

C O N C L U S I O N

The Indian constitution, that accepted the principle of universal adult franchise, was promulgated on 26-1-1950, and according to that seven parliamantry elections have been held. In the first three general elections, the Congress secured overwhelming majority because of its historæ role in the freedom movement and the charismatic leadership of J. Nehru. After independence number of groups came out of the Congress and formed their own parties and attempted to provide an alternative to the Congress. The communists, the Socialist and the Jan Sangh were - recognised the national political parties on the basis of the result of the first general election though 14 parties and number of regional and communal parties contested the first general election. As far as the first three general elections were concerned there were no significant issues. But, the 4th, 5th and 6th general election are contested on some significant national issues that prompted to enrich the ideologies of the Indian political system. This is the period when all the parties got split and attempted reorganisation of national political parties. Due to this there was a sharper polarisation of political ideology and gradual evolution of three alternatives the congress - (left of centre) the Janata (the right of centre) and the communists. An attempt is made in the thesis to study

continuity and change in the modern Indian political ideology.

In the first chapter an attempt is made to describe the relationship between policy, programme and election manifesto. Moreover, the historical survey of the performance of Indian National Political Parties has been given in brief. The electoral performance in the first, second, third and fourth Parliamentary elections is discussed with the help of the tables. Similarly, it has been pointed out that 1967 general election is the breaking point in the Indian Politics. In addition to it the purpose and method of study is described.

In the Second Chapter main features of the election manifestos issued in 1967, 71 and 77 by the Congress are pointed out and the comparative study is made of these manifestos. It is shown while analyzing the congress manifesto that the congress advocated more left of centre policies as well as advocated supremacy of parliament and necessity of the state intervention to carry out welfare state policies.

In the Third Chapter, the main features of election manifesto issued in 1967 and 1971 by the Jan Sangh are brought out. Similarly, the main characteristics of the manifestos issued in 1967 and 1971 by the Swatantra party are also discussed. Likewise, the main features of

Congress(0) manifesto of 1971 elections are given. The comparative study of made of these manifestos is made in order to understand continuity and change in their ideological positions and the ideological compromises made by the three parties to emerge as the rightist alternative to the congress in 1971.

In the Fourth Chapter the manifestos of the Samyukta Socialist Party and the Praja Socialist Party ~~are~~ issued at the eve of 1967 and 1971 elections are studied as they are grouped under the socialist alternative to the Congress. While pointing out their main features it is maintained that the Samyukta Socialist Party advocated more radical policies whereas the Praja Socialist Party wanted to follow broadly social democratic program.

In the Fifth Chapter the communist alternative is studied with the help of manifesto issued by the CPI and the CPI (M) in 1967, 71 and 77 elections.

The main features of the manifestos are pointed out and the comparative study of these manifestos is made ~~of~~ to show that how the communist parties advocate radical liberal democratic program in order to be effective in the electoral field.

In the Sixth Chapter the programme and policies of the Janata Party are studied with the help of its manifesto

issued in 1977 Parliamentary election. Moreover, the manifesto is studied in the light of contemporary ~~par~~ political developments. Its policies are compared with the policies of the ~~gr~~and alliance of 4 parties that constituted the Janata. It tried to emphasise the fact that even the rightist sections of the Janata came round the view that socialism planning secularism and non-alignment are the basic principles of modern Indian political ideology.

CRITICAL REMARKS :

There was gradual evolution of modern Indian ideology as witnessed in the manifestos of different national opposition parties. ~~Persual~~ Persual of these manifestos clearly show that there is continuity as well as change.

All the national parties agree with the concepts of secularism, socialism democracy and sanctity of the constitution. Therefore, it can be safely argued that there cannot be two opinions on these concepts as ~~xxx~~ all these parties accepted these concepts in their manifestos. So, one can say that the major Indian political parties continued to adhere to above mentioned concepts.

Ideologically some concepts maintained their continuity but there occurred some changes in the ideological

positions of the parties. The Congress began to lean left of centre after 1971 and accepted the policy of welfare state. Similarly, the rightist forces moved away from their conservative principles and became liberal to support right of centre policies as one can see in 1977. The Jan Sangh renounced the concept of unitary constitution and accepted the concept of secularism in the form of Sarva Dharma Sambhava. The Socialist Party gave up the idea of new constitution and accepted to work within the present political system. The Swatantra Party accepted the concept of Gandhian Socialism and renounced its freedom of free enterprise policies.

1977, the two political parties the Congress and the Janata contested elections and their manifestos showed some interesting patterns of ~~political~~ evolution of political ideology in India. The Janata Party tried to fuse and integrate ideas of its former constituents and in that process it softened the attitudes of these parties in order to evolve a comprehensive political ideology.

A comparative study of election manifesto of the Janata Party and the Congress Party showed that there was remarkable similarity in their approach about the basic principles, though the former was under the influence of rightist parties. Both the parties declared their commitment

to democracy, socialism, secularism and non-alignment though the Janata Party added the words - democracy - liberty with bread, decentralised and Gandhian socialism and genuine non-alignment.

With the gradual growth of leftist ideas in the Congress after 1969, the Socialist alternative lost its relevance and the different Socialist factions were forced to join some other larger groupings. Their ideas were adjusted in these larger groupings. The Communist Parties could not break the liberal democratic frame work though they expounded the most leftist ideas and wanted to use electoral politics for their political gains. The differences between the two parties the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) got narrowed down because of revision of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)'s stand over Soviet Union and the Communist Party of India's disillusion-ment over the Congress.

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