Yadav-

5. Sri Dev Narayan Yadav-

6. Sri Anirudh Prasad-

7. Sri Sayid.

8. Sri Rana Shivlalpati Singh-


10. Sri Mohan Ram-

11. Sri Lalmanu Choubey-

12. Sri Basawan Singh-

13. Sri Shamsur Jang Bahadur Singh

14. Sri Thakur Pd. Singh-

Finance & Statistics.

Irrigation & Electricity.

Forest & Schedule Tribe Welfare.

Animal & Fisheries.

Agriculture.

Public Health & Engineers Department.

Transport.

Law

Co-operation.

Welfare (Schedule Tribe excluding ), Religious Trust.

Health and Family Labour.

Industry, Planning and Development.

Labour & Employment & Parliamentary Affairs.

Mines & Minerals.
15. Sri Ram Vilas Singh- Rural Development.
17. Sri Bijay Kumar Mitra- Public Works.

State Ministers

1. Sri Janardar Yadav- Primary Education
2. Sri Chatru Mahto- Finance.
4. Sri Satyadeo Narain Arya- Rural Education.
5. Sri Siyaram Thakur- Co-operation.
7. Sri Basudeo Pd. Singh- Secondary Education.
10. Sri Ukhalal Ahmed- Irrigation.
11. Srimati Kaushalya Devi- P.W.D.
APPENDIX - VII

4th June 1980 - Portfolio Distributed

1. Dr. Jaganath Mishra - Chief Minister
2. Sri Siruddin Haidar - Education
5. Sri Karam Chand Bhagat - Product & Alcoholism.
7. Sri Budhadeo Singh - P.W.D.
10. Sri Laliteshwar Sahi - Agriculture.
13. Sri Choudhary Sahahuddin - Rural Development.
**State Ministers**

1. Sri Hardeo Prasad-
   Education.
2. Dr. Prabhunath Singh-
   Finance
3. Sri Raghunath Jha-
   P.W.D.
4. Sri Ismayalan De-
   Information & Public Relation.
5. Sri Sagir Ahmad-
   Revenue & Rehabilitation.
6. Sri Sadanand Singh-
   Irrigation.
7. Sri Rajo Singh-
   Rural Development.
   Minor Irrigation and Religious trust.
9. Sri Madan Pd. Singh-
   Revenue & Land Reform.
10. Srimati Uma Pandey-
    Urban Development & Transport.
11. Srimati Prabhavati Gupta-
    Jail.

**Deputy Ministers**

1. Sri Kumud Ranjan Jha-
   Education
2. Sri Karuneshwar Singh-
   Animal Husbandry & Fisheries.
3. Sri Shyam Sunder Singh Dhiraj-
   Science, Technology and Transport.
4. Sri Ishwari Paswan-
   Forest and Welfare.
5. Sri Ranjit Sinha-
   Labour & Employment.